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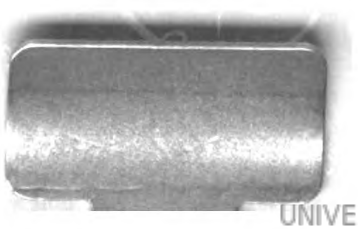

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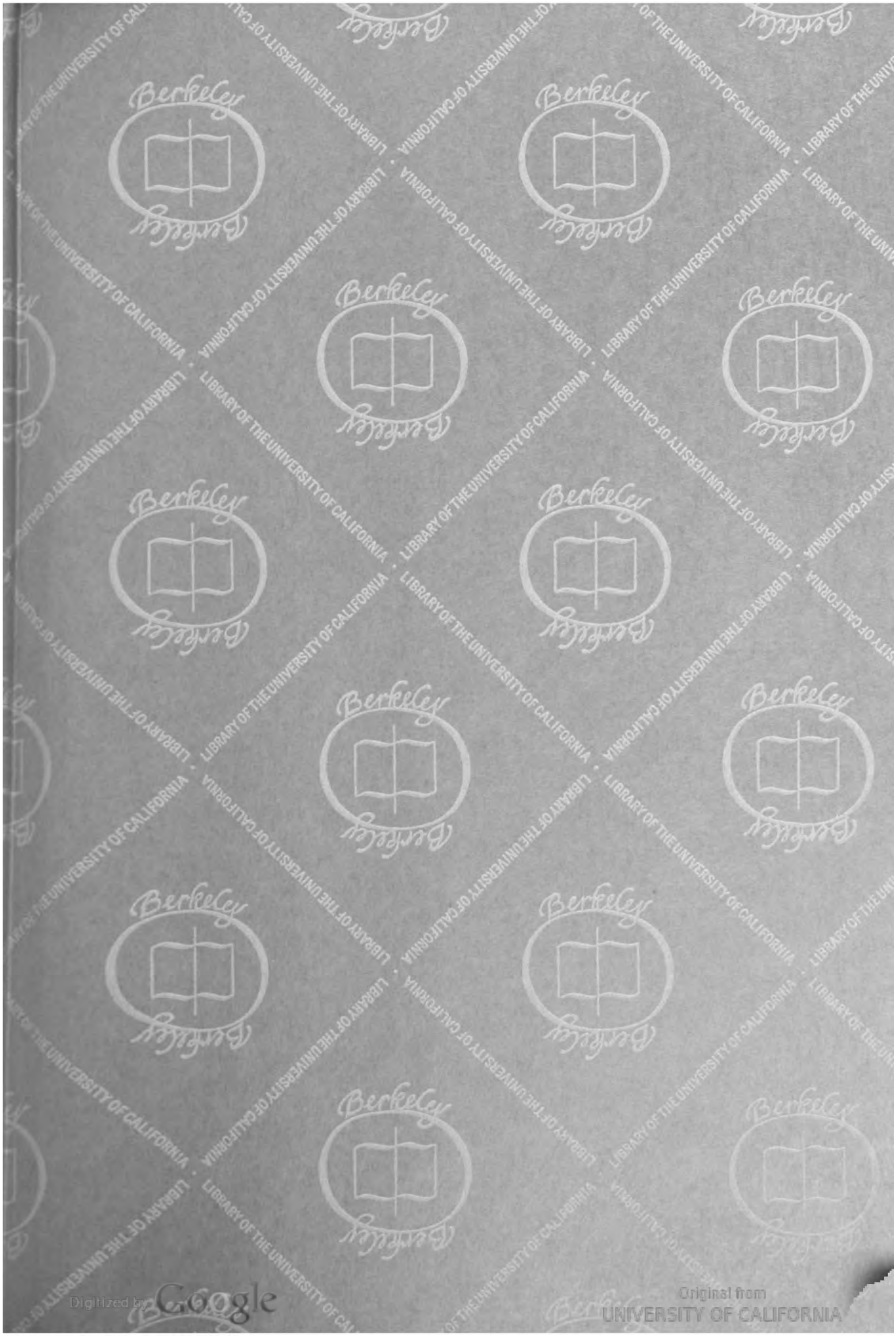
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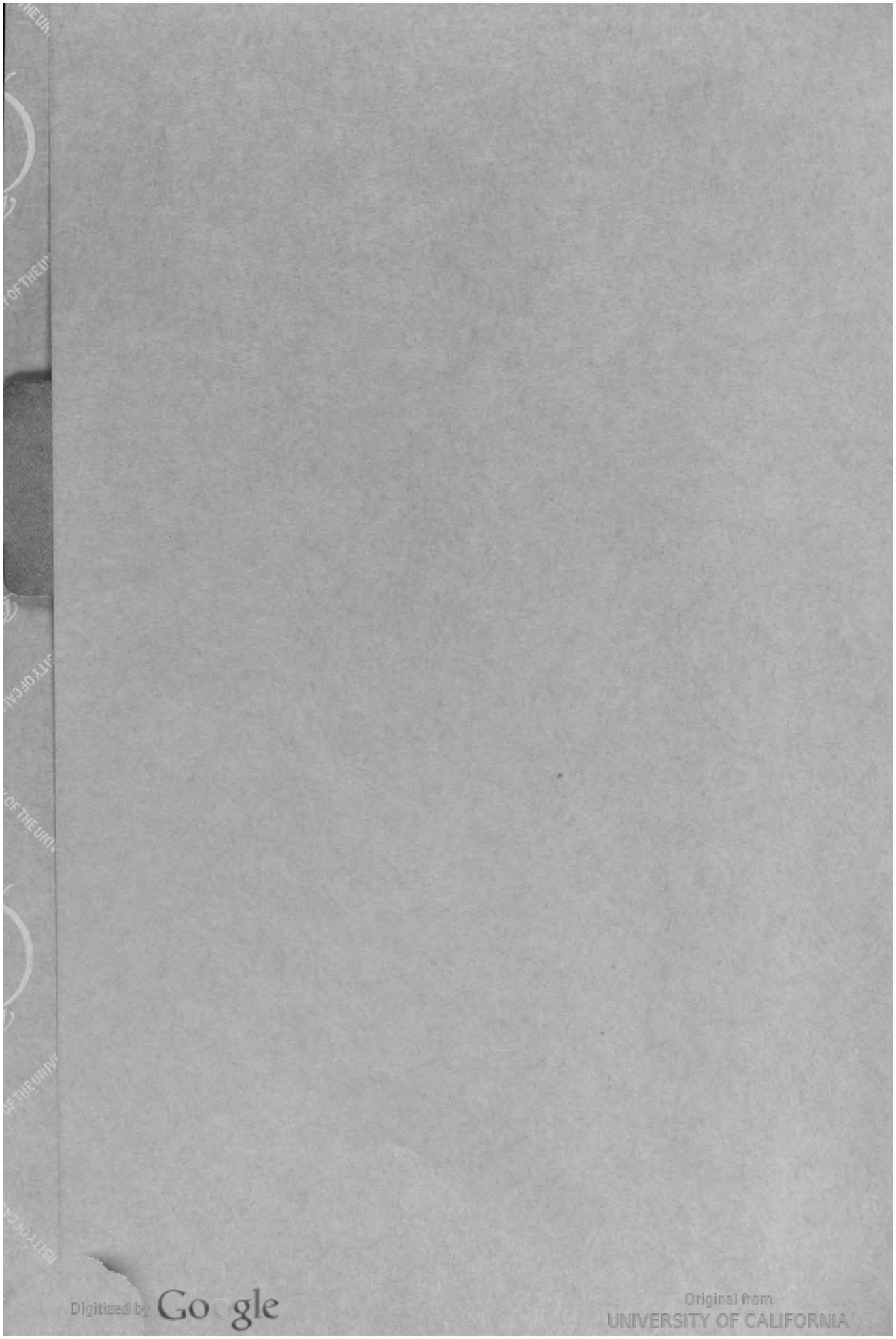
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# PREFACE

When, in 1934, B.J.J. Visser MSC published the second volume of his mission history of the Dutch East Indies with the title *Onder de Compagnie*, he mentioned therein Father C. Wessels SJ, who, for his study of the Christian mission on the island of Ambon in the sixteenth century, had availed himself of many unpublished Jesuit documents, and he added : « We cannot but regret that Father Wessels did not publish those documents *in extenso*. Historical science would have had at its disposal materials of very great importance » (*op. cit.* note 77).

Finally, after forty years, the wish expressed by the distinguished and persistent historiographer of the ancient Indonesian missions begins to be fulfilled by this first volume of the *Documenta Malucensia*.

We say « finally » because Visser's wish certainly was shared by not a few other historians who, with the appearance of the first volume of the *Documenta Indica* in 1948, felt entitled to look forward to the publication of the Maluku documents as well in the near future. They were disappointed in their expectations.

This « finally » is also the expression of the feelings of the Jesuit Historical Institute itself. Three members or collaborators of the Institute were entrusted in the course of years with the task of preparing such an edition : Fathers Josef Wicki, Corn. Wessels, and Manuel da Costa. All three started collecting materials and working on them. For one or other valid reason, however, they suspended the work.

The benefit of their work was that, when the present editor was charged to publish the Maluku documents, he found a considerable amount of materials already collected and many texts already copied. But he found as well a situation of decisions already taken and of choices already made, which could not be reversed nor cancelled and which by force had to be taken into account. The most sweeping and incisive decision had been to separate Maluku from the whole of India, that is, to separate one single mission field of the Indian Jesuit Province from the whole of that province to which it organically belonged.

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There do seem to be good reasons for such a separation. Is not the Maluku region, situated at a distance from India geographically, and inserted into the world of Malay languages and culture, entirely distinct from the rest of the Asian continent ? Does not an adequate apprehension of the documents from that region require in the editor a special equipment of knowledge and experience ? Did not the Portuguese *Agencia Geral do Ultramar* set the example by creating a double series of publications of the Padroado documents, one with the sub-title *Índia*, and the other under that of *Insulíndia* ?

Yet, disjoining Maluku from India also has its great disadvantage. Maluku was — in political, ecclesiastical, and Jesuit respect — wholly dependent on Goa, was administered and provided with personnel by Goa. All the general letters and annual reports of the Goa Province (published in the *Documenta Indica* up to the year of 1583) contain, as a matter of course, important accounts on Maluku, as likewise other non-official letters from India often do. As a matter of fact, in many points the Jesuit documentation on India and that on Maluku coincide. This means that a lot of documents on the Maluku Jesuit Mission have been published in the *Documenta Indica* already. Other relevant letters were edited in the *Epistolae Xaverii*, which were planned not according to a geographical but to a personal standard.

There would not have been any difficulty if the present editor had been commissioned to publish only a complementary volume on Maluku to the *Documenta Indica*. This idea has indeed been suggested by the editor, but it was emphatically rejected by the Direction of the *Monumenta Historica*. This Direction wanted explicitly the publication of the full documentation on the Maluku Mission, for that was what the scholarly world would expect of the edition of the volumes on that region.

This implied the unforeseen, or not sufficiently foreseen, handicap for the editor of being constrained to re-publish a certain and not so very small amount of documents, or of parts of them, that had already been printed elsewhere in the MHSI, especially in the *Documenta Indica*.

And yet, there are many good reasons for this decision as well. People interested in the history of Maluku are not likely to be keen on consulting heavy volumes on India, nor on consulting commentaries written in Latin. Separated from the Goa documents, the letters from Maluku, being less numerous and often reticent on many things, would offer a misrepresentation of that mission. On the other hand, the scraps of the Indian documents often receive a quite different and fuller meaning and import, when they are read and consulted in the company of the Maluku letters proper. Therefore the editor of the Maluku documentation

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often had to make in his notes a commentary on these fragments which is quite different from the one that the editor of the *Documenta Indica* made.

Moreover, suppose the editor of this volume had not inserted the fragments at issue, but had time and again relegated the scholarly reader for information to the Indian volumes. That series, with its twelfth volume, reaches, up till now, to the year of 1583. What would the editor have to do in his next volume for those later years for which there is no longer a parallel edition of the *Documenta Indica* available ? Should he then relegate the user to some future edition ? Or should he suddenly change his method ? Both would be rather awkward and not tally with good scientific standards.

So we stand to the decision of the Historical Institute from which we have received our mandate. We publish the letters and other documents originating from the Maluku missionaries or directed to them, interlacing them with the — often fragmentary — documents proceeding from the Jesuit headquarters in Goa, from other Jesuits in Malacca and India, and even with letters from Rome and Portugal, containing useful information on the Maluku Jesuit Mission. In that way we present a complete documentation on this topic, hoping to be of use for the scholars.

* * *

In a certain sense, this volume is a one-man product. That is to say, there was not a direct collaborator or assistant in composing it. But this does not mean that I was not forced to rely on the help of others or that I do not owe a debt of deep gratitude to many of my colleagues in the Jesuit Historical Institute or in my surroundings who were so kind to give me their counsel, their patient encouragement, and sometimes their precious time on behalf of improving and perfecting my text. Obviously I should acknowledge this debt, and it is with great pleasure that I do so.

I should like to commemorate here Georg Schurhammer SJ, deceased in 1971, who always showed an ardent desire to see the Maluku Documents edited and who proved a learned and wise oracle in so many questions put before him, never exhibiting the least sign of impatience towards the interrogator.

I want to thank Josef Wicki SJ for so much practical advice persistently and amiably given and for the keen interest always manifested. I give my thanks to Luís Ferreira Leão SJ for his help in copying the

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texts from the MSS, and to Harold E. Weidman SJ and Daniel F.X. Meenan SJ for the ungrateful work of checking the English. Special thanks are due to Pierre Moreau SJ, who has done me the good turn of preparing the maps. At greater distance this work owes all to Fr. Provincial and his staff of the Dutch Jesuit Province, who had the unselfish goodness of freeing me from other duties for the sake of historical research.

The goodwill and assistance of all of them do not imply that the responsibility for any errors is not mine.

The Editor

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## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

(Abbreviations of books and articles are to be found in the Bibliography).

*add.* = adds, added, addition.
AGI = Archivo General de Indias.
app. crit. = apparatus criticus.
ARSI = Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.
Br., Brs. = Brother(s).
cod. = codex.
*corr. fr.* = corrected from.
crit. app. = critical apparatus.
D, DD = Document(s) of this volume.
D. = Dom, Don, Dona.
*del.* = deletes, deleted.
doc. = document.
*d.r.* = doubtful reading.
f., ff. = folio(s).
Fr., Frs. = Father(s).
Gen. = General.
*h2, h3* = second, third hand, etc.
ibid. = ibidem.
id. = idem.
*illeg.* = illegible.
*ins.* = inserted.
*interl.* = interlinear.
Ir. = Irmão.
*loc. cit.* = loco citato.
*m.* = (in the) margin.
M. = Mestre.
MS, MSS = manuscript(s).
*ms.* (in app. crit.) = manuscript.
MSC = Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis.
N.P. = Nosso Padre, Nuestro Padre, Nostro Padre.
N.S. = Nosso Senhor, Nuestro Señor.
OFM = Ordinis Fratrum Minorum.
*om.* = omits, omitted.
OP = Ordinis Praedicatorum.
*op. cit.* = opus citatum, opere citato.
OSA = Ordinis Sancti Augustini.
P., Pe. = Padre.
P.M. = Padre Mestre.
Port. = Portuguese.
Prov. = Provincial.
*r.* = recto.
Rdo = Reverendo.
*rep.* = repeated.
R.V. = Reverentia Vestra.
S. = Sua ; Santo, São.
S.A. = Sua Alteza, Su Alteza.
Schol. = Scholastic.
SJ = Societatis Iesu.
Sup. = Superior.
s.v. = sub verbo.
T.R.P. = Tuae Reverendae Paternitatis.

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*underl.* = underlined.
*v* = verso.
V.A. = Vossa Alteza, Vuestra Alteza.
Vis. = Visitor.
V.P. = Vossa Paternidade, Vuestra Paternidad.
V.R. = Vossa Reverencia, Vuestra Reverencia.
V.Rey = Viso-rei.
V.R.P. = Vossa Reverenda Paternidade, etc.
V.S. = Vostra Signoria.
*w.corr.* = with correction.

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# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

According to the nature and the plan of the Mission Section of the MHSI, this volume brings before the public a critical edition of the letters and other documents which were produced by Jesuits or which more or less directly refer to their mission work. According to the nature of this Maluku Section, it confines itself to such documents which have reference only to the Jesuit mission field of Maluku.

This first volume begins with the starting point in 1546 (including two earlier preparatory documents) and goes as far as the fall of Ternate in 1575, it being assumed that our last document, of January 1577, contains the first information on this grave event.

Because the fortress of Ternate had been the center of the mission, and often also the residence of its Fr. Superior, from which the other posts: Moro, Bacan (Batjan, Bachan), Ambon, and later on, N Selebes and the Sangi Islands, were cared for, the loss of the fortress meant a heavy blow, a total disarrangement, and consequently an entirely new start for the Maluku mission. It was a more radical interruption in the affairs and the ministry of the Fathers than the switching over from Portuguese to Spanish rule in 1580. In consequence, the span of this volume is about thirty years.

## Chapter One

## MALUKU

### 1. The Maluku Area

The local native name, ancient and modern, of the geographical area of our historical concern is Maluku. The Portuguese preferably and rightly called it «Maluco», though sometimes, following the plural form of «as ilhas», they named them «as Malucas»[1]. Even the

[1] Thus, e.g., António Galvão is said to have written a *História das Malucas* before 1550, called by later authors *História das Moluccas*. Cf. *Treatise* 13-14.

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Spaniard Escalante, in the report of his voyage, written in 1548, is constantly speaking of « el Maluco ». It seems to be the Dutch and the English who changed the first syllable and introduced the names « the Moluccas », « de Molukken » (earlier « de Moluksche Eilanden ») into their own language, and, consequently, in nearly all other languages. The government of the young Republic of Indonesia did not hesitate at all to re-introduce the ancient name of Maluku. We prefer to use it also in our publication.

The name Maluku has been used in the course of years in a narrow, a larger, and a largest sense. Originally and properly speaking, it is the collective name of the five small islands along the west coast of Halmahera or Jailolo : Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian, and Bacan, which were famous for their spice or clove. « The Maluku Islands » was synonymous with « The Spice Islands ».

In a larger sense it was used also for Ambon and even for the Banda Islands which produced another spice, the nutmeg (mace). As a matter of course, the intermediate and some adjacent isles were also comprised under the name : Halmahera (Jailolo), Seram, Buru, and Obi.

Afterwards, the Dutch used « de Molukken » in a still larger sense, establishing a governmental region of that name which comprised even Timor and some other of the Lesser Sunda Islands.

For the Portuguese, who for many years (1522-1575) had their only or chief fortress and headquarters on the island of Ternate, « Maluco » meant either the fortress with the adjacent town of Portuguese « casados »[1], or, by extension, the island of Ternate itself ; the ruler of Ternate is commonly indicated as « el-rei de Maluco » (D 10, 10). In a larger sense the name is used for the entire area of East Indonesia where the Portuguese had their commercial relations and political influence.

The Jesuits followed the Portuguese use : « Maluco » either is Ternate, the fortress and the Portuguese town, where also the mission headquarters were situated, or it stands for the whole area of their mission work, comprising Moro, Ambon, and Seram as well, and, as time went on, even parts of Selebes and the Sangi Archipelago. One should not be astonished to find sometimes Ambon opposed to Maluku and other times comprised under this name. Usually the meaning can be deduced from the context without any difficulty.

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[1] *Casados* are Portuguese, living in Asia, who had married native wives and, as a rule, had no intention of returning to Europe.

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## 2. Political Situation

In the first half of the sixteenth century the region of Maluku knew four Muslim rulers: of Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo, and Bacan (cf. D 41, 2). « Only the king of Ternate is called Sultan, the others are called Raja »[3]. Anyway, for the authors of our documents, all four of them were always and only « el-rei », the king.

The most powerful of these kings was the ruler of *Ternate* (D 20,2)[4]. The trend of Ternatan politics was to extend the boundaries of the realm and to fortify its power by bringing as many other states, islands, and village chiefs as possible into its vassalage, and by laying claim to Moro and Ambon from where Ternate had to be provided with sago and rice. The Ternatan kings succeeded very well in their politics: Jailolo became tributary to Ternate, Moro was subjugated, Ambon kept under control, and Bacan was not able to withdraw from a strong Ternatan interference in its own affairs. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Ternatan dominion stretched from Mindanao to Flores and from East Selebes (Manado, Banggai, Butung) to East Seram.

It is the king of Ternate, Boleif (Abu Leis), who in 1512 had invited the first Portuguese, who under Francisco Serrão ventured to sail the Banda Sea, to come to his island. Ten years later, by his urgent request and full agreement, the Portuguese fortress of Saint John of Ternate was erected. Though they were Muslims, the rulers of Ternate eagerly declared themselves loyal vassals of their lord, the Christian king of Portugal.

During the period of our volume, the rulers of Ternate were: King Hairun (« Aeiro » in the documents), who reigned 1535-1545, and again 1546-1570.

King Baab Ullah (« Babu » in the documents), a son of Hairun, 1570-1583.

The next important king was the ruler of *Tidore*. To him belonged three fourths of Halmahera, and the « four kings » (raja ampat) of W New Guinea and the adjacent islands were his vassals. He lived in eternal warfare with Ternate, and whereever there was an opportunity, he took sides with the Spaniards against the Portuguese

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[3] Pires 214.

[4] « El [rei] de Ternate es principal señor, a quien los otros tienen en cierta manera subjección y respecto » (Valignano, *Historia* 94).

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and the Ternatans [5]. The bewildering entanglement of Oriental politics is demonstrated markedly by the fact that the king of Tidore, though a traditional enemy of Ternate, likewise by force of the tradition had to marry his daughter to the ruler of Ternate [6]. Generally the Maluku kings were connected with each other by multifarious family ties, which is not difficult to realize among Muslim rulers who are reported to have had more than a hundred wives [7].

The kings of Tidore are not mentioned by name in the documents. They were :

King Mir (Amir Udin), 1526 to at least 1551 [8].

Another king, seventeen years of age, was reigning in 1564 (D 129, 2).

The king of *Jailolo*, once the most powerful of the region, was steadily losing his political and military influence. Having more than once fiercely persecuted the Moro Christians in several efforts to gain control over that region, he lost his capital fortress to the joined Portuguese and Ternatan forces in 1551 (D 33, 4). From a king he was degraded to a « sengaji » (ruler of a district) and to a vassal of the Portuguese fortress. Jailolo never managed to regain its former power ; as an independent kingdom it practically disappeared from the map.

The king of Jailolo who lost his capital and his title in 1551, is known to be called Katarabumi (1536-1551) ; he was succeeded by Kaicil Guzarate [9].

Finally, the king of *Bacan*, living on the island of Kasiruta, ruled over the islands of the Bacan Archipelago and over some villages on the N coast of Seram (DD 125, 17 ; 130, 7) ; he laid claim to the Gane district in S Halmahera. Bacan produced much sago, but it was thinly populated and of no great importance. Nevertheless, it managed to maintain a certain independence. It played a special part in the mission history, in so far as one of its kings was the only Maluku ruler who, while actually reigning, became a Christian.

Of the kings of Bacan, for our period, we know only that, in 1557, the old king (presumably Laudim or Ala Udin) abdicated in favour

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[5] Until 1577 Tidore scarcely played a positive part in the documents of our publication. Only some individual conversions are mentioned (See DD 125, 19 ; 128, 5 ; 129, 1-3 ; 135, 6).

[6] *Treatise* 115 and 305.

[7] For the king of Ternate, see D 10, 10.

[8] Cf. *Treatise* 17.

[9] Rebelo 479.

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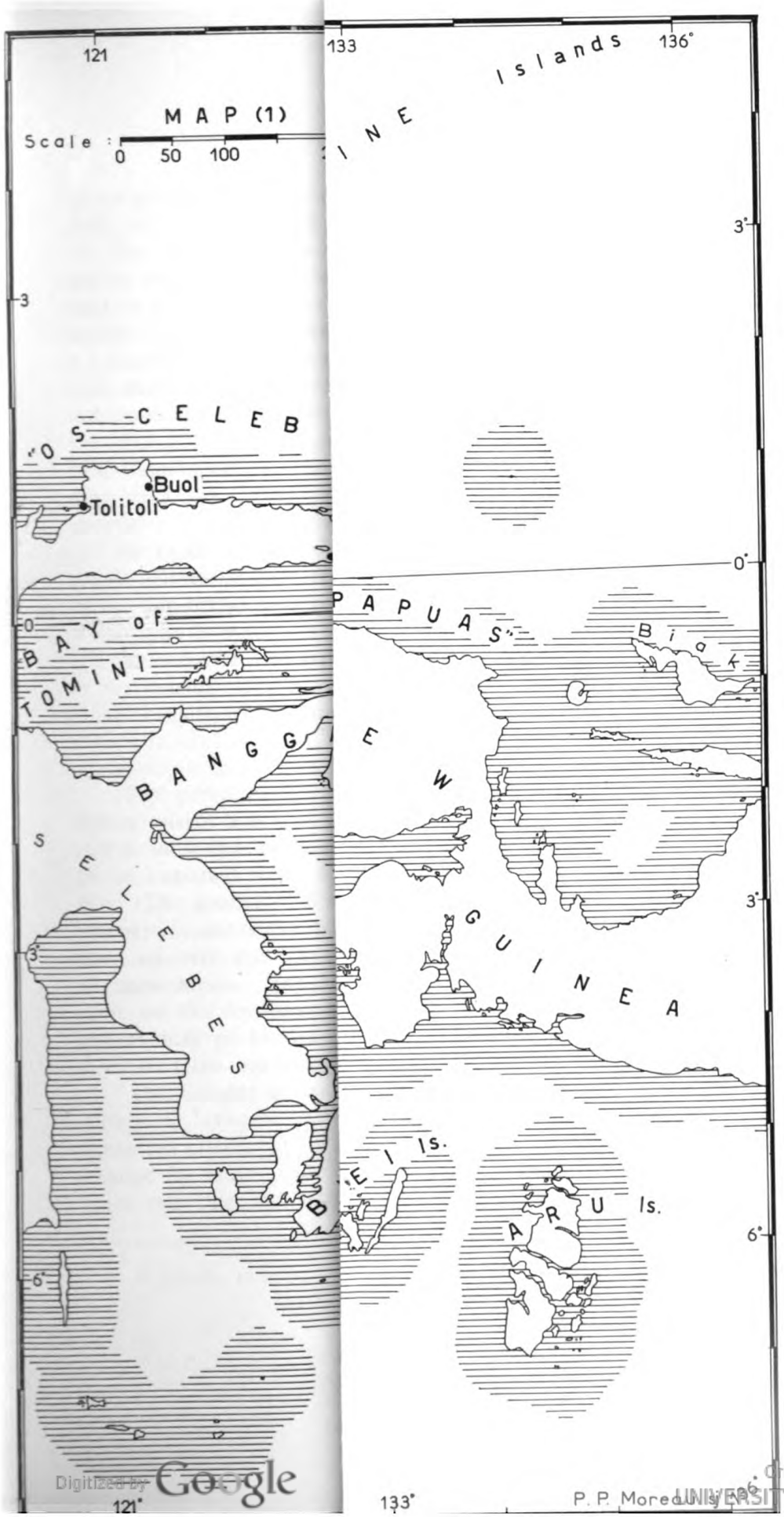


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of his young son who converted and in baptism took the name of D. João (cf. D 72 notes 2 and 4).

The kings used to exercise the government by means of a governor or regent, usually a brother, « who holds the king and the kingdom in his hand »[10]; « cui fraterni imperii cura tota ac gubernatio incumbit » (D 128, 7). Districts or provinces of states were headed by a « sengaji » who sometimes had the title of « raja » or of « pati ». Several other « kings » occur in the documents. They are not always independent rulers. There are kings mentioned for the island of Siau, for Manado, Bolaang, and Buol, for Gorontalo, for Banggai, for the four Papuan kingdoms, and for Sangi or Kolongan. The native chiefs who were not a « raja » are called « regedor » in the Portuguese documents.

As to the island of *Ambon*, of its typical form of government the Jesuit writers of our documents do not seem to have had any clear idea. Sometimes a « raja », a « pati » or a « regedor » is mentioned, but a sharp outline of the political forces and struggles is never highlighted. Ambon was claimed by Ternate (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen*, no. 2110).

## 3. Economic Situation

The principal food of the population was sago, rice, and fish. Every native was a skilled fisherman. Sago and rice, however, were not to be found on the small islands of Ternate and Tidore; they had to be imported from elsewhere, mainly from Moro, Bacan, and Ambon. The necessity of safeguarding a regular flow of foodstuffs to his island was one of the principal reasons why the king of Ternate pursued an ever stronger expansionist policy which represented a kind of imperialism. But the fortress of the Portuguese was also dependent on the foodproducing regions; therefore they snatched at any opportunity of binding them firmly to themselves, for instance, by favouring the conversion of the population to Christianity.

The richness of the Maluku Islands proper was the clove. Chinese, Malayan, Javanese, Arab, Persian, and Gujarat merchantmen had for centuries alternated in bringing textiles and other commodities in exchange for clove. The foreign traders profited much more from the spice sale than the islanders themselves. The author of the *Treatise*

[10] *Treatise* 113.

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stated that the latter delivered the clove to the traders for very little [11]. For all that, both the exchange and the contacts had brought a greater prosperity and a higher culture to Ternate and Tidore. The Portuguese, at their first arrival, demanded a monopoly in buying cloves, « for he [the king of Portugal] neither needs nor desires anything else from this country » [12]. What is said here of the clove, applies analogically to the nutmeg of Banda, which was not less coveted.

## 4. Religious Situation

The four aforementioned kings were Muslims. Islam had been introduced into Maluku between the years 1460 and 1470, allegedly by Javanese, Persians, and Arabs [13]. But the greater part of the population, and not only in the mountainous interior, had remained heathen, that is, primitive animists. Once having been accepted by the king and his court, Islam became soon an important element of Ternate's expansionist and unifying politics. And so a very confusing and contradictory situation was created: the king of Ternate, on the one hand, professed to be a vassal of the Catholic King of Portugal, represented by the « captain » of the fortress, and he had to be an ally in his policy of a *pax lusitana* in which converting people to Christianity played an important part (D 134, 4), and, on the other hand, he persued his own policy of expansion and unification of his state, in which Islam and islamizing appeared indispensably necessary to his purpose (D 63, 5). And while the king of Portugal exercised his rights of the *padroado* by sending missionaries and promoting the spreading of the Christian faith, the king of Ternate had Muslim preachers come from Mecca, Egypt, and Constantinople to imbue his peoples with Islam (DD 3, 8; 10, 10; DI III 537-538). As idealism often does not withstand material interests, « the governors (i.e., the captains of the fortress) did not dare to oppose the sultan of Ternate for fear of losing the profitable monopoly of the clove export. The missionaries protested in Goa and Lisbon against a policy under which the officers supported the enemies of the Catholic Church » [14]. Usually,

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[11] *Treatise* 81.

[12] *Treatise* 271.

[13] See D 3, 8; *Treatise* 83-85.

[14] Vlekke, *Nusantara* 83.

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the captains, and likewise the « casados », were not so much afraid of losing the clove monopoly of the king as they feared to lose their own profit (D 134, 2).

For a fuller background of the world of Portuguese Maluku, two works are particularly recommended : the Portuguese *Treatise on the Moluccas* of 1544, edited — with an English translation — by H. JACOBS SJ in 1971 ; and GABRIEL REBELO's, *História das Ilhas de Maluco* (1561), published in SÁ III 192-343, and in a second version as *Informação das cousas de Maluco* (1569), ibid. 348-508.

## CHAPTER II

# THE EUROPEANS

## 1. THE PORTUGUESE

### a. *Coming and Position*

Vasco da Gama landed in India at Calicut (Kozhikode) in 1498 ; Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Malacca in 1511, and in the next year he sent António de Abreu and Francisco Serrão to « discover » the nutmeg islands of Banda and to get information on Maluku. Serrão was the first Portuguese to arrive in that area, first on Ambon and then in Ternate. In 1522 the Portuguese fortress on the latter island was built ; it was situated on the SW side. Until 1569 it was the only Portuguese fort in the entire area beyond Malacca. Certainly, sometimes « fortresses » were mentioned for Ambon, Jailolo, Moro (Tolo, Samafo), Banda, and Makasar, but they were kind of blockhouses, fortified factories, and not fortresses proper with a captain appointed by the king of Portugal, as Ternate was [15].

The highest authority was the « Captain of Maluku » ; this post was given as a « mercê » to a favourite of the Portuguese king for a term of three years. Only when no captain nominated by the king was available, the viceroy of Goa appointed someone to this office. The

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[15] Banda is said to be under the jurisdiction of the Captain of Maluku (CORREIA, *Lendas* III 357).

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second man was the « alcaide-mor » or commander of the castle, who in Ternate always combined his office with that of the royal « feitor » or trade agent. At special occasions the Crown or the viceroy appointed a « capitão-mor do mar » for Maluku, that is, a chief commander of the fleet operating in the Maluku waters. Clashes of authority between the Captain of Maluku and the commander of the fleet were bound to happen.

The fortress of Ternate depended completely on Goa, and the indispensable link between them was Malacca. The money for salaries and for all other expenses had to be sent in cash on board ship. Nearly all provisions for the castle had to come from India *via* Malacca. There is no other such a magic word in all reports about the Portuguese in Maluku than the word « mantimentos », i.e., provisions, supplies, food, victuals. Thank to the superiority of the Portuguese armament and shipbuilding, the fortress could not be taken by military force, but it could be taken by blockade and starvation, especially if by chance the ships from India were not forthcoming, as it happened indeed in 1575.

### b. *Shipping Opportunities*

In the time of sailing vessels, every shipping opportunity depended on the monsoons and on the periods of favourable winds [16]. From India to Maluku there was a sailing opportunity twice a year. In April the royal clove ship (*nau da carreira*) departed from Goa and was scheduled to arrive in Ternate in October. The nutmeg or Banda ship (*nau de Banda*) sailed from Goa in September and was to arrive in the next February. The return voyage could be made only once a year. Both the clove and the nutmeg ships took shelter in the Bay of Ambon, from where they sailed in mid-May and were due to arrive in Cochin in January-February of the following year, just before the ships, or the last ship, sailed from there to Portugal.

Sailing schedule (d. = departure ; a. = arrival ; dates are approximative).

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[16] For shipping opportunities, see D 21, 3 ; REBELO 499 ; SÁ IV 17 ; EX I 63* ; 395-396 ; VALIGNANO, *Historia* 10-11 ; 95.

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A) *The clove or Ternate ship*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Goa | d. | April 15 | Ambon | a. | February 22 |
| Cochin | a. | April 23 | Ambon | d. | May 15 |
| Cochin | d. | late April | Malacca | a. | late June |
| Malacca | a. | late May | Malacca | d. | November 15 |
| Malacca | d. | August 15 | Cochin | a. | January |
| Ternate | a. | late October | Goa | a. | February-March |
| Ternate | d. | February 15 | | | |

From Malacca to Ternate the ship sailed by N Borneo ; from Ambon to Malacca along the north coast of Java and the east coast of Sumatra. For waiting out the monsoon (in Malacca, in Ambon Bay, etc.) the Portuguese used the term « envernar », that is, « hibernate » of « winter ».

B) *The Banda ship.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Goa | d. | September |
| Malacca | a. | late October |
| Malacca | d. | January 1 |
| Ambon | a. | February 15 |
| Banda | a. | a few days later |
| Ambon | d. | May 15 |
| (etc. as higher up). | | |

The journey Goa-Ternate-Goa took about 23 months. Sailing Ternate-Goa-Ternate lasted 20 months. The voyage Lisbon-Goa took six to eight months (March or April to September or November), the return Goa-Lisbon (January or February to July or August) seven or eight months. But if the ships were constrained to « hibernate » in Mozambique, eight more months should be added for both directions.

When the Jesuits in Maluku wrote to Fr. General in Rome, they could expect an answer in three years and nine or ten months.

All durations given here are valid under favourable conditions of weather and winds ; otherwise they have to be prolonged. Likewise the dates are not fixed and definite, but only goals set by common experience.

The official royal ships could be accompanied by other vessels sailing for the private business of traders. The time tables are not

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unconditionnally exclusive. Other sailing times were possible, depending on the vagaries of the weather and on the daring of the captains. The royal ships must be supposed to keep, as a rule, close to the scheduled times.

So Ternate, depending on Malacca, on Goa, and on Lisbon, only once a year was visited by an official royal ship that carried personnel, money, letters, provisions, and the merchandise for the royal trading agency or « feitoria ».

As a rule, the Jesuits, being a kind of functionaries of the royal padroado, must be supposed to sail in the royal clove ship. The Banda ship could be considered only for those who were assigned to Ambon without having to touch at Ternate, or in cases of necessity.

### c. *Portuguese Policy*

The main object of the official Portuguese policy in Maluku was to safeguard the monopoly of the clove trade, one of the most lucrative articles of merchandise in the whole of Portuguese Asia. Therefore it aimed at keeping and defending the fortress of Ternate, at maintaining peace with the kings of Maluku and at preventing the king of Ternate from grewing too powerful. The spreading of Christianity was officially considered another goal of the Crown's policy, summarized in the formula : « For the service of God and of His Highness ».

The policy of the captains and of the Portuguese living in Ternate cannot be said to be always concordant with the views of the Crown. It was especially fed by greed. Most captains were chiefly bent on becoming as rich as possible in the three years allotted to them [17]. For the sake of obtaining a greater quantity of clove, they were disposed to sell the rights of the Crown and the interests of the Church. They knew that they would not be punished [18]. Generally,

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[17] A praiseworthy exception was the famous António Galvão, 1536-1539 ; see *Treatise* 230-327.

[18] Esteves Pereira and Rodrigues, the authors of *Portugal, Diccionário histórico* . . , gave this slashing verdict on them, stating that Portuguese influence weakened and was finally lost « muito principalmente pelas exacçoes, piratarias, roubos e contendas dos governadores da fortaleza de Ternate, que quasi todos à chegada do successor eram mandados para a India carregados de ferros pelos abusos commettidos; mas infelizmente era tal a devassidão que em breve alcançaram a liberdade, comprando-a com o ouro que tinham illicitamente juntado durante o tempo do seu governo » (IV 1180). The *Treatise* confirms this on many pages.

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the « casados » or inhabitants of the Portuguese town beside the fortress, were living in opulence and bliss, and therefore they wanted by no means to lose the friendship of the king of Ternate, who, on his part, tried to win the favour of the « casados », to use it, if he saw his chance, even against the captain and the missionaries.

## 2. Portuguese and Spaniards

A Bull of Pope Alexander VI (1493) and the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) had divided the world into a Castilian and a Portuguese hemisphere. The Maluku area belonged to the latter and the Portuguese knew this. As early as 1512 they appeared in the Banda and Maluku waters [19]. Ill-luck would have it that, from the lack of geographical knowledge, the demarcation line in the Far East could not yet be indicated with accuracy. This enabled Charles V to lay claim to the Maluku Islands. In the year 1521 two ships of Magellan's fleet visited Tidore. This caused the Portuguese to send a captain with the order to build a fortress on Ternate [20]. In 1529 the rulers of Portugal and Castile signed the Treaty of Zaragoza. « Aside from many juridical points that obscured the precise meaning of this treaty, it in effect set aside Charles's claims to the Moluccas in return for 350,000 ducats » [21]. This, however, did not preclude the Spaniards from fitting out, time and again, fleets and sending them, be it from Spain or from Mexico, across the Pacific Ocean to discover new lands. But the voyage through the Strait of Magellan appeared too long and too dangerous, and as to the expeditions that started from Mexico, it was not until 1565 that the Spaniards learned that for the way back they had to sail to 43° N before being able to cross over to the Pacific coast of New Spain.

Two of the several Spanish expeditions, those of Ruy López de Villalobos (1542-1546) and of Miguel López de Legazpi (from 1564 on), had some feeble repercussions in our documents [22].

The Portuguese managed to remain lords of the Maluku region,

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[19] The word « Spaniard » not yet having received a meaning opposed to « Portuguese », the author of the *Treatise* states that the Portuguese (understand : not the Castilians) were the first Spaniards to land on the Maluku Islands (197).

[20] *Treatise* 201-207.

[21] Lach 118.

[22] Respectively in DD 3, 3 ; 4, 1 ; 4, 5 ; 5, 3, and in D 152, 1-3.

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but, after 1565, they could not prevent the Spaniards from establishing themselves firmly in the Philippine Islands though these were situated entirely within the Portuguese hemisphere.

From 1522 on, the Portuguese had their fortress on Ternate ; the captain represented the king of Portugal, to whom the king of Ternate had promised vassalage and more than once donated his kingdom [33]. A second fortress, that is, a small wooden fortification, was erected on Ambon in 1569. Having been moved to the Ambon Bay, it was finally replaced by a stone fortress in the site of the present-day town of Ambon in 1576.

The relations of Portugal and Ternate becoming continually more and more strained, in 1575 the captain of the fortress of Ternate had to surrender to King Baab Ullah. The Portuguese left the island. Soon a « renversement des alliances » came about ; now it was the king of Tidore who offered the opportunity to construct a fortress on his island. It was built in 1578.

In 1605 both the forts of Ambon and Tidore were lost to the Dutch. This was the end of Portuguese power in the Maluku area. The Spanish, under Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña, reconquered the fortress of Ternate in 1606 and remained there until their withdrawal in 1663-1666. Some islands of the Sangi Archipelago continued to stand under Spanish control as late as 1677. And that was the definitive end of the Portuguese and Spanish efforts to bring and keep Maluku under their control, the end also of the Catholic mission work in that region until the nineteenth century ; it is the limit therefore of our historical concern in this Maluku section of the MHSI.

## Chapter III

## CHRISTIANITY

### 1. Pre-Xaverian Christianity in the Maluku Area

The Portuguese in Maluku for several years did not make any serious attempt to convert native people to Christianity. After the fortress was built, the royal padroado provided it with a « vicar », and, if need be, with one or two « beneficiaries ». They belonged to the sec-

[33] See SA I 80 ; 85-87 ; II 19-39 ; III 74-76 ; IV 36-40 (which repeats II 26).

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ular clergy and were charged with the care of souls of the garrison and of the Portuguese in the town adjacent to the fortress. The conversion of the natives was not a strict part of their duty proper. Only when the fortress captain considered it to be necessary or useful for God's and the king's service, he could send the vicar outward to make converts [24].

Under the Captain Tristão de Ataíde (1533-1536) conversions were made among the native people of the *Moro* region in 1534. The most important converts were the village chiefs of Tolo and Mamuya on the Morotia coast. As Ataíde's further behaviour as a captain provoked a general rebellion, some Moro villages apostatized and the rebels killed the vicar who had been sent there in 1535 [25]. In spite of persecution a few villages remained true to the faith.

Likewise on the island of *Ambon* conversions had been made, the first in 1538 under the Captain António Galvão (1536-1540). In that year Galvão learnt that ships from Java, Makasar, and Banda had arrived in Ambon to buy clove in exchange for arms. Holding that this was to the prejudice of Portuguese interests, he sent a fleet there under Diogo Lopes de Azevedo. This captain managed to defeat the intruders and to bring the whole of Ambon under Portuguese-Ternatan control. Three villages requested to be baptized : Hatiwi, Amantelo, and Nusaniwi. SCHURHAMMER was of opinion that the three villages mentioned here should be understood as three communities or districts of villages (*uli*). Their number must soon have increased, for Francisco Xavier found and visited seven « villages » in 1546, which, however, appear to comprise in 1555 not less than about thirty villages [26].

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[24] D 82, 1 ; *Treatise* 301.

[25] See D 3, 4, and cf. CASTANHEDA VIII 91 ; SÁ I 316-318 (report of February 1534 by Ataíde himself) and 220-222 (report by Lionel de Lima of 1536).

[26] DD 3, 3 ; 58, 2. See CASTANHEDA VIII 200 ; BARROS IV 9 21 ; COUTO V 6 5 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Ges. Stud.* III 284-285 ; *Franz Xaver* II/I 666.

According to SCHURHAMMER, the Christian locations of Ambon, consisting of about thirty villages in seven *uli*, in 1546 were the following :

1. *Nusaniwi* : Amanila, Eri-Nusaniwi, Silali, Latuhalat, Hatiari, Rissacotta (?), Amahusu.
2. *Urimeseng :* Puta, Kappa, Seri, Sima, Awahang.
3. *Kilang :* Kilang, Hatalai, Naku.
4. *Soja :* Soja, Amantelo, Ahusen, Uriteto.
5. *Ema :* Ema, Hukurila, Leahari, Rutung.
6. *Halong :* Halong, Latéri.
7. *Hatiwi :* Hatiwi, Tawiri, Hukunalo, Hunut (?).

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As to the island of *Ternate*, the Portuguese town around the fortress, inhabited by the « casados », their native wives, their servants and slaves, was of course a Christian town. But no other Christian community on Ternate Island is ever reported, neither before nor after the coming of the Jesuits.

The existence of the aforementioned Christian communities in the Maluku area was the occasion for the entire mission-work of the Jesuits, for, if there had not been Christians in Maluku, Xavier would never have gone there.

## 2. Ecclesiastical Organisation

When, in 1546, the first Jesuit arrived in Maluku, this region belonged ecclesiastically to the diocese of Goa [27]. This had been erected in 1534 by Pope Paul III as a suffragan diocese of Funchal (Madeira), from which it was detached [28]. As this diocese of Goa, stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to Maluku and the Far East, was much too large to be governed by one man, Paul IV, in February 1558, transformed it into the archdiocese of Goa with the two suffragan dioceses of Cochin and Malacca [29]. From that time on, Maluku was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Malacca and to him belonged the duty and the right to appoint the vicar and the beneficiaries to the fortress of Ternate, and, later on, of Ambon and Tidore. When, after 1606, the only fortress left, Ternate, was run by the Spaniards under the authority of the governor in Manila, ecclesiastically it remained under

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(*Franz Xaver* II/I 666 note 149). — For a recent witness of the former existence of the *uli* system on Ambon, see Cooley, *Ambonese Adat* 13 : « The radja of Hitu . . . told the writer that in the earliest days the island was organized into *uli*, that is, groupings of villages each under a radja who ruled over the *uli* from a chief village. However, there is no certain remembrance of these things left in the minds of the people generally ».

[27] See the superscription of D 6.

[28] *Bullarium Patronatus* I 148-152 ; Almeida, *História da Igreja* III/I 74-81.

[29] Some authors ascribe this new division to the year 1557, paying no attention to the Roman use of the « stilus incarnationis » wich begins to count the new year from March 25 on, so that the dating of the Bull on February 4, 1557 corresponds to February 4, 1558.

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the bishop of Malacca who continued sending Portuguese vicars for the Spanish garrison. Finally, the disjunction of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1640, and the loss of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641, rendered this situation little by little untenable until in 1654 the archbishop of Manila practically took over the jurisdiction over Ternate, sending a Spanish vicar [30]. Only then were the — very few — Portuguese Jesuits replaced by Spanish Fathers [31]. A good twenty years later it was all done with.

## Chapter IV

# THE JESUITS

### 1. Founding of the Maluku Mission

Francisco Xavier, one of the first companions of Ignatius Loyola, co-founder of the Society of Jesus and establisher of the Jesuit missions in S and E Asia, landed in Goa in May 1542. He was sent by King D. João III of Portugal, but at the same time by the pope as a papal emissary, a legate or nuncio, with the explicit order to visit «quanto citius» all islands, provinces and countries where Christians were living [32]. And so, hearing of Christians living in the region of Makasar in S Selebes, he planned to go there.

But on the way staying in Malacca and receiving less satisfactory news from Makasar, he changed his plans and proposed rather to visit the Christians of Maluku, that is, of Ambon and Moro (D 2). On February 14, 1546, his ship cast anchor in the Bay of Ambon (D 4, 1). He visited the Ambon Christians, lived some time on the island of Ternate, visited the badly neglected Christians of Moro, and after a second stay in Ternate sailed from Ambon back to India in May 1547. Meanwhile he had made up his mind: «Mi determinación es cómo en este cabo de mundo de Maluco se hiziesse una casa, por el mucho servicio que a Dios Nuestro Señor se haría» (D 3, 7). Even before visiting Ternate and Moro he had summoned already some companions

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[30] Colin-Pastells III 804 note 1.

[31] Wessels, *De Katholieke Missie in de Molukken* 77.

[32] Wicki, *Der hl. Franz Xaver als Nuntius Apostolicus* 115-116.

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from India to Maluku (D 4, 2-3). In October 1547 they arrived in Ternate. The Maluku Jesuit Mission was born. A life of hundred and thirty years would be allotted to it.

## 2. The Jesuit Government

From the start the Jesuits who were sent to the mission of Maluku belonged to the mission of India, centered in Goa, which in 1549 was erected by Ignatius Loyola to a « province » with Francisco Xavier as its first « provincial » [33]. The Indian (or Goa) Jesuit Province comprised the whole of Portuguese Asia from the east coast of Africa to Maluku. This remained so until 1601, when the Goa Province was divided and Maluku came to fall under the jurisdiction of the Fr. Provincial of the new province of Malabar which had its center in Cochin. Only after 1654 were the Malabar Jesuits replaced by Spaniards belonging to the Philippines province, as was mentioned before. The Fathers Provincial of the above mentioned provinces had the full responsibility for the Maluku Mission, always under the guidance of Fr. General in Rome. They had both to control the religious and spiritual life of the members and to guide and promote their mission work. They had to appoint, to send, to recall the missioners, and, if need be, to dismiss them from the Society. They had to make themselves acquainted with the peculiar problems of every local mission by visiting it in person from time to time, but on account of the far distance this always appeared unrealizable for Maluku.

The Provincial appointed the Superior of the mission and the Superior, or by his order another Father or Brother, had to write the yearly official letter (*carta geral*) to the Provincial, reporting on the entire mission situation, on the missionaries, their spiritual life, their ministry, their success and troubles, reporting as well on gain and loss, on conversions and on the hopeful or other outlook of the mission. It was the task of the Superior to distribute the Fathers and Brothers over the different places of the area (except of course in case Fr. Provincial sent one to a determined post; cf. D 110 note 3), and in case of need the Superior could dispatch one back to India or even dismiss him from the Society (cf. DD 22, 7; 83, 1; 85, 6; 89, 1).

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[33] The document by which Ignatius appointed Xavier Provincial of India was dated from Rome, October 10, 1549 (DI I 507-510); it arrived in India in late 1550 and was not delivered to Xavier until December 1551, when he returned from Japan (cf. EX II 286-287 note 1).

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### 3. Character of the Maluku Jesuit Mission

The Jesuit mission in Maluku must be seen against the background of the above pictured situation.

Lying at a far distance, isolated and forlorn in the immensely extended world of S and E Asia, the mission could not expect to receive large groups of workers from Goa. In the first thirty years the whole number of Jesuits does not even reach forty. They were never more than eleven or twelve at the same time; for the most part much less. Their salaries had to be paid out by the royal customs at Malacca and their provisions had to be sent from there and from Goa. This entailed sometimes great inconveniences, but also gave them a certain independence of the authorities in Ternate.

On the other hand, the entire mission work in fact was left to the mercy of both the Portuguese and native leaders. A good illustration of this is the circumstance that, in order to sail to Moro, Ambon, or other islands, the Fathers had to request a boat and rowers from the captain who, on his part, often had to appeal to the king of Ternate to provide them. The king agreed or did not, according to the political trend and possibilities of the moment.

In the tangle of opposite political interests, the Jesuits had to balance themselves constantly between the favour of the one or the other party. As it was said before, the rulers of Ternate were primarily contriving to favour Islam and to obstruct Christianity. But within the framework of an infinitely shrewd and cunning policy, they were incredibly capable of playing up not only to the captains of the fortress, but also to the Superior of the Jesuits, and to simulate, if need be, a great interest for the spreading of the Gospel. Showing interest did not prevent them from obstructing the mission on the sly at the same time. And obstruction, according to the moral and political standards of the Malay area at that time, often consisted in simply burning down the Christian villages and killing the inhabitants.

As a matter of fact, the captains of the fortress, being themselves Christians and Portuguese, were fundamentally favourable to the work of the Fathers. A variety of motives prompted them to sustain and to promote it. But often personal concern, honesty, and integrity were lacking, sometimes also the power and the skill to make a stand against the Ternatan policy. Their own greed, ambition, fear, and pettiness made them more than once unable to give effective support.

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## 4. The Jesuit Missioners

### a. *List of the Jesuits*

Four endeavours have been made to draw up a list of the Jesuit missioners of Maluku.

The first list is the one in Fr. Antonio Marta's, *Informação da cristandade de Maluco* of 1588, based on a handwritten roll made by Br. António Gonçalves. It was published in Sá V 98-99. It comprises of course only the first forty years, 1546-1588. (It is quoted here as Marta).

The second was composed by C. Wessels SJ, in his work *De geschiedenis der R.K. Missie in Amboina*, Nijmegen-Utrecht 1926, 175-193 (French, Louvain 1934, 205-225). It goes until the year 1605.

The third is again of C. Wessels SJ, *Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum e Societate Jesu qui in missione Moluccana 1546-1677 adlaboraverunt*, in AHSI 1 (1932) 237-253. It covers a longer period, as the title suggests; it is also the most complete one. In the first part, however, it is not different from the preceding list.

A fourth list, titled *Insulae Moluccae*, was drawn up in 1915 by an unknown compilator, and printed for private use as an Appendix to the Jesuit Catalogue of the Madurai Mission in British India (Trichinopoly 1916), 7-11, covering the period 1546-1659. But it proves to be so deficiently and arbitrarely based and to show such baffling gaps and errors, especially in the first decades, that it safely can be neglected.

In the period from 1546 to 1577 a total number of thirty-six Jesuits were sent to the Maluku area. Three more joined the Society in Maluku. So we have to do with thirty-nine men. Three other persons cooperated closely with the missioners, but they did not belong to the Jesuit Order: João de Eiró, Vicente Pereira, and António China (DD 3, 1; 47, 1; 49). Pereira had at least the wish to be admitted to the Society.

We give the list of the Maluku Jesuits, chronologically, according to the several sendings.

#### *First Sending*

Francisco Xavier
— Departure from Goa: August 1545.
— Arrival in Ambon: February 14, 1546.

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1. FRANCISCO XAVIER

MARTA 98 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 175 ; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 238 no. 1 ; WIKKI, *Liste* no. 1. — His writings are published in MX and EX. The most up-to-date biography is SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver, sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 4 vols. Freiburg 1955-1973.

He was born in 1506 in the castle of Javier (Navarra), was a student at Paris where he belonged to the group of followers of Ignatius Loyola, and founded with him the Society of Jesus in Rome. In April 1541, he sailed from Lisbon to India and arrived in Goa in May 1542. Three years later, in September 1545, we find him in Malacca, planning to sail to Makasar (D 2). But having changed his mind, he journeyed to the island of Ambon in the Maluku region instead. From Ambon he wrote DD 3-5 in May 1546. From June to September 1546 he was staying in Ternate ; during the period October 1546 to January 1547 he visited the Christian villages of Moro. Having returned to Ternate, he worked there until April, when he left for Ambon in order to sail back to Malacca and India. In Cochin, on January 20, 1548, he wrote DD 10-13. In 1549, we find him in Japan, and from there he returned to India once more. Making an attempt to penetrate into mysterious China, he died in December 1552 on the island of Sanchian. He was the founder of the Maluku Jesuit Mission since he ordered his fellow Jesuits to come and to continue his work there (Second Sending). He draw up instructions for them as a guide for their ministry (D 7*a*) ; he fashioned a Malayan catechism to be used by them in teaching the faith (D 2*a*) ; and, in 1549, he once more sent new missioners (Third Sending, D 22).

He wrote DD 1-5, 10-13, 19, 21-23, 34-37.

*Second Sending*

Juan de Beira
Nuno Ribeiro
Nicolau Nunes
Baltasar Nunes
— Departure from Goa : April 11, 1547.
— Arrival in Ternate : October 1547 (DD 4, 3 ; 9, 3).

2. JUAN DE BEIRA

**His name is often misspelled in the sources and ancient imprints : Bera, Vera, Viera, Da Bera, d'Abera.**

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MARTA 98 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 176 ; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 238 no. 2 ; WIKKI, *Liste* no. 7. — VALIGNANO, *Historia* 471-472 ; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 9-10 ; *Varones ilustres* III 25-27 ; FRANCO, *Imagem Coimbra* II 381-386 ; FRANCO, *Anno Santo* 254 ; SOUZA I III 2 6-10 ; MATEOS, *Compañeros* 284-303 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 2-4 ; DI I-VI Indices.

He was born in Pontevedra (Spain) in 1512. Already a priest and a canon in La Coruña, he happened to hear a sermon given by Fr. Francisco de Estrada SJ, and followed him to Coimbra, where he entered the Society on February 16, 1544. In the next year he sailed to India and arrived in Goa on September 8, 1545. Having spent half a year in the college there, he was sent to Cape Comorin where he worked until a letter of Francisco Xavier (D 4) summoned him to Maluku. During his stay in Malacca he was appointed by Xavier superior of the small group (D 11).

His main mission field was Moro. He used to work there yearly from Whitsunday to Christmas, assisting the vicar of the Ternate fortress during the rest of the year (D 28, 2). In sailing to Moro and back he experienced many troubles and hardships, being often in danger of life and more than once falling ill (DD 41-42 ; 44, 1 ; 57, 2). As early as 1549 the rumour spread in India that he had died (D 19, 1). He dealt with King Hairun on baptizing one of his sons and he took action to found a boys' school (D 20, 2 and 5). When in 1549 the war with Jailolo began, Beira was prematurely summoned back to Ternate from Moro (D 42, 5). After the war, in 1551, he was requested to baptize the king of Jailolo, but the conversion came to nothing (D 33, 4). After the recapture of Tolo he reconciled many thousands of apostates with the Church (D 41, 9-10 ; 44, 2-5). When some Moorish kings planned a conspiracy against the Portuguese, Beira detected and foiled it (D 43, 3).

In 1552 he sailed to India in order to get more companions for the overwhelming task of converting the Moro people who after the defeat of Jailolo gave rise to great expectations (D 44, 8). He met Xavier in Malacca (D 36, 3) and wrote some letters to Europe from Cochin (D 41-44 and 46). In October 1553 he was back in Ternate with new companions (Fourth Sending) and resumed his visits to Moro (DD 48, 1 ; 59, 1). He did not write any more letters, perhaps a sign that he acted no longer as superior, a function in which he was succeeded by Fr. Afonso de Castro (D 63, 36 ; see, however, D 62). In the entangled question of Fr. António Vaz he did not play any appreciable part (D 60 note 1). Finally, in 1556, he returned to India to recruit more workers, in which he succeeded very well (Sixth Sending), but

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he had to remain there himself, living as a dotard in different places until his death on April 25, 1564 [34]. Fr. General Laínez had admitted him to the profession of three vows (and not of four as BARTOLI reports [35]) in 1558, but WICKI doubts if this permission could have been effected [36].

Beira was a man of saintly life, incredibly magnanimous and willing to make sacrifices. Two departure lists of Portuguese Jesuits call him «grande santo» [37], and REBELO calls him «Padre Joam da Beira, cuja alma já nesta vida parecia estar com Deos» (477).

He wrote DD 20, 28, 41-44, and 46.

### 3. NUNO RIBEIRO

MARTA 98 (erroneously «Jorge Ribeiro»); WESSELS, *Amboina* 176; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 239 no. 3; WICKI, *Liste* no. 12. — LUCENA 297-299; Seb. GONÇALVES II 108-110; GUZMÁN, *Historia* I 2 52 (confused); BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 6; TELLEZ, *Chrónica* I 259; GUERREIRO, *Gloriosa Coroa* II c. 18 (p. 285); ALEGAMBE, *Mortes illustres* 9-10 and 221; TANNER 217-219; *Varones ilustres* III 13-15; FRANCO, *Imagem Coimbra* II 155-156; FRANCO, *Anno Santo* 471; SOUZA I III 1 48; NIEREMBERG, *Firmamento* 493-495 QUEIRÓS, *Conquista* 596; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 377-378.

He was a Portuguese and entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on August 1, 1543 [38]. On April 8, 1546, he sailed to India. In the departure lists he is called «Padre», and soon after arriving in Goa on September 17, 1546, he celebrated his first holy mass (D 30, 1); consequently, he must have been ordained before April of that year. When sailing to Maluku, he was assigned by Xavier to the Ambon mission field (D 10, 12). He arrived there in February 1548 (D 14, 3), baptized many people, built a church, and one and a half years later he died, probably by poison (DD 29 and 30). In some documents he is called a martyr.

He wrote a letter which is lost (D 13*e*) and he kept a baptismal register, also lost (D 16*a*).

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[34] VALIGNANO, *Historia* 471.
[35] BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 10.
[36] DI IV 84.
[37] *ARSI, Goa 27* f. 1*r*; *Évora, Biblioteca Pública* 115/2-8 no. 9 f. 5*r*.
[38] *ARSI, Lus 43* f. 1*v*.

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## 4. Nicolau Nunes

Marta 98 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 177 ; Wessels,*Catalogus* 239 no. 4 ; Wikki, *Liste* no. 15. — Franco, *Imagem Coimbra* II 456-458 ; Franco, *Anno Santo* 282 ; Souza II III 2 8 ; Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/II 5.

Nunes was a Portuguese, born between 1525 and 1529. He studied grammar, logic, and philosophy for seven years and on October 25, 1545, he joined the Society in the novitiate of Coimbra. In 1546 he was admitted to first vows [39]. In that same year he sailed to India from where he was dispatched to Maluku in 1547. The arrival in Ternate was in October 1547, and shortly after that, he accompanied Beira to Moro, his chief field of apostolate for many years, sometimes retiring to Ternate where he directed a boys' school (D 20, 3-4). More than once he fell ill (ibid. ; D 33, 2). In early 1551, in February 1553, in January 1554, and in early 1555, we find him in Moro (DD 41, 10 ; 45, 6 ; 47, 1 ; 48, 1 ; 59, 1). He sailed with Beira to India in February 1556, where he was ordained a priest in 1557 (DD 63, 3 ; 67, 1), and returned right away to Maluku (Sixth Sending), to his beloved Christians of Moro. But from 1558 to 1562 the way to Moro remained blocked by war and persecution (D 79, 26), except for a futile effort in 1560 (D 107, 3). After the death of Francisco Vieira in 1560, Nunes was the only Jesuit priest in Ternate until the arrival of the Seventh Sending. After that he worked in Lisabata (D 115, 1-2), Bacan (D 127, 6) and for a short time again in Moro (D 115, 4-5 ; 116, 2 ; 125, 17). Then he disappears entirely from the documents until we find him stationed in Sakita on Morotai in 1568 (D 161, 6). In February 1569 he was in Ternate (D 161), but in 1570 again in Moro (D 169 ; 177, 5). Finally he left Maluku definitively in February-May 1573, returning to Goa (cf. D 213, 40) where he died in May 1576 (D 219, 1).

More than once it is emphasized that Nunes acquired the native language (D 79, 14) and this knowledge was even the title for his ordination to the priesthood (D 67, 1) ; it is specified by Franco as knowledge of the « Malaya e Moluqueza » languages [40], which must have comprised the common Malay and the Moro language. It is to Nunes that we owe the most detailed reports on the whole of Maluku, to be found both in his own account which is D 213 and in D 63 of which

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[39] *ARSI, Lus. 43* f. 2*v* ; D 85, 2 ; D 219 note 5.

[40] Franco, *Imagem Coimbra* II 458.

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he was the main informant. He was one of the most faithful, steadfast, strenuous, and at the same time humble and inconspicuous Jesuit missioners in Maluku. He can be called the apostle of the Moro Church to which he dedicated the greater part of his apostolic life.

He wrote DD 33, 47, 71, 91, 161, 201, 213.

## 5. Baltasar Nunes

Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/II 5 note 37.

We are badly informed about this missioner who remains, frankly speaking, a rather enigmatic personage. Xavier omits reference to him and states that only three sailed to Maluku in 1547 (D 10, 12), and he addressed his letter of June 20, 1549, from Malacca to Beira, Ribeiro, and Nicolau [Nunes] (See address of D 22). The historians are silent upon him; so, for instance, Pérez, *Informação* 58; Teixeira, *Annotações* 50; Valignano, *Historia* 110; Orlandini VII no. 82; Lucena 293-294; Seb. Gonçalves I 238; Bartoli, *L'Asia* II (p. 91); Souza I III 1 37. For the most part they assert that the group consisted of three men. Only Polanco, *Chronicon* I 260, following D 14, mentions him twice.

But there are too many and too convergent witnesses in favour of his presence to exclude him from history. Beira seems to insinuate that they were four when sailing to Maluku (D 7, 3). Francisco Pérez states that they were four, that the fourth was a « Hermano », that his name was Baltasar, and that he joined the Society in India (« acá » in opposition to Portugal); a little further he adds that this Baltasar arrived with the other three in Maluku and went working with Beira in Moro (D 14, 1 and 3). Manuel de Morais, in a letter of 1549, speaks of another Brother, called Baltasar, who entered the Society in India (D 17). Lancillotto, who in 1547 had mentioned three Jesuits only (D 8), reports in 1548 that besides the two Fathers two laymen went, Nicolau Nunes and Belchior (which presumably is a mistake for Baltasar) Nunes (D 16). And writing again one year later, Lancillotto enumerates the members of the Society (« della Compagnia ») in the Sending of 1547: Beira, Ribeiro, Nicolau Nunes, and Baltasar Nunes (D 27). Also D 25, 3 and DI I 258 mention four of the first group. Very important is Beira's statement from Maluku of 1550, in which, speaking of the Jesuits there before the arrival of the Third Sending in 1549, he refers to them as « los dos » who sailed to Ambon, and « otros

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dos » who went to work in Moro (D 28, 2), thus indicating that they were four, but not mentioning their names.

Our conclusion is: with Beira, Ribeiro, and Nicolau Nunes, a fourth man sailed to Maluku. His name was Baltasar Nunes. He was a Jesuit Brother who joined the Society in India, and not simply a lay companion in the sense of D 4, 6. Maybe he *was* such a companion, but then he had been received as a novice and sent on trial to Maluku. He may have been assigned first to Moro (D 14, 3), but when it came to the point, he accompanied Ribeiro to Ambon, where he soon left both Maluku and, presumably, the Jesuit Order since he is never mentioned again. This supposition seems to provide an explication for both the silence and the conflicting information about him. He should not be confused with his namesake, Br. Baltasar Nunes, who entered the Society in Portugal in 1544 and sailed to India in 1546 where he worked until his death in 1569.

*Third Sending*

Afonso de Castro
Manuel de Morais
Francisco Gonçalves
— Departure from Goa: March 18, 1549 (D 24).
— Arrival in Ternate: October 1549 (D 28, 5).

### 6. Afonso de Castro

Marta 98; Wessels, *Amboina* 177; Wessels, *Catalogus* 239 no. 5; Guerreiro, *Gloriosa Coroa* II 292 (not always correct); Sacchini, *Hist. Soc., Lainius* II 180-181; Alegambe, *Mortes illustres* 18-22 and 223; Bartoli, *L'Asia* VI 16 (p. 387); Tanner 226-229; Souza I III 2 14-18; *Varones ilustres* III 15-25; Nieremberg, *Ideas* 103-110; Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* I 590-591; II/II 183-185.

Castro was a Portuguese, born in Lisbon from rich new-Christian parents, who gave him a good education. In 1540 he met Francisco Xavier. For some months he wore the frock of a Franciscan friar (D 31), but in 1547 he sailed to India in order to be received into the Society of Jesus by Xavier. Having lived in Goa for more than one year, first as a novice and then with the first vows of a scholastic [41],

[41] DI I 439.

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he was ordained a priest in early 1549 before sailing to Maluku. On the way he celebrated his first holy mass in Malacca [42]. Xavier had assigned him as a rector of the planned college (D 19, 3) and as a preacher for Ternate (D 22, 3), and it is there that he usually lived (D 45 ; 47 ; 57, 2). After the fall of Jailolo in March 1551, he was summoned by Beira to Moro (D 41, 9-10), but only for a short time. That he was present at the separation between Christians and Moors in Samafo in 1553, as Bartoli asserts, is not necessarily implied in the documents (cf. D 48, 2). From early 1555 on, he was a superior, appointed by Melchior Nunes Barreto [43]. In that year the troubles with António Vaz started and Castro had to handle them. He expelled Vaz from the Order (see D 60 note 1). He lived for one year in Ambon (D 58) and sailed to Moro (DD 63, 36 and 48 ; 72, 5). In October 1557 he was recalled to Ternate by Vieira, sailed back once more to Moro, and, having been assigned to Bacan, on his return to Ternate, in December 1557, he was captured by Ternatan natives. A month later he was put to death as a martyr of the faith (DD 72 and 79 ; 69, 1 and note 6). Castro had acquired a thorough knowledge of the Malay language (D 72, 5). The natives gave him a Malay surname, meaning « a man of one word » [44]. He was admitted to the vows of a spiritual coadiutor (D 31 note 3 ; DI IV 84). In 1588 nobody knew where he was buried [45].

He wrote DD 45, 48, 58.

## 7. Manuel de Morais

Wessels, *Amboina* 177 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 239 no. 6 ; Wicki, *Liste* no. 13 ; — Teixeira, *Annotações* 49-50 ; Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/II 164.

He was a Portuguese and entered the noviciate of Coimbra on November 5, 1543 [46]. In 1546 he sailed to India together with Nuno Ribeiro and Nicolau Nunes. First he was assigned to go to the mission on Socotra Island, but before this plan could be realized, Xavier

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[42] EX II 124 ; Pérez, *Informação* 63.
[43] Polanco, *Chronicon* VI 815 no. 3493.
[44] DI X 73.
[45] Marta 98.
[46] *ARSI, Lus. 43* f. 1r.

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sent him to Maluku. Therefore he was ordained a priest in Goa at the same time as Afonso de Castro in early 1549 (D 24) [47]. That he served God in Maluku for some years [48] would be too euphemistic a statement. Xavier had assigned him to Moro (D 22, 4), but when he arrived in October 1549, he found Beira in Ternate and the way to Moro blocked on account of the war with Jailolo. As early as February 13, 1550, Beira wrote that Morais had sailed to Ambon instead (D 28, 8). He must have sailed from Ambon in May, for in November he is to be found in Malacca (D 29, 1). It is clear that there was a clash with Beira together with formal disobedience to Xavier's injunction and to Beira's orders. Therefore he was dismissed by Xavier in 1552 [49]. He entered the Dominican Order in Goa. He is called the Younger («o moço») to distinguish him from another Fr. Manuel de Morais, named the Elder («o velho») who sailed to India in 1551 and worked and died there.

He wrote DD 17 and 24. (Other letters in DI).

## 8. Francisco Gonçalves

Wessels, *Amboina* 178; Wessels, *Catalogus* 239 no. 7; Wicki, *Liste* no. 24. — Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/II 328.

He joined the Jesuits in Coimbra on October 11, 1546 [50], and sailed to India in the fleet of 1548. In Goa he was held in high esteem by Fr. António Gomes (D 25, 1). He was sent to Maluku where he shared the adventures of Fr. Manuel de Morais, as afterwards he shared his dismissal from the Society. He was certainly a Portuguese and certainly not a priest. He seems to have changed his name from Casco into Gonçalves [51].

## 9. Melchior de Figueiredo

Between the arrivals of the Third and Fourth Sendings in Maluku, a young man presented himself to Fr. Beira, requesting to be admitted into the Society of Jesus. So we have to give him a place here. — Marta 98

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[47] Correct Wessels, *Amboina* 178, saying he was not a priest.

[48] Teixeira, *Annotações* 49-50.

[49] EX II 310-311.

[50] *ARSI, Lus. 43* f. 2*v*.

[51] See Wicki, *Liste* p. 336 at no. 24.

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(not knowing his name, Marta called him Fuão, that is, « So and So »); WESSELS, *Amboina* 178; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 240 no. 9; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 629.

He was born in Goa, India, « mas não tomou nada della » [52], most probably in 1532, for in a letter of October 1593 to Fr. General in Rome, he states « Quando esta minha carta for dada a V.P. [presumably in late 1594], terei sesenta e dous annos de idade » [53]. The catalogues do not agree in giving his age. He is called « goensis » and « indiano de Goa » [54], and « filho da India » [55]. He entered the Society in Maluku (D 41, 10; DI IV 508). Before he returned to Goa in 1557, in several documents he is called an « Irmão » (DD 61, 2; 63, 36; 66, 2; 68; cf. also 62). The first time he is mentioned (D 41, 10) he is put on a level with Nicolau Nunes. According to this text, he is present and recognized as a Jesuit « Irmão » in Ternate in 1551, though this term does not inevitably indicate a Jesuit, as can be seen from DI II 156. He is likely to have entered in 1549, for in 1559 he is said to have lived in the Society for ten years [56], and the catalogue of 1558 agrees with it [57]. But Beira does not mention him in his letter of February 13, 1550 (D 28). That Figueiredo himself, in the aforementioned letter of October 1593, and the catalogues of 1584 and 1594 as well ascribe his entrance to 1554, can mean that they took as a starting point either the official approval by the provincial of Goa of his admission, or the day of his first vows. Cf. D 38.

Figueiredo was called to Moro from Ternate by Beira in 1551 (D 41, 10); in early 1553 he was director of the boys' school in Ternate (D 45, 4); in January 1554 he stayed in Sakita in Moro (DD 47, 1; 48, 1); at the end of that year we find him ill in Ternate (D 57, 2-4); in the next year he was again in Moro (D 59, 1). Then we lose sight of him until he sailed to Malacca in 1557 (D 66, 2), having left Maluku definitively. He made his studies in Goa, was ordained a priest, became a master of novices, sailed to Japan in 1564, became a professed Father on October 8, 1581, returned to Goa before 1593, and died there in 1597, on July 3 [58].

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[52] DI IV 459.
[53] *ARSI, Goa 14* f. 36*r*; DI IV 459 agrees with it.
[54] *ARSI, Goa 24* ff. 126*r*, 146*v*, 179*v*, and 225*v*.
[55] MARTA 98.
[56] DI IV 459.
[57] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 179*v*.
[58] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 274*r*.

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10. N. N.

In D 41, 10 an unnamed Jesuit Brother (« Otro Hermano ») is mentioned who entered the Society in Maluku. He was summoned to Moro by Beira in 1551. He seems to be faintly indicated in D 38. Nothing more is known of him.

*Fourth Sending*

Juan de Beira (2nd time)
Francisco Godinho
António Fernandes (I)
(Manuel de Távora, who sailed back to India from Malacca. See no. 14).
— Departure from Goa : April 1553 (D 35).
— Arrival in Ternate : about October 1553 (D 47, 1) [59].

11. Francisco Godinho

Wessels, *Amboina* 179; Wessels, *Catalogus* 240 no. 10.

Very little is known of him. He did not sail as a Jesuit from Portugal, so he must have entered the Society in India. In the catalogue of early 1553 he occurs as a non-Father in Goa [60]. Scarcely having arrived in Ternate, he is found working in Moro in January 1554 (DD 47, 1 ; 48, 1). This is confirmed by Quadros in December 1555 (D 60, 2), but Fróis, writing at the same time from Malacca, asserts that Godinho accompanied Castro to Ambon (D 61, 2 ; cf. D 57, 4), which does not fit in with D 58, 2-3. In the Goa catalogue of December 1555 he is still listed as living in Maluku (D 62). As from then on he is mentioned no longer, we have to suppose that he left Maluku in 1555. He was not a priest.

12. António Fernandes (I)

Marta 98 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 178 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 240 no. 8 ; Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/III 521.

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[59] DI III 673.
[60] DI II 620.

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This Brother must also have joined the Jesuits in Goa. About his earlier life we are completely in the dark. As there were two of the same name in India at the same time: this one, and no. 16 who in 1557 sailed to Maluku, several indications in DI II remain unascertainable. (A third namesake, who became a missioner in Ethiopia, did not sail to India before 1556) [61]. The catalogue of early 1553 [62] enumerates both of them as living in the college of Goa. That is the only foothold we have. Having arrived in Ternate, for the first three or four months he was stationed in the fortress with Fr. Afonso de Castro (D 48, 1). Then he asked to be sent to Ambon (ibid.) where he arrived on February 22, 1554 (D 50, 1), but after twenty days he was drowned in a shipwreck (D 51, 1).

He wrote D 50.

*Fifth Sending*

António Vaz
Manuel de Távora
— Departure from Goa: April 1554.
— Arrival in Ternate: late 1554 (D 57).

## 13. António Vaz

Marta 98; Wessels, *Amboina* 179; Wessels, *Catalogus* 240 no. 11. — EX II 377 note 4; DI IX 284-285.

He was a Portuguese, a «new-Christian» at least from one side, born in Leiria in a year variously indicated in catalogues as being between 1516 and 1527 (cf. D 85, 6); he was not sure about it himself. He entered the Society in Goa in 1548 [63], and in 1551 he was ordained a priest. Having accompanied the fleet to Ormuz as a chaplain, in 1554 he was assigned to go to Maluku, that is, to Ambon (D 60, 1). After his arrival he managed to remain in Ternate and to intrude himself into the position of rector which was due to Afonso de Castro (D 57, 4; cf. D 60 note 1). In late 1555 Castro dismissed him from the Society, but Vaz continued living in the fortress as a substitute of the vicar who had died (DD 59, 1; 61, 2). In this func-

[61] See DI III 5*; Valignano, *Historia* 327 note 9.
[62] DI II 620.
[63] *ARSI, Goa 24 f.* 178*v* no. 299.

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tion he sailed to Bacan in June 1557 and baptized the king (D 82). At his return to Ternate in November, he encountered Francisco Vieira there who had sailed from Goa and who brought the confirmation of his dismissal, which included the duty to present himself to the bishop of Goa. In February 1558 Vaz sailed to India. He was received anew into the noviciate of Goa in the next year [64]. Having developed a strong career as a preacher and confessor, and for some years as a rector, in Goa, Bassein, Daman, Macao, Bengal, Thana and São Tomé, he died in Goa or Quilon in 1600 [65]. Scarcely another Jesuit covered such a wide field of apostolic ministry, from Ormuz to Maluku, from the Indian west coast and Bengal to Macao, as Vaz [66]. He had been made a spiritual coadiutor on December 1, 1597 [67]. But in Maluku he played an ill-fated part, and still as late as 1579 he was not trusted by his superiors [68].

He wrote D 57. For other letters, see DI.

## 14. Manuel de Távora

Wessels, *Amboina* 179; Wessels, *Catalogus* 240 no. 12; Scaduto, *Catalogo* 144. — DI II 465 note 82; VI 528, 18 and note 19; Leite, *História* I 567.

He was a Portuguese « new-Christian », born about 1534. Being too young to be admitted into the Society in Coimbra, he sailed to India and was received in Goa in 1552 [69]. Fr. Gaspar Berze sent him to seek and bring back the corpse of Francisco Xavier in 1553 [70]. He found it in Malacca and took it to Goa [71]. A few months later he was sent to Maluku with António Vaz (D 57, 1). He was stationed first in Ternate (DD 57, 4; 59, 1), and in February 1556 he seems to have worked either in Ternate or in Moro (see D 63 notes 77-78). In an undated « Memoria » of a much later period he states :

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[64] DI IV 402.

[65] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 281*v*, compared with ff. 311, 313, and 317.

[66] *ARSI, Goa 14* f. 264*r*.

[67] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 281*v*.

[68] DI XI 724 : « alle cui lettere mi pare che doveva dare poco credito ».

[69] « En Indias me hizo N.S. merced de llamarme a la Compañía » — Távora from Sevilla, August 13, 1570, in *ARSI, Hisp. 115* f. 39*v*.

[70] DI III 76 and 174.

[71] DI III 672-675; Valignano, *Historia* 266.

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«He andado nueve años en Bengala, Malaca, Maluco, Moro y Amboino y otras partes remotas» [73]. He occurs in the catalogue of 1555 (D 62). That he does likewise, and for the last time, in that of December 1557 (D 68) proves that at that time he had not yet arrived in Goa, which implies that he did not leave Maluku in 1556. That he did so in 1557 appears improbable because it is only Figueiredo who is mentioned explicitly as sailing with the Maluku ship of that year (D 66, 2). So his departure has to be put in 1558. This was the end of only a small part of his adventurous life. In 1559 he was sent to Portugal from Goa ; afterwards he was dismissed from the Society, returned to India, sailed back again to Portugal and Rome. There he was readmitted into the Order, was dispatched to Brazil, where he was dismissed a second time on February 14, 1578. He apparently never became a priest.

*Sixth Sending*

Francisco Vieira, superior
Nicolau Nunes (2nd time)
António Fernandes (II)
Fernão de Osório
Baltasar de Araújo
Simão da Vera
— Departure from Goa : April 1557.
— Arrival in Ternate : October 1557.

## 15. Francisco Vieira

Marta 98 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 179 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 240 no. 13 ; Wikki, *Liste* no. 41. — Rodrigues, *História* I/I 468 ; Franco, *Anno Santo* 783.

He was a Portuguese, born in Arruda in 1519 (DD 84, 1 ; 85, 1), and entered the Society in 1544. Having worked for some years in Lisbon (where he was a confessor of young Afonso de Castro), he sailed from there in 1553, but the ship took water and had to return. He set out again in 1554 and arrived in Goa in September of that year. He rendered ministry in Goa, and was a superior in Bas-

[73] *ARSI, Goa 33 f.* 402*r*.

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sein and Thana. He was a steadfast and zealous missioner and won everywhere the esteem and the love of the people. He had been made a spiritual coadiutor on October 1, 1553. As a result of the visit of Beira and Nunes in India in 1556 (D 63, 3) and of their insistence that new men be sent to Maluku, Vieira was assigned in early 1557 as superior of a group of six chosen for that mission field.

Being a superior, he always lived at Ternate. The only Jesuits he met there were Castro and Távora. He was welcomed with the good news of the conversion of Bacan (D 72, 2). He had to execute the sentence against António Vaz. Soon he fell into the most awful troubles, first on account of the imprisonment of King Hairun and the siege of Ternate (DD 72, 3 ; 79, 2), then by the killing of Castro (DD 72, 4-6 ; 79, 5-10), by the death of Simão da Vera (D 75, 3), and by some heavy drawbacks in the work itself : the discontinuing of the Moro mission (cf. D 79, 26) and the persecution of the Ambon Church (D 109, 3). The baptism of a Bacan princess (D 79, 17) seems to be the only bright spot. He died before May 1560 (D 95, 2).

He wrote DD 72, 73, 79.

## 16. António Fernandes (II)

Marta 99 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 180 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 240 no. 14 ; Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/III 520.

He was born about 1533 ; we do not know where, coming of « new-Christian » stock, and he entered the Society in Goa about 1550. He studied Latin and he had a natural aptitude for languages (DD 84, 2 ; 85, 3). His first field of action was the Comorin region and Quilon. In 1557 he was ordained a priest and appointed to sail to Maluku, assigned more particularly to Ambon (D 67, 1-2). But we find him in Moro in February 1558 (D 71, 1-2). The documents are nearly completely silent about his further ministry in Maluku, and they never mention him working in Ambon. He is likely to have accompanied the king of Bacan to his island about Christmas of 1558 because he had a thorough knowledge of the Malay language (D 79, 4 ; cf. D 110, 1). In early 1560 he left Maluku, « mal aviado ou meio saido » (D 95, 2), was during two years a Latin teacher in Goa [73], but was assigned again to sail to Ambon in the fleet of António Pais (Eighth Sen-

[73] DI V 261 ; 266-267.

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ding). His ship weighed anchor in September 1562 and arrived in Ambon before February 15, 1563 (DD 110, 1; 115, 35; 116, 27). In June he visited Bacan and Seram (DD 118, 5; 127, 6), and in early 1564 we find him in Lisabata and other villages of Seram and in Bacan (D 130, 20). And then we lose sight of him. He is still listed under Maluku in the catalogue of December 1565 (D 142), which proves only his presence there in the first months of 1564. He was dismissed from the Society, but as to when and where we are in the dark [74]. That he died in Maluku in 1566 [75] is not evidenced by any source or historian, nor do we think that the « Fratello Fernandez Zobro » of *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 42* [76] could be identified with our Father [77]. That VALIGNANO mentions all the names of this group except that of António Fernandes, who is only indicated as « outro Padre » [78], may be interpreted as an indication of his dismissal.

He wrote D 118.

## 17. FERNÃO DE OSÓRIO

His name is often spelled d'Osouro or do Souro. — MARTA 98; WESSELS, *Amboina* 180; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 241 no. 15.

He was a Portuguese, born about 1531, and he entered the Society in India [79] as a lay brother in 1548 (D 85, 5). He is described as a simple and unpretentious man, contented and always hard working, pious and obedient, but especially as very cheerful, as one who always made people laugh. His character is described in D 89, 5 and in DI II 515. Xavier sent him to Bassein in 1552, and from 1555 on he lived in the college of Goa [80] until his appointment for Maluku in 1557. The field of his ministry was successively Bacan (DD 69 and 70), Ambon (D 90), Moro (D 107, 3), Bacan (DD 96; 115, 4), and Moro (DD 115, 5; 125, 3 and 16-18). In March 1559 Fr. Vieira assigned him to sail to Malacca, but this plan came to nothing (D 79, 26 and note 61). He returned ill from Moro to

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[74] MARTA 99.
[75] DI III 223 note 25.
[76] f. 37*r*.
[77] Cf. WICKI, *Todesfälle* 267 note 63.
[78] VALIGNANO, *Historia* 354.
[79] VALIGNANO, *Historia* 179.
[80] DI II 450; III 225 and 411.

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Ternate in December 1564, and there he died on March 27, 1565 (D 135, 3).

He wrote DD 69, 70, 90, 96, 115.

## 18. Baltasar de Araújo

Marta 98 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 180 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 241 no. 16.

He was a Portuguese, born most probably in 1524, and entered the Society in Goa sometime between 1552 and 1554 (DD 84, 3 ; 85, 4) [81]. He first lived in the college of Goa, and after two years he was admitted to the vows of a scholastic. But he never became a priest. In Maluku he was constantly stationed in Ternate, which he left only for a short time in 1558 to conduct an expedition to Moro (D 79, 26). In March 1563 he sailed back to India (D 125, 2), where we find him in Goa as a « procurador » and as a « ministro » in 1565 and 1568 [82]. In early 1570 he was sent to Portugal as an agent of the Indian Jesuit Province, and he returned to Goa in 1571 [83]. There he died in 1573 [84]. He had a special aptitude for being a manager [85].

He wrote DD 95A (= 107) and 116.

## 19. Simão da Vera

Marta 98 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 181 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 241 no. 17 ; Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/III 519.

This lay-brother was also Portuguese. He entered the Society in Goa, probably in 1549. He is found to be living in the college of Goa in the years 1552-1554 [86] ; for early 1555 and for December of that year he is listed under Ormuz [87]. According to Souza [88], he was sent to Ormuz as early as 1553. That he twice sailed to Ormuz : in 1553

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[81] Cf. DI VII 78 ; VIII 424.

[82] DI VI 625 ; VII 544.

[83] DI VIII 127, 304, 430 ; Wicki, *Liste* no. 125.

[84] He was recommended to the prayers of the community in Rome in August 1574 : *ARSI Hist. Soc. 42* f. 25*v*.

[85] See DI IV 425.

[86] DI II 537 ; 620 ; III 189.

[87] DI III 226 ; 411.

[88] Souza I V 2 1.

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and in 1555 [89], does not appear from DI. Having been appointed to Maluku, and having arrived there in October 1557, he was at once assigned to the Moro mission, where he fell ill very soon. He died in Tolo before May 1558 (DD 71, 2 and 5; 73, 1; 75, 3; 80, 2).

*Seventh Sending*

Marcos Prancudo, superior
Pero Mascarenhas
Francisco Vieira/Rodrigues
Fernando Álvares
Diogo de Magalhães
Manuel Gomes
— Departure from Goa: September 1561 (D 101).
— Arrival in Ambon: February 1562.

## 20. Marcos Prancudo

Marta 98; Wessels, *Amboina* 181; Wessels, *Catalogus* 241 no. 18; Wikki, *Liste* no. 69. — DI IV 5*; Souza II III 2 3-4 and 13.

He was a Spaniard from Valencia, born in or about 1531 in a comfortably well-off family. He entered the Society at Coimbra on September 30, 1551, and made his theological studies there during the following years [90]. In 1558 he sailed to India, already a priest. At the end of that year he was a «ministro» in the college of Goa, but soon after, in the years 1559-1561, we find him as superior in Daman where he wrote several letters [91]. Having been assigned as superior to the Maluku mission and having sailed from Goa in April 1561, but in vain because the ship had to return, for a short time he acted as master of novices [92]. In September he sailed again, this time with five confreres, with the first bishop of Malacca, Frei D. Jorge de Santa Luzia OP, and with the new Captain of Maluku, Henrique de Sá [93].

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[89] See Valignano, *Historia* 179 note 1.

[90] *ARSI, Lus. 43* ff. 4*v*, 10*r*, 45*r*, 53*v*, 55*v*; twice his entrance is stated on September 31 [*sic*].

[91] Published in DI IV.

[92] DI V 252.

[93] Couto VII 10 1.

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He wrote D 105 from Malacca on December 10, 1561. Having arrived in Ambon in February 1562, he left Frs. Vieira/Rodrigues and Magalhães in that island and landed in Ternate with the other companions in March (D 116, 2). During the years 1562-1564, his area of ministry was the Moro region which for four years had not been visited, whereas he mostly operated in the Ambon mission field from 1565 to 1570, seeing its complete destruction (D 135, 18) and its resurrection (D 161, 1). He received Vicente Dias as a novice; he expected Fr. Quadros for the regular visitation in 1563, but in vain; and, in 1566, he was summoned to India (D 150, 4), but there is no source whatsoever, either from Maluku or from India, indicating that he indeed sailed; for some good reason he seemingly continued to live in Maluku, no longer a superior, though for the years 1566 and 1567 all sources are silent on his ministry. At any rate, on June 1, 1568, he was writing from Ambon (D 158). From August 1568 on, he accompanied Captain Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque to Cebu as a fleet chaplain (D 161, 15), but in February 1569 he sailed again to Ambon (D 164, 11). He must also have been there when the Moro mission was destroyed in 1569 and when King Hairun was stabbed in 1570 (Cf. D 184, 4). Having sailed to India in May 1571 to request help, he was sent back to Maluku as superior. On his way learning bad news about Maluku, he returned once more to Goa; but finally he arrived again in Ternate in October 1573 (DD 194; 217, 2). His residence was the fortress of Ternate when this surrendered to King Babu in December 1575; afterwards he was tendentiously blamed for having given his vote for the surrender[94]. In April 1577 a letter went out from Goa by which Valignano summoned him back to India (D 216, 1); it did not reach him in good time, for Prancudo died on Ambon, in Nusaniwi, on January 29, 1578[95]. He was a professed Father of three vows[96]. He has been without any doubt one of the outstanding missioners of Maluku; therefore, it is seriously to be regretted that we possess only three letters from his hand, and these not very important for the history of the mission.

He wrote DD 105, 126, 158.

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[94] See DI X 894-895.

[95] *ARSI, Goa 12* f. 457*r* and f. 475*r*.

[96] E.g., DI VII 311.

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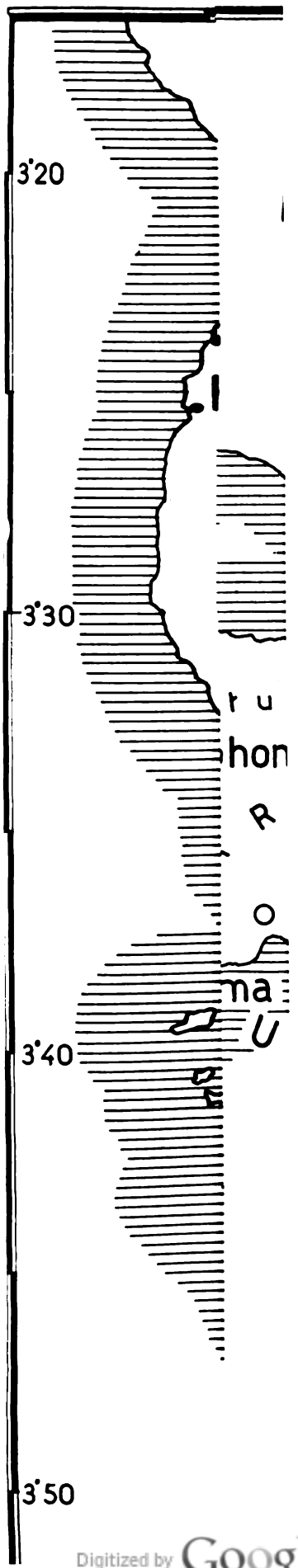


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## 21. Pero Mascarenhas

Marta 98 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 182 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* no. 21. — Guerreiro, *Gloriosa Coroa* II 16 ; Bartoli, *L'Asia* VI 27 ; Alegambe, *Mortes illustres* 112-116 and 229 ; Sacchini-Poussines, *Hist. Soc.*, *Claudius* III 224-228 ; Tanner 233-238 ; *Varones ilustres* III 27-34 ; Barbosa Machado III 586-587.

A Portuguese « fidalgo », born about 1532 [97] in Arzila [98], he entered the Society in Goa about May 1557. He was a man of great qualities, an indefatigable and clever worker, knowing how to handle people, and, though he did not study much, his letters reveal a well ordered mind. Bartoli calls him « huomo di piú santità che lettere ». In 1559 he was studying Latin in Goa, standing out from his fellow-students and more than once expressly eulogized for that [99]. As early as 1560 he was ordained a priest [100], and before the end of that year he was assigned to a new mission field of the Jesuits, the island of Salsete near Goa [101]. One year later he sailed to Maluku. During the first years, 1562-1565, he was stationed in Ternate. Then, for three years, 1565-1567, he is neither mentioned nor otherwise noticed except in a catalogue (D 142). Sacchini [102], and some authors after him, make him journey to India and work on Salsete again in 1568, but from DI VII 413 and 546 it is clear that not Pero but Diogo Mascarenhas — no. 38 in this list — was stationed there at that time. See the critical attitude of Alegambe and of Bartoli [103]. As no source gives evidence of this journey, we suppose that he remained in Ternate until 1568. In August of that year he was dispatched to N Selebes and Siau, where he baptized many people, making also the first conversions on Sangi Island (D 162). Having returned to Ternate, he sailed to Ambon in 1569 (D 164, 5). There we find him in June 1570, writing D 179, and escaping death near Oma on Haruku on December 16 (D 184, 6-10). Again for a period of three years, 1571-1573, our sources, and the DI as well, are almost silent about him ; see, however, the catalogues DD 185 and 190. The account of the *Relação Vascon-*

[97] DI IV 461.
[98] *Relação Vasconcelos* 352.
[99] DI IV 303 ; 384 ; 404 ; 473 ; 509.
[100] Ibid. 704.
[101] Ibid. 742.
[102] Sacchini, *Hist. Soc.*, *Borgia* IV 240.
[103] Alegambe, *Mortes illustres* 113 ; Bartoli, *L'Asia* VII p. 451.

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*celos* (245-249) suggests that he continued working on Ambon. Some authors describe how, in 1572, he accompanied the Captain João da Silva to Malacca, and how, on his way back, he ran aground in Japara, was captured by the Javanese, sold as a slave, but ransomed by some Portuguese [104]. This is confirmed by Fr. Bernardino Ferrari in a letter written from Tidore on March 21, 1582 [105]. After this expedition he continued to work in Maluku, mostly on Ambon, but he is not mentioned except in catalogues (DD 203, 215, 218). He wrote to Fr. General from Ambon on May 8, 1578, saying that he succeeded Fr. Prancudo as superior [106]. He kept this office until the arrival of Fr. Ferrari in November 1580. During his last years he resided in the new fortress of Tidore where he died on December 6, 1581, allegedly from poison [107]. He preached in both the common Malay and the Ternatan language [108]. More than once he is mentioned in the *Relação Vasconcelos*, and its author likes to sound his praises [109]. In October 1575 he had not yet made his last vows [110]. For nearly twenty years he proved himself prominent in any kind of missionwork.

He wrote DD 109, 125, 128, 129, 162, 164, 179.

## 22. Francisco Vieira/Rodrigues

Marta 99 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 181 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 241 no. 19 ; Wikki, *Liste* no. 74.

He was a Portuguese. Place and date of his birth are unknown. He must have entered the Society in Portugal. In April 1559 he was convalescent form a grave illness and already assigned to the Indian mission field [111]. He sailed in 1560 and arrived in Cochin on November 20 [112]. In the next year he was ordained a priest in Goa [113] and

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[104] *Relação Vasconcelos* 245 ; Couto IX 12 ; Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* II 3 cap. 13 no. 10.

[105] *ARSI, Goa 13* ff. 118-119.

[106] Cf. DI XI 559 ; *ARSI, Goa 12* f. 457*r-v*.

[107] Ferrari's aforementioned letter.

[108] Ibid.

[109] See e.g., pp. 245 and 352.

[110] DI X 27.

[111] Letter of Fr. Provincial from Lisbon, April 18, 1559, in *ARSI, Lus. 60* f. 118*r*.

[112] DI V 57.

[113] Ibid. 258-259 ; see also D 106.

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appointed to go to Maluku. From now on his surname was changed from Vieira to Rodrigues (D 115, 36). Having arrived in Ambon in February 1562, he was stationed there together with Diogo de Magalhães (DD 109, 14; 115, 9). He remained there as local superior of the two or very few Ambon Jesuits until the great destruction of the mission in May 1565, when they were constrained to abandon the Ambon Islands (D 135, 18). We do not know where he lived after this. In May 1567 he quitted the Maluku area, sailing back to India (D 160, compared with DI VII 356), where he is found doing ministry in Quilon in 1569 [114]. Then we lose all trace of him. He was dismissed from the Society; we do not know when [115].

## 23. Fernando Álvares

Marta 98; Wessels, *Amboina* 181; Wessels, *Catalogus* 241 no. 20.

He was born in Coimbra, Portugal [116], in 1527. He joined the Jesuits in Goa in December of 1556, studied moral theology, after which he was stationed as an assistent of Fr. Prancudo in Daman during the years 1559-1561 [117]. Then he was picked out to sail to Maluku. On his way there, the bishop of Malacca ordained him a priest in late 1561 (D 103). Having arrived in Ternate in March 1562 (D 116, 2), he celebrated his first holy mass there on May 17 (D 115, 3), and was stationed in Bacan in June. In less than a year, he was transferred to Ambon (D 117, 12), but in 1565 he is to be found on Bacan again (D 135, 8), where he continued working until at least 1570 (D 176). In 1572, after the departure of Prancudo and the death of Góis, he appears to be superior (D 190), an office which he held for two years [118]. No document reports where he worked in those later years. From Couto and the *Relação Vasconcelos* it follows that, at the fall of the fortress of Ternate in December 1575, Álvares lived in the new fortress of Ambon [119]. As he is said to have lived in Maluku for fourteen

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[114] DI VII 643.

[115] Marta 99; see DI IV 6*-7*.

[116] *ARSI, Goa 24* ff. 139*v*; 172*v*; 230*r*.

[117] DI IV.

[118] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 230*r*; cf. D 203.

[119] Couto IX 30. Cf. *Relação Vasconcelos* 294-297 and 307. The editor of the latter misread « Fernãod'Alv(a)res » as « Freire Badaluros » (296). Both texts re-

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years [120], he must have left it in 1576, when he sailed to Goa with Br. Vicente Dias (D 220 note 10). In 1579 he made his vows of a spiritual coadiutor. He is to be found first in Goa, later on in Margan on Salsete Island, where he died in 1598 [121]. He mastered the Malay language (D 218).

He wrote D 176. For other letters, see DI IV and V.

## 24. Diogo de Magalhães

Marta 98; Wessels, *Amboina* 183; Wessels, *Catalogus* 242 no. 22.

He was a Portuguese and must have entered the Society in Goa. We find him as a cook in the college there in November 1559, but he must have made some studies, for he was expected to become a good spiritual coadiutor [122]. He was stationed in Divar Island near Goa in December 1560 [123]. Having arrived in Ambon in February 1562, he remained there with Francisco Vieira/Rodrigues and celebrated his first mass in Hatiwi on June 29 (D 115). In 1563, King Hairun prepared an expedition to islamize by force the pagan people of N Selebes, among whom also some Christians were living [124]. The Jesuits planned to be there before him and Fr. Magalhães was summoned from Ambon and sent to Manado (D 125, 2-5). He became the founder of the Christian Churches of Manado and Siau. In October or November of 1563 he returned to Ternate and soon after was assigned to the Moro mission «until May, this being the time of the favourable monsoon for Selebes» (D 125, 17-18). These words suggest that Magalhães was supposed to sail again to Manado, but any document proving that he did indeed is lacking. Apparently he remained attached to the Moro area until late 1568, when a foot injury constrained him to return to Ternate. He was still living there in June

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veal a more complete name: Álvares de Castelbranco. When Souza (II III 2 4) contends that Álvares was «present» at the surrender, either he is badly informed or his intention is only to say that Álvares was living in the Maluku mission at that time. Souza never betrays to know exactly which Jesuits lived in Ternate, which in Ambon, in 1575.

[120] *ARSI, Goa 24 f.* 230*r*.

[121] Catalogues in *ARSI, Goa 24*.

[122] DI IV 303; 473.

[123] Ibid. 866.

[124] Marta 108.

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1570 (DD 161, 5; 178, 2). In 1572 he left Maluku for Goa, where he died in the second half of September 1573 (cf. D 190 note 2).

He wrote D 119.

## 25. Manuel Gomes

There were two or three Brothers of the same name at the same time in India, which makes identification of our man sometimes rather difficult, before as well as after his Maluku period. The indications of Wessels are due to a mix-up of this Manuel Gomes with namesakes.
Marta 99; Wessels, *Amboina* 183; Wessels, *Catalogus* 242 no. 23.

He is said to have been a Portuguese, born between 1532 and 1538. He entered the Society in Goa in 1558 [125], where he was employed in the college in 1559 [126]; thereafter he was sent to the new mission field of Salsete Island with Fr. Pero Mascarenhas in 1560 [127]. In the next year he was dispatched to Maluku. After his arrival he was sent first to Moro in June 1562, returning in September (D 115, 5), and then, in February 1563, to Ambon, where he wrote DD 117 and 130, and where he remained until the Jesuits were constrained to abandon it in May 1565 as he reports himself from Ternate (D 135). Between August 1568 and early 1569 he accompanied Fr. Prancudo in the fleet of Gonçalo Pereira to Cebu (D 161, 5). Then he was in Moro again (D 177, 5) until he left Maluku in May 1571 (D 189, 1; cf. D 185 note 9). In late 1572 we find him in the college at Goa [128]. He worked in Bassein and Daman, and as an assistant of Fr. «Procurador» in Goa. In October 1575 he had not yet been admitted to the last vows [129]. The year 1583 marked the end of his life [130]. He was not a priest.

He wrote DD 117, 130, 135.

### *Eighth Sending*

António Fernandes (II) (2nd time)
António Gonçalves

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[125] DI X 45; XII 897, where «quinze» must be a slip for twenty-five.
[126] DI IV 303.
[127] See DI IV 751.
[128] DI VIII 590.
[129] DI X 29.
[130] DI XII 897.

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— Departure from Goa : September 1562.
— Arrival in Ambon : before February 15, 1563.

## 26. António Gonçalves

Marta 99 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 183 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 242 no. 24.

He was born in Chaves, Portugal, in 1530 or 1534 [131], or 1533 [132], and he entered the Society in Goa in 1559. We find him working in the college of Goa in 1560 and 1561 [133]. He sailed to Maluku in the fleet of António Pais who was ordered to build a fortress on Ambon, and having arrived there in February 1563 (DD 115, 35 ; 116, 27), he worked there until the fatal month of May 1565 (D 135, 18). In the years 1568-1569 he is found doing ministry in the island of Rau in the Moro area (D 161, 5-7) [134]. He arrived in Ambon in late July of 1569 (D 164, 11), but in the next year he was in Moro again (DD 169, 2 ; 177, 5). At the reshuffle of the missioners in May 1570 he was assigned to Ambon ; there he continued working for fourteen years. After Vicente Dias had left in 1576 and Gonçalo Teixeira in 1578, Gonçalves was the only Jesuit Brother in Maluku until 1588. From 1584 on he was mostly stationed in Tidore, where he wrote to Fr. General on April 20, 1586 [135]. Finally, in 1588, after a younger Brother, Giampaolo Manfrida, had arrived, he returned to India [136]. He worked in Bandra, near modern Bombay, where he died in December 1594 [137]. He had written a roll of the names of the Jesuits who lived in Maluku, which was utilized by Fr. António Marta in 1588 [138].

## 27. Vicente Dias

Shortly after the arrival of the Eighth Sending in February 1563, the name of a novice appears in the documents, who was admitted to the Society in Maluku. — Wessels, *Amboina* 184 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 243 no. 27.

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[131] *ARSI, Goa 24* ff. 145*v* ; 179*v* ; 231*v*.
[132] His own letter of April 20, 1586, in *ARSI, Goa 13* ff. 331*r*-334*v*.
[133] DI IV 865 ; V 268.
[134] Marta 102.
[135] *ARSI, Goa 13* ff. 331*r*-334*v*.
[136] Marta 99, where *torna* must be read instead of *tornou* ; and 102.
[137] *ARSI, Goa 24* ff. 221*r* ; 308*v*.
[138] Marta 98.

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He is mentioned for the first time living as a novice in Ternate in May 1563 and in February 1564 (D 125, 14 and 18). He was received as a Jesuit novice by Fr. Prancudo. He started building the first Jesuit church in Ternate (ibid.). In the catalogue made in Goa in late 1565 (P 142) his name is lacking. It occurs quite seldom in the documents. We find him, still or again, in Ternate, doing housekeeping, in February 1569 (D 161, 15). In the next month he took part in an expedition to Ambon where he became wounded (D 164, 5). Having returned to Ternate, he was there in May (DD 177, 5; 178, 2), as well as in December of 1570 (D 182, 2). In the catalogues of the years 1571-1574 (DD 185, 190, 203) his name is still lacking. Not until 1575 is he mentioned in a list of names made in Goa [139]; finally he seems to be acknowledged as a Jesuit Brother and as such he is listed in DD 215 and 218 of 1576. In that year, after the fall of the fortress, he sailed to India: VALIGNANO wrote in 1577 that a Brother had arrived in Goa from Maluku [140]; as Br. António Gonçalves remained there, this cannot be but Vicente Dias. From that moment his name is missing in the sources. He was not a priest. What WESSELS reports on Vicente Dias does not seem founded on documents nor correct [141].

*Ninth Sending*

Luís de Góis
Vasco Rodrigues
— Departure from Goa: April 1563.
— Arrival in Ternate: first days of December 1563.

## 28. LUÍS DE GÓIS

There were three Luís de Góis in Goa about the year 1560. Sometimes they are characterized as « o velho », « o cego », and « o moço », but as these appellations do not enjoy a constant use in the documents, it becomes very difficult to distinguish one from the other and to identify each single personage. — MARTA 99; WESSELS, *Amboina* 184; WESSELS, *Catalogus* 243 no. 25.

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[139] DI X 29.
[140] DI X 894.
[141] WESSELS, *Amboina* 66-67.

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Our man was «o moço». He was a Portuguese, perhaps the son of Frutos de Góis, who was a brother of the famous humanist Damião de Góis [143]. He entered the Society in Goa in 1557 [143], being only a boy of about fifteen [144]. We find him studying rhetoric and logic in Goa between 1559 and 1562 [145]. In the latter year he was, already a priest, dispatched, together with another Father, to Mozambique (Monomotapa or Cafraria) on an abortive mission from which they were forced to return in the same year [146]. This makes it probable that the Luís de Góis, who is said to have been ordained a priest in 1561 [147], is also «o moço». Anyway, it implies that our missioner became a priest, be it in 1561 or at least in 1562, when he was scarcely twenty years of age, what may be called very early, even before the Tridentine decrees on the priesthood of 1563. In the next year he was assigned to Maluku. He departed together with Fr. Provincial, António de Quadros, who intended to visit Maluku, but turned back in Cochin. Of his ministry in Maluku during the first two years, the documents do not reveal anything. Prancudo, on account of the destruction of the Ambon mission in 1565, dispatched him, along with some Ambonese messengers, to Malacca to seek help (D 142, 2). With Quadros, whom he met in Malacca in October 1565, Góis continued his voyage to Goa, where in 1566 they set out the situation before civil and Jesuit authorities. The conversation resulted in the sending of a fleet under Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque in which also Luís de Góis returned to Maluku (Eleventh Sending) [148]. On the way he wrote from Brunei to the Jesuits in Malacca (D 147*a*). He is likely to have arrived in Ternate in the «fusta» of Pero da Cunha in November or December of 1566 [149]. Prancudo being recalled to India, Góis was now the superior of the Maluku Jesuits (D 163, 1). He is found in Ambon in May 1568 (D 158; 157*a*), and shortly after in Ternate where he started building a new and larger church (D 161, 4) and where he welcomed Frs. Cabrera and Olmedo in October 1569 (Twelfth Sending). The young superior had his good qualities, yet he did not give all-round

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[143] DI IV 769; LEITE, *Novas páginas* 258.
[143] DI III 786.
[144] Cf. DI IV 462; SOUZA II III 1 38.
[145] DI IV and V.
[146] Cf. DI V 613-614; D 123.
[147] DI V 259.
[148] Cf. COUTO VIII 16; D 150.
[149] *Relação Vasconcelos* 175; COUTO VIII 25 (p. 173).

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satisfaction (D 167, 2). Nonetheless he was appointed Visitor of the mission as a delegate of Fr. Gonçalo Álvares; he performed the visitation and wrote a report to his commissioner (D 177, 6). In May 1570 we find him in Ambon, and seeing no possibility to sail to Ternate directly, he chose the roundabout way *via* Malacca, where, however, he died in summer 1571 (D 186, 2), not yet thirty. For his personality, see D 175.

He wrote DD 163, 177, and some lost letters.

## 29. Vasco Rodrigues

Wessels, *Amboina* 184; Wessels, *Catalogus* 243 no. 26.

Sacchini calls him «Christophorus Vascus Rodericus»[150]; in the documents he is always only mentioned as Vasco Rodrigues. Little is known of him. He was received into the Society in Goa[151], where he appears to apply himself to the study of grammar in 1561, but to have undertaken the duties of a temporal coadiutor in the next year[152]. After his arrival in Ternate in December 1563 (D 125, 16 and 19), he was soon — according to Sacchini[153] after only five days — carried with Prancudo to Moro (D 125, 17-18). This is his first and his last mention in documents of Maluku. In late 1565 he is still listed in a Goa catalogue as living in Maluku (D 142), but in January 1567 he is found working on the Fishery Coast in India, and then successively in Goa (1568), Quilon (1571) and Cochin (early 1572)[154]. In the catalogue of November 1572[155] his name is lacking, and it does not appear again in any document. Did he die? Did he leave? Was he dismissed? We do not know. He cannot have been in Maluku for more than two years. He was a lay brother.

### *Tenth Sending*

João da Veiga
Tristão de Araújo

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[150] Sacchini, *Hist. Soc., Lainius* VII 125.
[151] DI VII 211.
[152] DI V 267; 619.
[153] Loc. cit.
[154] DI VII 210-211; 545; VIII 417; 468; 533.
[155] DI VIII 589-593.

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— Departure from Goa : April 1565.
— No arrival.

### 30. João da Veiga

He is found living as an « Irmão » in the college of Goa in December 1560 [156], and working during the years 1561-1564 successively in Thana and in Goa and applying himself to studies in Cochin [157]. Already a priest [158], he sailed to Malacca in April 1565, accompanied by Tristão de Araújo. Having weighed anchor in Malacca, probably in August, in a small and little seaworthy galley, they were overtaken by such violent storms that they had to betake themselves to the port of Borneo (Brunei). While finding shelter there, they got ill and as a result Veiga died. This must have been in late 1565 or in early 1566 (DD 148, 5 and 10 ; 156).

### 31. Tristão de Araújo

He was born in India about 1536 and joined the Jesuits in Goa in 1556 or 1557 [159]. In the latter year he was a novice in Goa and in 1559-1560 we find him in Ormuz, and later in Choran [160]. Then he was transferred to Goa where he was a teacher of the third form in the grammar school [161]. In 1565 he is given as a companion to Fr. João da Veiga to sail to Maluku, and he ought to have himself ordained a priest on the way in Malacca (D 141, 1). In DD 148 and 156 he is called « Padre ». Yet documents testifying to his ordination are not available. He was recovering from illness in Brunei when he continued his journey to Ternate (D 156, 2). This is the last sign of life we have of this Jesuit ; most probably the ship was wrecked between Brunei and Ternate, and the Father was drowned. There is no source indicating that he arrived in Maluku.

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[156] DI IV 866.
[157] DI V 269 ; 618 ; VI 168.
[158] DI VI 513.
[159] DI IV 455.
[160] DI III 786 ; IV 181 ; 305 ; 385 ; 795.
[161] DI V 268 ; 618 ; VI 373.

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*Eleventh Sending*

Luís de Góis (2nd time)
Vicente Tonda
— Departure from Goa : May 1, 1566.
— Arrival in Ternate : November-December 1566.

## 32. Vicente Tonda

Wicki, *Liste* no. 81 ; Scaduto, *Catalogo* 146 ; DI V 20* ; VIII 13*.

Tonda was born in Játiva (Valencia, Spain) in 1534 or 1535 and joined the Jesuit Order in Siena (Italy) in late 1556 [162]. He was sent to Sicily where he received the priesthood at Palermo in March 1560. Having taken his assignment for India, he sailed to Portugal in 1561 and then to Goa where he arrived in September 1562. His first field of activity was Ormuz, 1563-1564, but he had to be recalled, not only on account of bad health but for his indiscreet and imprudent conduct as well, which caused the provincial to debate whether or not Tonda should be dismissed and to complain of the poor quality of the Jesuits from Europe [163]. Tonda lived in Goa until he was appointed chaplain in the fleet to be dispatched to Maluku in order to rebuild the destroyed Ambon Church. In August 1566 he was writing to Fr. General from Malacca [164]. His assignment was « pera ir e vir na armada » (D 150, 4) ; consequently, he was properly speaking not a Maluku missioner. His place in our list is justified by the information he has given himself on his ministry in Bacan and Ambon. For, after his aforesaid letter of 1566 we completely lose sight of him until he appears in Spain, in Játiva and Valencia, in July 1570, where he wrote our D 180, being no longer a Jesuit. What happened between August 1566 and July 1570 ? D 180 makes it clear that he arrived in Maluku and lived there for some time. Turning up suddenly in Spain in the summer of 1570, he most likely had arrived at Lisbon in April of that year in the ships from India that departed from Cochin in February 1569 and were constrained to winter in Mozambique [165]. But when did

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[162] *Litt. Quadr.* V 93-94 ; DI VI 625.
[163] DI VI 503-504.
[164] DI VII 16-19.
[165] *Cf.* DI VII 42*-43*.

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he leave Maluku? We suppose, in 1568. For it is after his second abortive endeavour to sail to the Spaniards in Cebu in October 1567 that Gonçalo Pereira operated in Bacan and the Ambon Islands[166]. But at Pereira's third attempt in August 1568, Prancudo was to be chaplain in the fleet (D 161, 15), which suggests that Tonda was no longer available. He is supposed to have sailed from Ambon in the clove ship in May 1568. His ministry in Maluku must have taken place in the first half of that year. Apparently, he acted more as a captain than as a priest (D 180, 2). There must have been some conflict with the superior, Fr. Góis. When was Tonda dismissed from the Society? There is no direct and dated document for his dismissal. In D 180 he states that he finds himself outside the order. The Jesuits of Barcelona and Valencia had doubts whether or not he was still a member and suspected him to be a fugitive from the order. To be sure they requested the Portuguese provincial to give information. Also in Rome there was uncertainty and suspicion. Fr. Provincial of Portugal, Fr. Leão Henriques, certified that Tonda had been legitimately dismissed. Finally, in January 1571, Fr. General, Francisco de Borja, wrote to the provincial of Arragon that he might or might not readmit Tonda to the order as he would think best[167]. Which confirms that he was considered dismissed. He was not readmitted. As, in the aforegiven reconstruction of his return journey, he had, in Cochin in February 1569, scarcely the time to change ships, he must have been dismissed earlier, that is, by Fr. Luís de Góis in Ambon in 1568, pending, of course, the approval of the higher authorities. From 1571 on, he vanishes from sight.

He wrote D 180.

*Twelfth Sending*

Andrés de Cabrera (from Goa)
Jerónimo de Olmedo (from Malacca)
— Departure from Goa: May 2, 1569.
— Arrival in Ternate: October 1569.

## 33. Andrés de Cabrera

Marta 99; Wessels, *Amboina* 184; Wessels, *Catalogus* 243 no. 28; Wikki, *Liste* no. 92. — *Epp. Nadal* II 536; Franco, *Anno Santo* 497.

[166] Couto VIII 25.

[167] *ARSI, Hisp. 114* f. 271*r*; *Hisp. 115* ff. 35*v*; 340*r*; *Hisp. 69* ff. 65*r*; 72*r*.

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He was born in Villanueva-del-Camino (Seville, Spain) about 1527. As a priest he entered the Society in Coimbra on April 10, 1555 [168], and made his first vows in 1557. He taught Latin in Lisbon, Coimbra, and Évora for about six years. In 1563 he sailed to India where he was appointed to be a Latin teacher again in the newly erected college of Bassein. In the years 1565-1567 we find him as a minister in Cochin. Having been assigned as a chaplain to a fleet which had to sail to Arabia, he lived perhaps for some time in Ormuz, and in December 1568 he was back in Goa. There he received the order to sail to Maluku. His departure was on May 2, 1569 [169]. In Malacca he picked up Fr. Jerónimo de Olmedo, and in October 1569 he arrived in Ternate (DD 165; 167, 2; 175, 1), where he was stationed. After the departure of Fr. Luís de Góis to Ambon he acted as local superior (D 178, 2) and witnessed the stabbing of King Hairun. Subsequently, he had to support the hardships of the siege of the Portuguese fortress and town. On account of these sufferings he died in 1571, probably in May, for Olmedo's letter from Ambon of May 12 (D 184) does not yet mention his death, whereas it was known in Malacca in December (D 186, 2).

He wrote D 175. For his earlier letters from India, see DI VI and VII.

## 34. Jerónimo de Olmedo

His name is sometimes spelled Dolmedo and Lomedo. — Marta 99; Wessels, *Amboina* 185; Wessels, *Catalogus* 243 no. 29.

He is called a Portuguese [170] and must have entered the Society in India. From 1561 to 1564 he was studying as a Scholastic in Goa [171]. In 1565 Bishop Carneiro took him with him as a companion to Malacca. By then Olmedo had been ordained a priest. But when in May 1568 the bishop departed for Macao, Olmedo was too ill to accompany him again [172]. He remained in Malacca until on June 13, 1569, Cabrera arrived from India with Quadro's command that he had to accompany him to Maluku (D 166, 1). After his arrival in Ter-

[168] *ARSI, Lus. 43* f. 12*v*.
[169] DI VIII 17-18.
[170] Marta 99; Souza II III 1 46.
[171] DI V 267; 618; VI 373.
[172] DI VII 33; VI 607 compared with 515; VII 518.

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nate, he was stationed on Ambon whence he wrote on June 2, 1570, and on May 12, 1571 (DD 178; 184). Otherwise he is not mentioned in the documents, except twice in catalogues (DD 185; 190). The authors who report the Javanese adventures of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas in 1572 (this list no. 21), contend that he was accompanied by another Jesuit whom they call an Italian. As Couto calls him incorrectly « hum Padre da Companhia italiano chamado Lomedo »[173], we may presume that it was Olmedo who sailed with Mascarenhas to Malacca and shared with him in undergoing hostile treatment on Java[174]. Likewise Olmedo's death is only known from later sources and authors. Marta wrote of him that he died in Ambon from an arrow wound, while sailing in the fleet[175]; according to the *Relação Vasconcelos*, it was from a spear stab that he died[176]. As his name is already lacking in the catalogue of December 1574, Olmedo must have died before the ships sailed from Ambon in May 1573.

He wrote DD 178 and 184. For another letter, see DI VII 131.

### *Thirteenth Sending*

As to this and the next Sending, no document directly reporting them is available. We reconstruct them from the following facts. According to D 181, written from Goa in November 1570, two Fathers had sailed to Maluku in that year, one from Goa, the other from Cochin. In D 185, written in Goa in November 1571, four new Fathers are listed under Maluku: Paulo Gomes, Bartolomeu Rodrigues, Diogo Mascarenhas, and Jerónimo Rodrigues. This means that by that time they had at least departed for Maluku. If two sailed in 1570, the other two must have done so in the next year. Who were the two of 1570? One of them was Paulo Gomes, who left Maluku in 1578 and reported himself that he had lived there for eight years[177]. His companion most probably was Bartolomeu Rodrigues. Though the DI are silent on him after 1566, a much later document, announcing his death, reports that he had worked at Cape Comorin (D 206). This

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[173] Couto IX 7 (p. 35).

[174] Cf. Teixeira, *Malacca and Singapore* I 475-476.

[175] Marta 99.

[176] *Relação Vasconcelos* 230. See also Couto IX 7; Souza II III 1 46; the latter calls him a fleet chaplain.

[177] DI XII 557.

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makes it plausible that, once having been assigned to Maluku, he sailed from Cochin. One could think of Jerónimo Rodrigues who was stationed in Cochin, but as he was still making a journey to Quilon in May 1570, on which occasion he became wounded in his leg [178], he cannot have sailed to Maluku in the regular ship of April 1570. Moreover, he wrote himself from Maluku in 1579 that so far he had lived there for eight years [179]. So he did not arrive before 1571, that is, he sailed in the Fourteenth Sending, to which also Diogo Mascarenhas must be ascribed [180].

Paolo Gomes (from Goa)
Bartolomeu Rodrigues (from Cochin)
— Departure from Goa: April 1570.
— Arrival in Ternate: about October 1570.

## 35. Paulo Gomes

Marta 99; Wessels, *Amboina* 185; Wessels, *Catalogus* 243 no. 30.

He was a «filho da India», an «Indiano» [181], born in Malacca in 1535, and as a boy acquainted with Francisco Xavier during his visits in Malacca in 1545 and 1549 [182]. He joined the Jesuit Order in his native town in 1556 where he lived until he was sent to Goa in 1560 [183]; there he was allowed to make his first vows. In the next year we find him in Bassein as director of the boys' school, and from 1565 on at Cochin in the same job [184]. He was ordained a priest and transferred to Goa in 1567 [185], and he worked as a parish priest in Rachol near Goa in the next year. In 1570 he sailed to Maluku, picking up Bartolomeu Rodrigues in Cochin. He was residing in Maluku in 1573 (D 195, 2), in 1574 (D 203), in 1575 (D 215), and in 1576 (D 218). The field and kind of his ministry are not reported. At the

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[178] Consult no. 37.

[179] *ARSI, Goa 12* f. 482r.

[180] On arrival of ships in 1570, see D 184, 16 and note 20 there.

[181] Marta 99; Catalogues in *ARSI, Goa 24*.

[182] See Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/I 612; 619-621; II/II 1.

[183] DI IV 741.

[184] The catalogue of December 1565 listed him mistakenly under both towns: DI VI 628-629.

[185] DI VII 480.

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time the fortress of Ternate surrendered, in December 1575, Gomes was one of the four Jesuits stationed there [186]. Having sailed with the others to Ambon, he remained there until in early 1578 Valignano's order arrived that he and Prancudo should sail to India. But Prancudo had died a few days before. So Gomes left Ambon in May 1578, accompanied by Br. Teixeira, and they landed at Malacca in July, just in time to meet Valignano who was on the verge of sailing to Japan [187]. The Visitor appointed Gomes to stop at his native town that had requested him (D 195, 2) and to which he had been assigned in principle (DD 208; 209). Malacca retained him for thirty-two years until his death. Mostly he was a procurator and a confessor, sometimes a rector of the Jesuit church and a consultant of the superior. He made the vows of a spiritual coadiutor on February 24, 1589, and died on May 22, 1610 [188], being seventy-five years of age. Well acquainted with the Malay language from his youth on (DD 195, 2; 218), he was the right man on the right place in Maluku and Malacca.

He wrote D 66. For other letters, see DI.

## 36. Bartolomeu Rodrigues

Marta 99; Wessels, *Amboina* 185; Wessels, *Catalogus* 244 no. 31.

He was born in 1540 or 1541; his native town is unknown. Marta calls him a Portuguese. He entered the Society in India in 1560; in the next year he was studying and in 1564 also teaching in the college of Goa. In the catalogue of December 1566 he is called a subdeacon, still residing in Goa [189]. He worked for some time in the Cape Comorin area (D 206), but he vanishes completely from the Indian documents after 1566 until he is mentioned in the catalogue of November 1571 (D 185) as stationed in Maluku. Nothing is reported about his ministry there. In 1576 his name has disappeared from the catalogues (D 215). According to DD 206 and 214, and to Marta 99, he died on Ambon before May 1574 from undernourishment and lack of remedies.

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[186] This time, Souza is right (Cf. note 119) when asserting that Gomes was «um dos companheiros do Padre [Prancudo]» in Ternate (II III 2 4).

[187] DI XII 557; see D 220 note 10.

[188] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 477*r*.

[189] DI VII 77.

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*Fourteenth Sending*

Jerónimo Rodrigues
Diogo Mascarenhas
— Departure from Goa : April 1571.
— Arrival in Maluku : October 1571.

## 37. Jerónimo Rodrigues

Marta 99 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 185 ; Wessels, *Catalogus* 244 no. 32.

He was a « filho da India », born in São Tomé (Mylapore, Madras) in 1543 or 1545, and he entered the Society in Goa in August 1563. From January 1564 on he was living in Cochin in the college. Having finished his noviciate, he was teaching grammar for three years, in the meantime studying moral theology [190]. He is calling himself « Father » in his letter of January 1569 [191] ; he may have been one of the newly ordained priests of 1567 [192]. In May 1570 he received an arrow wound in his leg, from which he soon recovered [193]. Next year he sailed to Maluku with Diogo Mascarenhas. We find him mentioned for the years 1571 to 1576 only in catalogues. He was stationed on Ambon, at least in 1574 [194], and also in late 1575, at the time the fortress of Ternate surrendered. At the volte-face of the king of Tidore in 1576, Fr. Rodrigues was the first Jesuit appointed to reside in that island, after having accompanied as an army chaplain the Portuguese soldiers who fought with the Tidorese against Ternate. He remained there until 1580, when he was transferred to Ambon. He suffered from beriberi and was feeble on his legs, which rendered him unable to visit the Christian villages. In a letter of June 5, 1587, enumerating the Maluku Jesuits, his name is already missing [195] ; nor does it occur in the catalogue written in Goa in December 1587, either under Maluku or elsewhere [196]. He was dismissed from the Society, we do not know

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[190] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 145*r*.
[191] DI VII 683.
[192] Ibid. 477.
[193] DI VIII 271 ; 365.
[194] *ARSI, Goa 13* f. 359*v* ; cf. *Relação Vasconcelos* 294.
[195] *ARSI, Goa 13* f. 358*r-v*.
[196] *ARSI, Goa 24*.

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for what reason [197]. According to SOUZA [198], he composed a Malay catechism ; the document on which this statement is based reports only that it was composed by « hum Padre nosso » [199]. He certainly mastered the Malay language very well.

For letters he wrote in Cochin, see DI VI-VIII ; other letters he wrote from Tidore are to be published in our second volume.

## 38. DIOGO MASCARENHAS

MARTA 99. He was unknown to WESSELS.

In 1565 he was said to be thirty-seven years of age ; in 1566, however, to be forty-four [200]. He entered the Society in India at a later age, in 1561. He studied in Goa where he was ordained a deacon in 1566 and a priest in 1567 [201]. As such he worked in the parish of Cortalim near Goa until ha was sent to Maluku. Scarcely having arrived, he died in Ternate [202].

### *Fifteenth Sending*

Marcos Prancudo (2nd time)
— Departure from Goa : April 1572 ; again in April 1573.
— Arrival in Ternate : October-November 1573.

On this Sending, see D 194 : « Il Visitatore il mandava iterum al Moluco », and note 5 there. Having arrived in Malacca in late May 1572, Prancudo returned once more to Goa, to start anew the next year.

### *Sixteenth Sending*

Gonçalo Teixeira
— Departure from Goa : April 1576.
— Arrival in Maluku : 1577 (or end 1576 ?).

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[197] MARTA 99.
[198] SOUZA II III 2 15.
[199] *ARSI, Goa 12* f. 476*r* ; cf. SOMMERVOGEL XII 754.
[200] DI VI 626 ; VII 76.
[201] DI VII 76 ; 379.
[202] MARTA 99 : « morto em Ternate, logo em chegando ».

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## 39. Gonçalo Teixeira

He was born in São-Gonçalo-de-Amarante (Porto, Portugal) and he joined the Jesuits in Goa. There is much confusion and contradiction in the dates reported on his life. The year of his birth varies between 1545 and 1553. In December 1566 he is called a novice at Goa [203], but according to the accurate catalogue of November 1571, he would have entered the Society in June 1569 [204]. The latter date is confirmed by two other catalogues [205]. Anyway, in November 1569 he was a novice [206]. As a Brother he lived in Goa until he was stationed in Cochin in January 1576 [207]. Visitor Valignano, before having notice of the fall of Ternate, sent him to Maluku in April 1576 in order to bring relief, especially foods and remedies, to the besieged Jesuits (D 219, 4). That the Brother sent by Valignano was Teixeira, and not Vicente Dias as Wessels asserted [208], is clear from D 218. Teixeira would have to be back in Malacca in September 1577, where Valignano intended to meet him while making his way to Japan [209]. This plan was to materialize in a different way. Teixeira's ship, when sailing from Malacca, was attacked by a fleet of Aceh (Achim), but managed to reach Maluku (Ambon) in 1577 [210], if not already in late 1576. Here he got involved in the expedition that helped Tidore against Ternate. After that he returned to Ambon whence he sailed to Malacca with Paulo Gomes in May 1578 [211]. He arrived in July, just a few days before Valignano set sail to Macao and Japan. Like Paulo Gomes, also Teixeira was assigned by Fr. Visitor to remain in Malacca. There we find him living uninterruptedly as a schoolteacher in the college of that town. On February 24, 1589, he pronounced the vows of a temporal coadiutor. He died in Malacca in September 1601 [212].

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[203] DI VII 84.
[204] DI VIII 425.
[205] *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 145*r* (May 1569); 290*v*.
[206] DI VIII 96.
[207] DI X 503.
[208] Wessels, *Amboina* 66-67.
[209] DI X 901.
[210] *ARSI, Goa 38* f. 167*r*.
[211] *ARSI, Goa 12* f. 418*v*.
[212] *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 43* f. 54*r*.

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### b. *Superiors*

From the foregoing list of missioners it can easily be deduced who were the superiors of the Jesuits in Maluku. Counting their office from the time of their arrival, and not of their nomination, we can make up the following list.

| | |
|---|---|
| Juan de Beira | October 1547-1555. |
| Afonso de Castro | 1. interim superior while Beira sailed to India February 1552 - October 1553.<br>2. 1555 - October 1557. |
| Francisco Vieira | October 1557 - early 1560. |
| (Nicolau Nunes | early 1560 - February 1562; of necessity after Vieira's death, since he was the only Jesuit priest). |
| Marcos Prancudo | February 1562 - October 1566. |
| Luís de Góis | October 1566 - May 1571. |
| Fernando Álvares | May 1571 - October 1573. |
| Marcos Prancudo | October 1573 - January 1578. |

A few times a subordinate or local superior was nominated for Moro or Ambon.

### c. *Visitors*

| | |
|---|---|
| Luís de Góis | He had received the appointment to visit Maluku, by order and as a delegate of Fr. Visitor Gonçalo Álvares, in October 1569, and he accomplished the visitation before May 1570 (D 177, 6). |

## 5. The Mission Field

The mission field of the Jesuits in Maluku had been staked out for the first years by Francisco Xavier. He had visited the Christians of Ambon and Moro, and it is especially for these two regions that he wanted his fellow Jesuits to come as missioners. If he did not exclude Ternate, this was done for other reasons.

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### a. *Ternate*

Ternate, with the Portuguese fortress and the town of the « casados », with the only official church and the vicar, and being the place where once a year the ships from Goa arrived and set sail, was the inevitable center for any coordinated mission activity which was to be exercised under the protection of the Portuguese *padroado* and backed by Portuguese power. From the very start the Jesuits had a house there, where the superior lived and which provided a haven on which the tired and the sick confreres could fall back (D 79, 14). It was in Ternate that new helpers and the letters from Europe and India arrived. Through Ternate passed every communication of the Fathers with their fellow Jesuits, with their superiors in India and Portugal, and with Fr. General in Rome.

But beyond the Portuguese town there was no native Christianity on Ternate Island. As in Malacca, the work of the Jesuits on Ternate was limited to helping the vicar in teaching and preaching and especially in taking care of the native wives of the « casados » and of their children, servants and slaves, and, further, their work included making individual conversions if possible. In the earlier years, at least up to 1554, a school for boys, Portuguese and native, is mentioned, for which a house was planned (DD 20, 5 ; 47, 1). For many years the Jesuits had no church of their own. In 1560 they appear to have utilized a chapel adjoining their house (D 97, 5). Fr. Prancudo built the first Jesuit church in 1563 ; it was constructed of wood in the native way (D 125, 14) and doomed to decay in a few years. Therefore, in 1568, Fr. Luís de Góis began building a stone church (DD 161, 4 ; 163, 6). Before it was completed it had to serve as a bastion during the siege of Ternate (D 205, 1), and after the surrender it functioned as a dwelling for the Portuguese hostages (D 220 note 6).

From the imprisonment of King Hairun in December 1557 to his release in December 1558, the fortress and town of Ternate were besieged. Another siege started after the stabbing of Hairun in February 1570 and it lasted until the fortress surrendered to his successor in December 1575. From that moment the island and town of Ternate disappear from mission history until the coming of the Spaniards in 1606. The sieges meant for the Jesuits starvation and suffering and they interfered with their connection with the other mission posts. But as to the arrival and departure of the Portuguese ships from India, the sieges had no practical effect.

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### b. *Moro*

The Moro mission knew three interruptions during the years covered by this volume. After the start made by Xavier in 1546, it continued to develop steadily, though under great difficulties on account of the competition between Jailolo and Ternate for the control of that region. Both were essentially anti-Christian, but, in that first period, Juan de Beira and Nicolau Nunes were able to hold their ground.

The first interruption was caused by the open war with Jailolo and lasted from the summer of 1549 to March 1551. Many Christians apostatized. The fall of Tolo (1550) and of Jailolo (1551) turned the scale in favour of the Portuguese.

After that, mission work proceeded very well for seven years and many conversions were made. For 1552 the number of 35,000 Christians in 29 villages is given (D 45, 5), and for 1556 of 20,000 Christians in 46 villages (D 63, 23). Of these villages or towns only the names of Tolo, Sakita, and Cawa (or Cawo) are given. Tolo was the center of the mission (D 48, 1). The most important missioners during this period, besides Beira and Nunes, were Melchior de Figueiredo and Afonso de Castro.

The second interruption began in 1558 and lasted until 1562. It was due to the imprisonment of Hairun. Br. Baltasar de Araújo sailed to Moro to remove the Jesuits from their untenable position (D 79, 26). Except for the ineffectual undertaking against Tolo about November 1560, in which Nicolau Nunes and Fernão de Osório took part (D 107, 3), no Jesuit visited Moro for four years.

A new period of mission work stretched from 1562 to 1571. Prancudo started it immediately after his arrival (D 115, 4), going there regularly himself for some years and carrying other missioners with him. Prominent men were now Prancudo, Nicolau Nunes, Osório, and Magalhães. Tolo and Sakita remained centers, but now the island Rau is also mentioned (D 161, 5-7). In 1565 the mission seemed rather prosperous (see D 135, 7), but in 1569 Hairun began a ferocious persecution of the Moro Christians (DD 169, 11-13; 178, 5), in a counterstroke against the action of Pereira Marramaque in Ambon. The last endeavour of Pereira to establish Portuguese control over Moro, his expedition of 1570-1571 [213], was not successful. The end of the year

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[213] LEMOS 464-468.

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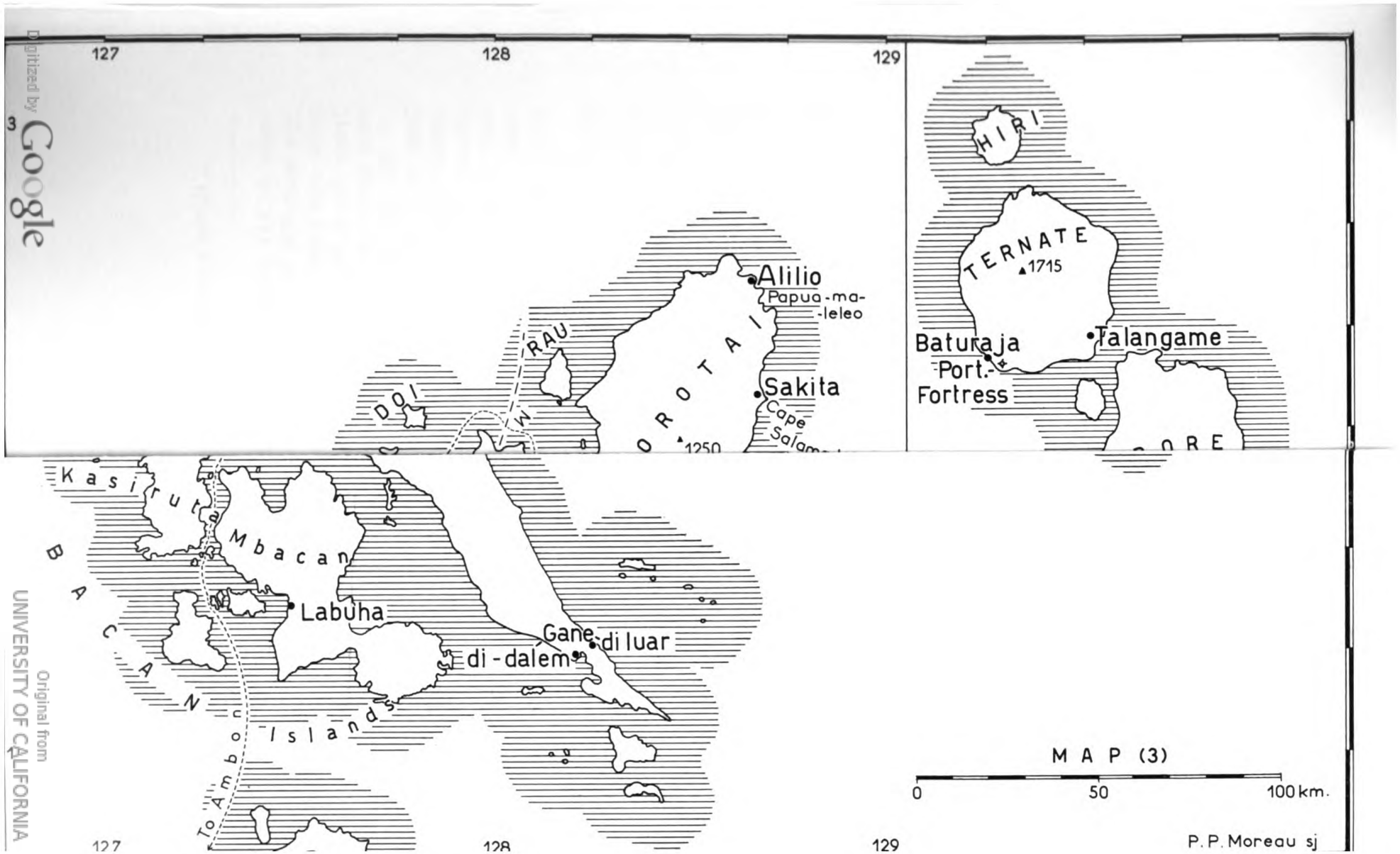


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1571 brought a third interruption of the mission work there and this time it would last until 1606.

### c. *Ambon and Uliaser*

The mission history of Ambon and Uliaser is an uninterrupted chain of ups and downs in which the « downs » seem to outweight the « ups ». Most of the people of the northern peninsula, Hitu, were Muslims, eager to accept both protection from Ternate and help from Japara (Java) for their anti-Portuguese and anti-Christian policy. The population of the southern peninsula, Leitimor, and of some villages along the bay in south Hitu, where Islam had penetrated less, was more open to the Christian faith and the people hoped for Portuguese support in rejecting Hituese-Ternatan control as well as Islam. Every year, from late February to mid May, while the ships were « hibernating » in the large bay between Hitu and Leitimor, Portuguese power made its influence felt and the Christians knew they were relatively safe. But as soon as the ships had left, the Muslims had free play. This situation was changed through the building of a fortress on Ambon, first in 1569 (D 164, 6), and definitively in 1576 [214], were it not that about the same time Portuguese power was steadily waning and scarcely able to exercise a full control over the island. The Christians began to leave their former centers and to cluster around the fortress in order to secure their religious freedom and even their lives.

Francisco Xavier visited Ambon from February to June 1546. From Hatiwi, where the ships were waiting out the monsoon, he called on the Christian villages. Two years later, the first missionary sent by him, Nuno Ribeiro, arrived. His central post probably was Hatiwi again ; he built a church there and made conversions. The Moors managed to kill him by poison after he had lived there for a year and a half from February 1548 to August 1549.

For five years the Ambon Christians were left to their fate, seeing only Manuel de Morais and Francisco Gonçalves (1550), and Juan de Beira (1552) pass there on their way to Malacca ; Beira is said to have visited the Christians and made some new conversions (D 43, 3). The sending of Br. António Fernandes in 1554 resulted in nothing because he was drowned after three weeks (DD 49 and 50). Ambon

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[214] *Relação Vasconcelos* 319-320 ; LEMOS 470-471.

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again remained destitute of missioners for as long as a year. In 1555, Afonso de Castro worked there for about ten months, though he considered the care for so many inaccessible villages a nearly impossible task for one single priest (D 58). After him, nobody was sent until 1562, though Ambon was visited briefly by Beira and Nunes in 1556 (D 63, 49) and by Osório (DD 90, 1; 96, 2-3). Meanwhile the Hituese, helped by the Ternatans and Javanese, annoyed and persecuted the Christians, which resulted in the apostasy of many of them (D 109, 3-9).

Better days seemed to dawn for the Ambon Church in 1562, when Prancudo stationed two Fathers there, Francisco Vieira/Rodrigues and Diogo de Magalhães (D 115, 9). In the next year five Jesuits were working in the Ambon Islands (DD 116, 27; 117, 12). For the first time a more methodical planning of the mission work was possible. But the Fathers were not sufficient for the people to be instructed and baptized (D 117, 13). Among the Christian villages, Hatiwi, Nusaniwi, Liliboi, Kilang (on Ambon), Oma (on Haruku), und Ulat (on Saparua) are mentioned by name. The future seemed to become still more rose-coloured for the Jesuits when in 1563 Captain António Pais arrived from Goa, for the purpose of building a fortress on Ambon. But he lacked military power and his efforts were a mere flash in the pan. The fortress was not built. When, in February 1564, Pais had died and, in May, the ships had sailed, Ternate unchained a fierce persecution which resulted in the nearly total destruction of the Ambon Church and in the renewed apostasy of many Christians. The Jesuits saw themselves constrained to move to Ternate in May 1565 and to leave the 70,000 Christians to themselves (D 135, 18). The churches were burnt down and many Christians were cruelly killed.

At the pleading of the Jesuits, the viceroy, D. Antão de Noronha, dispatched Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque with a fleet of twelve ships carrying more than five hundred soldiers, and ordered him to bring all the Ambon Islands under control and to erect a fortress [215]. He sailed from Goa on May 1, 1566. But the road to Calvary was not yet at an end for Ambon. Pereira lost time, and his manpower as well, in abortive actions against the Spaniards who under Legazpi had settled down in Cebu in the Philippines, and he did not land in Ambon before 1568. With him came Frs. Prancudo and Góis (DD 158; 170) and probably Tonda. There was again a rush to Christianity

[215] Couto VIII 16; D 150, 3 and note 4.

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(D 161, 1). After his expedition to Cebu, October 1568 - January 1569, Pereira returned to Ambon. We now find there Frs. Prancudo, Mascarenhas, Olmedo, and Br. Vicente Dias, who was soon replaced by Br. António Gonçalves (D 164, 5 and 11). The conversion or return is mentioned of the villages of Ulat, Tuhaha, Sirisori, Ihamahu, and Oma, all of them in the Uliaser Islands, of Nusatelo in Hitu, and of many other unnamed ones (D 179). In 1569 Pereira built the first fortress on the north coast of Hitu. One year later 8,000 people had been baptized in the Ambon region (D 179, 27). But things went wrong again: in early 1570 King Hairun was stabbed to death; his successor, Baab Ullah (Babu), intensified the war, firmly determined to drive away the Portuguese. The Ternatan captain Rubohongi operated with a fleet of native vessels in the Ambon waters. In 1572 Gonçalo Pereira died. Thanks only to the courageous resoluteness of one of his captains, Sancho de Vasconcelos, the Portuguese did not wholly abandon Ambon. The fortress was moved from Hitu to the large bay and to the north coast of Leitimor. Nunes wrote in 1576 that some villages with 4,000 or 5,000 Christians still obeyed the Portuguese fortress (D 213, 38); many had apostatized again (DD 199, 2; 204). At the time the fort of Ternate surrendered to Babu, in December 1575, three Fathers were stationed on Ambon; they were soon joined by the four of Ternate. But by 1578 only three remained: Pero Mascarenhas, Jerónimo Rodrigues, and António Gonçalves. For some years, that is, from 1576 to 1578, the fortress of Ambon was the only foothold of the Jesuits in Maluku, and it was not a very strong one. They exercised their missionary apostolate more by suffering than by working (D 214, 1).

### d. *Bacan*

Though about 1553 people of Labuha had requested priests from the Portuguese (D 49, 3), Bacan did not actually enter mission history before 1557. Having had some unpleasant experiences with the Portuguese [216], the king of Bacan had usually taken an anti-Portuguese and anti-Christian attitude (D 42, 2). A fairly insignificant event caused this policy to change. A new young king requested help from the Portuguese and also a priest to instruct and baptize himself and

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[216] Cf. *Treatise* 198, 210, 222-224.

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his people (D 82). The first priest to be sent there was the ex-Jesuit António Vaz (June-November 1557). Afonso de Castro should have replaced him, but he was killed earlier. As no other Father was available, Br. Osório had to live on Bacan as the only missioner between 1558 and 1562. Many people were baptized, a church was built. More than once the Bacan fleet proved a good military help to the Portuguese in this and in a later time. After 1562 the Fathers Nicolau Nunes and António Fernandes went to work on Bacan (D 127, 6). But the man who for a number of years widened and consolidated the Bacan Church was Fr. Fernando Álvares, who worked there from 1562 to 1570 (DD 115, 4; 176). Personages worth mentioning are the young King D. João who was baptized on July 1, 1557; his daughter, baptized as a baby in Ternate towards Christmas 1558 (D 79, 17); a brother of the king baptized in Ternate on January 1, 1565 (D 135, 6); and a cousin of the king, christened D. Duarte, captain of a native fleet (D 176, 14-15). It is mainly from Bacan that some villages on the north coast of Seram were converted; among them Lisabata was the most important (DD 115, 2; 117, 17; 130, 20). The king of Bacan gave his support to the king of Banggai who wanted to embrace the Christian faith (D 128, 2). In spite of Hairun's and Baab Ullah's pressure to return to Islam, the king of Bacan remained loyal to the Portuguese and to Christianity. He succoured Gonçalo Pereira with craft and foodstuffs for the relief of the besieged fortress of Ternate in 1570 (D 184, 20). After that the power of Portugal quickly waned to such a degree that help could no longer be given to Bacan in its struggle against the strangling grip of Ternate. In 1571 Bacan was destroyed by Ternatan forces. The king submitted again to the Portuguese indeed, but in the next year he was forced to agree with the re-islamization of his people (D 213, 35). For the time being it seemed that the end had come for the Church of Bacan.

### e. *North Selebes and the Sangi Islands*

The region of N Selebes and of the Sangi Archipelago seems to have had some influence from Christianity before the period of the Jesuits [217]. Xavier wanted to be informed about the disposition of the Selebes and Totole (Tolitoli) people to receive the faith (D 22, 4).

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[217] D 63, 44; MARTA 108.

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But it was not until 1563, at a time that the expansionist policy of Ternate was aiming at islamizing N Selebes by force, that the first Jesuit was sent there. In May Fr. Diogo de Magalhães sailed to Manado, baptized the rajas of Manado and Siau, and visited Bolaang, Kaidipan, and Tolitoli (D 125). Gorontalo requested to be baptized (D 161, 14). Magalhães returned to Ternate in November and with him came the king of Manado for a visit until May 1564 (D 125, 16). In November 1564 the greater part of the population of Siau rebelled against the king; he came to Ternate to request help (D 162, 2). This help could not be given until 1568. Two captains of the fleet of Gonçalo Pereira undertook pacifying the island: Lourenço Furtado in 1568, and Mem de Ornelas in 1569. It was now Fr. Pero Mascarenhas who visited Manado and Siau; on N Selebes he called upon Bolaang and Kaidipan; and from Manado he sailed to Sangi Island where he baptized the raja of Kolongan. In January 1569, Ornelas defeated the last rebels on Siau and the Christian king was restored to his power; Mascarenhas sailed back to Ternate (D 162). This is the last mention of mission work in N Selebes for the period of this volume.

### f. *Other Islands*

Several other islands are mentioned in the documents that either numbered Christians among the population or requested priests. But no Jesuit could be spared to go there. *Jailolo* is only noted for the unsuccessful endeavour to baptize the king in 1551 (D 33, 4). *Buru* numbered 4,000 Christians in 1552 (D 45, 10); they asked for priests in 1554 (DD 49 and 50), knew a persecution in 1558 (D 109, 8), but reported themselves again in 1569 (D 164, 8). On *Tidore* there was no mission, but some prominent Tidorese were baptized in Ternate in 1563-1564 (DD 125, 19; 128, 5; 129, 3; 135, 6). *Papuan* people asked for baptism in 1554 (D 49, 3); *Banggai* did so in 1563 (D 128, 3); messengers from the *Kei* Islands came in 1564 (D 130, 24); and people of *Seram's* south coast were solliciting priests from Ambon in 1569 (D 164, 9; but cf. D 118, 4-5). On Seram, see also under Bacan (d). *Solor* and *Timor* are included here only as far as the Jesuits took interest in that mission before it was entrusted to the Dominican Order in 1562; see DD 88 and 102, and incidentally DD 148 and 151.

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## Chapter V

## THE DOCUMENTS

### 1. Letters

Fr. Provincial in Goa had to write an *Annual Letter* to Rome every year, that is, a complete report on all the members, all the residences, and all the work of the Province of India. In order to be fully informed, he had to receive yearly a *General* or *Annual Letter* from all places outside Goa where Jesuits were working. Such a letter is recognizable either by the explicit mention *carta geral* or *anual*, or from being written expressly *por comissão do Padre Superior*, or from the report in it of the spiritual life and the fidelity to the rules of the Fathers and Brothers, and on other edifying happenings. Beside the *carta geral*, other more personal letters could be written. From the first, the Maluku Jesuits had been admonished to write detailed accounts on their work every year (D 22, 4-8). As it is remarked before, they normally had only one shipping opportunity a year both for people and for letters. When the ship(s) could not sail or had to return, the letters had to stand over a full year until the next opportunity.

As a rule, the letters from the Far East, addressed to Goa, arrived in Cochin in January, were copied there, and one copy was forwarded to Portugal, eventually to Rome, with the ships that departed in February. The copyists sometimes changed the address, writing for instance « To the Jesuits in Portugal » on the copy of a letter which was originally addressed to Fr. Provincial in Goa. The remark *primeira via* or *segunda via*, etc. on a letter sometimes refers rather to the voyage from Cochin to Lisbon than to the journey from Ternate to Cochin.

The harvest of letters from Maluku is not very rich for the years of this volume. There are no letters at all for the years 1547, 1548, 1552, 1556, 1557, 1566, 1567, and for the enormous gap from 1572 to 1577. Generally, the letters from Maluku are not very voluminous. And no Jesuit missioner ever drew up an expansive report, description, narrative, or treatise on topics like native history, language, and suchlike. The only two fuller descriptions of the Maluku region, DD 63 and 213, were not written in Maluku, though the first is based

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on information given by the Maluku missioner Fr. Nicolau Nunes, and the latter was written by this Father himself, but in Goa.

## 2. Archives and Codices

NB : For the documents we have taken from EX and DI, we refer to the respective volumes of those sections.

### Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)

1. *Epistolae Nostrorum* [*Epp. NN.*] *72*, formerly *54*. The volume of 184 folios contains copies and versions of letters of Francisco Xavier. It was composed in its present-day form in Rome about 1884. For a detailed description, see EX I 151*-157*. It contains an Italian version of our D 20.

2. *Epp. NN. 78*, formerly *Excerpta romana*, has 200 numbered folios. It contains rough copies of letters that were to serve Polanco in 1548 in composing a historical paper on the origins of the Society of Jesus, and also a collection of translations of edifying letters from abroad sent to Rome in order to be forwarded to the other provincies of the Society. It is described in EX I 165*. We borrow from it DD 57 and 58.

3. *Goa 8 I*, formerly *Goana Epistol. 1549-1572*. The bound volume contains many original letters from India from the years 1549 to 1561 (the further years being found in *Goa 8 II* and *III*). It contains three autograph letters of Fr. Juan de Beira : our DD 41, 42, and 46.

4. *Goa 10 I* and *II*, formerly *Goa. Malab. Epist. 1545-1560*. An important collection of original, often autographic, letters from India, but likewise of copied and translated texts. A detailed description of *I* is to be found in EX I 157*. From *I* we borrow D 46A ; *II* furnishes secondary texts of DD 57 and 58 ; also D 88.

5. *Goa 11 II*, former title : *Goa. Malab. Epist. 1561-1569, II 1566-1569*. Together with *Goa 11 I*, it is described in detail in DI V 40*. It contains original, not unfrequently autographic, letters from India and E Africa, also copies and versions. The folios are numbered from 265 to 511. We borrow from it DD 158 (autograph), 161 (copy and translation), 162 (two texts), 163 (original), and 164 (original, copy, and Italian version).

6. *Goa 12 I*, formerly *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1570-1575*. It contains

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the letters written to Fr. General from India and Malacca and some other places during the years indicated. See DI VII 41*. It furnishes DD 169 (original and copy), 175 (original), 176 (two copies), 177 (original), 178 (three texts), and 179 (three copies).

7. *Goa 31*, formerly *Goana Historia, 1539-1599, I*, numbers 442 folios. For its description and history, see EX I 157*. In it we found secundary copies of DD 57 and 58, and a translation of D 198.

8. *Goa 46 I*, earlier *Mogor 1580-1690*, runs to 394 numbered folios and contains original letters and other documents from the Province of Goa, especially of the Mogor mission, and also coeval copies and versions of them. For a more accurate description, see EX I 159*. It gives us the original text of D 98.

9. *Goa 47*, former title *Malabarica Historia I.* This volume contains a great multitude of mostly original, and often autographic, documents from Goa for the years 1575-1592. See DI V 41*. We borrow from it the original text of D 213.

10. *Hisp. 67*, formerly *Hisp. Epist. Gener. 1564-1566.* In 288 folios it contains the file copies of letters of Fr. General or of his secretary to the Spanish and Portuguese Assistancies, from September 8, 1564, to December 29, 1566. See *Mon. Ant. Floridae* 94*. Our D 143 is taken from this codex.

11. *Hisp. 69*, former title *Epist. Hisp. 1570-1573*, with the addition *Copias de letras que han ydo a España ineunte anno 1570 ad Christi Iesu gloriam, Romae.* File copies of outgoing letters; 186 folios. See *Mon. Ant. Floridae* 94*. We borrow from it D 170.

12. *Hisp. 114*, earlier called *Epist. Hispan. 1570. II.* On 330 folios it contains the letters received in Rome from Spain, from April to July 1570. Our D 180, a holograph, is to be found there.

13. *Hist. Soc. 5a*, earlier *Soc. Iesu Historica, 1543-1580*, has 225 folios. It is a miscellaneous volume, containing many autographs of Polanco and, from f. 173 on, Latin excerpts from Annual Letters, among which some are from Asia, of 1572-1577. One of them is a shortened text of our D 198.

14. *Hist. Soc. 116*, also called *Selva di Bartoli* because it contains the materials collected by Bartoli for his work *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Giesu. L'Asia.* We borrow from it two texts which otherwise do not seem to have been preserved: DD 194 and 201.

15. Section *Fondo Gesuitico, Titulus VIII no. 721 II 2.* A sheaf of documents, mostly referring to E Asia, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is described in Lamalle, *La documentation* 151. One of the documents is an autograph by Polanco: our D 157.

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## PORTUGAL

### a) Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda

16. *Jesuitas na Ásia, 49-4-49,* formerly *Cartas 1541-1556,* consists of 306 folios. This codex, and some others following here (nos. 17; 19-24; 27), are owed to the custom of the Jesuits of reading the Asian letters to the community in the refectory. In the São Roque Professed House at Lisbon, in the colleges of Coimbra and Évora, copies of those letters were collected in voluminous tomes for that purpose. The tomes finally ended up in several archives. This is the first volume of São Roque; therefore it was called also *Ulyssiponensis I* by some authors, but this is not an official name. It is amply described in EX I 187*-192*. Covering the years 1544-1558, it contains 165 copies or versions of letters and reports from the entire S and E Asian and Ethiopian area, many of which have not otherwise been preserved. This makes the codex extremely important. Of course, the historical worth of the copies is inferior to that of originals, here the more so because the copyists sometimes shortenend and changed the text, adapting it to refectory reading by omitting what seemed unimportant or less edifying and by suppressing the names of Jesuits who had been dismissed. Yet the documents are substantially trustworthy and they reveal a lot of useful information on the missioners and their work. — To this codex we owe the texts of DD 20, 28, 33, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 69, and 70.

17. *Jesuitas na Ásia, 49-4-50.* A codex of 641 numbered and 14 unnumbered folios. On the back of the recent binding the inscription reads *Cartas 1556-1563,* and by some authors it was called *Ulyssiponensis II* (see preceding no.). Description: EX I 192*-194*. It is the continuation of no. 16. It contains 220 copies or versions of letters of the years 1544-1549 and 1555-1564. We borrow from it DD 69, 70, 71, 73, 79, 88, 96, 107, 109, 115, 116, 117, and 118.

18. *Jesuitas na Ásia, 49-4-54.* The codex contains the MS of the first part of the *História do Japão* by Fr. Luís FRÓIS SJ. We borrow from it the text of D 108.

### b) Lisbon, Academia das Ciências

19. Codex *11 azul,* formerly *3-9-11,* also called *Eborensis I.* A similar collection of copied letters, often transcribed from *Ajuda 49-*

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*-4-49*, containing over 170 letters and documents of 1544-1556 on 405 folios. It served refectory reading in the college of Évora. It is described in EX I 194*-196*. The texts of DD 20, 28, 33, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51 are to be found in it.

20. Codex *12 azul*, earlier *3-9-12* (*Eborensis II*). Continuation of the preceding, it numbers 436 folios, containing 172 pieces and covering the years 1557-1563. Description: DI III 32*; V 44*. For our collection it contains texts of DD 69, 70, 71, 79, 96, 107, and 109.

21. Codex *13 azul*, formerly *3-9-13* (*Eborensis III*). It is described, with the two preceding ones, in DI VI 40*. On 421 folios it contains 168 documents of 1563-1569. The texts of DD 115, 117, 118, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, and 135 are to be found here.

### c) Lisbon, Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros

22. Codex *Cartas da Índia*, formerly *Arm. 20/F*, and called *Conimbricensis I* by some authors because it once served refectory reading in the college at Coimbra. It has been copied for the greater part from no. 19. The codex contains 170 letters on 409 folios, and at the end an addition of some documents that do not belong to India. Its description can be consulted in EX I 196*-200*. It furnishes texts of DD 20, 28, 33, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51.

### d) Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional

23. *Fundo Geral 4534*, formerly *P/6/45*, sometimes called *Conimbricensis II* because originally it is the continuation of no. 22. On 545 folios it contains 236 letters and documents of the years 1557-1564. For a description, see DI III 33*. We quote from it some texts at DD 69, 70, 71, 73, 79, 96, 107, 109, 115, 116, 117, 118, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, and 130.

24. *Fundo Geral 4532*, earlier *P/6/43*. It is called by some authors *Eborensis IV* (cf. DI VIII 55* no. 32), by others less correctly *Conimbricensis III* (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* p. XL). It contains 154 folios with 43 letters of 1569-1574. Texts of our DD 161, 162, 164, 169, 176, 178, 179, and 184 are to be found in it.

25. *Fundo Geral 915*, formerly *B/17/34*. This is the MS of the first volume of the *História da Companhia de Jesus* written by Fr. Sebastião GONÇALVES SJ between 1604 and 1614. It is amply described

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by WICKI in the introduction to his edition of the *História*, I pp. X-XII; cf. also EX I 183*. It contains the text of D 134.

e) Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico do Ultramar

26. *MS 217*, titled *Regimentos das Fortalezas, 1576*, contains, on 156 folios, the regulations made by Viceroy D. Antão de Noronha for the Portuguese fortresses of Asia. Among them is one text of D 147.

f) Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo

27. *Armário Jesuítico, 28.* This codex is sometimes called *Conimbricensis IV*, and it comprises 66 letters on 209 folios, covering the years 1571-1582. For a description, see DI VIII 55*. We found our DD 178, 179, and 184 in this codex.

28. *Gavetas 15-16-39.* This is one of the sheaves of the rich collection of letters received by the kings of Portugal. Under no. 4 it contains one of the texts of D 44.

g) Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital

29. *Jesuitas 116/2-11*, contains a small fragment of our D 169.

30. *Jesuitas 108/2-2*, bound codex, collection of letters of 1560-1575, numbering 463 folios, contains an abstract in Portuguese of D 198.

GERMANY

a) Cologne, Stadtarchiv

31. *Jesuitenabteilung, 722*, formerly *326b.* A codex of 317 folios, containing copies and translations of letters (so-called *litterae quadrimestres*) from Jesuits in Europe an India, of 1540-1578, and received in the college in Cologne. A description is given in DI I 73*. We borrow from it DD 46A, 69, 70, 72, 73, and 77.

b) Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv

32. *Jesuiten 607*, formerly *293.* A sheaf of loose letters, mostly eighteenth century. It contains a German version of our D 127.

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33. *Jesuiten 100*, formerly *82a*. A bound codex, titled *Annales Soc. Jesu ab anno 1573 ad annum 1578* [corrected to *1579* by another hand] *inclusive*, and containing, on 399 folios, Annual Letters, mostly in Latin translation, from all over the world, received by the Jesuits of Munich from Rome. In the *Annuae Domus Professae Romanae* of 1575, sent by the General's secretary, Antonio Possevino, we find a Latin abstract of our D 198.

c) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

34. Codex *Guelf. 36.24 Aug.* contains, under no. 2, a Latin MS text of our D 127.

SPAIN

Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional

35. *Jesuitas, legajo 270*. A sheaf of 242 documents, treating especially of China and Japan between 1544 and 1710. A short survey of the contents can be seen in GUGLIERI NAVARRO, nos. 3251-3253. No. 16 of this sheaf contains a Portuguese text of our D 107; no. 63 a Spanish translation of D 130.

INDIA

Goa, Historical Archives of Goa (formerly Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia).

36. *MS 3025*, being a collection of D. Antão de Noronha's *Regimentos das fortalezas*, contains one text of our D 147.

ITALY

a) Florence, Archivio di Stato

37. *MSS. 746*. A sheaf consisting of 44 numbers. No. 23 is a booklet of 12 folios, recently paged, titled *Relatione dell'Indie cavate dalle lettere de Padri Giesuiti l'anno 1558*. It contains the Italian version of our DD 69, 70, 72, 73, and 75.

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b) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

38. Codex *Pinelli R 100 sup.*, a bound volume, contains a shortened Latin version of D 198. Cf. DI XI 33*.

VATICAN CITY

a) Archivum Secretum Vaticanum

39. *Minuta Brevium, Arm. 41 vol. 37.* A bound volume, numbering 384 folios, titled *Paul. III. Brev. Minut. a men. sep. per tot. m. Xbris 1546. Tom. III. XLI. Arm. 41, 37.* The text is always written in two columns and in a barely readable handwriting. We borrow from it D 6 (rough copy).

40. *Miscellanea, Arm. II, 67,* is a bound codex of 318 folios and has a handwritten eighteenth century table of contents at the beginning. It furnishes an Italian version of D 126, and makes mention of DD 125 and 130.

41. *Nunziatura di Portogallo 2.* The ancient inscription of this bound volume reads *Portogal°. Mr Caligari Nuntio dal 1574 al 77*; an old label bears the numeral *3538.* The codex contains the original text of D 191.

b) Bibliotheca Vaticana

42. *Ottoboni lat. 797.* This bound volume of 199 folios was made up between 1548 and 1554 by Cardinal Marcello Cervini, who in 1555 became Pope Marcellus II. Being a friend of Fr. Polanco, he received Italian versions of the arriving Indian letters from him. The codex is amply described in EX I 203*-206*. It contains Italian translations of DD 20, 33, and 46A.

3. EARLIER NOTICE OF THESE DOCUMENTS

The documents of the Maluku Jesuit Mission, existing in several archives, have never been completely and systematically published. Some ancient Jesuit historians who had access to the archives, as, for instance, Manuel da Costa, Polanco, Maffei, Orlandini, Sacchini, Seb.

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Gonçalves, Bartoli, Souza, utilized many of them for their works. The sixteenth and seventeenth century editions of the Jesuit letters contain also letters from Maluku, but often in a little reliable version. After the revival of Catholic mission work in the Dutch East Indies in the nineteenth century, interest in the history of the ancient missionary efforts was roused.

The first, however, who tried to draw up a list of Jesuit letters from Maluku was a non-Catholic, H. C. MILLIES who, in 1863, in his *Opmerkingen over de bronnen voor de beoefening der kerkgeschiedenis van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*, enumerated nearly forty letters which he had found in sixteenth century Italian and Latin editions.

Sixty years later, the Catholic missionary (and afterwards bishop), B. J. J. VISSER MSC, undertook to write the history of the Catholic Church in the Dutch East Indies; in his first volume, *Onder Portugeesch-Spaansche vlag* (1925), he utilized the Maluku letters as far as he could find them in the ancient editions.

The first to show a constant interest for a more systematical study, not only of the printed texts, but also of many MS sources, especially in the ARSI, was Fr. C. WESSELS SJ. A strenuous worker, he utilized the documents to write quite a number of books and articles on the spreading of the Christian faith in various regions of the East Indies, particularly in the Maluku area : on Ambon, on Bacan, in N Selebes and on the Sangi Islands, and in the whole of Maluku. For the period of our volume, his most important work is *De geschiedenis der R.K. Missie in Amboina, 1546-1605* (1926). But many MS documents have escaped him, especially from Portuguese archives, and those he did get notice of were not published, only utilized by him.

Finally, in 1954, when Artur Basílio DE SÁ undertook the publication of the *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado português do Oriente* for the section *Insulíndia*, he inserted a good many letters of Jesuits as well, at least in the first three volumes. He confined himself to letters found in the Portuguese archives or borrowed from MHSI editions. Anyway, SÁ must be said to have been, within certain limits, the first to plan effectually a systematic publication of the documents of the ancient Maluku mission. Several reasons, among which his decease, impeded the completion of this plan.

### 4. EARLIER PRINTINGS

NB. Only the documents not borrowed from EX or DI are referred to here.

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1. *Copia de unas cartas, Coimbra 1551 or 1552.*

Copia de unas cartas del Padre Mestre Francisco, y del Padre M. Gaspar, y otros Padres de la Compañia de Iesu, que escrivieron de la India a los Hermanos del colegio de Iesus de Coimbra. Tresladadas de Portugues en Castellano. Recibidas el año de MDLI. [Coimbra 1551/1552].

(See STREIT IV no. 671; EX I 215* no. 3).

The fourth letter is our D 20.

2. *Avisi particolari, Roma 1552.*

Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portogallo, ricevuti in questi doi anni del 1551 et 1552 da li Reverendi Padri de la Compagnia de Iesu, dove fra molte cose mirabili si vede delli paesi, delle genti et costumi loro et la grande conversione di molti populi, che cominciano a ricevere il lume della santa fede et religione Christiana. In Roma per Valerio Dorico et Luigi Fratelli Bressani. Alle spese de M. Batista de Rosi Genovese. 1552.

(See STREIT IV no. 669-670; EX I 216* no. 5).

312-316 = D 20.

3. *Lettere del P. Maestro Francesco, Venezia 1552.*

Lettere del Padre Maestro Francesco et del Padre Gasparro et altri della Compagnia di Giesù scritte dalla India ai Fratelli del Collegio di Giesù de Coimbra, tradotte di lingua Spagniuola, ricevute l'anno MDLI [Venezia 1552].

(See STREIT IV no. 672; EX I 215* no. 4).

The fourth letter is our D 20.

4. *Avisi particolari, Romae 1556.*

Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo, novamente havuti questo anno del 1555 da li R. Padri della Compagnia di Iesu, dove si ha informatione delle gran cose che si fanno per augmento de la santa fede. Con la descriptione et costumi delle genti del Regno de la China et altri paesi incogniti novamente trovati. Romae apud Antonium Bladum impressorem cameralem. 1556.

(See STREIT IV no. 805).

27-28 = D 48; 28-29 = D 50; 29-30 = D 51.

5. *Avisi particolari, delle Indie de Portugallo, Romae 1556.*

Reedition of no. 4; same title, except *de Portugallo* instead of *di Portugallo*; increased by some letters.

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(See STREIT IV no. 806).
27-28 = D 48; 28-29 = D 50; 29-30 = D 51.

6. *Avisi particulari, Romae 1557.*

Avisi particulari dell'Indie di Portugallo novamente hauti quest'anno del 1557 dalli R. Padri della Compagnia di Iesu, dove s'ha informatione delle gran cose che si fanno per augmento della santa fede et conversione de quelle genti infideli a Christo N. Signore. Romae, in aedibus Societatis Iesu anno Domini 1557.

(See STREIT IV no. 817).
27-28 = D 58.

7. *Diversi avisi, Venetia 1559.*

Diversi avisi particolari dall'Indie di Portogallo ricevuti dall'anno 1551 sino al 1558 dal'i Reverendi Padri della Compagnia di Giesu. Dove s'intende delli paesi, delle genti, et costumi loro et la grande conversione di molti popoli che hanno ricevuto il lume della santa fede et religione Christiana. Tradotti nuovamente dalla lingua Spagnuola nella Italiana. Col privilegio del Sommo Pontefice et dell'Illustrissimo Senato Veneto per anni XV. [*At the back*:] In Venetia: per Michele Tramezzino. MDLIX.

(There is an unchanged edition of 1565. See STREIT IV nos. 850 and 912; EX I 217* no. 9).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 113*v*-115*v* = D 20 | 189*r*-190*r* = D 48 | 192*r*-*v* = D 51 |
| 134*v*-137*v* = D 46A | 190*v*-192*r* = D 50 | 228*v*-230*r* = D 58 |

8. *Copia de algunas cartas, Coimbra 1562.*

Copia de algunas cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus, que andan en la India, y otras partes orientales, escrivieron a los de la misma Compañia de Portugal. Desde el año de MDLVII hasta el de LXI. Tresladadas de Portugues en Castellano. Impressas en Coimbra por Joan de Barrera. 1562.

(See STREIT IV no. 897; DI III 46* no. 10).
45-48 = D 88.

9. *Copia de algunas cartas, Barcelona 1562.*

Same title as of no. 8, except for: Impressas en Barcelona por Claude Bornat. Año de 1562.

(See DI III 46* no. 11).
59*r*-61*r* = D 88.

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10. *Nuovi avisi. Terza parte. Venezia 1562.*

Nuovi avisi dell'Indie di Portogallo, ricevuti dalli Reverendi Padri della Compagnia di Giesu, tradotti dalla lingua Spagnuola nell'Italiana. Terza parte. Con privilegio del Sommo Pontefice et dell'Illustrissimo Senato Veneto per anni XX. [*At the back*:] In Venezia per Michele Tramezzino, MDLXII.

(See STREIT IV no. 898; EX I 218* no. 10).

35*v*-36*r* = D 69
36*v*-37*r* = D 70
27*v*-33*v* = D 72
33*v*-34*r* = D 73
34*v*-35*r* = D 77
187*r*-189*v* = D 88

11. *Epistolae Indicae de stupendis, Lovanii 1566.*

Jesus. Epistolae Indicae de stupendis et praeclaris rebus, quas divina bonitas in India et variis insulis per Societatem nominis Iesu operari dignata est in tam copiosa gentium ad fidem conversione. Lovanii apud Rutgerum Velpium, Bibliopol. Iura. Sub Castro Angelico. Cum privileg. Reg. ad 4 annos. 1566.

(See STREIT IV no. 915; EX I 219* no. 12).

164-174 = D 46A.

12. *Epistolae Indicae de praeclaris, Lovanii 1566.*

Epistolae Indicae de praeclaris et stupendis rebus, quas divina bonitas in India et variis insulis per Societatem nominis Iesu operari dignata est in tam copiosa gentium ad fidem conversione. Secunda editio auctior. Lovanii apud Rutgerum Velpium, Bibliop. iurat. Sub Castro Angelico. Cum gratia et privil. reg. ad 4 an. 1566.

(See EX I 219* no. 13).

81-89 = D 46A.

13. *Epistolae Iapanicae, Lovanii 1569.*

Epistolae Iapanicae de multorum gentilium in variis insulis ad Christi fidem per Societatis nominis Iesu theologos conversione. In quibus etiam mores, leges, locorumque situs, luculenter describuntur. Lovanii, apud Rutgerum Velpium. Sub Castro Angelico. Cum privilegio regio ad 4 annos. 1569. [*Two parts in one volume*].

(See STREIT IV no. 927; EX I 219* no. 14).

I 225 = D 72 (fragm.)
227 = D 88 (fragm.)
II 158-167 = D 125
167-173 = D 128
173-176 = D 129

14. *Cartas de Iapão, Coimbra 1570.*

Iesus. Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesus que

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andão nos Reynos de Iapão escreverão aos da mesma Companhia da India, e Europa, des do anno de 1549 ate o de 66. Nellas se conta o principio, socesso, e bondade da Christandade daquellas partes, e varios costumes e idolatrias da gentilidade. Impressas por mandado do Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Ioão Soarez, Bispo de Coimbra, Conde de Arganil, etc. Forão vistas por sua Senhoria Reverendiss. e impressas com sua licença, e dos Inquisidores, em Coimbra, em casa de Antonio de Marijs. Anno de 1570.

(See EX I 220* no. 17).

279-280 = D 108.

15. *Epistolae Indicae et Iapanicae, Lovanii 1570.*

Epistolae Indicae et Iapanicae de multarum gentium ad Christi fidem per Societatem Iesu conversione. Item de Tartarorum potentia, moribus, et totius pene Asiae religione. Tertia editio cum Indice castigatior et auctior. Lovanii, apud Rutgerum Velpium. Sub Castro Angelico. Cum privilegio regio ad 4 annos. Subsig. I. de Witte. 1570.

(See STREIT IV no. 937; EX I 220* no. 15).

298-305 = D 46A
305-311 = D 125
311-314 = D 128
314-316 = D 129

16. *Epistolae Iapanicae, Lovanii 1570.*

Epistolae Iapanicae de multorum in variis insulis gentilium ad Christi fidem conversione. Illustrissimo Principi Domino D. Guiliel. Bavariae Duci dicatae. Accessit demum rerum ac verborum Index locupletissimus. Lovanii, apud Rutgerum Velpium. Sub Castro Angelico. Cum privilegio regio. 1570.

(See STREIT IV no. 936; EX I 220* no. 16).

178-179 = D 88 (fragm.).

17. *Nuovi avisi, Roma 1570.*

Nuovi avisi dell'India de Reverendi Padri della Compagnia di Giesu, ricevuti quest'anno MDLXX. In Roma, per gli heredi di Antonio Blado. Con licentia de superiori.

(See STREIT IV no. 938).

15-17 = D 161; 17-20 = D 162.

18. *Avisi novi, Roma 1570.*

Avisi novi et certezza della parte di mezzo giorno, dove se intende tre infideli re della fede Mahomettana convertiti, et battizati con li

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suoi regni, et venuti alla nostra santa Christiana fede. [In Roma, per Giovanni Osmarino. 1570].

(There is another edition: In Roma, appresso Doricos alli 23. di Decemb. 1570. See JACOBS, *Ein bis jetzt verschollenes Kuriosum* 329 and 332).

[3]-[6] = D 162.

19. *Nuovi avisi, Brescia 1571.*

Nuovi avisi dell'India de Reverendi Padri della Compagnia di Giesu. Ricevuti quest'anno MDLXXI. In Brescia, appresso Gio. Paulo Borela. MDLXXI.

(See STREIT IV no. 943).

17-18 = D 161; 19-22 = D 162.

20. *Recueil, Paris 1570.*

Recueil des plus fraisches lettres escrittes des Indes Orientales par ceux de la Compagnie du nom de Iesus qui y font residence, et envoiées l'an 1568. 69. et 70. à ceux de ladicte Compagnie en Europe, sur la grande conversion des infideles à Iesus-Christ. Traduites d'Italien en Francois. A Paris, chez Michel Sonnius, en la rue sainct Iaques, à l'enseigne de l'escu de Basle. MDLXXI. Avec privilege.

(See STREIT IV no. 947).

95-98 = D 161; 52-62 = D 162.

21. *Sendtschreyben, München 1571.*

Sendtschreyben und warhaffte zeytungen von Auffgang und erweiterung des Christenthumbs, bey den Hayden inn der newen welt: auch von vervolgung unnd hailigkait der gaistlichen apostolischen Vorsteher daselbs, so erst dises jar auss den Orientischen Indien kommen, und jetzt inn teutsche spraach transsferiert worden. Durch D. Philipp Dobereiner von Turschenreut. Mit Kay. freyhait nit nachzudrucken, Anno MDLXXI. [*At the back*:] Gedruckt zu München, bey Adam Berg. Anno 1571.

(See STREIT IV no. 950).

62-70 = D 161; 71-86 = D 162.

22. *Rerum a Societate, Parisiis 1572. (Neapoli 1573; Coloniae 1574).*

Emanuelis Acostae Lusitani Historia *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Orgente gestarum* ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII recognita et latinitate donata. Accessere de Japonicis rebus epistolarum libri IIII item recogniti et in latinum ex hispanico sermone conversi.

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Et recentium de rebus Indicis epistolarum liber usque ad annum 1570. Parisiis, apud Michaelem Sonnium, Via Jacobaea, sub scuto Basiliensi. MDLXXII. Cum privilegio regis.

(See STREIT IV no. 956).

215-217 = D 161 ; 217-220 = D 162. — In the edition *Neapoli 1573* (see STREIT IV no. 958) DD 161 and 162 are found on the pages 50-51 and 52-54 ; in the edition *Coloniae 1574* (see STREIT IV no. 959) on the pages 95-98 and 99-104.

23. *Cartas de Iapon, Alcalá 1575.*

Iesus. Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus, que andan en los Reynos de Iapon escrivieron a los de la misma Compañia, desde el año de mil y quinientos y quarenta y nueve hasta el de mil y quinientos y setenta y uno. En las quales se da noticia de las varias costumbres y idolatrias de aquella gentilidad : y se cuenta el principio y successo y bondad de aquellas partes. Con privilegio de Castilla y Aragon. En Alcala, en casa de Iuan Iñiguez de Lequerica. Año 1575.

(See EX I 222* no. 20).

114r-v = D 108.

24. *Nuovi avisi, Brescia 1579.*

Nuovi avisi delle Indie di Portogallo, Quinta parte. In Brescia, Turlini, 1579.

(See STREIT IV no. 983).

15-17 = D 161 ; 17-20 = D 162.

25. *Lettere dell'India, Vinegia 1580.*

Lettere dell'India Orientale, scritte da' Reverendi Padri della Compagnia di Giesù. Nelle quali scopre la grande arte usata da gli istessi per liberar l'anime de gli infideli Indiani dalla potestà del nemico infernale e ridurle alla nostra santa fede. Novamente stampate e ampliate in molti luoghi e ricorrette con diligenza. Con privilegio. In Vinegia, appresso Antonio Ferrari. MDLXXX.

(See STREIT IV no. 992).

1-8 = D 46A ; 80-88 = D 161 ; 88-96 = D 162.

26. *Kurtze Verzeichnuss, Ingolstadt 1586.*

Kurtze Verzeichnuss und historische Beschreibung deren Dingen so von der Societät Jesu in Orient von dem Jar nach Christi Geburt 1542 biss auff das 1568 gehandlet worden. Erstlich durch Joannem

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Petrum Maffeium auss Portugalesischer sprach in Latein und jetzo neben etlichen Japonischen Sendtschreiben vom Jar 1548 biss auff 1555 allen frommen Katholischen zu Lieb und Trost ins Teutsch gebracht unnd zum ersten mal an Tag geben. Durch weylandt den Hochgelehrten Herrn Joannem Georgium Götzen, beyder Rechten Doctorn, auch Fürstlichen Bischofflichen Constantzischen Rat unnd Secretarien, ... Mit Röm. Kay. May. Gnad und Freyheit. Gedruckt zu Ingolstadt durch David Sartorium, anno MDLXXXVI.

(See STREIT IV no. 1041; EX I 222* no. 21).

437-452 = D 46A.

27. *Cartas de Iapão e China, Évora 1598.*

Iesus. Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão e China aos da mesma Companhia da India e Europa, des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580. Primeiro Tomo. Nellas se conta o principio, socesso, e bondade da Christandade daquellas partes, e varios costumes e falsos ritos da gentilidade. Impressas por mandado do Reverendissimo em Christo Padre Dom Theotonio de Bragança, Arcebispo d'Evora. Impressas com licença e approvação dos SS. Inquisidores e do Ordinario. Em Evora por Manoel de Lyra. Anno de MDXCVIII.

(See STREIT IV no. 1888; EX I 224* no. 26).

94 = D 108.

28. *Seb.* GONÇALVES.

GONÇALVES, Sebastião SJ, *Primeira parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a divina graça na conversão dos infieis a nossa santa fee catholica nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental* [Written 1604-1614]. Publicada por José WICKI SJ. 3 vols. Coimbra 1957-1962.

III 172-176 = D 134.

29. ALEGAMBE, *Mortes illustres.*

ALEGAMBE, Philippus SJ, *Mortes illustres et gesta eorum de Societate Iesu qui in odium fidei, pietatis aut cuiuscumque virtutis ... ab ethnicis, haereticis vel aliis ... necati sunt ...* Extremos aliquot annos mortesque illustres usque ad 1655 adiecit Joannes NADASI SI. Romae 1657.

113-115 = D 162.

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30. Souza.

Souza, Francisco de, SJ, *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa. Primeira parte,* na qual se conteem os primeiros vinte e dous annos desta provincia. *Segunda parte,* na qual se conteem o que se obrou desde anno de 1564 ate o anno de 1585. Lisboa 1710. — 2nd ed., Bombaim 1881-1886.

Parte II, Conquista III, Divisão 1, par. 15 = D 134 (fragm.).

31. Franco, *Imagem Coimbra.*

Franco, António SJ, *Imagem da virtude em o noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no real collegio de Jesus de Coimbra em Portugal.* Na qual se contem as vidas e sanctas mortes de muitos homens de grande virtude, que naquella sancta caza se criaram. 2 vols. Evora 1719.

II 457 = D 33 (fragm.).
382-385 = D 44.

32. Barbosa Machado, Diogo, *Memórias para a história de Portugal.* 4 vols. Lisboa 1736-1751.

II 586-588 = D 134.

33. *Missionsgeschichte.*

[Eglauer, Ant.], *Die Missionsgeschichte späterer Zeiten,* oder gesammelte Briefe der katholischen Missionare aus allen Theilen der Welt . . . *Briefe aus Ostindien.* 3 vols. Augsburg 1794-1795.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | 123-125 = D 20 | 211-213 = D 48 | 217-218 = D 51 |
| | 196-205 = D 46A | 214-217 = D 50 | 278-281 = D 58 |
| II | 279-285 = D 125 | 288-290 = D 129 | 322-330 = D 162 |
| | 285-288 = D 128 | 317-322 = D 161 | |

34. Fróis, Luis SJ, *Die Geschichte Japans (1549-1578).* Nach der Handschrift der Ajudabibliothek in Lissabon übersetzt und kommentiert von G. Schurhammer und E. A. Voretzsch. Leipzig 1926.
114-115 = D 108.

35. Pissurlencar, Panduronga S.S., *Regimentos das fortalezas da Índia.* Bastorá-Goa 1951.
451-453 = D 147.

36. Sá, Artur Basílio de, *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado português do Oriente. Insulíndia.* 5 vols. Lisboa 1954-1958.

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I 602-605 = D 20

II 12-16 = D 28
48-50 = D 33
81-84 = D 43
85-91 = D 44
92-101 = D 45
131-132 = D 47
133-135 = D 48
136-138 = D 49
139-142 = D 50
143-145 = D 51
294-300 = D 69
301-303 = D 70
304-306 = D 71
307-308 = D 73
313-333 = D 79
344-348 = D 88
354-357 = D 96
430-432 = D 107
435-444 = D 109

III 6-26 = D 115
27-42 = D 116
45-55 = D 117
56-60 = D 118
64-73 = D 125
79-82 = D 126
118-123 = D 127
109-114 = D 128
115-117 = D 129
83-102 = D 130
127-131 = D 134
132-140 = D 135

37. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo.* 10 vols. Lisboa 1960-1974 [Centro Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos].
V 57-60 = D 44.

38. Wicki, Josef SJ, *Nuovi documenti attorno ai piani missionari di Pio V nel 1568*, in AHSI 37 (1968) 408-417.
413-417 = D 157.

## 5. The Historiographers of the Maluku Jesuit Mission 1546-1576

Not a few church historians have dealt with the Maluku Jesuit Mission of the years covered by this volume. Some of them have done so incidentally and in a fragmentary way in their chronicles of the whole of Jesuit history. Others have aimed at a more coherent and well connected narrative, though this mostly forms only a part of a much wider range of facts recounted, a procedure which commonly resulted in relegating Maluku ('la última de todas [las fortalezas]' - D 3, 3) to the very end of any depicted epoch. Only a very few have been purposely writing a definite account on this issue. Some were able to consult the Jesuit archives in Portugal, Goa, and Rome; others worked only after printed texts. From the indications given on every author here below the scholarly reader will easily ascertain to which category he belongs. As a Jesuit mission is the topic of discussion, we cannot but expect mostly Jesuit authors to have worked on it, to whom, moreover, the Jesuit archives, as a matter of fact, were more easily accessible.

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Omitting authors of purely secular history (Correa 1563, Gabriel Rebelo 1569, Estevão de Lemos ca. 1580, Maffei 1588, the author of the *Relação Vasconcelos* ca. 1600, Couto 1645), as well as the exclusive biographers of Francis Xavier (Francisco Pérez 1579, Manuel Teixeira 1580, Tursellinus 1596, Lucena 1600, and the more recent ones like Cros 1900, Brou 1912, and Schurhammer 1973), and likewise those who in their accounts of the early Maluku Mission distinguish themselves by arbitrary selection and unconnectedness (Valignano 1583, Guzmán 1601, Bartolameu Guerreiro 1642, Baltasar Telles 1645), we draw up the following chronological list. (For complete titles, see Bibliography).

*Rerum a Societate Iesu gestarum*, Coloniae 1574, pp. 53-68, elaborated after original letters.

POLANCO, *Chronicon* (1574). I 201-207, 258-265, 475-479; II 768-772; III 489-491; IV 668-670; V 708-710; VI 810-820, noted down in Rome after the letters as they came in.

Sebastião GONÇALVES, *História dos religiosos* (1614). I 216-238; II 108-109, 115-120, 128-129, 183, 345-349; III 151-153, 159-160, 169-176, 201, 228, 240-243, 334-342. He consulted earlier Jesuit authors, but also many unedited documents from the Goa archives.

ORLANDINI, *Historia Societatis Iesu* I (1615). He generally relates the Maluku Mission in the later of last numbers of books V to IX. As the official historiographer of the Society he had easy access to the archives of the Roman Jesuit headquarters.

JARRICUS, *Thesaurus rerum indicarum* (1615). I 730-794: a very complete and coherent description, ample and exhaustive (the book has been printed in very small types!), cleverly and judiciously written, but entirely based on printed sources only.

SACCHINI, *Historia Societatis Iesu, II Lainius* (1620). Bk I nos. 155-157; II 174-184; III 134-135; V 252, 265; VI 167-178; VII 114-126; VIII 179-180. *III Borgia* (1649). Bk I nos. 137-139; II 91; IV 261-277; V 256-262; VI 195; VII 159-160, 170. *IV Everardus* (1652). Bk I nos. 136, 143-144; IV 202-221. As the continuer of Orlandini, he could freely consult the Roman archives.

BARTOLI, *Dell'Istoria della Compagnia di Giesu. L'Asia* (1653; best ed. 1667). Bk II nos. 8-53 deal with the life of Francis Xavier; Bk VI deals entirely with the Maluku Mission 1547-1578. Bartoli did not only consult other authors, but, writing in Rome, he thoroughly ransacked the Roman Jesuit archives as well.

SOUZA, *Oriente Conquistado* (1710). Part I, III 1 29-37, 47-53; III 2 1-35; Part II, III 1 2-48; III 2 1-4. As an official historio-

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grapher of the Goa Jesuit Province he made use of the Goa archives, often mentioning the sources he utilized.

VISSER, *Onder Portugueesch-Spaansche vlag 1511-1605* (1925). 44-89, 98-221. This is the first explicit, formal, and, in a modern sense, scholarly exposition of the history of the mission in Indonesia, of which the Maluku Mission forms the lion's share. The author worked after printed sources only.

WESSELS, *De geschiedenis der R.K. Missie in Amboina 1546-1605* (1926). Up to page 67 it deals with the period covered by this volume. A more particular and likewise scholarly explanation of the Maluku Mission history, but restricted to the Ambon Islands. Wessels made frequent use of the documents from the ARSI, ignoring, however, those from the Portuguese archives.

TEIXEIRA, Manuel, *Malacca and Singapore* (1963). I 451-477. A somewhat unsystematic collection of materials from other authors presented in a brief and fragmentary tabulation.

## 6. OUR EDITION

We publish here all the available documents of the Maluku Jesuit Mission, both those from a Maluku provenance and from elsewhere but referring to that mission. The sequence of our publication is chronological. We interlace the series of documents with the indications of lost letters. Only such lost documents are mentioned that have any concern with the topic of this volume and for which positive proofs are at our disposal.

For every document we present an introduction, containing bibliographical items, the earlier use of the document by authors, the several MS texts, eventual questions about the author, addressee, place, or date of writing, sometimes an historical note, and indications of earlier imprints. For documents borrowed from EX and DI, the introduction is more concise because it refers to those volumes.

A summary of the contents precedes every document text.

If there are more than one MS text of the same document, we have chosen the best and most trustworthy one, preferring an original to a copy, and the original language to translations. Not seldom there are extant more than one original, for often the letters were sent twofold or threefold by different ships. In such instances we have *a primeira via* and *a segunda via*, etc. of the same letter. Only in a

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few cases, when the *vias* appear to diverge considerably, do we print two texts of the same document, the one beside the other.

We maintain the original orthography, however strange or deficient it may be. Usual and known abbreviations are resolved and written in full except for some very obvious and frequent ones (*Pe* for *Padre*). As to accents : in Italian and Spanish we use the modern ones. As in Portuguese the rules of accenting are revised periodically, are not universally observed, or are observed in different ways by Portuguese and Brazilians, we prefer to limit the use of accents in Portuguese texts to such cases where otherwise ambiguity would arise (*a*, *á*, *à* ; *por*, *pôr* ; *nos*, *nós*). For clearness sake, the accent is mostly given on words ending in a single vowel, that have the tonic accent on the last syllable (*está*, *mercê*, *terá*), and on monosyllables with special emphasis (*lá*, *cá*), except where the ancient orthography provides otherwise (*estaa*, *laa*). We write *ò* and *òs* when they stand for *ao* and *aos*.

The critical apparatus, in our view, has a special and important function, that is, to demonstrate the complicated nature of many documents which are available in several and notably different MS texts, to reveal the arbitrary way some copyists went to work, and to show where, why, and how the editor had to correct evident errors, to resolve doubtful readings, and to supply sometimes gaps and breaks in the text. Supplements and additions have always been indicated in the text itself by brackets. For the apparatus at the documents from EX and DI, we refer the scholars to those volumes.

As Portuguese surnames appear often arbitrarely and differently spelled — even by the bearers themselves — we adopted the modern form for our use in titles, introductions, notes, etc. (*De Osório* instead of *d'Osouro* ; *Fernando Álvares* instead of *Fernãod'Alvres*). We wrote the Indonesian words and proper names according to the rules of orthography issued recently by the Republic of Indonesia in August 1972. (*Bacan* and not *Batjan*, *Jailolo* and not *Djailolo*, *Seram* and not *Ceram*) [218]. It did not seem useful to write *Kalimantan*, *Sulawesi*, and *Irian Barat* ; rather we kept *Borneo*, *Selebes*, and *New Guinea*. The spelling *Maluku*, agreeing fully with the ancient and modern Indonesian use, and also with the *Maluco* of the Portuguese documents, is preferred to the western form, *Moluccas*.

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[218] See *Pedoman edjaan bahasa Indonesia jang disempurnakan*, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudajaan Republik Indonesia, 1972.

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# 1

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

GOA, SEPTEMBER 20, 1542

I TEXT: EX I 138-143 [141-142]. Taken from *ARSI, Epp. NN. 72* ff. 53*r*-54*v*; copy; Spanish.

II AUTHORS: ibid. 138; to be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 272 274.

III PRINTED: ibid.; to be added SCHURHAMMER ibid., German version (partly).

IV NOTE: First influence of a Jesuit upon the Church of Maluku. For the result, see D 6. Reaction to be found in MI *Epp.* I 431-432, and in CDP VI 17-18.

### *Text*

1. *Many Portuguese fortresses and Christian communities in India are situated at a great distance from Goa.* — 2. *As the bishop of Goa is not able to visit them, the vicars of the fortresses* [*among which is Maluku*] *should be given power to administer the sacrament of confirmation.*

[...]

1. Ytem avés de saber que los portugueses en estas partes de la India som señores del mar y de muchos lugares que estam pegados con el mar, em los quales el Rei de Portugal tiene fortalezas, y en estas fortalezas ai lugares de christianos, habitados de portugueses casados, y la distantia de unos ha otros es mui grande, porque desta ciudad de Goa a Maluco ay 1000 legoas [1], donde el Rei tiene una fortaleza; y de aquí a Malacha [2] ay 500 legoas, donde ay muchos christianos; y de aquí ha Hormuz [3], que hes una ciudad mui grande, donde ay muchos portugueses,

[1] Distances given here are generally roughly accurate though sometimes positively inaccurate; they are not a straight line as the crow flies but the tortuous one the ships sailed.

[2] Malacca in present day Malaysia.

[3] Ormuz or Hormuz, an ancient town on an island of the same name in the strait that connects the Persian Gulf with the Indian Ocean.



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a[y] 400 leguas ; y de aquí a Diu [4] ay 300 legoas ; y de aquí a Maçambique [5] ay 900 legoas ; y de aquí a Çofala [6] 1200 leguas.

2. Em todos estes lugares tiene el Obispo [7] puestos Vicarios, y por la distantia que ay de unos lugares ha otros no los puede el Obispo visitar. Viendo el Señor Governador [8] la necesidad que todos tenemos de participar del sacramento de la confirmación, por la mucha contratación, cativerio y guerra, que com ymfieles continuamente tenemos, pide a Su Sanctidad para maior firmeza, perseverantia y acrecentamiento de nuestra sancta fe, que dispense con el Obispo para que pueda cometer a sus Vicarios el sacramento de la confirmación en estos lugares longincos y otros qualesqui[e]re que fueren, los quales no puede, dado que quiera, visitar por la distantia tam grande que hes de unos a otros, y ser el solo Obispo en estas partes de la India.

[...]

De Goa, año 1542, a vinte de Setiembre.

Vester in Christo filius,

Franciscus de Xabier [9].

*Lost letter*

1*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Malacca, to the Jesuits in Goa ; November 10, 1545.*

Xavier to the Goa Jesuits, December 16, 1545 : « Con el Padre Comendador vos escreví largamente cómo estava de partida para el Macasar » (D 2). Xavier to the same, May 10, 1546 : « Ho anno de 1545 vos esprevi de Malaqua por duas vias » (D 4, 1). Cf. EX I 302 no. 52*v*.

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[4] Town on a small island in west India, at south end of Kathiawar peninsula.

[5] Town and port on the east coast of Africa, at nearly 15° S.

[6] Town and port on the east coast of Africa, at nearly 20° S.

[7] Fray Juan de Albuquerque OFM, bishop of Goa, 1538-1553.

[8] D. Martim Afonso de Sousa, 1542-1545.

[9] See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 1.

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## 2

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO THE JESUITS IN GOA

MALACCA, DECEMBER 16, 1545

I TEXT: EX I 307-310 [308]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 11*r-v*; copy; Spanish.

II AUTHORS: ibid. 307; to be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 641-645.

III PRINTED: ibid. 307; to be added SÁ I 470-472; German version: SCHURHAMMER, ibid. 643-645.

IV NOTE: This letter is very important for our collection as we find here the first mention of Xavier's resolution to go and visit Ambon and Maluku. When, in January 1545, he stayed in Cochin, he met the merchant António de Paiva who had just arrived from Malacca and who reported he had baptized two native kings and many people in a country of SW Selebes called Makasar. Hearing this, Xavier made up his mind to sail for that region in order to visit those Christians and to cement their fresh-from-the-font faith. However, in his way thither, waiting for the monsoon in Malacca, he changed his plans. We are in the dark as to the nature of the bad news that came from Makasar and was the reason why he abandoned his original plan and sailed for Ambon instead.

### *Text*

*Owing to less than good news from Makasar he did not go there. He will sail to Ambon instead, where many Christians are living. From there he will write again.*

Charissimos Padres e Irmãos meus.
La gracia y amor de Christo nuestro Señor
sea siempre en nuestra ajuda y favor. Amen.

Con el Padre Comendador [1] vos escreví largamente cómo estava de partida para el Macasar [2]; y por seren las nuevas de llá no tan buenas como pensávamos, no fui allá [3], y voi para Ambueno adó ai muchos

---

[1] Probably a secular priest, perhaps a high-ranking member of a Military Order.

[2] Country and town in SW Selebes. The letter on this topic, mentioned here, is no longer extant.

[3] The «not-so-good-news» that had arrived from Makasar may have been that about the flight of the daughter of one of the converted kings with a young Portu-

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christianos y mucha desposición para se hazeren más [4]; de allá vos escreviréy la desposición de la tierra y el fruto que nella se puede hazer. Y por la esperiencia que tengo del Cabo de Comorín y de Goa [5], y de la que, prazendo a Dios, teréy de Anbueno y de las partes de Maluquo, segundo vir do más pudéis servir a Dios y acresentar la sanctíssima fee de Cristo nuestro Señor, vos escreviréy [6].

[...]

De Malaqua, a 16 de Deziembre anno de 1545.

Vester minimus Frater in Christo,

Franciscus.

*Lost document*

2*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Malacca, Malay Catechism, for use in Malay speaking countries* (*Makasar, Maluku*) *; late 1545.*

Xavier from Meliapor on May 8, 1545 : « Senti e cognosci ser sua vontade de eu ir àquelas partes de Malaqua . . . sacando hos artiguos e mandamentos de nosa lei e fee en sua lingua deles » (EX I 292). From Malacca on November 10, 1545 : « La maior occupación que tengo es de sacar las orationes de latín en lenguage que en los Macaçares se pueda entender » (EX I 299). From Ambon on May 10, 1546 : « La lengua malaya, que es la que se habla en Malaca, es muy general por estas partes. En esta lengua malaya (el tiempo que yo estuve en Malaca) con mucho trabajo saqué el Credo, con una Declaración sobre los artículos, la confessión general, Pater noster, Ave Maria, Salve Regina, y los mandamientos de la ley, para que me entiendan quando les hablo en cosas de importancia » (D 3, 13). Cf. also D 10, 3. On this Malay catechism. see EX II 590-594.

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guese to Malacca, which upset the natives very much (EREDIA-MILLS 54-57). For some other suppositions, see SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 643 note 386. A priest from Malacca, Vicente Viegas, had been sent to Makasar, either in December 1544 or early in 1545 (EX I 227 and 285, compared with JACOBS, *Celebes* 302 no. 38). While Xavier was in Malacca, September-December 1545, no news from this priest arrived there (D 3, 3), and now other news arrived from the Makasar region, but unexpectedly unfavourable. From PÉREZ, *Informação* 57, it clearly appears that at least in December 1547 Viegas had returned to Malacca. He never visited Makasar again.

[4] On pre-Xaverian Christians in Ambon, see *Gen. Introd.* III 1.

[5] South cape of India. Xavier had worked in that region 1542-1544. He had lived in Goa May-September 1542.

[6] So he did : D 4.

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## 3

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO THE JESUITS IN EUROPE

AMBON, MAY 10, 1546

I TEXT : EX I 310-335 [318-335]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 16*v*-20*r* ; copy ; Spanish.

II AUTHORS : ibid. 310 ; moreover VALIGNANO, *Historia* 100 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 727-731 ; LACH 611.

III PRINTED : cf. EX I 317 ; to be added SÁ I 490-497 ; German version (partly), SCHURHAMMER, ibid. 727-731.

### *Text*

1. *Being that India is sufficiently provided with Fathers, he determined to sail for Makasar. Conversion of a Portuguese merchant.* — 2. *In Malacca he heard that a priest had been sent to Makasar. His work in Malacca.* — 3. *He decided to sail for Maluku. He has a lot of work to do in Ambon among both natives and Portuguese.* — 4. *He has the intention of visiting Moro whatever the dangers may be.* — 5. *In which dangers he found himself during the sea-voyage.* — 6. *What he ordered about the three Jesuits who arrived in Goa in 1545.* — 7. *He plans to establish a house of the Society in Maluku.* — 8. *On pagans and Muslims in Maluku.* — 9. *He describes the exceeding need for priests there.* — 10. *He asks for many prayers.* — 11. [Post-script :] *Savage customs on some islands : anthropophagy.* — 12. *Description : woods, rain, scarcely passable mountains, no horses, earth- and seaquakes, active volcanos.* — 13. *Great variety of languages, but Malay is commonly understood. He composed a small catechism in that language.* — 14. *The milk-giving he-goat.* — 15. *He got some information on China.* — 16. *He tries to find out more about that country and people.*

Charissimi in Christo Fratres.
La gracia y amor de Christo Nuestro Señor
seya siempre en nuestra ayuda y favor. Amén.

1. En el año de 1545 os escreví largo, haziéndoos saber como en una tierra llamada Macaçar se hizieron dos reis christianos con mucha otra gente. Y por la mucha disposición que en aquella tierra avía para se acrecentar nuestra sancta fee, según la información que me dieron [1],

[1] « El [Xavier] va a tentar la tierra [Makasar] a ver qué cosa hes ; aunque ya era vien informado . . . de personas que habían ayudado ha hazer muchos dellos christianos » (Juan de Beira, Goa, Nov. 20, 1545 ; DI I 60).

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partí del Cabo de Comorín para Macaçar por mar, por quanto no se puede ir por tierra. Ay del Cabo de Comorín hasta las islas de Macaçar más de 900 leguas. Dy orden primero que del Cabo de Comorín partiesse, cómo los christianos de aquella tierra fuessen proveídos de cosas spirituales, dexando con ellos cinquo Padres, los tres naturales de la tierra, y a Francisco de Mansillas [2] con otro Padre español [3]. Con los christianos de la isla de Ceylán, que está cerca del Cabo de Comorín, quedaron cinquo flayres de la orden de S. Francisco con dos otros clérigos [4]. Viendo que no era necessario, ni menos hazía falta con los christianos del Cabo de Comorín ny con los de Ceylán — porque no ay otros christianos nuevamente convertidos en la India fuera de las fortalezas del Rey, y los que están en las fortalezas los Vicarios tienen cargo de enseñarlos y baptizarlos — determiné de partir para Macaçar.

Y yendo al puerto, del qual me avía de embarcar para hazer mi viage [5], hallé un mercader [6] con un navío suyo, el qual me rogó que lo confessasse. Y lo que con mucha prudencia humana no acabara de determinar, con mucha violencia se venció y escogió el camino del cielo. Quiso Dios por su misericordia darle tanto dentro de su ánima a sentir, que un día se confessó, y en otro seguinte se determinó (en el mismo lugar donde mataron a S. Thomé apóstol [7]) de vender el navío y todo lo que tenía, dando a los pobres todo, sin guardar nada para sí, como liberal dispensero ; y así nos embarcamos camino de Macaçar.

2. Llegamos en la mitad del camino a una ciudad llamada por nombre Malaca, en la qual el Rey [8] tiene una fortaleza. Y el capitán desta fortaleza [9] me dixo cómo avía mandado un clérigo, persona muy religiosa [10], con muchos portugeses en un galeón bien apercebido de todo lo necessario para favorecer a los que se hizieron christianos, y hasta que

---

[2] A helper of Xavier on the Fishery Coast. He had sailed in 1541 with Xavier to India (WICKI, *Liste* no. 3), was ordained a priest in 1545, dismissed from the Society in 1548, and died 1565 at Cochin. Xavier wrote several letters to him.

[3] His name was Juan de Lizano ; he was a secular priest.

[4] For their names, see EX I 319 notes 4 and 5.

[5] The port of São Tomé or Mylapore (Mailapur), nowadays a suburb of the city of Madras.

[6] João de Eiró, who afterwards became a Franciscan friar.

[7] São Tomé was so called after the Apostle Saint Thomas, who was considered to have converted many people there and over whose tomb a church had been built. See SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 558 note 73 ; EX I 320 note 8.

[8] Of Portugal, D. João III.

[9] Simão Botelho, 1544-1545.

[10] Vicente Viegas.

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uviéssemos nuevas suyas no le parecía que devía partir para aquella isla ; y así estuve en Malaca tres meses y medio [11] sperando nuevas de los Macaçares.

En este tiempo no me faltaron occupaciones spirituales, así en predicar los domingos y fiestas, como en confesar muchas personas, así los enfermos del hospital donde posava, como otros sanos. En todo este tiempo enseñé a los muchachos y christianos nuevamente convertidos a la fee la doctrina christiana. Con la ayuda de Dios Nuestros Señor hize muchas pazes entre los soldados y moradores de la ciudad, y las noches iva por la ciudad con una campana pequeña encomendando las ánimas del purgatorio, llevando comigo muchos niños de los que enseñava la doctrina christiana.

3. Pasados los tres meses y medio acabaron de ventar los vientos con que vienen los navíos de Macaçar. No sabiendo ningunas nuevas del Padre [12], determiné de partir para otra fortaleza del Rey llamada Maluco, y es la última de todas. Acerca desta fortaleza, 60 leguas della, ay dos islas [13] ; la una es de 30 leguas en rodondo, mucho poblada, la qual se llama Ambueno [14]. Desta isla tiene hecha merced el Rey a un hombre mucho de bien y buen christiano, el qual ha de venir a bivir en ella daquí a un año y medio con su muger y casa [15]. En esta isla hallé siete lugares de christianos [16] : los niños que hallé por baptizar baptizé [17], de los quales murieron muchos después de baptizados : y parece que Dios Nuestro Señor los guardó hasta que estuviessen en camino de salvación. Después de aver visitado todos estos lugares, llegaron a esta isla ocho navíos

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[11] September-December 1545.

[12] Viegas.

[13] Ambon and Morotai, of which Xavier is going to speak.

[14] Xavier stayed on Ambon from February 14 to late in June, 1546.

[15] This man was called Jordão de Freitas. His *mercê* in SÁ IV 29 ; the donation of the island Ambon, ibid. 31 (there is another MS. copy extant in the British Museum, *Add. MSS 21526* ff. 72*r*-74*v*). SOUZA (II I 2 49) calls him « senhor de Amboyno e grande amigo de S. Francisco Xavier ». From 1544 to 1547 he was « Captain of Maluku ». See also EX I 322 note 16.

[16] See *Gen. Introd.* III 1. Cf. EX I 323 note 17 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 666 note 149.

[17] « Nesta visitação levava sempre o Pe. Mestre diante de sy pellas ruas hum menino com huma crus nas mãos, perguntando pellas casas onde havia meninos pera bautizar, ou enfermos ; e sabendo delles, entrava e, alevantando as mãos ao ceo, resavão os meninos as orações do Credo e mandamentos, e o Padre o evangelho sobre os enfermos, e bautizava os meninos » (TEIXEIRA, *Annotações* 47).

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de portugeses [18]. Fueron tantas las occupaciones que tuve en tres meses que aquí estuvieron, en predicar, confesar, visitando los enfermos, ayudándolos a bien morir [19], lo que es muy trabajoso de hazer con personas que no bivieron muy conformes a la ley de Dios. Estos mueren más desconfiados de la misericordia de Dios, de lo que bivían muy confiados biviendo en peccados continuos sin querer desacostumbrarse dellos. Hize con la ayuda de Dios muchas amistades entre soldados, que jamás biven en paz en esta isla de Ambueno. Ellos se partieron para la India en Mayo [20], y mi compañero Juan de Hierro [21] y yo nos partimos [22] para Maluco, que está daquí 60 leguas.

4. De la otra costa de Maluco está una tierra, la qual se llama o Moro [23], a sesenta leguas de Maluco. En esta isla de o Moro avrá muchos

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[18] When the Governor of India, Martim Afonso de Sousa (1542-1545), heard that a Spanish fleet, under the command of Ruy López de Villalobos, had entered the Maluku waters, he sent Fernão de Sousa de Távora to Ternate in order to chase away the Spaniards or to bring them as captives to Goa. Sousa, on November 4, 1545, stipulated a compact with Villalobos, who had to surrender to the Portuguese ; and, on February 18, 1546, Sousa sailed from Ternate to Ambon in order to wait out the monsoon there on the way back to India. His fleet by now consisted of eight ships which carried three hundred hands, of which one hundred and thirty were Spaniards. Xavier, being a Spaniard in Portuguese service, scrupulously avoids speaking of these political entanglements.

[19] « Y aunque [los castellanos] fueron muy bien tratados de los portuguesses, como eran muchos y venían pobres y cansados de los trabajos passados, llegando a Amboyno dió en ellos una medio peste, de la qual murieron muchos » (VALIGNANO, *Historia* 96).

[20] That is, on May 17. It is with these ships that this letter, and likewise DD 4 and 5, were dispatched to India.

[21] Portuguese name : João de Eiró.

[22] « Partieron » and « partimos » seem to be kind of past tense in advance, that is to say: the fleet sailed a week after this letter was written, and Xavier did not leave Ambon until the end of June. Apparently, in using the past instead of the present or future tense, he visualized his addressees at the moment of reading the letter. Things, however, did not happen entirely in the way Xavier foresaw them. As a matter of fact, when, after having been ill for about a month, he finally sailed for Ternate, he left Eiró behind in Ambon.

[23] On Moro and on the first Christians there, see *Gen. Introd.* III 1. The Portuguese used to call the Moro region, and especially the main island Morotai, *o Moro*. Xavier heard them call it in this way, so he wrote also *o Moro*, or perhaps (in other MSS of this letter) *el Moro*, *del Moro*, *ho Moro*. That he did not consider *o Moro* to be one word (*Omoro*) is shown by the following expressions used by him : la isla *del Moro* ; determino me ir *al Moro*.

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años que se hizieron grande número de christianos, los quales, por muerte de los clérigos que los baptizaron [24], quedaron desamparados y sin doctrina, y por ser la tierra de o Moro muy peligrosa, por quanto la gente della es muy llena de traición, polla mucha ponçoña que dan en el comer y bever, por esta causa dexaron de ir aquella tierra de o Moro personas que mirassen por los christianos. Yo, por la necessidad que estos christianos de la isla del Moro tienen de doctrina spiritual y de quien los baptize para salvación de sus ánimas, y tanbién por la necessidade que tengo de perder mi vida temporal por socorrer a la vida spiritual del próximo, determino de me ir al Moro por socorrer in spiritualibus a los christianos, offrecido a todo peligro de muerte, puesta toda mi sperança y confiança en Dios Nuestro Señor, desseando de me conformar, según mis pequeñas y flacas fuerças, con el dicho de Christo nuestro Redemptor y Señor, que dize : « Qui enim voluerit animam suam salvam facere, perdet eam ; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam » [25]. Y aunque sea fácil de entender el latín y la sentencia en universal deste dicho del Señor, quando el hombre viene a lo particularizar para disponerse a determinar de perder la vida por Dios para allarla en él, offreciéndose casos peligrosos, en los quales probablemente se presume perder la vida sobre lo que se quisiere determinar, házese tan obscuro, que el latín, siendo tan claro, viene a oscurecerse. Y en tal caso me parece que sólo aquel lo viene a entender, por más docto que sea, a quien Dios Nuestro Señor por su infinita misericordia lo quiere en casos particulares declarar. En semejantes casos se conosce la condición de nuestra carne, quán flaca y enferma es. Muchos de mis amigos y devotos procuraron comigo que no fuesse a tierra tan peligrossa ; y viendo que no podían acabar comigo que no fuesse,me davan muchas cosas contra ponçoña [26]. Yo, agradeciéndoles mucho su amor y buena voluntad, por no cargarme de miedo sin tenerlo, y más por aver puesta toda mi sperança en Dios, por no perder nada della, dexé de tomar los defensivos que con tanto amor y lágrimas me davan, rogándoles que en sus oraciones tuviessen continua memoria de mí, que son los más ciertos remedios para contra ponçoña que se pueden hallar.

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[24] That is, Fr. Simão Vaz was murdered, Fr. Francisco Álvares had a narrow escape from murderers and was able to gain Ternate. This had happened in 1535 and 1536. Under António Galvão (1536-1539), a priest, Francisco Álvares Pinheiro (perhaps the same as the one just mentioned ?), went there twice and baptized many Christians ; but he did not reside there (*Treatise* 300-301).

[25] Mt 16 25.

[26] For different kinds of poison and their frequent use, see *Treatise* 176-177.

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5. En muchos peligros me vi en este viage del Cabo de Comorín para Malaca y Maluco, assí entre tormentas del mar, como entre enemigos [27]. En uno specialmente me hallé en una nao en que venía de 400 toneles. Con viento rezio navegamos más de una legua, tocando siempre el leme en tierra. Si acertáramos en todo este tiempo con algunas piedras, la nao se deshiziera. O si halláramos menos agua en una parte que en otra, quedáramos en seco. Muchas lágrimas vy entonces en la nao. Quiso Dios Nuestros Señor en estos peligros provarnos y darnos a conocer para quánto somos, si en nuestras fuerças esperamos, o en cosas criadas confiamos; y para quánto quando destas falsas speranças salimos, desconfiando dellas, sperando en el Criador de todas las cosas, en cuya mano está hazernos fuertes quando los peligros por su amor son recebidos. Y tomándolos por sólo su amor, creen sin dudar los que se hallan en ellos, que todo lo criado está a obediencia del Criador, conociendo claramente que son mayores las consolaciones en tal tiempo, que los temores de la muerte, dado que el hombre acabasse sus días. Y fenecidos los trabajos y acabados de pasar los peligros, no sabe el hombre contar ny escrevir lo que por él passó al tiempo que estava en ellos, quedando una memoria imprimida de lo pasado, para no cansar de servir a tan buen Señor, así en lo presente como en lo porvenir, sperando en el Señor, cuyas misericordias no tienen fin, que le dará fuerças para lo servir.

6. Estando en Malaca, que es la mitad del camino de la India a Maluco, me dieron nuevas cómo llegaron tres compañeros nuestros en Goa en el año de 1545 [28]. Ellos me escrevieron y me mandaron las cartas que de Roma trahían, con las quales Dios Nuestro Señor sabe quánta consolación recebí en saber tan buenas nuevas de nuestra Compañía. El uno dellos venía para enseñar gramática en el collegio de Sancta Fee [29], y los otros dos para andar por las partes que a mí me pareciese que harían más servicio a Dios Nuestro Señor. Yo les escreví [30] que que-

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[27] Probably Xavier hints at the Aceh (Achin) pirates.

[28] The Italian Fathers Antonio Criminali and Nicolò Lancillotto, and the Spaniard Juan de Beira (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 5-7). They had sailed from Lisbon on March 29, and arrived in Goa on September 2, 1545. They sent letters to Xavier in Malacca with the Banda ship, that left Goa early in September (DI I 135) and reached Malacca at the end of October.

[29] Lancillotto. The College of the Holy Faith in Goa, founded in 1541, was also and more generally called Saint Paul's College. See DI I 117-118. Sponsored at first by a pious confraternity, from 1548 on it was entrusted to the Jesuits (DI I 8-9).

[30] EX I 308-309.

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dase uno dellos, el que venía para leer gramática, en Santa Fe, y los dos que fuessen al Cabo de Comorín a tener compañía a Francisco de Mansillas. Agora les escrivo [31] en este año de 1546 que vengan a Maluco para el año que viene, pues ay mayor dispusición para servir a Dios en estas partes que no donde están.

7. Estas partes de Maluco todas son islas, sin ser descubierta hasta ora tierra firme. Son tantas estas islas qùe no tienen número y quasi todas son pobladas. Por falta de quien les requiera que sean christianos, dexan de lo ser. Si uviese en Maluco una casa de nuestra Compañía, sería mucho el número de la gente que se haría christiana. Mi determinación es cómo en este cabo de mundo de Maluco se hiziesse una casa, por el mucho servicio que a Dios Nuestro Señor se haría [32].

8. Los gentiles en estas partes de Maluco son más que los moros. Quiérense mal los gentiles y moros. Los moros quieren que los gentiles o se hagan moros o sean sus cativos, y los gentiles no quieren ny ser moros ny menos ser sus cativos. Sy uviesse quien les predicasse la verdad, todos se harían christianos, porque más quieren los gentiles ser christianos que no moros. De 70 años a esta parte se hizieron moros [33], que primero todos eran gentiles. Dos o tres cacizes [34] que venieron de Meca, que es una casa donde dizen los moros que está el cuerpo de Mahomet, comvertieron grande número de gentiles a la cecta de Mahomet. Estos moros lo mejor que tienen es que no saben cosa ninguna de su secta preversa. Por falta de quien les predique la verdad dexan estos moros de ser christianos.

9. Esta cuenta os doy tan particular para que tengáis special sentimiento y memoria de tanta perdición de ánimas, quantas se pierden por falta de spiritual socorro. Los que no tuvieren letras y talento para ser de la Compañía [35], sobrarles ha el saber y talento para estas partes, si

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[31] D 4, 2.

[32] These words may be considered the charter of foundation of the Jesuit Maluku Mission.

[33] On introducing Islam into Maluku, see *Treatise* 82-85.

[34] *Caciz* is a word of Syrian origin, used by the Portuguese all over the S Asian area to indicate a Muslim religious teacher, that is, a scholar of Islamic law, or a scribe, or even any mosque official. (DALGADO I 165 ; YULE 169 ; HOËVELL, *Vocabularium*, s.v. *kasisi*). Here it rather means an Islam apostle and saint, called in Indonesia a *wali* (*ullah*). Cf. also SCHRIEKE, *Indonesian sociological studies* II 238-244 ; *Treatise*, Glossary 369.

[35] It was not until the year 1546 that Pope Paul III permitted the reception into the Society of spiritual and temporal « coadiutores » — that is, not solemnly pro-

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tuvieren voluntad de venir para bivir y morir con esta gente. Y si de veniessen todos los años una dozena, en poco tiempo se destruiría mala secta de Mahoma, y se harían todos christianos, y así Dios N tro Señor no se offendería tanto, como se offende por no aver q reprehenda los vicios y peccados de infidelidad.

10. Por amor de Christo Nuestro Señor y de su Madre sanctís y de todos los sanctos, que están en la gloria del paraíso, os ruego, ríssimos Hermanos y Padres míos, que tengáis special memoria mía encomendarme a Dios continuamente, pues bivo con tanta necessida su favor y ayuda. Yo, por la mucha necessidad que tengo de vue favor spiritual continuo, por muchas experiencias tengo conocido c por vuestra invocación Dios Nuestro Señor me tiene ayudado y fav cido en muchos trabajos del cuerpo y spíritu. Y para que yamás m vide de vosotros, por continua y special memoria, para mucha con: ción mía, os hago saber, charíssimos Hermanos, que tomé de las ca que me escrevistes vuestros nombres, escritos por vuestras manos prias, juntamente con el voto de la professión que hize, y los continuamente comigo por las consolaciones que dellos recibo. A Nuestro Señor doy las gracias primeramente, y después a voso Hermanos y Padres suavíssimos, pues os hizo Dios tales, que t me consolaes llevando vuestros nombres. Y pues presto nos veremc la otra vida con más descanso que en ésta, no digo más.

De Ambueno, a X de Mayo año de 1546.

Vester minimus frater et filius,

Franciscus.

[*Postscript*] [36]

11. La gente destas islas es muy bárbara y llena de traycyór más baça que negra, gente ingrata en grande estremo. Ay islas en partes, en las quales se comen unos a otros; esto es quando uno[s otros tienen guerra y se matan en pelea, y no de otra manera [37]. Qu

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fessed Fathers — as real members of the order (Brief *Exponi nobis* of June 5, see MI *Const. I* 170-173).

[36] This is rather an annex or appendix added to the letter on a distinc but neither distinctly dated nor signed.

[37] Cf. GALVÃO, *Descobrimentos* 171 and 252. RIEDEL, *De sluik- en kroes rassen*, mentions cannibalism: p. 52, for Ambon and adjacent islands; 267, f Aru Islands; 279, for Yamdena in the Tanimbar Archipelago; 349, for the Islands; 371, for Moa in the Leti Islands; 445, for Wetar; all of them arou Banda Sea. Cf. D 179, 17.

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mueren por enfermedad, dan por gran banquete las manos y carcaños a comer [38]. Es tan bárbara esta gente, que ay islas donde demanda un vezino a otro (quando quiere hazer una fiesta grande) su padre, si es muy viejo, emprestado para comer, prometiéndole que le dará el suyo quando fuere viejo y quisiere hazer algún banquete [39]. Antes de un mes spero de ir a una isla [40], en la qual se comen unos a otros quando se matan en la guerra, en la qual isla tanbién se emprestan unos a otros los padres, quando son viejos, para hazer banquetes. Los desta isla quieren ser christianos, y ésta es la causa para que voy allá. Ay abominables peccados de luxuria antre ellos, quales no podríades creer, ny yo me estrevo a escrevir.

12. Son estas islas templadas y de grandes y spessos arboledos. Llueve muchas vezes. Son tan altas estas islas de Maluco y trabajosas de andar por ellas, que en tiempo de guerra suben a ellas para su defensión, de manera que son sus fortalezas. No ay cavallos, ni se puede andar a cavallo por ellas. Tiembla muchas vezes la tierra y el mar [41], tanto que los navíos que navegan, quando tiembla el mar, parece a los que van en ellos que tocan en algunas piedras. Es cosa para spantar ver temblar la tierra, y principalmente el mar. Muchas destas islas hechan fuego de sí con un ruido tan grande, que no ay tiro de artellaría, por más grande que sea, que haga tanto ruido, y por las partes por donde sale aquel fuego, con el ímpeto grande que viene trahe consigo piedras muy grandes [42]. Por falta de quien predique en estas islas los tormentos del infierno, permitte Dios que se abran los infiernos para confusión destos infieles y de sus abominables peccados.

13. Cada isla destas tiene lengua por sí, y ay isla que quasi cada

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[38] REBELO, speaking of the inhabitants of Ambon, says : « Alguns delles comem todos os que matão ou tomão na guerra, e dizem ser o calcanhar e o peito do pé o melhor bocado » (395). See also 327, where he testifies that there was cannibalism in Seram.

[39] An exaggerated shocking story, told by many authors but changing geographical location accordingly. See, for instance, D 58, 2 and REBELO 327 and 395. Cf. EX I 331 note 44 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 730 note 632.

[40] Morotai.

[41] REBELO refers to a seaquake between Ternate and Jailolo, which threw many stones onto the land ; likewise to an earthquake, accompanying an outbreak of the Gamkonorah in Jailolo, in which many people perished ; both events occurred during the captaincy of D. Álvaro de Mendonça, 1564-1566 (380 and 388).

[42] At present, active volcanos in the Maluku region are : the Gunung Api in the Banda Islands ; the Peaks of Makian, Moti, and Ternate ; the Gamkonorah and the Dukuno, or Tolo, in Jailolo (ENI IV 654-655).

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lugar della tiene habla diferente [43]. La lengua malaya, que es la qu habla en Malaca, es muy general por estas partes. En esta lengua m ya (el tiempo que yo estuve en Malaca) con mucho trabajo saqu Credo, con una Declaración sobre los artículos, la confessión gen Pater noster, Ave María, Salve Regina, y los mandamientos de la para que me entiendan quando les hablo en cosas de importanci Tienen una grande falta en todas estas islas, que no tienen escritu ny saben escrevir sino muy pocos. Y la lengua en que escriven es mal y las letras son arabias, que los moros cacizes enseñaron a escrev ensiñan al presente. Antes que se hiziessen moros no sabían escrevi

14. En esta isla de Ambueno tengo vista una cosa, que yamás mi vida vi, y es que vi un cabrón, el qual continuadamante tiene lecl engendra mucho. No tiene más de una teta prope genitalia, y da c día más de una escudilla de leche; los cabritos le beven la leche. cosa nueva lo lleva un cavallero portugés a la India para lo embi Portugal. Yo por mis manos proprias le saqué una vez leche, no cre do que era verdad, pareciéndome ser cosa imposible [45].

15. Un portugés mercader hallé en Malaca, el qual venía de tierra de grande trato, la qual se llama China. Este mercader me c que le demandó un hombre chino muy homrrado, que venía de la c del rey [46], muchas cosas, entre las quales le demandó si los christia comían carne de puerco. Respondióle el mercader purtugés que sí, dixo que por qué le demandava aquillo. Respondió el chino, que en tierra ay mucha gente entre unas montañas, apartada de la oltra ge la qual no come carne de puerco, y guarda muchas fiestas. No sé gente es ésta, o sy son christianos que guardan la ley vieja y nueva, mo hazen los del Preste Juan [47], o si son los tribos de los judíos, qu se sabe dellos, porque ellos no son moros, como todos dizen.

16. De Malaca van todos los años muchos navíos de portugeses a puertos de la China. Yo tengo encomendado a muchos para que se

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[43] The author of the *Treatise* (74) summarizes the linguistic situation in t salient words: « Estas gemtes tem muytas he diverças limguoagens, que as ilha huma Babilonya delas ».

[44] On this small catechism in Malay, composed by Xavier when residing in lacca in 1545, the text of which has not been preserved, see EX II 590-594 (Ap dix VIII); our D 2*a*.

[45] The same odd fact is related by Rebelo 329 and 390; by Galvão, *De brimentos* 173. It is repeated by Fr. Nicolau Nunes; see D 213, 12.

[46] Peking.

[47] Ethiopia.

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desta gente, avisándoles que se informen mucho de las cerimonias y costumbres que entre ellos se guardan, para por ellas se poder saber si son christianos o judíos. Muchos dizen que S. Thomé apóstol fue a la China y que hizo muchos christianos, y que la Iglesia de Grecia, antes que los portugeses señoreassen la India, mandava obispos para que enseñassen y baptizassen los christianos, que S. Thomé y sus discípulos en estas partes hizieron. Uno destos obispos [48] dixo quando los portugeses ganaron la India, que después que vino de su tierra a la India oyó dezir a los obispos que en la India halló, que S. Thomé fue a la China y que hizo christianos [49]. Si supiere cosa cierta, yo os la escriviré para el año que viene. Os escriviré lo que por experiencia destas partes tubiere visto y conoscido.

## 4

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO THE JESUITS IN INDIA

AMBON, MAY 10, 1546

I TEXT: EX I 336-344 [339-344]. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Pombal 745* ff. 72*r*-73*v*; original; Portuguese.

II AUTHORS: see ibid. 336; moreover VALIGNANO, *Historia* 97-98; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 731-733.

III PRINTED: see EX I 338; to be added SÁ I 502-506; German version (except for the first paragraph) SCHURHAMMER, ibid. 732-733.

### *Text*

1. *A year ago he sent two Fathers to Cape Comorin. In Ambon his time is very much taken up by pastoral activity among the indigenous people and the Spanish soldiers of Sousa's fleet. He hopes Ambon will soon be entirely Christian. He resolved to sail for Moro as soon as possible.* — 2. *Mansilhas and Beira are ordered to set out for Maluku. New arrivals should go to Comorin.* — 3. *Beira and Mansilhas will have to leave Goa in April 1547 and bring with them everything needed for Holy Mass. Hopes that the king of Ternate and all Maluku will be converted.* — 4. *Fr. Micer Paulo has to*

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[48] Mar Jacob, who in 1503 had come to India as a bishop of the Malabar Christians, being sent by the patriarch of Babylonia. See SCHURHAMMER, *Ges. Stud.* II 333-349, 351-363.

[49] See A. C. MOULE, *Christians in China before the year 1550*, London 1930; A. B. DUVIGNEAU, *Saint-Thomas a-t-il porté l'Évangile jusqu'en Chine?*, Peking 1936.

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*obey the directors of the Goa college. — 5. The Augustinian friars in the fleet of S will report about Xavier ; in Goa they should be received very cordially. — 6. Ever ther sailing to Maluku should bring at least one companion, be it priest or layma*

†

Jhus.

A graça e amor de Deus Noso Sennhor
seja sempre em nosa ajudaa e favor. Amen.

1. Ho anno de mil a quinhemtos e coremta e cimquo vos es de Malaqua por duas vias, em que por ellas vos rogava polo amo Deus, a vós Padre Joham de Beiraa, e a vós Padre Amtonio Crim que fosês, vista a presemte, ao Cabo de Comorym, haa doutrynar vorecer aqueles pobres crystãos, e terdes companhia ao Padre Fra co de Mamsylhas, ho qual lleyxey com hos christãos no Cabo de C rym, e com ho Padre Joam de Llisano e tres outros Padres natura terra, e pera maior merecimento voso, em virtude da samta hobi cia vo-llo mamdavaa [1].

Eu parti de Mallaqua pera Maluquo ao primcipio de Janeiro e gei a estaa ilha d'Amboyno a quatorze dias do mes de Fevereiro, e gamdo, lloguo visytei hos lugares de crystãos, que nesta ilha há, l zamdo muitas cryamças que estavão por bautizaar. E acabamdo- bautizaar cheguou ha esta ilha ha armada de Fernão de Sousa [2] con castelhanos que vierão da Nova Espanha [3] a Maluquo, que erão l navyos, que forão tamtas as acupaçõis espirituaes com esta armad sym comfisõys comtinuas, como em pregar-lhes aos domimguos e pazes, e visytaar hos emfermos, comfesamd'os e ajudamd'os a bem rer, que me mymguava tempo pera compryr com todos ; de maneir não me mymguavão hocupaçõis, asym em coresma [4] como em fora Eu tenho vista a desposysão desta terra ; espero em Deus que, vier ho senhor desta ilha a morar em ella, que hé Jurdão de Fr capitão que ao presemte hé de Maluquo, homem muito de bem e z

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[1] This letter has not been preserved ; see D 1*a*.

[2] D 3 note 18.

[3] On this journey, see D 18 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 706-7 the notes are to be found all the original sources).

[4] In 1546, March 10 to April 24.

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do acresemtamemto da nosa samta ffee [5], que toda esta ilha se fará crystãa ; e virá a morar nella deste Novembro que vem de 546 a huum anno, que será no anno de 547 [6]. Esta ilha d'Amboyno hé de vimt[e] e cimquo até trymta lleguoas em redomdo, e hé muyto povoada, na qual há sete llugares de christãos. Há outra terra que está d'Amboyno cemto e trymtaa lleguoas, a qual se chama a Costa do Moro [7], domde há muitos christãos sem nenhumaa doutryna, ao que me dizem. Eu me parto pera llá ho mais sedo que eu pod[er].

2. Dou-vos esta comta pera que saybais a nesecidade que de vosas pesoas nesta[s] partes haa. Aimda que muyto bem sey que llá erês neseçario, mas por serdes mais neseçaryo nestas partes, vos roguo muyto, polo amor de Christo No[so] Sennhor, que vós, Padre Framcisco de Mamsylhas [8], e vós, Johão de Beyraa, venhais ha estas partes. E pera que mais mereçais en esta vosa vimda, vos mamdo que em virtude da samta hobidiemcia venhais ; e semdo caso que alguum de vós outros ffoor morto, houtro Padre com ho Padre Amtonio Creminal vyrês ; de maneira que dos tres hum ficará com hos christãos do Cabo de Comorym e com hos Padres naturais da terra. E se este anno vierem alguns da nosa Companhya, que lhe roguo muito polo amor de Deus Noso Senhor, que vão todos ao Cabo de Comorym a doutrynar e favorecer aquelles christãos. E me espreverês a Malluqu[o] larguamemte novas dos que de Portugal este anno vierem, e me mamdarão has cartas com hos Padres que am-de vir a Maluquo.

E pera mais merecerem hos que este anno do Reino vierem pola virtude da samta hobidiemcia irão ao Cabo de Comorym.

3. Estas cartas minhas me parece que vos não podem ser dadas senão por todo o mês de Fevereiro do anno de 1547, e no mesmo anno, ao prymcipio do mês d'Abril, parte de Guoa huma nao d'El-Rey pera Maluquo, e naquela embarquação virês. E vistas esta[s] cartas minhas, lloguo vos partirês do Cabo de Comorym pera Guoa, e fazer-vos-eys prestes pera virdes a Maluquo como vos tenho dito ; e na mesma nao

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[5] He had converted King Tabarija of Ternate to Christianity in Goa in 1537 (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 204 ; *Franz Xaver* II/I 245-252).

[6] In these expectations Xavier would soon be disillusioned : in October, 1546, Freitas was removed from office and arrested, and the next year he was sent to India to account for his conduct. Having won his lawsuit, he returned, in 1549, to Ternate, but not as captain ; he died in 1555.

[7] That is, Morotia, the Galela region in N Jailolo.

[8] As he did not want to obey this command, he was dismissed from the Society.



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esperão hos de Maluquo que á-de vir el-rey de Maluquo, o qual llevará preso [9]; esperão tãobem os portugeses de Malluquo por outro capitão n vo pera emtrar na fortalleza de Malluquo [10]. Se el-rey llá se fizer christã espero em Deus Noso Sennhor, que nestas partes de Maluquo se am- fazer muitos christãos; e aimdaa que elle se não façaa christão, cre que com vosa vimda Deus Noso Sennhor á-de ser muito servido nest partes.

Hos dous que pera estas partes vierdes, trarês cada huum de v outros todo ho guysamemto neseçario pera dizerdes misa; e os call sejão de cobre, porque hé metal mais seguro que ha prataa pera hos q amdamos emtre jemte não samta. Porque comfyo em vós outros con em pesoas da Companhia, que farês o que tamto por amor de Deus No Senhor vos roguo, e pera maior merecimemto por obidiemcia vo-llo mai do, não diguo mais senão que com muito prazer aguardo por vós outr e prazerá a Deus que será pera muito serviço seuu e comsollação d nosas almas.

4. Myser Paullo [11], Irmão, o que muitas vezes vos tenho rogado pc amor de Deus Noso Sennhor, asym em prezemcia como por cartas, ho tra vez vos torno a roguar tamto quamto poso, que procurês em to de fazer a vomtade aos que têm carguo da gouvernação dese sam collegio, porque se eu llá me achase em voso luguaar, em cousa nenhu tamto trabalharya, como em obedecer aos que regem esa samta ca E crede-me, Irmão meu Myser Paullo, que hé cousa muito segura pe comtinuadamemte asertar, desejaar sempre de ser mamdado, sem co traadizer ao que vos mamda; e por o comtrairo, cousa muito perygu hé ffazer homem sua propia vomtade comtra ho que lhe mamdão aimda que acertês fazemdo o comtrairo do que vos mamdão, cre[d me, Irmão meu Miser Paullo, que hé maior o erro que ho acerto.

Ao Padre Mestre Diogo [12] em todo lhe obedecerês e lhe farês a vo tade, por ser ell[e] sempre comforme à vomtade de Deus Noso Senh Fazemdo isto, que tamto vos roguo, crede que em cousa nenhuma farês tamto a vomtade.

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[9] King Hairun, whom Jordão de Freitas had arrested and sent to India.

[10] The new captain of the fortress, who arrived in Ternate in October 1546 gether with Hairun, was Bernaldim de Sousa. He held his office 1546-1549 and a 1550-1552.

[11] Fr. Micer Paolo SJ, an Italian, called by some historians Camers or de merino (after his birthplace Camerino in the Marche); he had sailed with Xavie India in 1541 and was teaching at Saint Paul's College in Goa.

[12] Master Diogo de Borba, director of Saint Paul's College in Goa.

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5. Hos frades castelhanos da ordem de Samt'Aguostinho que vão pera Guoa, vos daram novas de mim, hos quais vos roguo muito que em todo o que poderdes hos favoreçais, mostramdo-lhe muito amor e caridade, porque elles sam pessoas tão relligiosa[s] e samtas, que todo o boom gasalhado merecem [13]. Llogo aos nosos Irmãos, que estão no Cabo de Comorym, mamdareis esta carta pera que venham a Guoa, pera no mês d'Abryl virem a Maluquo na nao d'El-Rey.

6. Roguo-vos muito por serviço de Deus Noso Senhor, Irmãos meus, que trabalheis de trazerde[s] em vosa companhia algumas pessoas de boa vida, que nos posão ajudar a imsynaar a doutrina christãa por hos llugares destas ilhas : aldemenos cada hum de vós outros trabalhe muito por trazer huum companheiro : e se não for Padre de misa, seja alguum lleiguo, que se semte e tem por imjuryado do mumdo, demonyo e carne, que ho tem desomrado diamte de Deus e seus samtos, e deseja de se vimgar delles.

Noso Sennhor nos ajumte em seu samto reino por a sua imfinita mizericordia, que será com mais prazer e descamso do que nesta vida temos.

D'Amboino, a dez de Maio de 1546 annos.

[*Xavier's hand*] Vester minimus frater,

[Franciscus].

[*Autographic address*] † A meus charyssymos Hyrmãos, Mice[r] Paulo e Joham de Veira et ceteri[s] fratribus em Guoa.

## 5

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO KING DOM JOÃO III

AMBON, MAY 16, 1546

I TEXT : EX I 344-348 [346-348]. Taken from the original MS conserved in Saint John's church, Marchena (Spain), now probably in Japan ; Portuguese.

II AUTHORS : cf. EX I 344 ; moreover SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 734-735.

III PRINTED : cf. EX I 345 ; moreover in SÁ I 507-509 ; German version, in SCHURHAMMER, ibid.

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[13] They were : Jerónimo de Santisteban, Nicolás de Perea, Sebastián de Trasierra, and Alonso de Alvarado ; they had arrived in Maluku in the fleet of Ruy López de Villalobos.

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## *Text*

1. *What India needs most of all are preachers that teach the Christian law.* — 2 *The second thing needed is the Holy Inquisition, as many Christians live up to Jewis and Moorish standards.* — 3. *The king ought to reward Manuel de Mesquita and Lic nel de Lima according to their deserts.*

†

Sennhor

1. Por outra via tenho scripto [1] a Vosa Alteza da muita nesecydad que a Yndia tem de preguadores, porque à minguoa deles a nosa samt fee amtre nosos purtugeses vay muito perdemdo-ce a ffee. Ysto digu por a muita espiriemcia que tennho por as fortalezas domde amdo : h tamt'a comtratação comtinoa que temos com os ymfiês, hé tão pou nosa devação, que mais azinha se trata com eles proveitos temporais, qu misterios de Cristo Noso Redemtor e Salvador. As molheres dos casad naturais da terra, e filhas e filhos mestiços, comtemtam-se em dizer qu são purtugeses de jeração e não da lei : a causa hé a mimguoa que h quá de preguadores, que emsinnão a lei de Christo.

2. A segumda nesecydade, que a Ymdia tem pera serem bons chri tãos os que nela vivem, hé que mande Vosa Alteza a samta Ynquizisã porque há muitos que vivem a ley mozaica e seita mourisca, sem nenhu temor de Deus nem verguonha do mundo [2]. E porque ysto [3] são muit e espalhados por todas as fortalezas, hé neseçaria a samta Ymquizis e muitos preguadores : proveya Vosa Alteza seus leaes e fiês vaçalos India de cousas tão necesarias [4].

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[1] This earlier letter, written November 10, 1545, from Malacca, is not exta see EX I 302 no. 52*a*.

[2] Consult what VALIGNANO wrote on the Portuguese in Maluku (Ternate) : halló [Xavier] los portuguesses viviendo en muy peor estado que los de Mala porque era tanta la dissolución y ygnorancia, que se persuadían serles lícito te todas las mancebas que querían por no pecar con las casadas, y no sabían c era ganancia lícita, quál illícita, por lo qual en todo procuravan ganar lo podían » (*Historia* 98).

[3] *Sic !*

[4] In Portugal, the Inquisition had been requested in 1515 by King D. Ma I, but had not been established until 1536 by Pope Paul III. From this and other ters it appears that Xavier wanted to see the Inquisition established also in I with a view only to safeguarding the Christians in the faith. However, this pro

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3. Com Fernnão de Sousa, capitão-mor duma armada, quue veio da Yndia a Malluco em soquorro da fortaleza, por causa dos castelhanos que vierão da Nova Espanha, viera[m] tres capitões leaes e fiês vaçalos de Vosa Alteza. Destes matarão huum os mouros de Yeilolo duma bombardada, chamado por nome Yoam Gualvão [5]; dous outros, por nomes chamados Manuel de Mesquita [6] e Lionel de Lima [7], servirão muito a Vosa Alteza em ajudar a librar a presão, em que estava a fortaleza de Vosa Alteza de Maluco, gastamdo ho seu e de seus amiguos em dar de comer a pobres lascarins [8], e aguazalhamdo os castelhanos que da Nova Espanha vierão, provemdo-os de vestidos e comer, mais como a proximos que como ymiguos. Estes capitães de Vosa Alteza, co[mo] são mais cavaleiros que chatis [9] nem mercadores, não se souberão aproveitar pera ajuda de seus guastos do fruto do cravvo, que Deos nesta terra daa; esperão ho gualardão de seus servviços de Deus primeiramente, e despois de Vosa Alteza, pois tem tamto bem servido en esta trabalhosa viagem de Maluco, com tamto periguo de suas almas e vidas. Lembre-se V. A. de Manuel de Mesquita, que vay numa nnaao com muitos castelhanos e purtugeses, a que[m] dá de comer à suua custa, e asy leva a sua fusta em que veo a carguo a que[m] dá de comer. Lionel de Lima

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did not materialize until 1560 (ALMEIDA, *História de Portugal* II 317-328; EX I 287 no. 8).

[5] After Fernão de Sousa de Távora had made an agreement with Villalobos on November 4, 1545 (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 1660; *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* IV 290-293), he attacked, though ineffectually, the town of Jailolo with the help of the Spaniards; during the siege, João Galvão, captain of one of the *fustas* of Sousa's fleet, was killed (REBELO 217 and 221).

[6] Captain of another *fusta* sailing in Sousa's fleet. He was rewarded with the *mercê* of the captainship, first of Salsete and Bardez, thereafter of Chaul (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 3046, 3065).

[7] Lionel de Lima was born in Alcochete about 1521 (*ARSI, Lus. 43* f. 31*r*); he sailed in 1538 to India, in 1539 to Maluku, in 1545 again to Maluku with Fernão de Sousa de Távora (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 1508). REBELO (217) says of him « Em Portugal se fez apóstolo ». Indeed, in 1550 he entered the Society of Jesus in Lisbon (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 4532), and he died as Rector of the Jesuits in Bragança in 1564 (*ARSI, Lus. 43* f. 27*r*).

[8] *Lascarim* is Indo-Portuguese for « soldier », from the Persian *lashkar*, « army », and *lashkari* « one belonging to an army, soldier ». The Malay word is *laskar*, meaning both « troops » and « soldier ». See YULE 507.

[9] *Chati, chetty*, a « member of a trading caste » in S. India, a « trader », « merchant ». In Malay *sjetti, tjetti* (DALGADO I 265-267; YULE 189; *Treatise*, Glossary 370 [*chatim*]).

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leva tãobem muito gasto. Lembre-se V.A. deles pera lhes fazer merc pois tão bem lhas merecem. Deus Noso Sennhor acresente o estado vida de Vosa Alteza por muitos annos, pera muito serviço de Deus acrecemtamento da nosa samta fee.

D'Amboino, a dezaseys de Mayo ano de 1546.

[*Xavier's hand*] Servo inutil de Vossa Alteza,

Francisco.

[*Secretary's hand*] † Pera El-Rei. Do Padre Mestre Framcisco.

*Lost letters*

5*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Ambon, to friends in Malacca ; on M 10, 1546.*

Valignano wrote ; « Después, viniendo el tiempo para yr a Malu él escrivió a sus amigos a Malaca, encomendándole los mesmos castellan para que fuessen recebidos y proveídos en sus necessidades » (*Histo* 97-98).

5*b*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Ambon, to Fr. Simão Rodrigues, L bon ; about May 16, 1546.*

Rodrigues, Lisbon, to Fr. Martín Santacruz, Rome, on January 1548 : « E pollas cartas de Mtre Francisco verieis a callidade da gente q me manda pedir. E quanto aos dous, que me escreve que forão frade estão no collegio de Goa, hum hé Mtre Diogo . . ., o outro hé Anrriq Anrriquez . . . » (*Epp. Broëti* 582).

## 6

## POPE PAUL III TO THE VICAR OF MALUKU

Brief *Cum sicut carissimus*

Rome, October 28, 1546

I Bibliography : Schurhammer, *Quellen* 2472ª.

II Authors : Seb. Gonçalves II 444 ; EX I 142 note 10 ; Sch hammer, *Facultates et gratiae spirituales S. Francisco Xaverio pro In Orientali concessae*, in *Ges. Stud.* III 500 (He read *Coilão* instead *Ceilão*) ; DI I 303 note 10.

III Text : *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Minuta Brevium, Arm. vol. 37, no. 671* ff. 160*r*-161*v* (earlier 157*r*-158*v*). Writing in two colun F. 160*v* is blank. The text is a draft ; some parts have been crossed o corrections and additions have been made in the margin (see critical paratus). These emendations undoubtedly render the official and defi

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text of the Brief, which — as far as we know — has not been found. The author of the corrections and of the note at the end (no. 13) is Marcello Crescenzi, a well-known canonist who on June 2, 1542, had been created a Cardinal and soon after made Secretary of Briefs. The draft, all the following addresses, and even the note of Crescenzi, have been signed by Blos[ius Palladius], that is, the humanist Biagi Pallai, bishop of Foligno and Secretary of Latin Letters. On f. 161*v* there is a short note about paying the brief tax, signed by Joannes Miletus, and a Latin summary of the Brief.

IV NOTE : King D. João III had accompanied his petition to the pope with a long memorial composed of some recent relations about the state and progress of the faith in the Indies. The MS text does not seem to have been preserved. An Italian translation was printed in Rome in 1546, and, in the same year, a French one in Paris. See SCHURHAMMER, *Ceylon* 287-291 ; JACOBS, *Celebes* 303-305 ; JACOBS, *Macassar* 581-585. This memorial may have impressed the pope and made him more ready to grant the Brief. That the Brief did not remain a draft only, but was issued in due fashion is evident from the words of Bishop Juan de Albuquerque of November 5, 1548, to King D. João III : « O Padre que veio por prelado ao colegio de Santa Ffee [António Gomes] me deu os breves dos originais que V. A. mamdou aos vigairos das fortalezas que podessem crismar etc. » (DI I 303).

Although this document does not speak directly of the Society of Jesus, yet we think it justifiable to insert it in our collection for these reasons : 1. it is the result of D 1 ; 2. the powers given to the vicar of Maluku benefit the Christians among whom the Jesuits from now on are going to work ; 3. it has not been edited or mentioned, neither in the *Bullarium Patronatus*, nor in the CDP, nor by SANTOS ABRANCHES in his *Summa do Bullário portuguez*, nor by ARTUR DE SÁ. The list, at the end of the Brief, of other places to which it should be sent (among which even Makasar) makes it the more interesting.

V OUR EDITION : We print the only known text, thas is, the corrected draft from the Vatican Archives. Although the whole Brief properly consists of only one proposition, for clearness' sake we divide it into some numbered paragraphs.

## *Text*

1. *King D. João III explained to the pope that in his Asian territories many converts are unable to receive the sacrament of confirmation on account of the far distances from Goa, see of the only bishop.* — 2. *Therefore the pope herewith authorizes the vicar of Maluku to consecrate the chrism and to administer confirmation.* — 3. *Likewise to perform some benedictions and to reconcile desecrated places, but with consent of the bishop only.* — 4. *Notwithstanding any other former decrees.* — 5. *The same brief will be made for Malacca.* — 6. *For Makasar.* — 7. *For the Coromandel coast.* — 8. *For Socotra.* — 9. *For Ceylon.* — 10. *For Hormuz.* — 11. *For Sofala.* — 12. *For Mozambique.* — 13. *Card. Crescenzi underlines the urgency of this matter.*

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Dilecto filio Vicario [1] parochialis ecclesie Sancti
Iohannis de Maluco [2] goensis diocesis [3].
Paulus etc.

1. Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Cum, sicut carissimus in Christo fili noster Iohannes Portugalie et Algarbiorum rex illustris [4] nobis nuper e poni fecit, infinitus fere numerus incolarum insule de Maluco goensis d cesis Indie orientalis sub temporali dominio predicti Johannis regis ex tentis, Spiritu Sancto coperante, ad lumen veritatis illustrati ac Chri fidem conversi fuerint, et sacrum baptisma susceperint [5], et quam plu alii se ad illud suscipiendum alacriter accingant, et venerabilis frater ep copus goensis [6], cum a dicta insula ad civitatem goensem per sexcenta ultra vel circa miliaria distet [7], ad insulam predictam pro crismatis confirmationis sacramento eisdem conversis impendendo se commode cc ferre nequeat, at inibi nullus antistes, qui crisma et confirmationis s cramentum huiusmodi eisdem conversis administrare possit, exstet, propterea nonnulli ex conversis predictis absque ipsius crismatis et cc firmationis sacramenti susceptione ab humanis decesserint; unde p fatus Iohannes rex, qui indefessos labores et quasi intollerabiles exp

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10 se *ins.* || 11-12 secenta ... circa *m.h2; corr. fr.* quam plura

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[1] On the vicar of the fortress, see *Gen. Introd.* III 1.

[2] From the laying of the first stone on Saint John Baptist's day, June 24, 1 the fortress of Ternate was called Saint John of Ternate (*Treatise* 210). To this s the parish church of the garison was likewise dedicated.

[3] On the diocese of Goa, see *Gen. Introd.* III 2.

[4] D. João III, 1521-1557.

[5] The « endless number of baptized Christians » is evidently a strong exagg tion. One observes that the numbers furnished by the original reports from I were often magnified in Europe either by ignorance of the reality or by pure en siasm, perhaps aroused by the interested wish to make a favourable impression u others. A striking instance is this : in the memorial sent by King D. João III to pope in February 1546, the number is given of Christians who were converted the vicar-general of Goa, Miguel Vaz. In this text, printed in Paris in the same y this number is said to be « plus de cent trente cinq milles persones » ; in the Ro imprint, likewise of 1546, it is enlarged to « più di sei cento e trinta cinque milia sone » (SCHURHAMMER, *Ceylon* 288 ; JACOBS, *Macassar* 582).

[6] Juan de Albuquerque OFM.

[7] A very vague indication of distance which apparently applied to all the to mentioned at the end of the brief.

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sas pro expugnatione infidelium sustinuit, prout etiam illius predecessores sustinuerunt, pio desiderat affectu pro eorundem conversorum animorum salute premissis provideri.

2. Nos fidelium at personarum quarumlibet, presertim qui extra verum ovile, quod est Christus, fuerunt et ad ipsum ovile ut fiat ex illo unus pastor et unum ovile, Altissimi gratia cooperante, de novo reducti fuerunt et in dies reducuntur, dispendiis obviare et commoditatibus consulere, ipsiusque Iohannis regis id animo humili supplicantis votis paterne annuere volentes, tibi et successoribus tuis parochialis ecclesie Sancti Iohannis de Maluco goensis diocesis vicariis pro tempore existentibus, ut ad nostrum et Sedis Apostolice beneplacitum in dicta ecclesia crisma, ut moris est, consecrare illudque et confirmationis sacramentum huiusmodi omnibus et singulis dicte insule utriusque sexus incolis ad Christi fidem conversis et pro tempore convertendis conferre.

3. Necnon dum et quotiens requisiti fueritis imagines, cruces, campanas, calices, patenas, corporalia, libros et alia mobilia ac vasa et vascula, necnon tabernacula et custodialia, in quibus Eucharistie sacramentum conservatur et reliquie tenentur, necnon omnia et singula vestimenta sacerdotalia ac paramenta et ornamenta ecclesiastica quecumque quarumvis dicte insule ecclesiarum, basilicarum et capellarum illarumque altaria divino cultui dedicata benedicere ipsasque ecclesias, basilicas et capellas illarumque oratoria, cimiteria et loca ecclesiastica sanguinis vel seminis humani effusione aut alias quovis modo polutas et poluta reconciliare, de ipsius tamen episcopi mandato seu licentia aut voluntate [161*r*] vel expresso consensu, libere et licite possitis plenam et liberam apostolica auctoritate tenore presentium concedimus facultatem.

4. Non obstantibus felicis recordationis Alexandri pape IV predecessoris nostri, que incipit « Abbates » [a], ac quibusvis aliis apostolicis ac in provincialibus et sinodalibus conciliis editis generalibus vel spe-

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20 effectu *ms* || 25 reducuntur *del.* et || 29 ad . . . beneplacitum *m. h2* || 32 convertendis *del.* et aliis ad dictam insulam propterea confluentibus. | conferre *del.* ac eos clericali caractere insignire et ad quatuor minores ordines semel et simul aut separatim prout expeditius visum fuerit statutis a iure temporibus promovere et dictos ordines eis etiam conferre. || 35 custodialiae *ms.* || 42-43 de ipsius . . . consensu *m. h2; corr. fr.* omniaque et singula alia spiritualia munera et pontificalia officia, citra tamen promotionem ad sacros ordines, que ipse episcopus goensis, si inibi presens foret, facere et exercere posset, absque [tamen] dicti [episcopi] preiudicio facere et [161*r*] exercere

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[a] The author is quoting *Liber sextus Decretalium Bonifacii VIII*, lib. V, tit. 7, cap. III: Alexander IV, *Abbates quos apostolica.* (FRIEDBERG II 1084; POTTHAST, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum II* 1472 no. 18116).

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cialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, quodque tu et forsan si
50 cessores tui prefati in episcopali dignitate constituti non sitis, ceterisq
contrariis quibuscumque. Per hoc autem constitutionem, que recon
liationes huiusmodi precipit per episcopos tantum fieri, nullum volun
in posterum preiudicium generare.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, xxviij octobris 1546 a
55 no xij°.

Blosius.

5. Dilecto filio Vicario parochialis ecclesie insule de Malaca [9], go
sis diocesis.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Fiat aliud simile breve pro eodem.
60 Blosius.

6. Dilecto filio Vicario deputato seu deputando parochialis eccl
insule de Macasar [10], goensis diocesis.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Fiat aliud simile breve pro eodem.

Blosius.

65 7. Dilecto filio Vicario deputato seu deputando parochialis ec
sie de Costa de Choramandel [11], goensis diocesis, cum expressione q
dista[t] quadringenta et quinquaginta miliaria vel circa.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Fiat aliud simile breve pro eodem.

Blosius.

70 8. Dilecto filio Vicario deputato seu deputando parochialis ecc
insule de Çazatora [12], goensis diocesis.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Fiat aliud simile breve pro eodem.

Blosius.

---

54-55 Romae ... xij° *add. h2* || 57 insule *m. h2* || 66-67 cum ... circa *add.* 67 distat *corr. fr.* non distat ultra || 71 insule *m. h2*

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[9] Malacca had been captured by the Portuguese in 1511. It was not an is a second hand added the word *insule* (that is, *insulae*) to several of the foll names (See appar. crit.).

[10] On Christians in Makasar, that is, South Selebes, see SCHURHAMMER, *Xaver* II/I 512-524; JACOBS, *Celebes* 251-305; JACOBS, *Macassar* 571-585. I kasar there was no fortress of the Portuguese, nor a permanently appointed nor any official parish church.

[11] On the Coromandel Coast there was the Portuguese town of São Ton

[12] The island of Socotra, off the easternmost tip of Africa. The Portu captured it in 1507, but left it again in 1511. In 1543, Franciscan friars made tempt to do missionary work there but had to give it up three years later.

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9. Dilecto filio Vicario deputato seu deputando parochialis ecclesie insule de Ceilão [13], goensis diocesis, pro tempore.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Fiat aliud simile pro eodem.

Blosius.

10. Dilecto filio Vicario pro tempore deputato seu deputando parochialis ecclesie civitatis de Ormuz [14], goensis diocesis.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Fiat aliud simile breve pro eodem.

Blosius.

11. Dilecto filio Vicario pro tempore deputando parochialis ecclesie insule de Çofala [15], goensis diocesis.

Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Fiat aliud simile breve pro eodem.

Blosius.

12. Dilecto filio Vicario pro tempore deputando parochialis ecclesie insule de Moçambique [16], goensis diocesis.

Dilecte fili, etc. Fiat aliud simile breve pro eodem.

Blosius.

13. Instatur per agentem pro Serenissimo rege Portugalliae [17] et per

---

74 deputato seu deputando *m.* || 75 pro tempore *del.* deputando || 78 deputato seu *interl.* || 83 insule *m. h2* || 87 insule *m. h2* || 90-93 Instatur . . . Crescentius *h2.*

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[13] The first landing of the Portuguese in Ceylon had been in 1506; in 1518 they had built a fortress, but six years after that they demolished it again, nevertheless continuing their settlement in Colombo, where a *feitor* looked after the interests of the king of Portugal and two secular vicars with five Franciscans cared for the Christians (D 3, 1).

[14] Hormuz (Hormoz), the key to the Gulf of Persia, fell definitively to the Portuguese in 1515, but already earlier a church had been erected and was serviced by secular priests (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 22).

[15] In Sofala (Mozambique) the Portuguese had a fortress and a *feitoria* from 1505 on.

[16] Mozambique had been visited by Vasco da Gama on his first voyage to India in 1498. A fortress was built as a protection for the royal agency in 1507-1508. Its harbour was the principal resting place for the ships sailing between Lisbon and India.

[17] Baltasar de Faria. See the king's letter of February 19, 1546, to him, in CDP VI 17-18; Faria's answer of April 29, ibid. 47. The king had hoped that the brief should have arrived in Lisbon before the sailing of the ships (in 1546 the fleet sailed off on April 8) but Faria did not succeed in this.

N.B. Pope Pius V, by brief of February 12, 1563, renewed these faculties for the «administratores» of the churches of Hormuz, Mozambique, and Sofala, and explicitly for «dilecto filio moderno et pro tempore existenti Vicario de Malucho nuncupato» (*Archivum Secretum Vaticanum AA 4219*; SANTAREM XIII 417-418).

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reverendissimum dominum meum Camerarium. Me praesente fuit
Sanctissimo factum verbum et sub hac forma videtur posse conce
M. Cardinalis Crescen
Blosius.

*Lost letter*

6*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Ambon, to a friend in Ternate ; May, 1547.*

Valignano : « Finalmente fue tan grande el provecho que hizo en luco, que totalmente se puede dezir que quedó otro pueblo muy dife de lo que de antes estava : y súpose de cierto que de tantos que v amancebados no quedaron, al tiempo que el Padre se partió, por ca salir de pecado sino dos solamente ; y aunque trabajando mucho no alcançar lo que pretendía con estos dos, no quedó con ellos indignad tes, escriviendo de Amboyno una carta a un su devoto a Maluco, le entre otras cosas, que le encomendasse a aquellos dos, que con él sido tan pertinazes, diziéndoles de su parte que si él pensasse hazer provecho para ayuda de sus almas, luego se tornaría para Maluco, no los dexaría de encomendar a nuestro Señor » (*Historia* 103-104). devotee or friend is likely to have been Baltasar Veloso ; see D 23, 1

## 7

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO [FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, R

[MALACCA, JULY-AUGUST] 1547

I TEXT : DI I 175-178 [177-178]. Taken from *Bibliotheca Vat. Ottoboni lat. 797* ff. 27*v*-28*r* ; Italian version. Of this letter, most pro written in Spanish, no original is extant ; it has been preserved in I and Latin translations only.

II ADDRESSEE : By D 10, 12 we know that Xavier inculcated Beira to write regularly to Rome, that is, to Ignatius Loyola. From and also from the fact that the only extant versions of the letter be found in Roman collections, we infer that Ignatius was the add of this document.

III PLACE : From no. 2 it follows that Beira had already re Malacca where he met Xavier ; but in no. 3 he is stating that he l go yet to Maluku. So he writes this letter from Malacca.

IV TIME : Xavier reached Malacca from Maluku in the first d July, 1547, and Beira left it in the reverse direction in August o year. Consequently the letter was written during this period (EX 388, where in note 58 *Junii* has to be *ulii* : D 14, 1).

V NOTE : On Juan de Beira, see *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 2.

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*Text*

1. *Xavier went to Maluku and made many converts there.* — 2. *He charged [Nuno] Ribeiro and Beira to go there ; on the way they met him [in Malacca], where he was on his return to India.* — 3. *Five Jesuits were sent to Cape Comorin ; so Beira and two other ones could leave for Maluku. They heard of a king in a far-away country who wished to become a Christian, but they cannot spare anybody to be sent there.* — 4. *Sorrow felt over loss of many souls ; hope of God's aid.*

[...]

1. Delli idoli et altri errori loro [1] già per la gratia de Dio non c'è memoria, essendo instrumento dil tutto il Padre Maestro Francesco, cui absentia hano molto sentito, quando se partì [2] a visitar altre regioni, che si dicano di Maluco, dove si cominciavano a fare christiani et lui ancora ha fatto molti.

2. Et vedendo la dispositione di quelle terre, ci mandò ciamare un altro Padre che si dice Ribero [3] et a me, acciò andassimo in Maluco [4], restando il Padre Antonio [5] nel Capo de Comurin, et che fossino mandati di là quelli che di novo venessino. Et partiti trovassimo nella via [6] il Padre Maestro Francesco, il quale tornava di Maluco nella India per sapere che sua presentia fossi più necessaria nella India, sì perchè un re s'era fatto christiano, sì etiam per potere disponere delle persone della Compagnia, che fossino mandate in li luoghi dove vedeva essere più necessario per fare frutto [7].

3. Questo anno de 47 vennero 9 persone della Compagnia insieme [8],

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[1] That is, of the people of Cape Comorin among whom Beira had worked a full year and of whom he is speaking in the preceding part of the letter.

[2] Xavier left the region of Cape Comorin in December 1544.

[3] Fr. Nuno Ribeiro. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 3.

[4] D 4, 2-3. Originally Xavier ordered Frs. Juan de Beira and Francisco Mansilhas to come to Ternate, eventually replacing the latter by Antonio Criminali. For Criminali himself, however, Ribeiro was substituted.

[5] Fr. Antonio Criminali.

[6] In Malacca.

[7] Cf. DI I 94-96 no. 3. From the first Xavier considered his voyage to Maluku only an exploratory trip from which he soon would return ; but, if need be, he might send other Fathers there, as he actually did. See D 3, 6-7. He wanted to get « experience » (D 2).

[8] They sailed from Lisbon on April 8, 1546 (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 8-16), and reached Goa in September of that year (DI I 151). Beira, however, had already arrived one year earlier (WICKI, *Liste* no. 7).

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de' quali cinque sono andati al Capo de Comorin. Noi altri con doi c pagni che si sonno offerti al divino servitio andiamo a Maluco [9] m consolati di vedere si apre la porta tanto per exaltare il nome di J Christo, perché anchora intendiamo d'altre terre molto separate di c sta che ci sonno molti christiani, quali non hano doctrina nè che ba gli suoi figliuoli et un re ha mandato qua un ambassador acciò gli fus dati alcuni Padri per fare gli suoi christiani [10]; ma non si potendo s plire a tutti i bisogni, s'attende a li più grandi.

4. Vedessi più con molto dolor che molte anime vano all'inf per non esservi che li dia socorso. Piaccia Iddio Signor nostro che qu nova vigna, quale per sua misericordia comincia visitare, ogni dì di la più fruttuosa, poichè l'ha rigata col preciosissimo sangue del u Figliuolo suo [11]. V.R. ci aggiuti per suo santo amore impetrandoci gr et nove forze per esser fideli et buoni operarii suoi, poichè si è deg adoperarci nel suo servitio.

Di questo suo servo in Christo,

Joan de Vera.

*Lost letter*

*7a. — Fr. Francisco Xavier, Malacca, Instruction for Fr. Jua Beira and companions in Maluku ; about July-August 1547.*

Xavier from Cochin, January 20, 1548 : « Díles este tiempo, que ellos estuve en Malaca, larga información de la tierra de Maluco, c manera que se avía de hazer en ella, conforme a la experiencia que tenía » (D 10, 12). Fróis' letter of November 19, 1556, proves that a wr instruction is meant : « Quando algum dos christãos morre, vai o F ou Irmão que ali está no lugar, com todos os christãoszinhos, cantan doctrina christã e razando as ladainhas com sua crux alevantada di e asi o levão de sua casa até à igreja, cousa que muito anima aos chri ver aquele zelo dos Padres he charidade, e cuidado dos mininos em a panhar os defuntos. Isto fiquou asi ordenado per regimento que di nhão do Pe Mestre Francisco » (D 63, 35). Besides, Xavier left som structions in Ternate and Moro : « Asi os ensinou certo tempo que ahi ve, e ordenou o que avião de fazer os Padres dahi por diante ». « I os despedio e mandou pera Maluquo com ordem que lhe deu e avia deixado do que avião de fazer » (PÉREZ, *Informação* 57 and 58). Fo contents, see D 10, 9 ; D 20, 3 and 5.

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[9] That makes four Jesuits : Juan de Beira, Nuno Ribeiro, Nicolau Nune Baltasar Nunes. (*Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 2-5).

[10] This certainly refers to the two rajas in South Selebes, baptized by A de Paiva. In 1544, they had sent their ambassadors to Malacca in order to a Fathers (JACOBS, *Celebes* 305).

[11] Cf. 1 Pet 1 19.

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## 8

## FR. NICOLÒ LANCILLOTTO SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

GOA, OCTOBER 10, 1547

I TEXT : DI I 179-188 [181-182]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 31*r*-32*v* ; original in Spanish.

II NOTE : As a Rector of the Goa college Fr. Lancillotto, an Italian, writes to the General in Rome on what is going on in the mission of India and Ethiopia. Very indirectly he mentions Maluku.

### *Text*

*Xavier went to Maluku. News arrives in Goa from there only once a year. In April 1547 three companions departed from India to join him over there.*

[...]

El Padre Maestro Francisco fuesse para unas tierras que se llamão Maluco, de do no recebimos nuevas dél sino de anno yn anno [1], como de Roma. Fueran en Abril passado para lá, a do él estaa, tres Hermanos, que fueran el Padre Yoan da Beira y Nuno Ribeiro e otro mancebo seglar y lego, que se llama Nicolao [2].

[...]

De Goa, oje X d'Outubro 1547 annos.

Indigno siervo de V.R.,

Nicolao Lancilotto.

*Lost letter*

*8a. — Fr. Juan de Beira, Maluku, to Fr. Ignatius Loyola, Rome ; late 1547.*

Beira to Ignatius, February 13, 1550 : « El anno de 1547, al fin del, escreví a V.R., dándole cuenta de lo que en estas partes Dios ... ha obrado ... por sus siervos » (D 28, 1).

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[1] On monsoons and on navigation seasons, see *Gen. Introd.* II 1 b.

[2] Nunes.

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9

# AN UNKNOWN JESUIT TO SOME JESUITS IN EUROPE

GOA, BEGINNING OF 1548 (?)

I TEXT: DI I 252-255 [255]. Taken from the *Archives of the J Toledo Province* (*Spain*), *Varia Historia 3* f. 498*r*; copy (?); Portug
II PRINTED: in SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 35-37 I 523-524 (both print the text after DI).

## *Text*

1. *Description of Maluku (volcanos, clove, sagu).* — 2. *Xavier in Maluku in Malacca. What people tell of him.* — 3. *Beira departed to Maluku by order o vier; two others did so after consultation of the Fathers in Goa.*

[...]

1. Nas partes de Maluqo omde o Padre Mestre Francisco and humas ylhas, en cima das quais, asi em enverno como em verão, se arde foguo e cada oyto dias treme a terra nelas [1]. E hé tan gran cheiro que delas say das arvores do cravo [2], que dizem ser cousa r pera ver. Estas ylhas são muyto altas he lá não comem senão pa paoo [3]; tem muytas carnes.

2. Ho Padre Mestre Francisco quamdo se partio de Malaqua hé huma fortaleza d'El-Rey de Purtugal muito riqua domde morão tos purtugeses casados [4], dizem que nunqua ali pode fazer fruto r que alem de serem casados tem tres e quatro mancebas e muitos duzia [5]; qu[e] quamdo se foi, alimpou o poo dos çapatos [6]; e outr

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[1] See D 3, 12.

[2] The famous clove tree, *Caryophyllus aromaticus*, also called *Eugenia tica*, of the family of the *Myrtaceae*. It is after this tree, and after its dried buds, that the Maluku Islands are named Spice Islands.

[3] Litterally: *bread of wood*, a name by which the Portuguese usually in the common food extracted from the *sagu* tree, *Metroxylon sagu* (*Treatise*, G 375).

[4] «Era então Malaca muy prospera e mui povoada de gente da terra rica asi de mercadores portugezes como de chins e mouros» (PÉREZ, *Informaç*

[5] Cf. PÉREZ, *Informação* 56.

[6] Cf. Mt 10 14 and Lk 9 5.

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zem que se despio e emterou os vestidos e se vestio de peles ; mas não me parece ser verdade mais que ho dos sapatos.

3. A primeyra oytava da Pascoa florida de 1547 [7] partirão desta cidade de Goa de demtro deste colegio o Padre João da Veira, chamado pello Padre Mestre Francisco em virtude da samta obediencia pera Maluquo [8] ; o Padre Ribeiro e o Irmão Nicolao [9] forão pelo parecer dos Padres.

[...]

## 10

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO HIS FELLOW JESUITS IN ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 20, 1548

I TEXT : EX I 370-396 [375-388]. Taken from Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Gavetas 18-5-16* ff. 1*r*-4*v* : copy in Spanish.

II AUTHORS : To be added VALIGNANO, *Historia* 101-104 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 127-129.

III PRINTED : see EX I 374. Also in SÁ I 534-549 ; *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* VIII 525-534.

IV OUR EDITION : We print the first twelve numbers of the EX-edition ; the numbers 13-23 deal with Malacca and Japan.

### *Text*

1. *He spent three months on the island of Ambon where he found seven Christian villages.* — 2. *Arrival of a Portuguese fleet which made him very busy preaching, hearing confessions and reconciling enemies. After that, during three months he unfolded a varied pastoral activity in Ternate.* — 3. *Fruits of this work.* — 4. *He visited all the Christian villages of the Moro region ; there he found barbarous people, many dangers, the greatest spiritual consolations.* « *Islands of Trusting in God* ». — 5-6. *On the people called Tabarus ; on volcanic eruptions and their consequences.* — 7. *Back in Ternate he very fruitfully worked again during three months.* — 8. *Departure to Malacca, short stay on an island* [*Ambon*]. — 9. *Leaving Ternate he made provisions for religious instruction ; he introduced public evening prayers for the dying and sinners.* — 10. *The king of Ternate is a Muslim by attachment, not to Mohammed, but to his many wives.* — 11. *The king promised that one of his sons would be made a Christian, on condition that he be created a king of Moro.* — 12. *In Malacca he met Beira, Ribeiro and Nunes who in August, 1547, set out from there for Maluku ; he instructed them on the work to be done.*

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[7] Easter fell on April 10, so they set sail on that day.

[8] Beira was the superior of the group (D 11).

[9] Nunes.



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La gracia y amor de Christo nuestro Señor
sea siempre en nuestra ayuda y favor. Amén

1. Charíssimos Padres y Hermanos en Christo Jesú. En el año de 1546 os escrevý largamente [1] de las islas de Ambueno, las quales están a 60 legoas de la ciudad de Maluco [2]. Esta ciudad de Maluco estaa poblada de portogueses [3], donde el Rey de Portogal tiene una fortaleza, y señorean los portogueses todas las yslas que dan clavo, y no a otras yslas que dan clavo, sino éstas de Maluco. En las yslas de Ambueno estuve tres meses [4] donde allé siete lugares de christianos [5]. El tiempo que ay estuve, me occupé en baptizar muchas crianças, que estavan por baptizar a falta de Padres; porque uno, que tenía cargo dellos, murió avía ya muchos días [6].

2. En acabando de visitar estos lugares, y de baptizar los niños que estavan por baptizar, llegaron siete navíos [7] a estas yslas de Ambueno de portogueses, y entre ellos algunos castellanos que venieron de las Indias del Emperador [8] a descubrir nuevas tierras [9]. Estuvieron en Ambueno toda esta gente tres meses [10]. En este tiempo tuve muchas occupaciones spirituales en predicar los domingos y fiestas, en confessiones

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[1] D 3.

[2] The Portuguese fortress and town of Ternate.

[3] According to the *Treatise* (287), under António Galvão (1536-1539) there were 123 Portuguese in Ternate; with wives, children, servants, and slaves, they numbered 1,600 people all together.

[4] The time was from February 14 to the end of June, 1546, including a trip to Seram and Nusa Laut.

[5] See D 3 note 16.

[6] The name of this priest is not revealed by the documents. Cf. SCHURHAMMER, *Ges. Stud.* III 284 note 141.

[7] The fleet of Fernão de Sousa de Távora consisted of seven ships; they were accompanied by another one which the Portuguese had taken over from Villalobos. Hence VALIGNANO, *História* 97: «eran ocho navíos».

[8] New Spain or Mexico. These Castilians had come sailing in the fleet of Ruy López de Villalobos.

[9] For the text of the instruction that the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, gave to Villalobos on September 18, 1542, see *Colección de Documentos inéditos* 2ª serie II (I *De Filipinas*) 29-46. In short, the purpose of the expedition was «el descubrimiento y conquista de la mar del Sur e Islas del Poniente».

[10] «Allegamos al puerto de Ambon día de Carnestolendas [March 9], a do estuvimos hasta 17 de Mayo [1546]» (ESCALANTE 197).

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continuas, en hazer amistades y visitar los dolientes. Eran de manera las occupaciones que para estar entre gente no santa [11] y de guerra, no esparava allar tantos frutos de paz; porque a poder estar en vij lugares en todos ellos allara occupaciones spirituales. Alabado sea Dios para siempre jamás, pues commonica tanto su paz a las personas, que fazen quasi professión de no querer paz con Dios ni menos con sus próximos.

Passados estos tres meses se partieron estos vij navíos para la India del Rey de Portogal [12], y yo me partí para la ciudad de Maluco, donde estuve tres meses [13]. En este tiempo me occupé en esta ciudad en predicar los domingos y fiestas todas y confesar continuadamente; todos los días enseñava a los niños y christianos nuevamente convertidos a nuestra fee la doctrina christiana [14]; y todos los domingos y fiestas, después de comer, predicava a los nuevamente convertidos a nuestra fee el Credo, en cada día de fiesta un artículo de la fe. De manera que todos los días de guarda hazía dos predicationes, una en la missa a los portogueses y otra a los nuevamente convertidos, después de comer.

3. Era para dar gracias a nuestro Señor el fruto que Dios fazía en emprimir en los coraçones de sus criaturas cantares de su loor y alabança en gente nuevamente convertida a su fee. Era de manera en Maluco, que por las plaças los niños, y en las casas, de día y de noche, las niñas y mugeres, y en los campos los labradores, y en la mar los pescadores, en lugar de vanas canciones cantavan sanctos cantares, como el Credo, Pater noster, Ave María, mandamientos, obras de misericordia, y la confessión general, y otras muchas oraciones todas en lenguage [15], de manera que todos las entendían, así los nuevamente convertidos a nuestra fee, como los que no lo eran. Quiso Dios nuestro Señor que en los portogueses desta ciudad y en la gente natural de la tierra, así christianos como infieles, que en poco tiempo inveni magnam gratiam coram oculis eorum [16].

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[11] Allusion to Psalm 42 [43] 1, in the Vulgate version.

[12] That is, to Malacca, Cochin, and Goa.

[13] Xavier arrived at Maluku (Ternate) in July (VALIGNANO, *Historia* 98), and in September or October he visited the Moro islands.

[14] It should be remembered that in 1545, while waiting in Malacca for a favourable sailing breeze, Xavier composed a small catechism in Malay (D 3, 13). In Ternate Xavier wrote an additional rhyming catechism in Portuguese; see EX I 348-367.

[15] Most probably *lenguage* means here the Malay idiom.

[16] Cf. Gen 18 3.

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4. Passados los tres meses, partí desta ciudad de Maluco para unas yslas que están 60 legoas de Maluco, que se llaman las yslas del Moro, porque en éstas avía muchos lugares de christianos y eran passados muchos días que no eran visitados, así por estar muy apartados de la India, como por averen muerto los naturales de la tierra un Padre que allá fue. En aquellas yslas baptizé muchas criaturas que allé por baptizar, y estuve en ellas tres meses [17] y visité en este tiempo todos los lugares de christianos; consoléme mucho con ellos y ellos comigo.

Estas yslas son muy peligrosas por causa de las muchas guerras que ay entr'ellos. Es gente bárbara, carecen de escripturas, no saben leer ni escrivir. Es gente que dan ponçonha a los que mal quieren,y desta manera matan a muchos. Es tierra muy fragosa : todas son sierras y mucho trabajosas de andar. Carecen de mantenimientos corporales. Trigo, vino de uvas no saben qué cosa es. Carnes ni ganados ningunos ay, sino algunos puercos, por grande maravilla. Puercos monteses ay muchos. Muchos lugares carecen de agoas buenas para beber. Ay aroz en abastança, y muchas árbores que se llaman çagueros, que dan pan y vino [18], y otros árbores que de su corteza hazen vestidos, con que todos se visten [19]. Esta cuenta os doi para que sepáis quán abundosas yslas son éstas de consolaciones spirituales; porque todos estos peligros y trabajos, voluntariosamente tomados por sólo amor y servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, son thesoros abundosos de grandes consolaciones spirituales, en tanta manera, que son yslas muy despuestas y aparejadas para un hombre en pocos años perder la vista de los ojos corporales con abundancia de lágrimas consolativas. Nunqua me acuerdo aver tuvido tantas y tan continuas consolationes spirituales, como en estas yslas, con tan poco sentimiento de trabajos corporales; andar continuadamente en yslas cercadas de inimigos, y pobladas de amigos no muy fixos, y en tierras que de todos remedios para las enfermedades corporales carecen, y quasi de todas ayudas de causas segundas para conservación de la vida. Mejor es llamarlas yslas de esperar en Dios, que no yslas de Moro [20].

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[17] From September 1546 to January 1547. For the foregoing, see D 3 note 23.

[18] From the pit of the sago tree a foodstuff, the sago (*sagu*), is extracted and eaten like bread, and from its spadix, by incision, a sap is harvested, called *tuak*, a palm wine or toddy.

[19] Xavier alludes here to the well-known *ſisu*, a garment made of tree bark (*Treatise*, Glossary 371).

[20] As to how the Portuguese of Ternate tried to prevail upon Xavier not to sail to Moro, and on his courageous resolution to go there anyhow in spite of all imminent dangers, consult VALIGNANO, *Historia* 99-100.

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5. Ay en estas yslas una gente que se llaman tavaros. Son gentiles, los quales ponen toda su faelicidad en matar los que pueden, y dizen que muchas vezes matan sus hijos o mugeres quando no allan que matar. Estos matan muchos christianos [21].

Una ysla destas quasi siempre treme, y la causa es porque en esta misma ysla ay una sierra que continuamente echa fuego de sy y mucha ceniza [22]. Dizen los de la tierra que el grande fuego que debaxo está, quema las sierras de piedra que están debaxo de tierra ; y esto parece ser verdad, porque muchas vezes se acontesce salir en fuegos piedras tan grandes como grandíssimos árboles. Y quando faze grande viento, echan los vientos de aquella sierra tanta ceniza para baxo, que los hombres y mugeres que están trabajando en los campos, quando vienen a sus casas, vienen todos llenos de ceniza, que no les parece sino los ojos y narizes y boca, que parecen más demonios que hombres. Esto me dixeron los naturales de la tierra, porque yo no lo vy. El tiempo que ay estuve no fueron estas tormentas de viento [23]. Más me dixeron, que quando aquellos vientos reynan, que la mucha ceniza que los vientos consigo traen, ciega y mata muchos puercos monteses, porque passados los vientos los allan muertos.

6. Y tanbién me dixeron los de la tierra, que quando estos tiempos cursan, que allan a la orilla de la mar muchos pescados muertos, y esto que lo causava la mucha ceniza que los vientos traen de aquella sierra ; y que los pescados, que bivían ágoa mesclada con tal ceniza, morían. Y quando ellos me preguntavan qué era aquello, les dizía que era un inferno, adonde yvan todos los que adoravan en ídolos. Era el tremor de la tierra tan grande, que un día de San Miguel [24], estando en la yglesia [25] di-

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[21] The tribal group of the Tabarus lives in the hinterland of North Halmahera. Different from the Alfurus, in the sixteenth century they were notorious for their savage nature and customs. Because of their passion for killing men, the Tabarus were time and again employed by the king of Ternate in his wars against his adversaries, and notably against the Christians of Moro (For literature, see EX I 380 note 29).

[22] In Morotia or the east coast of NW Halmahera, the volcano « Dukono » or « Tolo », in the Tobelo mountains, has been active up till our century ; a famous eruption was that of 1550 (D 41, 7) which caused earthquakes and a rain of ashes.

[23] The winds of the NE monsoon (October-April) blew the ashes towards the south, or inland, whereas the Christian villages were situated to the north of the volcano.

[24] September 29, 1546.

[25] This « church » cannot have been but a simple construction of wooden poles,

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ziendo missa, tremió tanto la tierra, que tenía miedo que no cayesse el altar : forte Sam Miguel por virtud divina los demonios de aquellas partes, que impedían el servicio de Dios, los punía y mandava que se fuessen al infierno.

7. Después de aver visitado todos los lugares de christianos destas yslas, torné otra vez para Maluco [26], onde estuve otros tres meses [27], predicando dos vezes todos los domingos y fiestas, una por la mañana a los portogueses, y otra después de comer a los christianos de la tierra, confessando continuadamente por la mañana y por la tarde y a mediodía, enseñando todos los días la doctrina christiana ; y después de la doctrina christiana acabada, en los domingos y fiestas predicava a los christianos de la tierra los artículos de la fe, guardando esta orden : que en cada fiesta declarava un artículo de la fe, reprehendéndolos mucho de las ydolatrías passadas. En estos tres meses, que estuve en Maluco desta 2ª vez, predicava los miércoles y los viernes a las mugeres de los portogueses solamente, las quales eran naturales de la tierra, y les predicava sobre los artículos de la fe, y mandamientos, y sacramentos de la confessión y communión, porque en este tiempo era Quaresma, y así por la Paschua [28] muchas se commulgaron, que antes no se comulgavan.

Con ayuda de Dios nuestro Señor, en estos vj meses que estuve en Maluco se hizo mucho fruto, así en los portogueses y sus mugeres, hijos y hijas, como en los christianos de la tierra.

8. Acabada la Quaresma, con mucho amor de todos, así de los christianos como de los infieles, partí de Maluco para Malaca. Por la mar no me faltaron occupaciones. Y en unas yslas [en] que allé quatro navíos [29], estuve con ellos en tierra algunos xv o xx días, donde les prediqué tres vezes, confessé a muchos, y hize muchas pazes. Quando me partí de Maluco, por evitar lloros y plantos de mis devotos, amigos y amigas, en la despedida, me embarqué quasi a media noche. Esto no me bastó para los poder evitar, porque no me podía esconder dellos ; de manera que la noche y el apartamiento de mis hijos y hijas spirituales me ayudaron

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with walls made from sago-leaf stalks and with a sago-leaf roof. In the persecution of 1535 all « churches » had been destroyed.

[26] Ternate.

[27] January-April, 1547.

[28] April 10.

[29] Xavier actually ought to have set sail in February from Ternate to the bay of Ambon, where the ships were scheduled to wait out the monsoon, but at the desire of the Ternatans ha stayed in the fortress during Lent, not sailing for Ambon until April ; there he found the ships that would carry him to Malacca.

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a sentir alguna falta, que por aventura my absencia les podría fazer para la salvación de sus ánimas.

9. Dexé ordenado antes que de Maluco partiese, cómo todos los días se continuasse la doctrina christiana en una yglesia, y una Declaración, que en breve hize sobre los artículos de la fe [30], se continuassen, y la supiessen en lugar de orationes los nuevamente convertidos a nuestra fe. Un Padre clérigo, devoto y amigo mío, quedó que en my absencia los enseñaría todos los días dos horas, y un dia en la semana predicar a las mugeres de los portogueses sobre los artículos de la fe, y sacramientos de confessión y communión [31].

Y también el tiempo que estuve en Maluco ordené que todas las noches por las plaças se encomendassen las almas de[l] purgatorio, y después todos aquellos que biven en peccado mortal; y esto causava mucha devoción y perseverancia en los buenos y temor y espanto en los malos. Y así elegeron un hombre los de la ciudad, vestido en hábitos de la Misericordia [32], que todas las noches, con una lantierna en la mano y una campana en la otra, anduviesse por las plaças y de quando en quando se parasse encomendando con grandes vozes las ánimas de los fieles christianos que están en el purgatorio, y después por la misma orden las ánimas de todos aquellos que perseveran en pecados mortales, sin querer salir dellos, de los quales se puede ben dizer: « Deleantur de libro viventium et cum iustis non scribantur » [33].

10. El rey de Maluco es moro y vasallo del Rey de Portogal [34], y

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[30] For this Declaration, see EX I 348-369.

[31] As Xavier calls this priest *clérigo*, and not *vigário*, probably the Vicar Ruy Vaz is not meant but one of his beneficiaries. Xavier is not likely to call Ruy Vaz « devoto » and « amigo mio », and to have moved him to such an apostolic work as is described here, since this vicar had showed himself more interested in business, riches, and political intrigue than in spiritual care (ESCALANTE 162 and 164; REBELO 213-216; 432-433), and had been ordered by the bishop of Goa to be put in irons and brought to India (SCHURHAMMER, *Ceylon* 451).

[32] The *Misericórdia*, with its full name « A Confraria de Nosa Senhora da Misericórdia », was an institution of charity founded in 1498, and soon established throughout Portugal and in Portuguese settlements all over the world. Every fortress had a confraternity and church of the Misericórdia (Cf. ALMEIDA, *História de Portugal* III 615-617; WICKI, *Die Bruderschaft der Misericórdia in Portugiesisch-Indien*).

[33] In the Vulgate, Ps 68 [69] 29.

[34] King Hairun of Ternate. The Portuguese spelled « Aeiro ». He reigned 1534-1545 and again 1546-1570. Though, under the excellent captain António Galvão, he was nearly moved to become a Christian (*Treatise* 298), he continued to be a Muslim.

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hónrrase mucho de lo ser, y quando en él habla, lo llama « el Rey d Portogal mi señor ». Habla este rey muy bien portogués [35]. Y las princ pales yslas de Maluco son de moros. Maluco no es tierra firme, son tod yslas. Dexa el rey de ser christiano por no querer dexar los vicios ca nales, y no por ser devoto de Mafoma. No tiene otra cosa de moro sin ser de pequeño circuncidado, y después de grande ser cien vezes casad porque tiene cien mugeres principales y otras muchas menos princip les [36]. Los moros de aquellas partes no tienen doctrina de la ceita de M foma ; carecen de alfaquis [37], y los que son, saben muy poco, y quasi t dos estrangeros [38].

11. Este rey me mostrava muchas amistades, en tanto que los m ros principales de su reyno le tenían a mal ; desseava que yo fuesse s amigo, dándome esperanças que en algún tiempo se haría christian quería que o amasse con esta tacha de moro, diziéndome que christian y moros teníamos un Dios común, y que en algún tiempo todos serí mos unos [39]. Holgava mucho quando o visitava ; nunqua pude acab con él que fuesse christiano. Prometióme que haría uno de sus hij christiano, de muchos que tiene, con esta condición, que depois de chri tiano fuesse rey de las yslas del Moro [40]. Daquy a IIII° meses, Dios nue

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He signed his letter to D. João III of Portugal of January 18, 1546, « Vasalo de Vo Alteza » (SÁ I 474). As early as 1518, his father King Boleife (Bayan Sirrullah) h declared himself a vassal of Portugal (SCHURHAMMER, *Orientalische Briefe* 297 r 316) and probably he had done so even earlier (SÁ I 79-80).

[35] « Fala muito bem portuguez » (REBELO 299).

[36] « O rey de Ternate, que sendo muito maior senhor que todos, . . .lhe punh ate cem mulheres » (REBELO 270).

[37] *Alfaqui*, Spanish transcription of the Arabic *al-fakik*, means a Musl teacher of law, hence a Muslim preacher. Indonesian dictionaries give the wo *fakih* with the same meaning (POERWADARMINTA 86).

[38] Already in D 3, 8, Xavier mentions *casises* coming from Mecca. Here ag he states that the Muslim teachers of Maluku were « strangers ». This points to t fact that, beside the Christian mission among these peoples, there was a more or l organized Muslim mission which drew preachers from Arabia, Turkey, and Egy Inconspicuously but repeatedly they occur in the Portuguese and Spanish sour on Maluku. Consult, for instance, DI III 537-538. In order to outline a realistic p ture of the Christian apostolate in 16th and 17th century Indonesia, a study of t counterattack should be undertaken, if possible also from Muslim sources.

[39] Quite surely, Hairun did not think in this way from an ecumenical spi *avant-la-lettre*, but out of a deep-rooted religious indifferentism.

[40] One of the clever tricks of Hairun's politics that would ensure him bo the favour of the Portuguese and the control of the Moro region against the clai

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tro Señor queriendo, le mandaraa el Gobernador de la India todos los despachos que le manda pedir, para que su hijo, después de chrystiano, sea rey de las yslas del Moro [41].

12. En el año de 1546 escrivý de Ambueno, antes que partisse para Maluco, a los de la Compañía, que aquel año venieron de Portogal [42], que para el año de 1547, en las naos que partiessen de la India para Malaca, veniessen para aquellas partes algunos dellos, y así lo hizieron. De manera que partieron de la India para Malaca tres de la Compañía, dos de missa, Joán de Bera y o P. Ribeiro, y Nicolao, lego [43], los quales allè en Malaca, quando de Maluco venía para Malaca [44]. Con ellos recebí mucha consolación un mes que estuvimus juntos [45], en veer que eran siervos de Dios, y personas que en aquellas partes de Maluco avião de servir mucho a Dios nuestro Señor. Ellos partieron de Malaca para Maluco en el mês de Agosto de año de 1547. Es navegación de dos meses. Díles este tiempo, que con ellos estuve en Malaca, larga información de la tierra de Maluco, de la manera que se avía de hazer en ella, conforme a la experiencia que della tenía. Están tan longe de la India, que no podemos saber nuevas dellos sino una vez en el año. Mucho les encomendé que escriviessen todos los años muy largamente para Roma, dando cuenta menudamente de todo el servicio, que a Dios nuestro Señor fazen en aquellas partes, y de la desposición que en ellas ay ; y así quedamos que lo avían de hazer.

[...]

De Cochín, a XX de Janero de 1548.

Minimus servus servorum Societatis nominis Iesu,

Franciscus.

[*Address*] † Ihs. A mis charíssimos en Christo Padres y Hermanos, el P. Ignigo et caeteris fratribus dilectissimae Societatis nominis Iesu, qui sunt Romae et ubique terrarum.

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of the kings of Tidore and Jailolo. Soon his procedure showed that, as a matter of fact, he wanted neither his son nor the Moro people to become Christians. (D 36, 3).

[41] From D 36, 3 it appears that Hairun did not keep his promise.

[42] D 4.

[43] See D 7, note 9.

[44] Xavier arrived in Malacca in July 1547 (PÉREZ, *Informação* 57).

[45] The scheduled date of sailing from Malacca to Ternate was about August 15.

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## 11

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, RO

COCHIN, JANUARY 20, 1548

I TEXT: EX I 396-400 [399]. Taken from Horatius TURSELLI *Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum Libri Quatuor* (1st ed. Romae 1596) 2 Printed Latin version; no MS text is extant.

II AUTHORS: also SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 130.

III OUR EDITION: We print only one line, very important for purpose.

### *Text*

*Fr. Juan de Beira has been appointed a Superior of the Jesuits in Maluk*

[...]

E tribus sociis qui Molucum petierunt visum est unum eligere praeesset caeteris. Itaque Ioannem Beiram delegi cui reliqui obter rarent non secus ac tibi. Id illis pergratum accidit.

[...]

XIII. Kal. Febr. Anni a Christo nato M.D.XLVIII.

Cocini.

[Franciscus].

[*Address*] P. Ignatio Loiolae Praep. Gener. Romam.

## 12

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. SIMÃO RODRIGUES SJ, PORTUGAL

COCHIN, JANUARY 20, 1548

I TEXT: EX I 417-422 [418-420]. Taken from *ARSI, Ep. NN* ff. 109*r*-110*v*; copy in Spanish.

II AUTHORS: ibid. 417; to be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz X* II/II 140-142.

III OUR EDITION: We print that part of the letter which shows kind of demands Xavier made upon the missionaries destined for and Maluku.

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## *Text*

1. *Fr. Rodrigues should send more workers, especially preachers.* — 2. *The men directed to India, if not very learned, at least should be very virtuous, so that they can be relied on for difficult tasks.* — 3. *The king of Portugal should send good preachers, be it Jesuits or Franciscans, to all his fortresses.*

†

La gratia y amor de Christo nuestro Señor
sea siempre en nuestro favor y ayuda. Amén.

Charíssimo en Christo Hermano

1. Por amor y servicio de Dios N.S., Hermano Maestro Simón [1], os encomiendo que trabajéis de mandar algunos predicadores de nuestra Compañía [2], por quanto ay mucha necessidad dellos en la India. De todos los que mandastes no tengo vistos sino a Juan de Beira, e el P.e Ribero [3], y Nicolao [4], leigo, los quales están en Maluco, y Adam Francisco [5] que hallé en Cochim. Pregunté por los demás ; dixéronme que no ay ninguno que predique entre ellos.

Mas os encomiendo mucho, por amor y servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, que quando ordenáredes de mandar algunos de la Compañía, que no son predicadores, para estas partes de la India para convertir los infieles, que sean personas de mucha probación en la Compañía y de muchas experiencias, de manera que ayan alcançado muchas victorias por spacio de algunos años ; y que no sean dolientes, porque los trabajos de la India requieren también fuerças corporales, aunque sean más ne-

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[1] Fr. Simão Rodrigues, one of the first companions of Ignatius Loyola, was Provincial of Portugal from 1546 to 1552.

[2] Not every Father was considered to be a preacher. Polanco, in his *Industriae*, declares that for a professed Father « buena gratia . . . para leer o predicar y conversar » was required ; others could be admitted as spiritual coadjutors « aunque no tubiesen aquella gracia de predicar » (*Polanci Complementa* II 731-732). Neither Beira nor Ribeiro was a professed Father.

[3] Nuno Ribeiro.

[4] Nicolau Nunes.

[5] Adão Francisco was a Portuguese Jesuit working in India. See EX I 419 note 3.

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cessarias las spirituales. Muy grande servicio a Dios N.S. faría el Rey, si mandasse muchos predicadores de nuestra Compañía a la India, porque avéis de saber, que la gente de la India caresce mucho de doctrina. Esto os hago saber por la experientia que tengo.

2. Y si las cosas del accrescentamiento de nuestra santa fe entre los infieles tienen muchos impedimentos en estas partes, no os espantéis, porque en nosotros hallan la primera y más fuerte contrariedad. Por tanto, me parece que es necessario acudir a nosotros primero, y después a los gentiles. Para el año que viene, por servicio de Dios N.S. que hagáis todo lo possible por mandar predicadores. No os escrivo las cosas de la India por causa que no a sino ocho días que llegué de Malaca [6], y no sé nada dellas; y de algunas que sé, me pesa de las saber [7]. Paréceme que nuestros compañeros os escriven largamente todo lo de acá.

Las personas que de nuestra Compañía mandáredes para convertir infieles, es necessario que de cada uno dellos se pueda confiar de lo embiar o solo o acompañado a qualquiera parte que se offresciere de más servicio de Dios N.S., como a Maluco, China, Japón o Pegú, etc. A qualquiera destas partes pueden ir personas, que, aunque no tengan muchas letras, si tuvieren mucha virtud que los acompañe, pueden hazer mucho servicio a Dios N.S.

3. Por descargo de la conscientia del Rey, a quien toda la Compañía deve mucho, por ser tan amigo della, le cumple mucho favorecer primero en las cosas spirituales a los suyos, y después a los infieles. Desseo mucho para honrra y servicio de Dios N.S. y descargo de la conscientia del Rey, que provea todas las fortalezas de la India de predicadores de nuestra Compañía, o de la religión de S. Francisco, y que no tuviesen otra occupación special y principal estos predicadores, sino predicar los domingos y fiestas a los portugueses, y después de comer, a los esclavos y esclavas, y christianos forros de la tierra, sobre los artículos de la fee y un día en la semana a las mugeres y hijas de los portugueses sobr los artículos de la fe, y sobre los sacramentos de la confessión

---

[6] Xavier sailed from Malacca in December 1547 and reached Cochin on Ja uary 13, 1548 (EX I 409). On March 6 of that year he was back again in Goa, whi he had left in September 1542. See PÉREZ, *Informação* 57-58.

[7] Evidently Xavier is hinting here at some unpleasant and annoying ne that he learned when arriving in Cochin, perhaps the disobedience of Fr. Franci de Mansilhas, who had refused to sail for Maluku with Fr. Juan de Beira, and th fore had to be dismissed from the Society (PÉREZ, *Informação* 54-55).

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communión, porque sé por experiencia la mucha necessidad que desto tienen.

[...]

Dios nuestro Señor sea en nuestra continua guarda. Amén.

De Cochín, a 20 de Henero año de 1548.

[Vuestro caríssimo hermano en Christo,

Francisco].

## 13

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO KING DOM JOÃO III

COCHIN, JANUARY 20, 1548

I TEXT: EX I 400-410 [408]. Taken from *ARSI, Ep. NN. 90* ff. 91*v*-94*v*. Copy. Portuguese.

II AUTHORS: ibid. 400; to be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 137-140.

III PRINTED: also in *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* V 55-56.

IV OUR EDITION: we print only paragraph no. 11, in which Xavier speaks of his work in Maluku.

### *Text*

1. *His work as a preacher for the people.* — 2. *Specially in the fortresses.* — 3. *The king should send more preachers.*

[...]

1. Pregava em Malaca e Maluco ao tempo que lá estive duas vezes todos os domingos e dias sanctos, pella muita necessidade que via: aos portuguezes pella manhã na missa, e depois do jantar, aos filhos e filhas dos portuguezes, e escravos seus, e aos christãos forros da terra, declarando-lhe os artigos da fee; e hum dia na somana pregava numa igreja às molheres dos portuguezes, assym da terra como mistiças, sobre os artigos da fee e sacramentos da confissão e communhão.

2. Em poucos annos se faria muito serviço a Deus Nosso Senhor se se continuase esta doutrina. Nas fortalezas emsinava em todo este tempo a doutrina christãa, todos os dias depois de jantar, aos filhos e filhas dos portuguezes, escravos e escravas seos, e christãos da terra, e com esta doutrina e ensino cessavão muito as idolatrias e feitiçarias.

3. Esta conta dou a Vossa Alteza pera que se lembre de mandar

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pregadores, pois à mingoa delles nem os portugueses nem os convertidos a nossa fee são christãos.
[...]

*Lost letters*

13*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Cochin, to King D. João III, Portugal ; about January 20, 1548.*

Xavier to the Jesuits in Goa, June 1549 : « As cartas que vierem de Portugal, primeira via, d'El-Rey, abri-llas heis, e depois de lidas mas mandareis. E se nellas fallar da raynha Donna Izabel, mãy que foi d'el-rey de Maluco, sobre certo despacho que escrevi a S.A. sobre esta mãy d'el-rey de Maluco, a qual foi christãa o tempo que estive em Maluco, e se algum despacho vier d'El-Rey para esta raynha D. Izabel, mandá-llo heis a muito bom recado aos Irmãos que estão em Maluco, em Abril, na nao que for para Maluco .... Se na carta que El-Rey me escreve fallar de hum homem que está em Maluco por nome Balthezar Velozo, ... e se lhe manda certas couzas que por mercê lhe mandei pedir a S.A. ... mandá-llo heis ... aos Irmãos de Maluco » (D 23, 1). If Xavier expected the answer of D. João to arrive in Goa in September 1549, he must have written in early 1548, when the ships were on the verge of sailing. Cf. D 13 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 127 and 130.

13*b*. — *Fr. Juan de Beira, Ternate, to Fr. Francisco Xavier, India ; about mid February 1548.*

Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, February 2, 1549 : « Optimi autem ex Moluco nuntii perferuntur ... Ipse [Beira] ad me paulo ante de suis rebus, aerumnis ac periculis diligentissime scripsit » (D 19, 1). This letter and D 13*e* came from Ambon in the ships mentioned in D 14, 3.

13*c*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Goa, to Fr. Juan de Beira, Maluku ; April 1548.*

Xavier to Beira, June 20, 1549 : « ... Pola provisão do Senhor Bispo, que vos mandei o anno passado » (D 22, 7). On this order of the bishop, see DI I 267 no. 41*f*. Xavier certainly did not send it to Beira without a personal letter. Cf. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 217.

13*d*. — *D. João de Castro, Governor of India, to King Hairun of Ternate ; April 1548.*

Xavier to the Roman Jesuits, January 20, 1548 : « Daquy a IIII meses ... le mandaraa el Gobernador de la India todos los despachos que le manda pedir, para que su hijo, después de chrystiano, sea rey de la yslas del Moro » (D 10, 11). Beira to the rector of Goa college, February April 1549 : « El Governador de la India le embió este anño una provisió que sea rey de todos los christianos que se hizierem y de los que conquistare con ajuda de su padre y de los portogeses, y también de los que convertieron ya : y esto haziéndose él christiano » (D 20, 2). See also 36, 3. Cf. EX II 477-478 note 6.

13*e*. — *Fr. Nuno Ribeiro, Hatiwi (Ambon), to Fr. Francisco Xavier India ; about mid May 1548.*

Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, February 2, 1549 : « Nunnius Ribero Aboini est, in oppido sane tuto et christianis frequenti ; ex eius literis tellexi sane uberem fructum eius laboris extare » (D 19, 2).

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## 14

## FR. FRANCISCO PÉREZ SJ TO THE JESUITS IN COIMBRA

MALACCA, DECEMBER 4, 1548

I TEXT: DI I 352-380 [363-365]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 249*r*-254*v*; original in Spanish.

II AUTHORS: ibid. 353. To be added POLANCO, *Chronicon* I 260-261, no. 223.

III PRINTED: ibid. 354. To be added SÁ I 580-581 (after a shortened copied text).

IV NOTE: Francisco Pérez, a Spaniard, entered the Society of Jesus at Coimbra in 1544. Two years later he sailed to India where he worked in many places and died in Negapatam in 1583. In April 1548 Xavier sent him to Malacca to found a college. In 1579 he wrote the first life of Francis Xavier, the MS of which was not found in *ARSI* until 1965 (PÉREZ, *Informação*).

### *Text*

1. *In distributing the Fathers, Xavier dispatched four of them to Maluku; these met him in Malacca and arrived well in Ternate.* — 2. *On the state of Christianity in Maluku.* — 3. *Three of the new workers went to Moro, the fourth, Ribeiro, to Ambon, where he made many conversions.* — 4. *For lack of apostolic workers many souls are eternally lost.* — 5. *Xavier is reputed to have known of a death miraculously.*

. . . . . .

1. El Padre Maestre Francisco escrevió de Malaca que todos los Padres que avião venido d'Espanha se fuessen al Cabo de Comorý, y João da Vera o el Padre Antonio Criminal o Francisco de Mansilhas se enbarcassem para Maluco [1]. Y porque el Padre Antonio no estava a mano para venir quando se dieron las cartas, porque el tiempo e sazán [2] era breve y el camino largo, y el Padre Francisco Mansilhas no se alló dispuesto para ir, fue determinado que fuesse Yoan da Vera y el Padre Nuno Ribero con nuestro Hermano Nicolao Núnez y otro Hermano que acá tomó la impresa, que se llama Baltesar [3], para Maluco. E estando en Malaca vino el Padre Maestre Francisco de Maluco y allólos ahí, que

---

[1] See D 4, 2. Xavier wrote from Ambon. Because all letters coming from Maiuku had to pass Malacca, Pérez' error can easily be explained.

[2] Here the Spanish *sazón* has been contaminated by the Portuguese *sazão*.

[3] Baltasar Nunes.

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fue el anno de corenta y sete en el mes de Julio. Y estando ahí dos meses o dos e medio se enbarcaron para Maluco Joan de Vera, Nuno Ribero con sus compañeros, donde llegaran a salvamiento, y fueron recebidos de llos Hermanos de la Misericordia [4] con grande alegría porque los estavan esperando, porque el Padre Maestre Francisco avía prometido de mandarlos.

2. En Maluco y por muchas yslas al derredor ay muchos christianos, unos que eram ya baptizados y otros que baptizó nuestro Padre Maestre Francisco, antre los quales estaa una reina, madre del rrey que agora es de Tarnate [5], donde estaa la fortaleza ; y muchos se converterían se oviesse obreros que non quaerant quae sua sunt, sed quae Jesu Christi [6] : orate igitur, Fratres in Domino charissimi et Patres, Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam [7].

3. Y aquý, digo en Maluco, se apartaran el Padre Yoan de Vera para el Moro, donde ay muchos christianos qui petunt panem et non est qui frangat eis [8], com Nicolao Núnez y Baltesar [9], de los quales no sabemos hasta agora nuevas ciertas ; y el Padre Nuno Ribero vino para Anboino, que son unas islas donde están las naos quando vienen de Ma-

---

[4] Remarkably, the Misericordia brothers are mentioned and not the vicar. Cf. D 10 note 31.

[5] This queen was one of the principal wives of Bayan Sirrullah (« Boleife », in the Portuguese authors), daughter of King Almansur of Tidore, and mother of King Tabarija (christened as D. Manuel). Her name is given as Niachile Pocaraga (COUTO V 10 10) and Quechil Pucaraga (SÁ II 21-28 ; IV 36-40). According to the *Treatise* (104), *nachil* (naicil) was the title of royal princesses, like *cachil* (kaicil) that of princes, and these titles had been adopted from the Javanese. See also REBELO 358 *Treatise*, Glossary 373 (*nachil*) and 374 (*quachil*). That *Pukaraga* should be transcribed as *Boki radja*, as VALENTYN does (I b 146-147), I dare not say. *Boki* is in the Ternatan language, the word for a female descendant of the king (CLERQ 256). She was not the mother of King Hairun who was reigning then, for he was the son of a Javanese concubine of Bayan Sirrullah (filho de outra mãy que não era filha de rey ; filho de huma molher da casta jaoa ; SÁ II 22-23 ; III 489). On the conversion of this queen, christened Dona Isabel, see the letters of Baltasar Veloso of May 20, 1547 (SÁ I 518-520), and of Fr. Luís Fróis SJ of November 19, 1556 (D 63, Xavier himself only says that she became a Christian during his sojourn in Ternate not that it was he who baptised her (D 23, 1).

[6] Phil 2 21. Perhaps Pérez is hinting here at the selfish behaviour of the vicar of Ternate, Ruy Vaz (D 10 note 31).

[7] Mt 9 38.

[8] Lam 4 4.

[9] Baltasar Nunes.

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luco quatro meses [10], en el qual tiempo no estuvo ocioso, porque baptizó, según dizen los que vienen de allá, quinientas o seiscentas almas, visitando los lugares de los christianos, quebrando ídolos, enseñando la doctrina a aquella[s] gemtes que están sin ley como animales bravos y brutos, porque no avía allý quien les enseñasse. Y acabados los quatro meses las naos se vinieron para Malaca, y él se quedó en aquella tierra con algunos portugueses que con buen zelo y fee christiana le quisieron favorecer en aquella conquista, pues, si en quatro meses hizo tanta obra con el favor divino, qué seraa en todo el anno ?

4. Pues estas cosas y otras muy mayores que adelante se dirán deven mover a Vuestras Reverencias y Caridades a venir a comquistar y tirar de cativerio cruel y tiránico las almas compradas per la sangre preciosísima de nuestro Señor y Redentor Yesú Christo, que ciertamente tiemgo para mí que muchas y muy muchas se van al infierno perpetuamente sem ninguna redención, lo qual apenas puedo dizer sin lágrimas, por falta de quien las enseñe la verdade y camyno da salvación. Eya, eya, quid agitis in paterna domo [11], delicati milites ?

[...]

5. Y ansí es pública voz y fama entre las gentes espanholes [12] desta tierra, que estando otra vez predicando en Maluco dixo : « Digamos un Pater noster y un Ave María en memoria de la passión de nuestro Señor Jesú Christo por la alma de Araújo » [13]. El qual fuera morto de lexos de allý y no se sabía aún en Maluco.

[...]

Fecha a iiij días de Dezenber de 1548.

[...]

[*Autograph*] Francisco Perez asno [14],
indignus vocari filius.

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[10] February-May.

[11] Cf. Gen 12 1.

[12] In the general meaning of Iberians, that is, Castilians and Portuguese.

[13] When João de Araújo died in Hatiwi, Ambon, at the same moment Xavier, while saying Mass in Ternate, asked people to pray for his soul. For the fact and the sources, see SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 750.

[14] This *asno* (donkey, duffer) proves that Pérez did not think much of himself.



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## 15

## FR. ANTÓNIO GOMES SJ TO FR. SIMÃO RODRIGUES SJ, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

GOA, DECEMBER 20, 1548

I TEXT: DI I 409-426 [417-418]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 93*r*-98*v*; original in Portuguese.

II PRINTED: ibid. 409. Moreover in SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 179-191 (our fragment 184-185); SÁ I 595-596 (only our part)

III NOTE: Fr. António Gomes was a talented but, in the practica administrative field, strange person (see DI I 48*-49*). Nevertheless, thi letter shows how the Jesuits, already in those very early years of thei mission work in SE Asia, had the idea of founding a college in Maluku, thought which for the rest would always remain a pious wish only.

### *Text*

1. *The king of Portugal should finance a college project in which the Goa colleg might function as a central university, and other preparatory institutions could be erec ed in Cochin, Coulam, Chale, Malacca, and Maluku.* — 2. *How the money, eventual furnished by the king, should be administered.*

[...]

1. Agora vay Mestre Francisco [1] a Cochim para dar começo a hu colegio, e dá-lo-á pola gente lhe ser muito afeiçoada a elle e à Comp nhia. Em Coulam [2] tambem á-de dar começo a outro. Spreve [3] a Ell-Re sobre S.A. dar dous mil cruzados de renda para se gastarem no coleg de Cochim e de Coulam e de Chale [4], e no que se á-de fazer em Malaq e em Maluquo: e que esta renda se pague e entregue ao reytor do col gio de Goa, para daquy se gastar conforme as necessidades de cada c legio, porque muito han-de soprir os paes dos myninos que aly entr rem. E creo que quase sem El-Rey se sostentará muita parte disto p enformaçam que das terras me deu Mestre Francisco. De maneira q este colegio [5] será universidade de toda a India, e este e o de Coul

---

[1] Xavier.

[2] Quilon, on the Malabar Coast in South India, where the Portuguese ha fortress.

[3] Ancient spelling of *escreve*. This letter was lost.

[4] Chāliyam, just south of Calicut; the Portuguese had a fortress here.

[5] Of Goa.

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seram propriamente da Companhia, e dos outros teremos nós a administraçam, para que de lá venha gente já feita a este, onde aprendam artes e theologia. Eu tudo isto escrevo a Ell-Rey [6], porque sey que nysto á-de receber muito contentamento, porque se aumentará por esta vya a fé em estremo, e mais, quase em todas as fortalezas d'El-Rey aberá pregadores da Companhia e confesores ; e teremos gente para tamta conquista como esta da India, que de laa [7] bem sey que nam pode vyr tanta como yso.

2. Estes 2.000 cruzados, se El-Rei os der, diz o Padre Mestre Francisco que faça Vosa Reverencia com que a paga delles se faça ao que tem carrego desta cassa [8], porque duzentos cruzados empregados en roupa de Baçaym [9], que caberá numa caixazinha, fazem em Maluquo mil, nem naquelas partes nam core moeda senam panos, e mais para ficar tudo ysto a colegio que detriminadamente seja da Companhia, como hé este.

[...]

Aos 20 dias de Dezembro 1548.

[...]

[*Autograph*] Amtonio Gomez.

## 16

## FR. NICOLÒ LANCILLOTTO SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COCHIN, DECEMBER 26, 1548

I TEXT : DI I 434-444 [441]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 81*r*-84*v* ; autograph in (very poor) Italian.

II PRINTED : see ibid. 435. Moreover in SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 192-199 [196-197] ; SÁ I 597 (fragment) ; both borrowed from DI.

### *Text*

***Which Fathers and Brothers stay in Maluku. People are rather savage. The Jesuits' procedure in making conversions.***

---

[6] This letter of Fr. António Gomes has not been preserved. Cf. DI I 426 no. 59*a*.

[7] From Portugal.

[8] The college of Goa from where Gomes is writing.

[9] Coast town, just north of the present-day Bombay.

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[...]

Nella costa del Moro, cioè in Malucco, stanno quatro, cioè el Padre Jan de Bera e el Padre Nuno Ribero [1], et doi laici, cioè Nicolao Nunez e Belchior Nunez [2]. Forno là farà questo Aprile que vene doi anni [3]. Aspettamo al presente nove de loro. Quella è terra molto orida e gente molto bistiale; vivono de pane de legno [4] e pexe. Non gle manca travagli a li Fratelli che là sonno: se exercitano sempre in ensignare le cose de nostra fé segondo possono; congregano li fanciulli e li insegnano le oratione; batezano grandi e picoli segundo che se gle oferiscono, ancorachè non credano nè intendano tanto perfettamente como seria neccessario. Questo mesmo fanno tutti li altri che qua vanno in questo negotio.

[...]

De Cocino, alli 26 de Decembre 1548.

De V.R. indegno fighliuolo in Christo,

Nicolò Lancilotto.

*Lost document*

16*a*. — *Fr. Nuno Ribeiro, Hatiwi (Ambon), Baptismal Register; 1548-1549.*

See D 29, 3 and note 14.

## 17

## SCHOLASTIC MANUEL DE MORAIS SJ TO HIS FELLOW JESUITS IN COIMBRA

GOA, JANUARY 3, 1549

I TEXT: DI I 454-462 [456-457]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 32*v*-34*r*; Spanish translation.

II PRINTED: cf. ibid. 455. Moreover in SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 212-217 [212]; SÁ I 598-599 (fragment); both borrowed from DI.

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[1] Fr. Nuno Ribeiro did not go to the Moro region but to the island of Ambon (D 14, 3).

[2] In other documents called constantly Baltasar Nunes.

[3] That is to say, in April 1547 they sailed from Goa.

[4] «Bread from wood» (*pão de pau*) was the Portuguese expression for the sago food.

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## *Text*

*By Xavier's command the newcomers from Portugal had to go to Cape Comorin, Beira with Mansilhas or Criminale to Maluku. Finally Beira went with Nuno Ribeiro and two not ordained companions. In Malacca they met with Xavier who was on his return voyage from Maluku.*

[...]

Y luego de aý a pocos días [1] vinieron cartas de M. Francisco, que escrivió de Malaca, en que mandava que todos los Padres que veniessen aquel año de Portugal fuessen al Cabo de Comorín, y Juan da Beyra y el Padre Francisco de Mansillas o el Padre Antonio Criminal se fuessen para Maluco [2]. Y porque el Padre Antonio estava muy lexos para venir, quando se dieron las cartas, y era el tiempo breve en que se avía de partir la nave, de manera que no podía venir a tiempo, y porque el Padre Francisco de Mansillas se halló indispuesto, fue determinado que fuesse el Padre Juan da Beyra, y el Padre Nuno Ribero, y nuestro Hermano Nicolao Núnez, y otro Hermano que acá entró, llamado Baltezar [3], para Maluco ; y después de llegar a Malaca bolvió el Padre M. Francisco de Maluco y halló[lo]s aý.

[...]

De Goa, a 3 Henero de 1549

Vuestro en Christo indiño Hermano,

Manuel de Morales [4].

---

[1] That is, a few days after September 17, 1546, the date mentioned in the preceding sentence.

[2] Xavier wrote so from Ambon ; see D 4, 2.

[3] Baltasar Nunes.

[4] The author of this letter was the younger Manuel de Morais, who had sailed from Portugal in 1546 and was not yet a priest. He should not be confused with the elder Fr. Manuel de Morais who sailed in 1551 and died in India in 1553 (Cf. DI II 6*-7* ; *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 7).

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## 18

# FR. COSME DE TORRES SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ AND THE FATHERS IN EUROPE

GOA, JANUARY 25, 1549

I TEXT: DI I 468-481 [475-476]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 150*r*-151*v*; copy in Portuguese.

II PRINTED: ibid. 469. Moreover in SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 260-267 [262-263], borrowed from DI.

III NOTE: Cosme de Torres, a Spaniard from Valencia, born in 1510, as a secular priest left Spain in 1538 for Mexico; there he embarked in 1542 in the fleet of López de Villalobos for Mindanao. Because of their well-known vicissitudes the Spaniards finally came to Maluku, where they had to surrender to the Portuguese. In Ambon Cosme de Torres made the acquaintance of Francis Xavier, in 1548 he joined the Society of Jesus in Goa, and a year after that he accompanied Xavier on his journey to Japan where he worked as a superior of the mission from 1551 until his death in 1570.

### *Text*

1. *Forced by necessity the Spaniards came to Maluku where they made a pact with the Portuguese.* — 2. *In Ambon he met Xavier and was deeply impressed by him and wanted to follow him. But first he had to present himself to the bishop of Goa. Sailing along the coast of Java he arrived in Malacca.*

[...]

1. E forçados de nescesidade, contra vontade de todos, nos [1] partimos e viemos ter a Maluco, honde estivemos com abundancia e necesidades perto de dous annos [2]. Honde finalmente por parecer dos Padres que ahi estavamos [3] e de alguns fidalgos [4] nos concertamos com o ca-

---

[1] The Spaniards in the fleet of Ruy López de Villalobos.

[2] From the spring of 1544 until November 1545 they stayed first in Samafo on the Moro coast, next at Jailolo, and then most of the time in the island of Tidore (ESCALANTE 132-136).

[3] They were four Augustinian Fathers (D 4 note 13) and three secular priests, one of whom was the author of this letter. For the mediation of these Fathers, especially of Fray Jerónimo de Santisteban, in the treaty of surrender, see SÁ I 424 and 481; ESCALANTE 168 and 189.

[4] Rightly *algunos*: a group of *fidalgos* strongly opposed the surrender to the Portuguese (ESCALANTE 171-194).

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pitão dos portugeses [5], perdendo a esperança de poder tornar a Nova Espanha, que nos trouxese pera estas partes da India.

2. Da qual terra partindo viemos por huma ilha de Ambueno, na qual topei o Padre Mestre Francisco. E na primeira vista empremio tanto em mim que loguo desejei segir suas pisadas, e o fizera loguo senão pera me apresemtar ao Bispo da India [6]. E com esta temção me parti delle sem diso lhe dar comta, e nos viemos por humas ilhas que se chamão Java [7]. Os moradores são mouros e gentios, jemte muito cruel. E dali partimos e viemos ter a Malaqua, outra fortaleza d'El-Rey, das mais riquas que há na India [8].

[...]

Deste collegio de Santa Fee da cydade de Goa, a 25 de Janeiro de 1549 annos.

Servus inutilis,

Cosmas.

## 19

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. SIMÃO RODRIGUES SJ, PORTUGAL

COCHIN, FEBRUARY 2, 1549

I TEXT: EX II 66-80 [77-79]. Taken from Horatius TURSELLINUS, *Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum Libri Quatuor* (1st ed. Romae 1596) 2, 11. Printed Latin version; no MS text is available.

II AUTHORS: ibid. 66; to be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 391-394.

III PRINTED: ibid. 67. To be added SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 275-285 [282-284]; SÁ I 600-601 (fragment), borrowed from EX.

IV NOTE: Only after Xavier had written, while in Cochin, all his letters for Portugal, did the ships from Malacca put in to the port, bringing him news of the far East. Then he wrote again and sent this letter with the last ship leaving India in that season. (See EX II 56-57).

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[5] The treaty of surrender was made between the Portuguese commander Fernão de Sousa de Távora and the Spanish general Ruy López de Villalobos, on November 4, 1545 (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 1660).

[6] Fray Juan de Albuquerque OFM, bishop of Goa.

[7] « Partimos de Ambon, a 17 de Mayo del dicho año [1546], y allegamos a la isla de Java » (ESCALANTE 198).

[8] ESCALANTE (198-199) writes: « A 11 de Julio [1546], allegamos a la población de Malaca, a do estuvimos cinco meses, y pasamos harta necesidad, por ser la tierra muy cara ».

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## *Text*

*1. Good news from Maluku. To Fr. Beira and his companions, life there is very stern. But rumours about Beira's death are unfounded. The Moro islands may give martyrs to the Society of Jesus ; therefore they may be called Martyrs Islands. — 2. Fr. Ribeiro works with good results among the Ambon Christians. — 3. Next April he will sail for Japan. First he will visit the viceroy in order to get help for Maluku where a college and an orphanage should be established.*

[...]

1. Optimi autem ex Moluco nuntii perferuntur. Quippe in maximis aerumnis perpetuisque vitae discriminibus Ioannes Beira eiusque socii versantur, magno cum christianae religionis incremento. Rumor de Beirae caede [1] dissipatus mihi quidem inanis videtur. Ipse ad me paulo ante de suis rebus, aerumnis ac periculis diligentissime scripsit [2]. Eius socii post discessum navium ex Moluco tres menses hyemarunt in Amboino [3]. Interim Ioannes Beira eo [4] ex Maurica [5] venit ad praefectum [6], rogatum ut lusitanorum manum mauricis christianis auxilio mitteret. Revertenti in Mauricam ex Moluco nescio quid illi gravius accidisse dicitur, quod ego neque ullius literis, neque idoneis autoribus comperi. Illud pro certo affirmare audeo, tanquam aurum in fornace probari [7] eos qui Deum ac proximos diligunt. Equidem haud scio an nusquam in toto orbe chris-

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[1] See D 22, 8 and D 25, 2.

[2] This letter is not extant anymore. It must have been sent from Ternate by the middle of February 1548. See D 13*b*. Beira's letter does not exclude, of course, the possibility that he could have been killed afterwards. So Xavier's belief that the rumour was idle must be founded on other indications. Probably the occurrences described in D 33, 2 caused this rumour.

[3] « Moluco » cannot mean here anything but Ternate. The ships for Malacca left yearly about February 15, and had to wait about three months in the bay of Ambon before continuing their journey in May. We know that out of Beira's group none but Nuno Ribeiro worked in Ambon. So this sentence remains rather problematic. We suppose it to be a bad translation of the lost original. Perhaps *socii* stands for Fr. Ribeiro and the enigmatic Baltasar Nunes ; the latter left soon with the ships for Malacca.

[4] That is, to the Portuguese fortress of Ternate.

[5] He came from the Moro region. The Latin form *Maurica* suggests connection with Islam. This implies a wrong etymology. On the whole, Portuguese sources spell *Moro*, and not *Mouro*. The Moro people were not Muslims.

[6] The Portuguese Captain of Maluku, Bernaldim de Sousa, 1546-1549, and again 1550-1552.

[7] Wis 3 6.

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tiano ii, qui Deo student et saluti animorum, tot laboribus tantisque mortis periculis exerceantur quot quantisque in maurica regione. Velim Deum depreceris pro iis qui illuc ierunt et deinceps ituri sunt ; propediem enim eo duos tresve socios eodem mittere statui [8]. Nimirum opinor mauricas insulas plurimos nostrae Societati martyres parituras, ut brevi non Mauri sed martyrii insulae [9] sint appellandae. Itaque socii qui vitam profundere expetunt pro Christo, bono animo sint praecipiantque gaudium licet ; siquidem paratum habent seminarium martyriorum, ubi cupiditatem expleant suam.

[...]

2. Nunnius Ribero Amboini est, in oppido sane tuto et christianis frequenti [10] ; ex eius literis [11] intellexi sane uberem fructum eius laboris extare.

[...]

3. Nunc ego Goam contendo ut me ad iaponicum iter in Aprilem proximum mature comparem. E Goa in Cambaiam ad Praetorem Indiae [12], qui nunc Bazaini est [13], proficiscar, ut is et molucensium christianorum rationibus consulat et prospiciat sociis quos illuc sum propediem missurus. In his unus erit concionator [14], qui in regio oppido [15] commoretur praesitque collegio inchoando [16], ubi mauricorum christianorum lusitanorumque pupilli instituantur. Inchoabitur etiam aliud domicilium, ubi, praeter orbos lusitanorum, filios iapones, quos Deo favente missurus sum, christianis imbuentur mysteriis [17].

[...]

VI. Nonas Februarias [18]. Cocino.

[Franciscus].

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[8] As shortly after he did. See D 22, 1, 3, and 4 ; this document, no. 3.

[9] Xavier likes to express his expectations in new names : in D 10, 4 he called Moro *islas de esperar en Dios*, here he christens them *martyrs islands*.

[10] The editors of Xavier's letters think that this unnamed town was Hatiwibesar on the NW coast of the bay (EX II 78 note 42).

[11] This letter has not been preserved (D 13*e*).

[12] D. Jorge Cabral, 1549-1550.

[13] Bassein, just north of Bombay, was situated at the frontier of the then kingdom of Cambaya or Gujarat.

[14] Fr. Afonso de Castro. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 6.

[15] Ternate.

[16] For this project, see D 15.

[17] There is no historical source whatever that testifies to the sending of Japanese boys to Ternate.

[18] This is an impossible date. VI has to be IV (EX II 67 no. VI).

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*Lost letters*

19*a*. — *Fr. Juan de Beira, Ternate, to Fr. Simão Rodrigues, Lisbon ; February 1549.*

Beira to the rector of the Goa college, February-April 1549 : « El rey de Maluco . . . afirmó que quería complir lo que tenía prometido, que era hazer su hijo christiano, y sobre esso escrivió a Su Alteza a Portugal. Y nos rogó, al capitán y a mí, que le escriviéssemos. Y assí lo escrivo al Padre Mestre Simón, para que dé cuenta a Su Alteza » (D 20, 2).

19*b*. — *King Hairun of Ternate to King D. João III, Portugal ; February 1549.*

See no. 19*a* : « Y sobre esso escrivió a Su Alteza a Portugal » (D 20, 2), that he promised to have one of his sons baptized. Cf. EX II 477 note 6.

## 20

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO THE RECTOR OF SAINT PAUL'S COLLEGE, GOA

TERNATE, FEBRUARY-APRIL, 1549

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : SOMMERVOGEL XII 10-11 no. 71 3 ; STREIT IV no. 644 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 4175 ; MILLIES 52 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 176 at Beira no. 3.

II AUTHORS : POLANCO, *Chronicon* I 477-479 ; ORLANDINI IX 124 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 380.

III TEXTS : A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 93*r-v*, formerly 87 and 97. Spanish copy, probably fragmentary, at least without the original superscription and ending. The heading reads : « De una del Pe. Juan da Bera que está en el Maluco de 5° de Hebrero de 1549 para el Rector de San Paulo de Goa ». The orthography often betrays the Portuguese copyist, for instance, « comiessam », « capitam », etc.

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 108*v*-109. Same text, very regular handwriting. Often difficult to read on account of backside writing glimmering through paper. The copyist was more correct in the Spanish orthography. A later hand added some summaries in the margin.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* [*Arm. 20/F*] ff. 118*r*-119*r*. Same text, beautifully and tightly written.

D. Printed text in *Copia de unas cartas . . . recibidas el año de MDLI*. Spanish. Very important on account of the early date of publication (1551). Perhaps nearer to the lost original, it contains a proposition which the three above-cited MSS omit.

E. *ARSI, Epp. NN. 72* ff. 162*r*-163*r*, formely 116*r-v* and 117*r*, earlier 116 crossed out. Italian version. At the end : « T.R.P. filius in Christo Ioannes de Abera ». On this text, see EX II 175 ; EX I 151*-154*.

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FG. *Bibliotheca Vaticana, Ottoboni lat. 797* ff. 62*v*-63*v* and 117*v*-119*v*. Two identical Italian translations, only slightly different from text E.

IV DATE : The question of dating this letter raises some difficulties. The earlier imprints (*Copia de unas cartas . . ; Lettere del P.M. Francesco ; Avisi particolari*) date it from 1550 ; texts A to C and the later printed ones (*Diversi avisi, Die Missionsgeschichte*) give 1549 as the date. This latter appears to be the right one, for, supposing the letter had been written in 1550, Beira certainly would not have left unmentioned two important occurrences : the loss of Tolo in August 1549, and the arrival in Maluku of three new Jesuits in October 1549. Hence at any rate the letter has to be dated from not later than the middle of 1549. But the ship that carried the post in 1549 had to return ; so the letter was sent again in 1550 and only by 1551 arrived, via India, in Portugal. (Cf. D 28, 5 ; EX II 175 note 49 does not seem to be to the point).

The letter is said to be of February 2. But it mentions Beira's meeting with the king of Ternate on February 25, 1549 (no. 2). Moreover in no. 3 it describes Beira's work in Ternate during « this Lent ». SCHURHAMMER (*Quellen* 4175) suggests that Beira is speaking of the Lent of 1548, but we do not see any reason for this supposition. As *convaleci* refers to *venimos dolientes*, and as the latter is connected immediately with *estamos aora . . . aquý*, the Lent mentioned here obviously is the one of the year of writing, 1549 (March 6 to April 20). On account of the preterite tense *aiudé* we have to put the completing of this letter after Easter (April 21). As in so many other cases, this letter was not written on one day, but bit by bit during the months February-April, 1549. Probably the first date, February 2, was mentioned in the lost opening lines and from there the copyists took it for their superscription.

V PLACE : Although not expressly mentioned the place of writing is implied in the superscription « está en el Maluco », and gets a further determination by the statement « estamos . . . aquý donde está la fortaleza », which can only mean Ternate.

VI ADDRESSEE : The addressee is said to be « el Rector de San Paulo de Goa », who was at that time Fr. António Gomes SJ (DI I 48*-49*). But in no. 2 Beira speaks of Goa and the college without hinting in any way to this addressee. Leaving Maluku in February 1550 the letter was received in Portugal the next year, as it appears from text D. The signature of text E : « T[uae] R[everendae] P[aternitatis] filius . . », could suggest that Beira wrote to Fr. General, Ignatius Loyola, but in those early years of the Society the title Paternitas was not yet exclusively reserved for the General as it was later on. Besides, it is not the original signature. Writing in the first instance to the Rector of Goa, Beira knew very well that his letter would be forwarded to the Jesuits in Portugal, and, eventually, Rome. So Fr. Gomes was the first addressee, but the author had in mind also other addressees.

VII PRINTED : in *Copia de unas cartas . . . recibidas el año de MDLI*, Coimbra 1551/52 (ff. not numbered), fourth letter, Spanish ; *Lettere del P.M. Francesco . .* [Venezia 1551 ?], fourth letter, Italian translation of the preceding ; *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo*, Roma 1552, 2nd part : *Copia de alcune littere*, 312-316, Italian, printed after text E ; *Diversi avisi particolari dall'Indie . .*, Venetia 1559, 113*v*-115*v*, Italian ; *Die Missions-*

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*geschichte* I 123-125, German version, made after the Italian one ; SÁ I 602-605, prints text A.

VIII Our Edition : We print text A with some additions and corrections taken from other texts as indicated in the critical apparatus.

## *Text*

1. *Description of the situation in the Maluku islands. Population consist of heathen and Muslims. Islam was spread among them. Converts from Islam are immediately persecuted. Pagans can be won over more easily. Three heathen districts became Christian.* — 2. *The king of Maluku promised to make one of his sons a Christian. Great expectations if the very crown prince would convert. The Governor of India already made provision in case this should happen.* — 3. *Beira helped the vicar during Lent. He preaches and teaches Christian doctrine.* — 4. *Nicolas [Nunes] teaches children reading, writing, and Christian morals.* — 5. *Someone gives up his business to spend the proceeds on founding a school which he wishes to entrust to the Society of Jesus or the Misericordia. Some boys arrived from Moro and take lessons, together with their slaves.*

1. Son estas islas, donde nos embió el P.e Maestro Francisco, muchas y muy pobladas, de muchas gentes de diversas lengoas. Es tierra la maior parte della muy sana y fértil por la templança de los ayres, tanto que por la fertilidad della los hombres son pobres, por no darse al trabajo de sembrar assy vino como pan y otras cosas. Es gente que tiene diversos ritos y sectas, gentiles y moros, y ansý hasta aora la secta de Mahoma a crecido entre ellos. Y con todo los convertidos a nuestra sancta fee son muchos, y se dexarom de multiplicar hasta aora muchos más por temor de los moros, porque los que se conviertem luego comiessam a sufrir persecutiones dellos por Christo, y donde no llega el favor de los portugeses dexan muchos de venir a nuestra sancta fee por temor de los moros, y también por no aver quien siembre entre ellos la palabra de Dios. Los gentiles son más domables y destos se an convertido tres provincias [1], las quales están 50 y 60 legoas desta fortaleza, que es hasta donde puede llegar el favor de los portogeses. En estas provincias de gentiles se haze mucho fructo, baptizando adultos y niños, y doctrinán-

3 sana *del.* y fuerte *C* || 10 no *corr. fr.* non || 12 sembre *B* | entre *corr. fr.* antre || 13 han *C* || 14 cincuenta y sesenta *BC*

[1] Probably Ambon, Morotai and Morotia are meant. The Italian MS version (text E) has « et de questi s'hanno convertito tre provincie » ; the printers of the *Avisi particolari* and of the *Diversi avisi* read the *s* of *s'hanno* as the numeral 5 : « e di questi *cinque* hanno convertito tre provincie » ; Eglauer therefore wrote : « und wirklich haben die *fünf Gesellen* drei Provinzen bekehrt ».

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dolos siempre en cosas de nuestra fee, y quitándoles las malas costumbres de sus ydolatrías.

2. El rey de Maluco [2] es el más poderoso entre los destas islas. Publicó que quería hazer un hijo christiano y assý lo dixo al P.e Maestro Francisco al tiempo que aquý estuvo [3], y después me lo dixo a mý a 25 de Hebrero de 549 [4], que vino a la fortaleza, y habló com el capitám [5] y comigo. Y afirmó que quería complir lo que tenía prometido, que era hazer su hijo christiano, y sobre esso escrivió a Su Alteza [6] [a Portugal. Y nos rogó, al capitán y a mí, que le escriviéssemos. Y assí lo escrivo al Padre Mestre Simón, para que dé cuenta a Su Alteza [7].] Espero que también se haga christiano el hijo primero [8], que es príncipe y señor del reyno, y convirtiéndose, está cierto convertirse todo el reyno y las más islas o quasi todas que ay en estas partes hasta el Macaçar, donde ay ya muchos christianos [9]. Prometiónos este rey al capitán y a mý de embiar a Goa este su hijo al collegio de San Paulo, y luego este anño que viene le embiará com este capitán [10] que es mucho su amigo, y llevará consigo algunos hijos de hombres principales. El Governador de la In-

17 nuestra *add.* sancta *C* || 20 quería *del.* ser christiano || 22 a] de *BC* || 24 Alteza *add.* a Portugal *BC* || 24-26 [a Portugal . . . Alteza] *D and in Italian texts* || 28 reyno[1] *corr. fr.* regno | convirtiéndose *corr. fr.* convierténdose || 29 Maçacar *A*, Macaçar *BC* || 31 Pablo *C* || 32 mucho] muy *BC*

[2] King Hairun of Ternate.

[3] See D 10, 11.

[4] This date proves that this letter was written, or at least was completed, at a later date.

[5] Bernaldim de Sousa.

[6] This letter of Hairun to D. João III is not known. See D 19*b*.

[7] Beira's letter to Fr. Rodrigues likewise does not seem to be preserved (D 19*a*).

[8] Generally Babu (Baboelah, Baab Ullah), who succeeded Hairun in 1570, is considered to have been the crown prince. The *Relação Vasconcelos* (210) calls him « herdeiro do reino ». ARGENSOLA (79) states that Babu was the third son as to rights of succession, but as he does not indicate the sources on which he is relying, he is not very convincing in this.

[9] For conversions made by the Portuguese merchant António de Paiva in the Makasar region in 1544, see D 2.

[10] Bernaldim de Sousa. His three-year term expired in October 1549, and he was supposed to sail to India the following February ; as a matter of fact, he remained in Maluku (REBELO 233-234).

[11] In D 10, 11 Xavier, in January 1548, announced that in April 1548 the governor (D. João de Castro, 1545-1548) was going to send the orders in question to Hairun. See D 13*d*.

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dia le embió este anño una provisión [11] que sea rey de todos los christianos que se hizierem y de los que conquistare con aiuda de su padre y de los portogeses, y también de los que se convertieron ya : y esto haziéndose él christiano. Y siendo caso que el príncipe [12] se convertiese, quería [93*v*] este rey que Su Alteza tuviesse por bien que él fuesse señor de todos los christianos que de aquý adelante se convertiessem, y que él que agora se convierte fuesse señor de los que hasta aora son christianos.

3. Estamos aora el Hermano Nycolás [13] y yo aquý donde está la fortaleza [14], donde venimos dolientes [15]. Después que convalecí aiudé al prelado [16] esta quaresma [17] para después tornar a visitar los christianos [18]. Predico um día em la semana a las mugeres cosa[s] de nuestra sancta fee, por mandármelo assí el P.e Maestro Francisco, y enseño la doctrina christiana todos los días a los hijos y esclavos de los portogeses y a los nuevos christianos, y asimismo en los mismos portogeses se haze mucho fructo. Las mugeres, aumque nuevas christianas, son capazes para recebir los sacramentos y algunas dellas se confiessan y reciben el sacramento de la Eucharistía em algunas fiestas del anño, y muchos portogeses cada ocho días ; las mugeres con sus parientes y naturales nos aiudan mucho a traerlos a nuestra sancta fee [19].

4. El Hermano Nicolás [20] enseña a leer y escrevir y buenas costumbres a los niños.

5. Aquá hablé con un hombre [21] por mandado del P.e Maestro Francisco para que aplicasse cierta hazienda suya para hazer unas casas en

---

39 que[2] *om.* *BC* || 40 christianos] convertidos *C* || 42 donde] adonde *BC* || 43 donde] aonde *B*, adonde *C* | perlado *B* || 45 cosas *BCD* || 48 mismos *om.* *BC* || 54-55 El . . . niños *om.* *BC*

---

[12] Babu.

[13] Nicolau Nunes.

[14] In Portuguese Ternate.

[15] From the Moro region. From D 28, 2 it appears that, as a rule, the Fathers left Moro for Ternate every year from Christmas until Whitsunday.

[16] The vicar of the fortress.

[17] That is, the Lent of 1549 ; see introduction to this document, IV.

[18] That is, the Christians of Moro. See note 15.

[19] The entire paragraph reveals a good degree of cooperation of the Jesuits with the secular priests, the more understandable as the Jesuits had no church of their own.

[20] Nunes.

[21] Perhaps Baltasar Veloso ; cf. D 23, 1. POLANCO (*Chronicon* I 479) thought this man was King Hairun.

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que se enseñasse la doctrina christiana. Como se lo dixe holgó mucho de hazerlo, y asý dexa su hazienda para que se haga um collegio [22] en que se enseñe a leer y escrevir a todos los hijos de christianos asý portogeses, como los que nuevamente se convertieren a nuestra sancta fee; y quería él que la Compañía [23] se encargase desto para más servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y, quando no, que la Misericordia la reciba para se gastar en esta obra pía de enseñar los simples dándoles de comer y vestir a quantos bastare su hazienda, asý a los de aquý de la tierra [24], como a los de las otras islas [25] que nuevamente venierem a nuestra sancta fee; y que aquý los enseñe en unas casas nuevas que para esso ya quazy tiene hechas, o que hagamos otras como mejor nos pareciere. Aquý están ya algunos niños de los christianos de la isla del Moro [26] a aprender, que son los principales daquellas tierras, con sus esclavos que también aprenden.

## 21

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ: MEMORANDUM FOR FR. MICER PAOLO SJ, GOA

GOA, APRIL BETWEEN 7 AND 15, 1549

I TEXT: EX II 101-108 [105-107]. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Pombal 745* ff. 125*r*-126*v*; original in Portuguese.

II PRINTED: cf. ibid. 102. Moreover in SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 301-305 (erroneously: to Fr. Paulo do Vale) [302-303]; German translation: SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 428-430.

III OUR EDITION: We print those parts of the EX edition (nos. 4, 5, and part of 6) which have reference to Maluku.

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63-64 se gastar en *interl.* || 64 esta *del.* sancta || 65 bastare *corr. fr.* bastarem || 70 tierras *corr. fr.* islas.

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[22] In our modern languages the word « college » certainly evokes a schooltype of a higher degree than could be realized in Ternate at that time. Nicolau Nunes had already started lessons, but a proper school building was still lacking. Ten years earlier, António Galvão had opened and conducted a primitive school in his own house (*Treatise* 298).

[23] The Jesuit Order.

[24] Ternate.

[25] Moro and Ambon.

[26] One wonders that Beira, who used to work in Moro from Whitsunday until Christmas, does not mention the name of that country but for this last line.

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## *Text*

1-2. *Fr. Paolo, with great care and eminent love, should help the Jesuits who work in distant places, among them Maluku, and encourage them by cheerful letters.* — 3. *With which ships he should write to Xavier in Japan every year.*

[...]

1. Quando escreverem os Yrmãos que andam pollo Cabo de Comory dalgumas cousas que têm necessidade de favor com o Senhor Governador ou com o Bispo para os christãos, e asy o P.e Nicolao [1] que estaa em Coulam, como o P.e Cipriano [2] que estaa em San Tomé e o P.e Belchior Gonçalves que estaa em Baçaim, e o P.e Francisco Perez que estaa em Malaca, e o P.e João da Beira com os outros Padres que estam em Maluco, com todos os outros companheiros, todas as cousas que os Yrmãos que estam de fora escreverem a esta casa, cousas que têm necessidade assi temporaes como spirituaes, as temporaes ordenadas para o spiritual, de todas estas cousas que mandarem requerer os Yrmãos da Companhia que estam de fora, tereis muito cuidado de as despachar, dando cargo disto a Antonio Gomez [3], pera que o despache con muita deligentia ; e quando escreverdes aos Yrmãos, que andam fora levando muitos trabalhos, escrever-lh'eis cousas de muito amor e charidade.

2. E guardai-vos de screver cousas de desamor ou cousas de que se possam tentar. Provê-los-eis das cousas necessarias que mandarem pedir, pois tantos trabalhos levão em servir a Deus, principalmente os que estam em Malluco e no Cabo de Comory ; porque estes sam os que levam a cruz deveras : portanto ayudai-os no spiritual, e temporal ordenado para o spiritual ; e assi vos encomendo muito, e da parte de Deus e do P.e Ignatio vos mando, que tenhaes muito cuidado de ayudar os que estam fora.

[...]

3. Partem duas vezes no anno navios de Goa para Mallaca ; huma vez em Abril e outra em Setembro, que sam naaos d'El-Rey : a que parte em Abril parte para Malluco e toma Mallaca, e a que parte em Setembro vay para Banda e toma Mallaca : por estas duas vias me escrevereis todos os annos a Mallaca ; e as cartas yram a Francisco Perez, e elle mas mandará a Yapam.

[...]

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[1] Lancillotto.

[2] Afonso Cipriano.

[3] On Fr. António Gomes, see D 15.

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[*Xavier's hand*] Rogo-vos muyto, Micer Paulo, Hirmão, que trabalheis de guardar esta lembrança.

Todo vosso,

[Francisco].

## 22

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ AND HIS COMPANIONS IN MALUKU

MALACCA, JUNE 20, 1549

I TEXT: EX II 108-115 [111-115]. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Pombal 745* ff. 79*r*-80*v*; original in Portuguese.

II AUTHORS: To be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 13; 378-379.

III PRINTED: cf. ibid. 109. Also in SÁ I 606-610.

### *Text*

1. *The new Fathers will tell Beira all about their companions in India and Portugal.* — 2. *Xavier will soon depart for Japan which is well disposed to receive Christianity. A Japanese deputation is sent to the king to ask for priests. Beira must at any time be ready to be summoned to Japan.* — 3. *Fr. de Castro will do pastoral work in Ternate.* — 4. *Manuel de Morais and Francisco Gonçalves will join them too. Beira should write him on prospects and issues of his missionary work.* — 5. *And give the same information to Fr. Ignatius [Rome], to Fr. Simão [Portugal], and to the Jesuits in Goa.* — 6. *For his physical wants he has to apply to Fr. António Gomes [Goa]. He must send his letters to Fr. Pérez [Malacca] who will forward them to Japan.* — 7. *Disobedient subjects are to be dismissed from the Society; they have to appear before the bishop.* — 8. *If Beira cannot possibly write letters, he must at least give a draft to Castro in Ternate, that he may do so. In India there was a rumour that Beira had died; God grant that he be alive. Otherwise all have to obey Castro.*

†

Jhus.

A graça e amor de Christo e favor seja sempre em nosa ajuda e favor. Amen.

1. Os Padres que lá vão [1] vos darão novas de todos os Irmãos que estão em a India, e dos que estão em Portugal, e do fruito que fazem,

[1] Xavier, sailing from Cochin to Japan with some companions, was accompa-



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asi os Irmãos da Yndia como os de Portugal : por iso não me alargo em vos escrever nesta parte.

2. De mi vos faço saber como vou a Japão, por ter por informação da muita dispossição, que naquellas partes á pera acrecentar nosa santa fé. Vamos tres portugueses, e trez japães muito bons homens e bons christãos : todos tres se fezerão christãos em Goa. Aprenderão a ler e escrever no colegio de Santa Fee ; fezerão todos tres os Exercicios Spirituaes [2] : cada huum delles esteve huum mês em os Exercicios, e cada huum deles se aproveitou muyto. Vai com gramdes desejos pera fazer christãos os de sua terra. Os japães mandão huma enbaixada a El-Rey de Portugal, em que lhe mandão pedir Padres [3] pera ensinarem a fee dos christãos. Todos vamos muito confiados em Deus Noso Senhor que se á-de fazer muito fruito : e eu, pola esperiencia que tenho dessas partes, se vir que mais fruito se fezer em Japão, ey-vos de escrever pera que venhais onde eu estou : portamto estai prestes pera todo tempo que vos mandar chamar [4].

3. O Padre Afomso [5] vai pera estar em a fortaleza de Maluquo pera pregar, asi aos portugueses, como aos escravos e escravas de purtugueses, e aos christãos forros da terra, e ensinar a doutrina cada dia, como eu lá fazia quando lá estava ; e pregar huum dia na somana às molheres dos portugueses sobre os artigos da fee e mandamentos da ley, e huma ordem como se ão-de confesar e despoer a tomar o Santo Sacramento.

Parece-me que será bem que estê Afomso em Tarnate hum anno, e o mais tempo que a vós parecer ; porque estando em Tarnate poderá despachar todalas cousas, de que tiverdes necesidade pera favorecerdes os christãos, asi com el-rei [6] como com o capitão he feitor, mandando-vos

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nied as far as Malacca by the three Jesuits whom he had destined for Maluku : Afonso de Castro, Manuel de Morais « o moço », Francisco Gonçalves. He changed his mind about Br. Juan Fernández, a Spaniard, whom, being first destined for Maluku, he then took with him to Japan.

[2] A method of spiritual training composed by Ignatius Loyola.

[3] Beira, in receiving this letter, underlined the words « lhe mandão pedir Padres », and added in the margin « Etiam nos sic faciamus ».

[4] A striking application of the « Ad maiorem Dei gloriam » of Ignatius : for a bigger spiritual harvest in Japan, Xavier is ready to bereave the apostolic enterprise in Maluku, hardly inaugurated, of its superior.

[5] Afonso de Castro ; he was the preacher requested by Xavier in D 13, 3. [Xavier] « lhe deu carreguo de todos aqueles que lá amdão » (DI II 146).

[6] Hairun.

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o necesario, asi pera vosas necesidades corporais, como pera o favor dos christãos.

4. Manoel de Morais [7] e Francisco Gonçalves [8] vão pera irem onde vós estais debaixo de vosa obediencia : asi elles como Afomso são pessoas com que aveis de ser muito comsolado e vos ão-de ajudar muito.

Escrever-nos-eis muito particularmente o fruito que lá fazeis, e se o filho d'el-rei se fez christão [9], e se os christãos do Moro se tornarão a vós [10], e de como estão aquellas ilhas, e da disposição que ahi nellas pera se converterem a nossa santa fee ; e se algumas partes, como no Macaçar [11], ou em Totole [12], ou nos Cellebes [13], ou por aquellas partes a disposição que há pera acrecemtar nossa santa fee, e el-rei [14] o favo[r] e ajuda que daa. Escrever-me-eis a Malaca tudo meudamente pera que saiba o que de vós outros ey-de fazer se lá não fazeis fruito ; e se lá se fezer fruito, escrever-me-eis se será bem mandar mais Irmãos a Maluco.

5. Ò Padre Ignatio e ò Padre Mestre Simão escrevereis huma carta muito comprida, dando-lhe comta mui meudamente do fruito que lá fazeis todos os que lá estaes : e seja de cousas de edificação ; e as cousas que não sam de edificação, guardai-vos que as não escrevaes.

E a carta que escreverdes ao Padre Mestre Inacio e ao Padre Mestre Simão, fazei comta que muitos as am-de ler ; por iso seja de maneira escrita, que ninguem se desedifique ; e asi a mandareis fechada e selada ao Padre Francisco Perez a Malaca, e o sobreescrito será : Pera o Padre Inacio e o Padre Mestre Simão.

Outra carta escrevereis a todos os Irmãos da Imdia, em que lhes fareis saber o fruito que lá se faz, pera que dem todos graças a Deus Noso Senhor.

6. Das cousas que teverdes necesidade, asi de favor do Senhor Governador, ou cousas necesarias pera o corpo, escrevereis ao Padre Amtonio Gomez huma carta particularmente a elle, porque elle vos proverá de todo o necesario pola nao que for a Maluco. Todas as cartas manda-

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[7] *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 7.

[8] *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 8.

[9] See D 10, 11.

[10] Not all the Christians of Moro (Morotai and Morotia) who, in the years 1534-1535, had apostatized from the faith, had returned (See REBELO 399).

[11] Southwest Selebes, where Xavier had first intended to go (D 2).

[12] Modern name is Tolitoli, on the north-northwestern coast of Selebes.

[13] « Os Celebes » stands for the northeastern tip of Selebes, the so-called Minahasa, where the chief town was (and is) Manado (Cf. *Treatise* 298).

[14] Hairun.

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reis dirigidas ao Padre Francisco Perez, porque elle as mandará daqui pera Portugal e pera a India por huum regimento que lhe tenho dado. E a mim me escrevereis a Japão largamente: e se não teverdes tempo pera o fazer, a carta que escreveis aos Irmãos da India, em que lhes dais conta de todo o fruito que lá fazeis, mandareis aberta ao Padre Francisco Perez pera que elle a trelade e me mande o trelado dela a Japão.

7. De todos os Irmãos me escrevereis novas muito particularmente: e se alguum deles fezer o que não deve, pola provisão do Senhor Bispo que vos mandei o anno pasado [15], o despidireis da Companhia e obrigareis em virtude de obidiencia, sô pena d'escommunhão, que pareça diante do Senhor Bispo. Isto se entenderá fazendo elle cousa por omde mereça ser despedido da Companhia. E se alguem for desobidiente, que for contra obidiencia e não vos quiser obedecer, a este tal despidireis da Companhia: e asi lhe manifestareis minha vontade a todos; porque se o contrairo fezerem, tenhão pera si que não am-de ser de nosa Companhia. Deus Noso Senhor nos ajunte em sua santa gloria, pois em esta vida amdamos tam espalhados, que não vejo caminho como nos vejamos.

De Malaca, oje XX de Junho de 1549.

8. Se vós não poderdes escrever pera o Padre Mestre Inacio e Mestre Simão da maneira que tenho dito, e asi pera os Irmãos da Companhia, mamdai huma minuta a Afomso do fruito que lá fazeis [16], e dos trabalhos que levaes, e da disposição da te[rr]a, porque Afomso escreverá as cartas estando em Tarnate: e das cousas necesarias, asi vestido como calçado, como favor do Governador; porque Afomso escreverá todas estas cartas, pois escreve boa letra, e sabe o istillo da maneira como se ão-de fazer. Todos os outros Irmãos receberão esta por sua, dos quaes me screvereis muito particularmente novas de como estão, e do fruito que fazem, e de como se aproveitarão.

Quá nos diserão em a Imdia que vos matarão no Moro: não ho tivemos por nova certa [17]. Prazerá a Deus que vivereis muitos annos pera seu santo serviço. Se Deus de vós fez em alguma cousa, mando que todos obedeção ao Padre Afomso, asi os que lá estão como os que com elle vão.

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[15] Such a provision is not extant. Consult D 13*c*.

[16] In case Beira is working in the Moro territory.

[17] See D 19, 1.

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O Padre Ribeiro [18] e Nicolao [19], se João da Beira for morto, obedeceram ao Padre Afomso ; e a mesma obidiencia terão ao Padre Afomso Manoel de Moraes e Francisco Gonçalvez : e asi lhes mando em virtude de obediencia, sendo João da Beira morto, que obedeção a Afomso de Crasto ; e sendo João da Beira vivo, obedeceram todos ao dito Joam da Beira.

Se o Padre João da Beira for mort[o] abriraa esta carta o Padre Afomso e lê-la-á diante de todos.

[*Xavier's hand*] Francisco.

[*Secretary's hand*] Aos meus carissimos em Christo Yrmãos, o Padre João da Beira e o Pad[r]e Ribeiro e Nicolao em Maluco.

Do Padre Mestre Francisco.

## 23

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO THE FRS. MICER PAOLO, ANTÓNIO GOMES, AND BALTASAR GAGO SJ, GOA

MALACCA, JUNE 20 AND 22, 1549

I TEXT : EX II 119-135 [126-128 ; 133 ; 135]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-6-9* ff. 43*r*-46*r* ; copy in Portuguese.

II AUTHORS : To be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 16.

III DATE : As can be seen from the document in full, the first part of it was written on Corpus Christi, which, in 1549, fell on June 20, and the second part was added on June 22.

IV ADDRESSEE : For Fr. Baltasar Gago, see EX II 129 note 21 ; DI I 52*.

V PRINTED : See EX II 122, and add SÁ I 611-612.

### *Text*

1. *They must open and read all letters sent to him by the king. If they contain a message in favour of the queen-mother of Ternate who became a Christian, or of Baltasar Veloso, they must forward it to the Fathers in Maluku.* — 2. *Fr. Castro sails for Ternate to do apostolic work there.*

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[18] Nuno Ribeiro.

[19] Nicolau Nunes.

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[...]

1. As cartas que vierem de Portugal, primeira via, d'El-Rey, abri--lla[s] heis, e depois de lidas mas mandareis. E se nellas fallar da raynha Donna Izabel, mãy que foi d'el-rey de Maluco [1], sobre certo despacho que escrevi a S.A. sobre esta mãy d'el-rey de Maluco [2], a qual foi christãa o tempo que estive em Maluco [3], e se algum despacho vier d'El-Rey para esta raynha D. Izabel, mandá-llo heis a muito bom recado aos Irmãos que estão em Maluco, em Abril, na nao que for para Maluco. E se em minha carta não fallar nenhuma couza desta raynha D. Izabel, fallareis ao Senhor Governador, pedindo-lhe muito por mercê que olhe se El-Rey lhe manda algum despacho ou cartas a esta raynha D. Izabel, em que lhe faz mercê de alguma comedia para seu sustentamento, e nisto tereis muy especial cuidado vós e Antonio Gomez.

Se na carta que El-Rey me escreve fallar de hum homem que está em Maluco por nome Balthezar Velozo [4], cunhado d'el-rey de Maluco, cazado com huma irmã sua [5], homem muito amigo de nossa Companhia e que muito ajuda aos Padres que lá andão a fazer christãos, e se lhe manda certas couzas que por mercê lhe mandei pedir a S.A. para o dito Balthezar Velozo, se algum despacho vier, mandá-llo heis com as cartas que escreverdes aos Irmãos de Maluco. E se não vier o tal despacho, fallareis ao Senhor Governador, pedindo-lhe muito por mercê que olhe Sua Senhoria nas cartas que El-Rey lhe manda, se vem algum despacho para hum homem de Maluco, chamado por nome Balthezar Velozo; e se alguma mercê El-Rey lhe manda, recebê-lla heis do Senhor Governador para mandar a Maluco com as cartas que aos Irmãos mandardes.

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[1] D 14, 2, and note 5 there. She was the mother of the deceased King Tabarija (D. Manuel), not of Hairun. Cf. D 63, 6.

[2] This missive does not seem to be extant; see D 13*a*.

[3] Xavier states the contemporaneity of his presence with her conversion, but no causality between both events. See SÁ I 519-520 (where « sempre favorecida » is a deficient reading for « sem ser favorecida »), and 531-532.

[4] For Baltasar Veloso, see EX II 128 note 18; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 746-747; and his own letter of March 20, 1547, in SÁ I 513-522. He was born c. 1480, sailed to India in 1520; having killed a Portuguese captain he went to Ternate in 1525 and remained there. In 1544, during a short stay in Malacca, he married D. Catharina, a half-sister of King Hairun, and returned with her to Ternate. Early in 1546 he took the queen-mother, that is, the mother of King Tabarija (D 14, 2), into his house. This Veloso is probably the man who helped Beira in realizing Xavier's school projects (D 20, 5). He is often mentioned by Castanheda and Rebelo.

[5] This was D. Catharina, Hairun's half-sister, converted to Christianity in 1537 or 1538 (SÁ I 516 and 520).

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E assim escrevereis a Balthezar Velozo, dando-lhe muitas graças de quão amigo hé da Companhia. Isto fareis com muita deligencia.

[...]

2. Afonço [6] vai a Malluco pera fazer o mesmo que faz Francisco Perez e Roque de Oliveira [7].

[...]

De Mallaca, 22 de Junho de 1549.

Vosso infimo em Christo Irmão,

Francisco.

*Lost document*

23*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Malacca, Instruction for Fr. Francisco Pérez, Malacca ; June 1549.*

Xavier to Beira, June 20, 1549 : « Todas as cartas mandareis dirigidas ao Padre Francisco Perez, porque elle as mandará daqui pera Portugal e pera a India por huum regimento que lhe tenho dado » (D 22, 6). Xavier to Pérez, October 22, 1552 : « E em Cochim estarês d'asemto preguamdo e comfeçamdo e emsynuamdo aquylo que soiês a ffazer em Mallaqua pola ordem e maneira que vos leixey em Malacca quamdo party caminho de Japão » (EX II 490). Pérez : « [Xavier] avia tãobem deixado por ordem que, se algum Padre ou Irmão viesse de Maluco sem licença, que não o recebece em casa o P^e^ Francisco Perez, nem lhe desse nada della. E isto deixou *in scriptis* » [but *viva voce* he showed himself much more merciful] (*Informação* 65).

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[6] Fr. Afonso de Castro.

[7] These two Fathers worked in Malacca, the first being a preacher, the other a teacher.

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## 24

## FR. MANUEL DE MORAIS SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

MALACCA, AUGUST 6, 1549

I TEXT: DI I 493-496 [495]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 92*r-v*; copy in Portuguese.

II AUTHOR: This is Fr. Manuel de Morais, called « o moço » or the younger. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 7.

### *Text*

*Being about to sail for Socotra, he was suddenly ordered by Fr. Xavier to go to Maluku. With Fr. de Castro and Br. Gonçalves he left Goa on March 18, and now they have arrived in Malacca.*

. . . . . .

Estando nós pera partir pera Sacotorá, pareceo ao Padre Mestre Francisco mays serviço de Noso Senhor hir o Padre Cypriano pera San Thomé e a mym mandare-me pera Maluquo, pera honde agora vou con outro Padre de missa, que se chama Afonso de Crastro [1], e ho Irmão hé Francisco Gonçalvez. Partimos de Goa aos 18 de Março e viemos a Couchim dia de Pascoa [2] pela menhã, ahonde estava já o Padre Mestre Francisco esperando por nós [3]. Dahy nos partimos pera esta cydade de Malaqua.

. . . . . .

De Malaqua, oje aos 6 dias do mes d'Agosto de 1549.

O seu em Christo Irmão,

Moraes.

---

[1] Afonso de Castro and Manuel de Morais had been ordained priests in Goa, in February 1549 (D 25, 1).

[2] April 21, 1549.

[3] There is something wrong with the dates; see DI I 495 note 7. The period from March 18 until April 21 is too long for the distance Goa-Cochin; Xavier, who was already waiting for them in Cochin, had left Goa about April 15 (ibid. note 8). Cf. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 428 note 134.

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## 25

# FR. BALTASAR GAGO SJ TO THE JESUITS IN COIMBRA, PORTUGAL

GOA, OCTOBER 14-20, 1549

I TEXT: DI I 548-575 [554 and 560]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 66*r*-70*r* and 73*v*; Spanish translation.
II PRINTED: see ibid. 550, and add SÁ I 613-614 (fragment).

## *Text*

1. [*On his journey from India to Japan*] *Xavier took with him* [*as far as Malacca*] *two Fathers assigned to Maluku, and two Brothers, one for Japan and one for Maluku.* — 2. *News from Maluku arrives in Goa very late. The story goes that Beira has been killed. By next shipping-opportunity he will inform on that. This letter leaves on October 30.* — 3. *With four Jesuits going now and four already living there, eight of them will be in Maluku.*

[...]

1. En su compañía [el Padre maestro Francisco] tanbién llevó al Padre Manuel de Morales y al Padre Alfonso de Castro, que aquý se ordenaron de missa en febrero de 1549, para quedaren en Maluco, con los Hermanos Joan Fernández [1], que nos era espejo y creo será por donde fuere, y Francisco Gonçálvez: por este sospiró Antonio Gómez, porque aprovechó aquá en grande manera y dexó mucho edeficado este collegio de fervores que lleva, por seren naquella tierra necessarios.

2. Los recados desta tierra se reciben muy tarde. Tenemos por nuevas que el Padre Joam da Beira que nesta tierra estava, le mataron; sy ansý fuere, y cómo, ternéis recado por las naves que partirán para enero de 1550, porque ésta va en un galeón que parte a 30 deste otobre de 1549, porque hasta antonces esperamos que vendrá recado de Maluco y Malaca, que están cerca uno de otro, y ansý de la partida de maestro Francisco de Malaca para Japón.

[...]

3. Los Padres y Hermanos que andan divididos por estas partes, son en Maluquo los 4 [2] que atrás digo y 4 que allá estavan: son 8.

[...]

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[1] He sailed with Xavier to Japan; he had earlier been assigned to Maluku.

[2] This has to be *three*. The total number of Jesuits in Maluku for the next month is *seven*.

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## 26

## FR. ANTÓNIO GOMES SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

GOA, OCTOBER 25, 1549

I TEXT : DI I 517-523 [519]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* f. 107*r-v* ; original in Portuguese.

II PRINTED : See ibid. 518. Moreover in SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* IV 336-339 ; SÁ I 615. Both borrow their text from DI.

### *Text*

*Eight Jesuits live in Maluku. He has to supply them with material requisites.*

[...]

Oito Yrmãos estaam nas ylhas de Ambueno em Maluquo e [n]o Moro [1]. Estam daqui 1200 legoas. Há muita gente feita christã e faz-se muito fructo, e daqui os ey-de prover cada anno do necessario [2], por ser terra muy esteril e desemparada. Porque ainda que todos elles estem mui adiante no spiritu e abnegaçam, hé-lhe tudo necessario, por ser a pior terra que há cá.

[...]

Feita a 25 dias do mes de Outubro de 1549.

[*Autograph*] Servo,

Antonio Gomez.

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[1] As Br. Juan Fernández went to Japan instead of to Maluku, they were only seven. And as Br. Baltasar Nunes disappeared from the stage, practically the Jesuits in Maluku numbered six.

[2] António Gomes had been entrusted with the material necessities of the Maluku mission ; see D 21, 1 ; D 22, 6. Cf. POLANCO, *Chronicon* VI 836 no. 3573.

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## 27

## FR. NICOLÒ LANCILLOTTO SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COULANO [QUILON], JANUARY 27, 1550

I TEXT: DI II 13-20 [17]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 160*r*-161*v*; Copy. Italian.
II PRINTED: ibid. 13. To be added SÁ II 10-11 (fragment).

### *Text*

*Three years ago four Jesuits sailed for Maluku. It is one year since four others sailed. For two years he has not received any news from them.*

[...]

In Maluquo, terra molto discosta di qua et molto grande paese, stanno 8 della Compagnia, scilicet 4 che andetero adesso fa tre anni, scilicet il Padre Joanne da Beira, il Padre Nuno Ribero, Nicola Nunez, Balthasar Nunez. Adesso fa 1 anno andetero il Padre Alfonso de Crasto, il Padre Emanoel de Moraes et Joan Fernandez et Francesco Gonçalvez [1]: tutti quanti huomini de molto spiritu et de molta vertù. Di queste Maluque fa doi anni che non habiamo hautto littere nè nuova nissuna [2]. Piacerà a Dio Nostro Signor che para l'anno che venne scriveremo a V.R. molte buone nove di quelli.

[...]

De Coulano, 27 de Janaro 1550.

Indegno servo de V.R.,

Nicolao Lancilotto.

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[1] See D 26 note 1.

[2] Evidently the letters and news from Maluku, received by Xavier in 1549 (D 19, 1), were not communicated to Lancillotto.

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## 28

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO THE FRS. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME, AND SIMÃO RODRIGUES SJ, PORTUGAL

MALUKU [TERNATE], FEBRUARY 13, 1550

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 4380.

II AUTHORS : No. 5 : POLANCO, *Chronicon* I 479 no. 532 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 381-383.

III TEXTS : The original has not come to light from the archives. There are three copied texts of this document :

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 103*v*-105*r*. Clearly written copy, nearest to the lost original. Spanish. A second hand (h2), apparently adapting the text to refectory reading, introduced some corrections, mostly grammatical or linguistic improvements. Heading : « Carta que escrevió el Padre Joan da Beira al Padre Maestro Ignatio y al Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Portogal, de Maluquo, a 13 de Hebrero 1550 ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 134*r*-135*r*. Most probably copied from text A before the above-mentioned corrections had been introduced. Although regularly written, it is not always easy to read. Portuguese summaries have been added in the margin by a second hand. Conclusion and signature are omitted. Same heading.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* [*Arm. 20/F*] ff. 148*r*-149*r*. Beautifully copied from text B, with a few Portuguese catchwords in the margin by another hand. Same heading, except for « Padre Mestre Simón » added before « Provincial ». No conclusion.

IV NOTE : Beira had been instructed by Xavier to write this letter to these addressees (D 22, 5). That he does not mention the death of Fr. Ribeiro in Ambon in August 1549 (D 29, 2) can only be explained by his sheer ignorance of it, but this ignorance itself, half a year after it occurred, seems to be inexplicable.

V PRINTED : SÁ II 12-16 ; text A.

VI OUR EDITION : As text C depends on B, and text B depends on A, we print this last one, pointing in the critical apparatus to some variants in texts B and C.

### *Text*

1. *He has written to them in 1547.* — 2. *Xavier visited Maluku in 1546. Far distance from India ; many peoples and languages ; difficulties for conversion ; two Jesuits work in the western, he himself and another in the eastern part of the islands ; from Christmas until Whitsunday the latter come to assist the fortress vicar.* — 3. *A Moorish king, persecuting the Christians, conquered a town six months ago, but has nearly been overcome now. The king of Maluku promised to let one of his sons be baptized but there is nothing to be hoped for.* — 4. *Spiritual care of the Portuguese. A Brother*

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*keeps school for the children. — 5. Portuguese sailing in the neighbourhood have converted some people who have lived since without priests or instruction ; up till now he could not visit them. Four months ago three more Jesuits arrived ; activity of Fr. Castro. Because of the war all of them stay together in Ternate. Next year they will write again. — 6. They maintain encouraging relations with the three Jesuits in Malacca. — 7. Xavier sailed for Japan. — 8. Fr. de Morais and Br. Gonçalves sailed for some other islands. He hopes to receive news about the Council of Trent.*

La summa gracia, pax y amor perpetuo de Jesú Christo nuestro Señor sea siempre en nuestro continuo favor y aiuda. Amén.

1. El anno de 1547, al fin del, escreví a V.R.[1] dándole cuenta de lo que en estas partes Dios nuestro Señor ha obrado y cada día obra por sus siervos en exalçamiento de su sanctíssimo nombre y augmento de nuestra sancta fee por el Padre Maestro Francisco y por los demás que debaxo de su obedientia militamos. Y lo que después acá se ha augmentado diré en esta. [104*r*]

2. El Padre Maestro Francisco visitó esta tierra el anno de 46, que son unas islas que se llaman de Maluco, las más distantes de la India, porque de la India a llegar acá ponen 7 meses de navegación, y de buelta y estada ponen quinze meses, de manera que una nao pone dos annos en yr y venir de la India aquý. Son islas muchas y muy pobladas e de muchas gentes y diversas lenguajes. Tienen diversos ritos y sectas gentiles y moros[2]. Los que se convierten luego comiesan a sufrir persecutiones por Christo de los moros. Muchos se dexan de convertir por temor de los reys y señores que les toman sus haziendas. En estas partes estamos los Hermanos que el anno passado escreví a V.R., los dos de nosotros están en una de las provincias que dixe, que es a la parte de la India ; y en las otras que están a la parte contraria estamos otros dos[3]. La mayor parte del anno y en este tiempo dende la Natividad

1 *Before* La *del.* Jesus *A, om. BC* | gracia . . . perpetuo] sabedoría, graça y paz *C* || 14 e *om. BC*

[1] This letter, written only some months after Beira's arrival in Maluku, has not been preserved. See D 8*a*.

[2] Same words as in D 20, 1 ; more than once in this letter Beira copies his earlier one written in February-April 1549, which returned with the ship (here no. 5), and which was sent again together with this one.

[3] From the fact that Beira is speaking of four Jesuits only, and does not mention the three new ones until no. 5, it results that he wrote this letter by parts during many months. The « provinces » lying toward India, that is, toward where the ships sailing to India go, are Ambon and neighbouring islands ; those toward the

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hasta el Spíritu Sancto, venimos ajudar al prelado [4] que no tiene consiguo más de un padre de missa [5].

3. Un rey destos, que es moro [6], ha perseguido y persigue los christianos y muchos hizo retraherse de la fee [7]. Averá seys meses que cativó a un regidor pri[n]cipal de los christianos con su muger y hijos y tomó esta fortaleza del Rey de Portogal que en su poder tenía [8]. Por lo qual le hizo guerra el capitán del Rey de Portogal que en esta fortaleza estaa [9], en tanta manera que lo tiene puesto en mucho estrecho, porque le ha muerto mucha gente y no osa salir de su fortaleza [10]. Como fuere vencido [11] este rey moro que tanto mal ha hecho a los christianos, esperamos en el Señor que se aga mucho fructo en estas partes : los christianos bivirão en pax y siempre serán visitados y muchos que por su temor se retrahýan, vernán a nuestra fee. Aquý en esta isla, adonde agora nos estamos com los Portogeses [12], ay muchos que desean ser christianos,

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28 del Rey *om. BC*

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contrary side are Moro and Morotai. The division : two Jesuits to Moro, and two to Ambon, does not agree with D 14, 3, where three of them are said to go to Moro and only Ribeiro stays in Ambon.

[4] The vicar of the fortress.

[5] From D 147, 1 it can be seen that in later years Ternate should be provided with one vicar and two beneficiaries.

[6] The king of Jailolo, Katarabumi (Catabruno or Quatrabune in the Portuguese authors), 1536-1551. On him, see REBELO 268 and 478 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 758-759.

[7] He had sailed against the Christians of Moro as early as 1536, and had since continued this line of policy. REBELO (448) recounts for June 1546 « fazia mui continua [guerra] aos christãos do Moro ».

[8] Presumably this *regedor* of Tolo was called D. Tristão de Ataíde, mentioned in D 184, 27. That, in 1549, the king of Jailolo captured the fortified town of Tolo, « que hé o mayor, e de mais gentes, e forte em sitio que há nas ilhas do Moro », is reported by REBELO (336). In Tolo the Portuguese had no real « fortress » like the one of Ternate ; there may have been some smaller fortification, a kind of blockhouse.

[9] The captain who began and finished the war against Jailolo (summer 1549 until March 27, 1551) was Bernaldim de Sousa, who was in office 1546-1549, and, for a second term, 1550-1552 ; from October 1549 to October 1550 Christovão de Sá was Captain of Maluku.

[10] REBELO (451) : « Não ousavão os Geilolos fazer saltos ».

[11] The town and fortress of Jailolo, residence of King Katarabumi, were taken and destroyed on March 27, 1551 (REBELO 470).

[12] Ternate.

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mas por temor del rey que les toma sus haziendas y los persigue hasta la muerte, no osan de hazerse christianos. Este y otro rey de Maluquo, que es el del clavo [13], ambos son moros; el uno tiene quasi vencido y destruido. Este rey de Maluquo tenía prometido de hazer un hijo christiano muchos días ha [14]. Mas tenemos para nos que nunca lo haga christiano, lo uno porque lo dilata com palabras, lo otro porque él es el que más mal haze a los christianos que otro. El Gobernador del Rey de Portogal tenía dado el señorío de los christianos de una provincia [15] a este hijo del rey de Maluquo después de hecho christiano; hasta agora no se hizo christiano, mas su padre procura quanto puede de señorear los christianos, matando en ellos y haziéndolos retraer de la fee. Crea V.R. que, quitado aquel rey y haziendo este a su hijo christiano, se aabrirá una puerta muy grande [104*v*] por donde muchos entren en el corral del Señor. Hágallo encomendar a Dios « ut desideratam nobis suae propiciationis abundantiam multiplicatis intercessoribus largiatur » [16].

4. Estamos aquí el Hermano [17] e yo donde está la fortaleza. Algunas vezes visitamos los christianos [18]; después que se hizo guerra no podemos salir a visitar los christianos. A los portogeses y sus mugeres y esclavos, que son todos naturales desta tierra y nuevamente convertidos, para conservarlos, les predicamos un día entre la somana y algunas fiestas y domingos en la yglesia mayor [19]. Todos los días a los hijos y esclavos y esclavas les enseñamos la doctrina christiana, y asimesmo en los portogeses se haze mucho fructo. También enseña el Hermano a leer y escrevir y buenas costumbres a los niños, porque yo en las confessiones, amistades, predicationes no me resta tiempo apenas para rezar las horas.

5. Ay en estas partes muchas islas y muy pobladas de gentes que se an visto por los portogeses. En algunas dellas começaron de hazer christianos, dándoles a entender algunas cosas de nuestra fee, dándoles

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36 por . . . persigue] no lo son porque temen el rey que les tome sus haziendas y los persigua *C* || 37 christianos *del. h2* || 40 christiano *del. h2* || 53 christianos *del. h2* || 55 les *om. BC* || 60 no . . . apenas *corr. h2 to* apenas me resta tiempo || 62 hazer] hazerse *C*

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[13] Hairun, king of Ternate island, which was famous for its clove.

[14] D 10, 11 and D 20, 2.

[15] The Moro region.

[16] Prayer in Roman Catholic liturgy on All-Saints day.

[17] Nicolau Nunes.

[18] In Moro.

[19] This is the church of Saint John in the fortress. Besides this there was also a church of Our Lady of the Misericordia Brotherhood. The Jesuits had no church of their own. (See CASTANHEDA IX 21).

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el bautizmo, porque ellos lo pedían; dexáranlos sin doctrina porque no llevavan sacerdotes y eran navegantes [20]. No les emos podido socorrer hasta aora por estar ocupados en lo que tengo dicho. Avrá 4 meses que venieron tres compañeros que mandó el Padre Maestro Francisco para que nos aiudassen [21]: los dos sacerdotes y un Hermano. El uno es predicador, llámasse Alonso de Crasto, predica todos los domingos y fiestas en la yglesia mayor, y todas las quartas-ferias a las mugeres cosas de nuestra fee, y todos los días a los hijos, criados y esclavos de los portogeses; y el Padre Manoel de Mora[e]s. Estámosnos todos aquí juntos por causa de la guerra que se haze a aqueste rey pertu[r]bador de los christianos; como fuere estirpado plazerá al Señor que aya harto que hazer en su vinha « quam plantavit dextera sua » [22]. De lo que Dios nuestro Señor fuere servido que se haga y por sus siervos obrare, avisaremos a V.R. el anno venidero [23], porque solamente una vez en el anno podemos escrevir, que es quando las naos de la India vienen a visitar esta fortaleza. El anno passado de 49 no escrevimos, porque la nao que partió de aquý para la India arribó [24] y no tuvimos por quién escrevir.

6. En otra provincia, que se llama Malaca, está otro Padre con dos Hermanos [25]; es mucho para alabar a Dios el mucho fructo que hazen; será de aquý 500 legoas donde ellos andan. Estaa allý otra fortaleza del Rey de Portogal y por las naos que van y vienen, cada anno nos visita-

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65 socorrer *corr. fr.* acodir *C* || 67 el Padre *interl.* || 72 Moras *corr. fr.* Morales | -nos *underl.* || 73 aqueste *corr. h² to* este || 82 mucho² *om. BC*

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[20] That Portuguese crews, not accompanied by any priest, converted and baptized people, is known of South Selebes (JACOBS, *Celebes*) and of Buru (D 50, 3). Probably Beira is hinting at the latter case. — POLANCO (*Chronicon* I 479), mentioning those conversions made by laymen, adds this particular: « Ut huiusmodi homines posset Pater Joannes [de Beira] invisere ac docere, petiit a Patre Francisco [Xavier] ut regi Maluci scriberet (quia ipsi amicitia coniunctissimus erat) ut navigia nostris ad hunc usum necessaria subministraret ».

[21] This part of the letter obviously has been written later than the beginning: now it is Fr. de Castro who delivers the sermons and instructions that in no. 4 were still Beira's. The newcomers had arrived on October 18, 1549 (Cf. REBELO 233 and 447).

[22] Ps 80 [79] 16.

[23] So they did; see D 33.

[24] See note 2.

[25] Fr. Francisco Pérez (DI I 35* and 48*), and the Scholastics João Bravo (EX II 134 note 34) and Roque de Oliveira (EX I 437 note 7; EX II 134, compared with PÉREZ, *Informação* 64-65).

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mos escreviendo, animándonos y corroborándonos en el Señor para que nyngú[n] desmayo o descudo passe por nos en esta su vinha. [105*r*] Por amor de Dios nuestro Señor que siempre se acuerden de nos, y a los Padres y Hermanos lo mismo pedimos.

7. El Padre Maestro Francisco es passado a la Chyna, a una tierra que se llama Japón ; es tierra firme, ay muchas islas en ella y muy pobladas. Dizen que es gente blanca y muy allegada a razón, según escrive el Padre Maestro Francisco y lo que algunos dizen que allá anduvieron [26]. Esperamos en el Señor que sea para mucho bien su yda.

8. El Padre Manoel de Mora[e]s es ido a visitar unos christianos a unas islas cerca de aquý [27] con otro Hermano que se dize Francisco Gonçalves [28]. Nosotros quedamos aquý [29] a ver el fin en que para esta guerra que tienen contra este rey moro [30], porque vencido este rey, ay mucho en qué entender en las islas de los christianos que nos están esperando [31]. Mucho deseamos saber nuevas del sagrado concilio [32] : supimos por una letra el castigo que dieron a los preseguidores de nuestra señora la sancta madre Yglesia [33], cuia conservación y defenssa aquel buen Señor Jesú, esposo suyo y Señor nuestro, siempre guarde y augmente, y a vosas

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91 escrive] escrevi *ms.* || 100 dieron a *corr. fr.* subieron | señora la *om. C*

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[26] Probably a reference to a report on China which Xavier had received in Malacca in 1547 and had forwarded to the Governor, Garcia de Sá ; cf. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 273 and 286-289.

[27] Ambon is meant. From there Morais and Gonçalves departed for Malacca in May 1550 (PÉREZ, *Informação* 65).

[28] Morais and Gonçalves were destined to go with Beira to Moro (D 22, 4), but in February 1550, perhaps seeing that, on account of the war with Jailolo, there was no possibility of sailing there, against Xavier's command they went to Ambon. As this was no edifying news, Beira does not want to communicate it (Cf. D 22, 5). Undoubtedly he will have informed Xavier in a separate note.

[29] In Ternate.

[30] Of Jailolo.

[31] Of Moro.

[32] The Council of Trent, 1545-1563, which, in 1547, had finished its first term of sessions, and was preparing the second for 1551.

[33] Beira is perhaps hinting at the victory of Spanish troops under Alva over Protestant forces at Mühlberg in 1547, during the Schmalkaldic War, and at the « Interim », issued by Charles V at the Reichstag of Augsburg in September of that same year.



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charidades y a nos, indignos sus siervos, de su sancta mano siempre tenga. Amén.

105 De Maluquo, a 13 de Hebrero de 1550.

Deste indigno siervo en Christo de vuestras charidades,

Joan da Beira.

*Lost letter*

28*a*. — *Fr. Afonso de Castro, Ternate, to the Jesuits in India and Europe* [?] *; February 1550*

Fr. Francisco Pérez, to the Jesuits in Portugal, November 24, 1550 : « El Padre Joan de Beira y Alonso de Castro escriven, según me parece, largamente [de Maluco]. Mas de la vida y del fin del Padre Nuno Ribero no escriven » (D 29, 2).

## 29

## FR. FRANCISCO PÉREZ SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 24, 1550

I TEXT : DI II 103-110 [106-108]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 105*r*-106*v* ; Copy ; Spanish.

II AUTHORS : see ibid. 103 ; to be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 377.

III PRINTED : see ibid. 104 ; to be added SÁ II 5-7 (taken from DI).

### *Text*

1. *Malacca is supply center for the Jesuits in East-Asia. Members of the Malaccan community. — 2. He writes on the death of Fr. Nuno Ribeiro in Ambon. Ribeiro's agitated and imperilled life, often attempted by the Moors. — 3. Ribeiro died, probably poisoned ; he was buried in a church he himself built having baptized 2086 people. — 4. Both native Christians and Portuguese greatly esteemed Ribeiro, seeing such a young man toiling and moiling for themselves. Sometimes he gave away his clothes to the poor, and, on account of ill-health not being able to visit his flock, he had himself carried to them. — 5. The Ambon Christians remain without spiritual care.*

[...]

1. En esta ciudad, por ser parte conveniente para daquy se prover a muchas partes, scilicet : a Maluco, Moro, Anbueno, Japón, Chyna, se

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106-107 Deste ... Beira *om. BC.*

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a dado principio a un collegio [1], para aquý se criar alguna gente para este fin, y para los que passan de la India para estas dichas partes se puedan agasajar; donde aora estamos el Padre Manoel de Morales y Francisco Gonçálvez [2] y Joan Bravo [3] y Thomé Arnao [4] y Bernardo [5], todos de salud, Dios sea loado.

[...]

2. De las partes de Maluquo y del fructo que allá se haze, no digo nada, porque el Padre Joan da Beira y Alonso de Crasto escriven, según me parece, largamente [6]. Mas de la vida y del fin del Padre Nuno Ribero no escriven [7], el qual passó desta vida para el paraíso, estando obrando en la vinha del Señor en Ambueno, después de aver passado muchos trabajos en aquella isla, y peligros assí por la mar como por la tierra, en que dos o tres vezes escapou, padecendo naufragio [8], y en la tierra comiendo pan de palo [9]. Y los moros, por el mal que nos quieren, muchas vezes anduvieron para le matar; y una vez le pusieron fuego en la casa, estando él dentro, para lo quemar; y otra vez me dixeron que davan dineros a cierta persona para lo matar o con hierro o con ponçoña, de

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[1] For the start of this school, see DI I 370-371.

[2] Morais and Gonçalves had returned to Malacca with the ships that had sailed from Ambon in May 1550. See PÉREZ, *Informação* 65. They were afterwards dismissed from the Society of Jesus by Francis Xavier.

[3] D 28 note 25.

[4] Further unknown.

[5] Bernardo Rodrigues; see DI II 106 note 20.

[6] As a matter of fact, Pérez in Malacca had to check all the letters coming from Maluku (D 22, 6). Beira's letter is D 28. A letter written by Fr. Afonso de Castro at this early time is not known. See D 28*a*.

[7] Pérez seems to express here a kind of surprise, not without reason. It remains inexplicable, or at least not satisfactorily explicable, that Beira in February did not yet know about the death of Ribeiro in August of the past year, and did not mention it. As the period from August to November still falls in the south monsoon and consequently is favourable for sailing from Ambon to Ternate, it is nearly incredible that not a single vessel had come and brought the news to the fortress. Or was there some reason to conceal it from the Jesuits?

[8] These words maybe suggest that Ribeiro did not always remain in the island of Ambon, but went visiting other islands, probably the Uliaser, and perhaps Buru. POLANCO, *Chronicon* I 476: « Ab una enim insula [ad] aliam atque aliam transeundum erat ». But also the villages on Ambon itself were visited by vessel.

[9] From the Portuguese expression *pão de pau*, indicating the *sagu*.

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la qual ay mucha en estas partes, y ellos usan mucho della [10] ; y aun fue fama que della murió.

3. No sé se es verdad, porque, después de aver comido día de nuestra Señora de Augusto [11], anno de 49, aviendo dicho missa aquel día, y, segúm me dixeron los que estavan allá presentes [12], con mucha devoción, en tanto que llegó a « Gloria in exelcis Deo » [13], levantó la boz en modo de canto, le dió grande calentura con gran dolor de estómago, y de aý a 7 días, con mucha fee y esperança abraçado con un crucifixo, dió el ánima a nuestro Señor Jesú Christo que la crió y redimió. Y su cuerpo fue enterrado por los christianos de la tierra y portogeses en una ecclesia de nuestra Señora, que él mismo hizo con mucho trabajo después de aver baptizado 2086 almas [14].

4. Los quales en aquella tierra lo tenían por padre y valedor, y todos los portogeses lo tenían por hombre sancto y se espantavan de ver un hombre tan mancebo [15] passar tantos trabajos, que no solamente de los christianos de la tierra tenía cuidado, baptizándolos y enseñándolos, y conservando los que ya eran de otro tiempo hechos, defendiéndolos de los moros, mas aun también confessando los portogeses con trabajo quasi intolerable. El qual usava con ellos de tanta charidad, que muchas vezes venía para casa syn camiza o sin calçones o syn jubón, por lo aver dado a los pobres. Estando doliente, que no podía andar, lo llevavan a visitar los lugares en una sávana atada por una parte y por otra, con un palo por el medio, llevándolo un hombre por una parte y otro por otra [16].

5. Y después dél muerto, quedó gran desemparo naquella tierra, porque los moros hazen muchos insultos a los christianos. No quedó otro Padre ninguno para los animar y fortalecer y enseñar en las cosas de

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[10] « Quá elles bem sabem dar a peçonha ; hé mui acostumada » (*Treatise* 176. See the entire passage).

[11] August 15, Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

[12] Pérez met eyewitnesses who had come sailing from Ambon ; see D 30, 1.

[13] A Catholic doxological hymn, said or sung during Mass.

[14] The inference from this exact numeral is that Ribeiro carefully kept a baptismal register, which, however, is lost (D 16*a*).

[15] Ribeiro may have been 27 years old when he died.

[16] On a wrong Latin translation of this sentence by Giampietro Maffei SJ, in *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum volumen*, p. 68, see VALIGNANO, *Historia* 487-488, and DI II 108 note 28. Maffei wrote : « Idem in pauperes ita benignus ut cum ipsam quoque subuculam in eleemosynam erogasset, in extrema valetudine, quod nulla sibi vestimenta suppeterent, stragulo tectus ad christianos de more visendos vicatim circumire non intermitteret ».

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nuestra sancta fee, aviendo muchos lugares de christianos en aquella isla ; así que, des antonces no ti[e]nen doctrina, que avrá aora anño y medio [17] ; por lo qual son necessarios muchos obreros, muy zelosos todavía y amadores de la homrra de Jesú Christo y no de la suya. Por cierto que ay mucha necessidad en el tiempo que estamos más de apóstoles que no de hermitaños, más de hombres que desean andar peregrinando por el mundo, predicando la palabra de Dios y enseñando y padeciendo muchos trabajos por su sancto nombre, llevándolo perante los reys y príncipes, que no de anacoritas que estén quedos quedos en el hiermo..[18].

[...]

Hecha en Malaqua, a 24 de Noviembre de 1550 annos.

Vuestro siervo y ainda indigno,

Francisco Pérez.

## 30

## FR. FRANCISCO PÉREZ SJ TO THE JESUITS OF CAPE COMORIN

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 26, 1550

I TEXT : DI II 116-119 [117-119]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I*, f. 57*r-v* ; copy ; Portuguese.

II PRINTED : See DI II 117, moreover in SÁ II 17 (taken from DI).

### *Text*

*See at D 29, nos. 2-4.*

Charissimos Padres e Irmãos meus em ho Senhor

1. Das cousas de Maluco e do fruto que lá se faz e pode fazer não direy aquy nada, porque o Padre João da Beira e Afonso de Crasto cuido que escrevem largamente, mas da vida e fim do Padre Nuno Ribeiro

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[17] More accurately, fifteen months.

[18] An echo of these words may be heard from a MS, titled *Relação da morte do Padre Dom Gonçalo* [Silveira] (who was a martyr in E. Africa in March 1561), saying that, when Silveira studied in Coimbra, letters arrived telling about « a morte do Padre Nuno Ribeiro em Maluco, que ouve fama que morera com peçonha pola fé, queimando-lhe os mouros a casa, tendo feito grandes obras de santidade ; com o qual Padre fizera os votos neste Collegio de Coimbra o mesmo Padre Dom Gonçalo » (*ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, MSS 2B* f. 325*r*).

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não escrevem nada. A qual pasa asi em verdade por sabê-lo de muytas pesoas dignas de credito, e por eu aver conhecido muyta parte de sua vida, que foi no collegio de Coimbra [1], aonde nos criamos, e depois nese collegio de Sancta Fee onde ele dise missa nova e eu ho confessei geralmente [2].

Depois de ser mandado polo Padre Mestre Francisco pera Maluco, se veo pera Amboyno, que hé huma ilha onde há muitos christãos, onde esteve anno e meo [3] com muyto trabalho e perigo de sua vida, asi pelo mar como pola terra, porque duas ou tres vezes escapou padecendo naufragio, na terra comendo pão de pau e às vezes arrôs. E os mouros, polo mal que nos querem, muytas vezes andarão pera ho matar ; e huma vez lhe poserão ho fogo à casa, estando elle dentro, pera ho queymar ; e outra vez me diserão que peitavam a huma certa pesoa pera ho matar (o qual depois foi christão e Diogo de Sousa [4] foy seu padrinho) ou com ferro ou peçonha, da qual hahy muita nesas partes, e ainda foi fama, não sei se hé verdade, que della morreo [5].

2. Porque depois de aver gentado dia de Nosa Senhora de Agosto, anno 1549, avendo dito missa aquelle dia, que foi a derradeira que elle dise, e, segundo me diserão hos que estavão presentes, com muita devação, e tanto que, quando chegou à Gloria in excelsis Deo, levantou a voz em modo de canto, lhe deu grande febre com muy grandes dores

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[1] Nuno Ribeiro entered the Jesuit order in Coimbra on August 1, 1543 ; Francisco Pérez on January 25, 1544 (*ARSI*, *Lus.* 43 f. 1*v*). Both, having been ordained priests, left Portugal for India on April 8, 1546, but in different ships (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 9 and 12).

[2] They arrived in Goa on September 17, 1546.

[3] From late in 1547 to August 23, 1549.

[4] Diogo de Sousa sailed, in 1548, as a captain of the king's ship to Maluku (COUTO VI 9 19 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 3841).

[5] Francisco Pérez cannot be denied a sound sense of criticism. We know with certainty that the Portuguese sailers that came from Ambon, where they had been eyewitnesses of Ribeiro's life and work, recounted the rumour that he was poisoned. Considering the circumstance that the Mohammedans had already tried to kill him by fire, and taking into account the widely spread custom of using poison in eliminating adversaries, and seeing the conditions under which he died, this rumour does not seem incredible, nor even improbable. On the contrary, from these indications it gains a very high degree of probability. So, if most of the Jesuit authors (DI II 103 Doc. 29, II ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 23 note 1) take for granted that Ribeiro died by poison, they cannot be blamed. See D 29 note 18. Teixeira, making corrections in 1581 to a life of Francis Xavier, wrote : « O Padre Nuno Ribeyro . . . faleceo nas ilhas d'Amboyno ; dizendo alguns que fora de peçonha que os mouros lhe derão » (TEIXEIRA, *Annotações* 48).

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de estamago. E dahy a 7 dias com muita fé e esperança, com hum crucifixo nas mãos, deu a alma a Deus Noso Senhor Jesu Christo que a criou e remio. E o seu corpo foy enterado polos christãos da terra e portugueses em huma igreja de Nosa Senhora que elle mesmo com muyto trabalho fez depois de aver baptizado 2086 almas.

3. As quays e outras muitas que há naquella ilha ho tinhão por pay e valedor, e todos os portugueses ho tinhão por homem sancto e espantavão-se de ver hum homem tão mancebo passar tantos trabalhos com tanto cuidado e fervor : que não somente tinha cuydado dos christãos da terra baptizando-os e ensinando-os e conservando os que já erão outro tempo feitos, defendendo-os dos mouros com muyta charidade, em tanto que muytas vezes lhe acontecya vir pera casa sem vestido por ho aver dado aos christãos pobres, mas ainda confesando os portugueses com trabalho quasi intoleravel. E muytas vezes estando enfermo, não podendo ir visitar os christãos, ho levavão metido em hum lançol e asi os visitava com ho zelo soo da fé. Ó charissimos Padres e Irmãos, quem não desejará ser membro desta sancta Companhia que tanto ama a noso Capitão geral e Senhor universal, Redemptor noso, Jesu Christo ?

De Malaca, oye vinte e seis de Novembro de 1550 annos.

## 31

## FR. NICOLÒ LANCILLOTTO SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COULÃO (QUILON), JANUARY 6, 1551

I TEXT : DI II 144-149 [146-147]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 185*r*-186*v* ; original in Portuguese.

II PRINTED : in SÁ II 40-41 (the same fragment as ours).

### *Text*

***He pleads for the official admission into the Society of Fr. Afonso de Castro who was sent by Xavier to Maluku. For two years no news has come from there.***

[...]

Tambem temos quá outro Padre quue tem o mesmo empedimemto, quue foy frade allguns meses [1] ; chama-se Afonso de Crasto. Este é muy-

[1] Having been a member of another religious order constitutes an impediment to entering the Society (MI *Const.* II 287). Castro had been a friar for some time.

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to bom filho e muyto bom manseboo. Eu tive carreguo delle mais de huum annoo, scilicet que estivemos no mesmo colegio de Guoa, e eu lhe dey os Egercicios e o comversey spirituallmemte todo ese tempo [2]. Estou muyto edificado delle, asi pela sua muyta oraçam e comtemplaçam e modestia de vida ; e portamto se a Vosa Reverencia pareser bem, de ele ser recebido na Companhia [3], spreva-nos o que se faraa deste. Ele de lletras sabe muyto pouquo, porque nam sabe senam hum pouquo de gramatiqua. Mestre Francisco o mamdou fazer sacerdote, e depois mamdou[-o] pera Maluquo com alguns outros companheiros, e lhe deu carreguo de todos aqueles quue llá amdão, por ser descreto e vertuoso [4]. Aguora, á dous annos, des amtam pera quá nam ouvymos novas deles, porque nam veo nenhum requado desa terra [5], porque é longe, que sam mill e seiscemtas lleguoas. Estamos agora esperamdo por novas de Mallaqua e Malluquo e de Japão, porquue vem todas num tempo. As novas que vierem, se tornarem aquy as naos, as mandaremos a Vosa Reverencia.

[...]

Deste Coullão, oje a bj [6] de Janeiro de 1551.

De V.R. indegno servo,

Nicolao Lancilotto.

---

[2] Castro entered the Society in Goa in 1547 ; Lancillotto was rector of the college at Goa, 1545 to 1548 (DI I 43*).

[3] That is, definitively by means of the last vows, in the grade of *professus* or of *coadiutor spiritualis*. The answer of Ignatius was : « Y Alfonso de Castro tanbién se conservará en la Compañía, pues da tan buen odor de sí » (DI II 312). He became a spiritual coadiutor (ibid. 325).

[4] Cf. D 22, 8 : Castro was appointed superior in case Beira were dead, not otherwise. But Beira was still alive (he died 1564 in Goa). Castro should be rector of the planned college of Ternate (D 19, 3).

[5] This tallies with the facts because the ships that left Ambon in May 1549 had had to return, and the letter Beira wrote on February 13, 1550, arrived in Cochin about January-February 1551, just too late for Lancillotto, in Quilon, to have knowledge of it (D 28, 5).

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## 32

## FR. NICOLÒ LANCILLOTTO SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COULANO (QUILON), JANUARY 11, 1551

TEXT : DI II 150-153 [152-153]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* f. 287*v* ; copy ; Italian.

### *Text*

*There are seven Jesuits in Maluku. A fatiguing country and a bad people. For two years no news came from there.*

[...]

In Maluco sono 7 Fratelli de la nostra Compagnia [1]. È terra molto fatigosa et più di quel che si potria dire, sí per la sua sterelità come per la malitia de la gente. Di questi non havemo nuove da dua anni in qua ; aspettamo le bone questo anno, in servitio di Dio Nostro Signore.

[...]

## 33

## BR. NICOLAU NUNES SJ TO THE JESUITS [IN INDIA AND PORTUGAL]

MALUKU [TERNATE], APRIL 10, 1551

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 4650.

II AUTHORS : POLANCO, *Chronicon* II 768-769 ; 772 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 383 ; ibid 624.

III TEXTS : No original is extant. We have three copies of the letter in Portuguese, and one Italian translation.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 142*v*-143*r*. Firmhanded, regular writing without any difficulty of reading. Heading : « De huma do Irmão Nicolao Nunez de Maluco pera os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus, de dez de Abril de 1551 ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* f. 180*r-v*. Follows text A with a few slight differences.

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[1] See D 26, note 1. Lancillotto could not know that Fr. Manuel de Morais and Br. Francisco Gonçalves had left Maluku, nor that Fr. Nuno Ribeiro had died.

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C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* [*Arm. 20/F*] f. 194*r-v*. Calligraphic writing; follows text B.

D. *Bibliotheca Vaticana, Ottoboni lat. 797* f. 172*r-v*. Italian translation with some slight omissions.

IV ADDRESSEE: Author, place and date are not open to any doubt. As to the addressee, the superscription says only « to the Frs. and Brs. of the Society ». We may conjecture that young Nunes intended to unburden his soul to his fellow Jesuits in India and Portugal.

V PRINTED: FRANCO, *Imagem . . . de Coimbra* II 457 (nos. 2 and 3); SÁ II 48-50.

VI OUR EDITION: We print text A.

## *Text*

*1. Works of Beira and Castro in the cure of souls at Ternate. — 2. Beira and Nunes visited the Moro islands. Beira fell ill and, sick to death, he had to return to the fortress. Nunes stayed ; twice the Moors tried to kill him. Owing to illness Beira ordered him to return to Ternate, where he teaches the children to read. On his way back he was shipwrecked. He saved his life by swimming. Though he lost his books, he escaped death and arrived naked at the fortress. — 3. Various sufferings and hardships of the Fathers' life. — 4. The king of Jailolo had to surrender to the Portuguese. He declared himself willing to become a Christian, but some Ternatans induced him to put this off and he defers it for fear of the king of Ternate. He says that by becoming a Christian he will lead the whole Maluku region to follow him. So next year Nunes hopes to write of his conversion. — 5. The king of Ternate proves himself an enemy to the Jesuits and Christians ; he brought the Moro islands under his obedience but he takes no account of the Christians there.*

Pax Christi.

1. Muito nos alegramos, charissimos Irmãos, com as boas novas que temos do que Nosso Senhor por lá obra, elle seja de todo bendito. Tambem faz por caa muito fruito polo Padre João da Beira em a comverção dos emfieis, em consolar e vi[si]tar os enfermos, socorrendo-lhes em suas necessidades, e empara [1] muitas viuvas. He mui occupado em fazer amizades [2] e em ouvir comfisõis. São tantas as occupações spirituaes que não ha tempo de escrever-vos largamente. O P^e^. Afomso de Castro prega com muito fervor e aproveitamento em spiritu, faz-se muito fruito com seus sermões; todos os dias faz doutriṇa, comfesa-se muita gente

9 aproveita muito *BC*

[1] Read *ampara*.

[2] That is, between those divided by discord and hatred.

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e recebe-ce o Santo Sacramento muitas veses, tirando-se de seus maos custumes.

2. Fomos visitar, o P.e João de Beira e eu, as ilhas de o Moro, onde elle, polos muitos trabalhos de fome e calmas e persecuçõis, caio mal de humas grandes quinturas, e com pouca sperança de vida se veo a esta fortaleza a curar. Eu fiquei lá sustentando os christãos, onde por duas veses fui entregado à morte, e me vierão busquar os mouros pera me matar ; milagrosamente me guardou o Senhor que hé verdadeira guarda de todos, quia nondum venerat hora mea [3]. Depois me vim à fortalesa, por mo mandar asi o Padre, pera me curar na fortalesa de Maluco por estar doente, onde ao presente estou insinando a ler os mininos até que vamos outra ves visitar os christãos. Agora, quando vinha a esta fortalesa, me perdi com o navio e os livros que trasia dos Padres, e milagrosamente me salvey a nado com muito trabalho, padecendo depois muita fome e cede com perigo de me matarem ; até à fortalesa vim nu, bem que me aproveitey pouco destas mercês de N.S.

3. Certo, charissimos, que podem com verdade dizer estes Padres, propter te mortificamur tota die [4] : dormem hu[m]as veses in cima de arvores, outras en dezertos e cerras muy frias sem comer ; e o milhor pão desta terra he pão de pao, e comem-no por recreação ; algu[m]as veses são vindidos, outras presos e cativos dos infieis, outras meos afogados escapão, sed venientes venient cum exultatione portantes manipulos suos [5] et in novissimo die absterget Deus omnem lachrimam ab oculis eorum [6]. [143r]

4. Huma ilha chamada Geylolo tinhão os portugueses cercada, quis-lhe o Senhor dar-lhes vitoria. O mesmo rey lha entregou ao capitão dos portugueses [7] e se offereceo ao capitão pera ser christão, aynda que por persuadisão de alguma gente de Tanarte o difirio por algum tempo, todavia mandou dizer ao capitão que compriria o que avia prometido ; aynda que por algumas rezões o deixara de fazer loguo, primcipalmente

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11 recebe-ce] recebem *BC* || 20 Maluco] Malaca *A*, Maluco *corr. fr.* Malaca *B*, Maluco *C* || 21 a ler *om. BC* || 26 pouco] bem *C* || 28 humas] muitas *BC* || 38 persuadisão] persuação *corr. fr.* persuadição *C* || 40 rezões] vezes *corr. to* causas *B*, causas *C*.

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[3] Cf. Jn 2 4, and 7 30.

[4] Ps 43 [44] 22, and Rom 8 36.

[5] Ps 125 [126] 6.

[6] Rev 7 17.

[7] For the war of Bernaldim de Sousa against Jailolo and for its conquest, see REBELO 240-271 ; 454-479 ; COUTO VI 9 10-13.

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por temor d'el-rey de Tanarte [8]. Diz que, como for christão, fará com todo Maluco que se faça christão. O ano que vem com o favor do Senhor se escreverá boas novas de sua comversão : hé homem constante e muy temido nestas partes ; emcomendem-no a Nosso Senhor pera que lhe dê sua graça e confyrme em seu bom proposito [9].

5. Ategora fomos muy mal ajudados e favorecidos d'el-rey de Tanarte em nos não dar embarcação pera yr visitar os christãos [10]. Por ser mouro e muy enimiguo dos christãos, persegue-os e mata-os [e] trouve [11] à sua obediemcia as ilhas de o Moro [12], e da christandade não faz conta. Nisto há tambem que padecer, Deos seja bendito por tudo. Amen.

De Maluco, a 10 de Abril de 1551.

Vosso Irmão em o Senhor,

Nicolao Nunez.

*Lost letters*

33*a*. — *Fr. Juan de Beira, Maluku, to Fr. Ignatius Loyola, Rome ; February 1552.*

Beira to Ignatius, February 2, 1553 : « El año pasado de 1552 escrebí a V.R[a] de Maluquo » (D 41, 1). Beira to Ignatius, February 8, 1553 : « Y tanbién escrebí a Vuestra Reverencia sobre la Conceptión de Nuestra Señora » (whether in the same or in a distinct letter, cannot be decided) (D 46, 1).

33*b*. — *Fr. Juan de Beira, Maluku, El Apocalipsis, to Fr. Ignatius Loyola, Rome ; February 1552.*

Beira to Ignatius, February 2, 1553 : « El año pasado escrebí el Apo-

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[8] On the ineffective wish of King Katarabumi of Jailolo, after his defeat, of becoming a Christian, and the part Beira had in it, see REBELO 267 and 477-478 ; COUTO VI 9 13.

[9] The king was not only not baptized, but, shortly after, he died, and so these expectations did not come true.

[10] Cf. D 28 note 20. In this connection it is worthy to quote a statement of Rebelo who, not caring for the Christians being killed by Hairun, prefers to conceal such and to defend the king against the Jesuits in this way : « E assy dá corocoras aos Padres da Companhia de Jesus para hirem lá pregar e ensinar, e como lhas não dão daquelle dia que se determina até o seguinte, aqueixão-se logo de el-rey e escrevem mal delle à India, que hé mouro e que não quer que se fação christãos ». — N.B. These words are to be found in the MS of REBELO's *História das Ilhas de Maluco* [1561], Lisbon, *Bibl. Nac., Fundo Geral 923* f. 61*r*, but unexplainably they are omitted by DE SÁ in his edition on p. 296, after « . . . os filhos dos pays ».

[11] *Trouve*, old popular form of *trouxe*.

[12] The old political trend of Ternate had always been to bring the Moro region under ist own power, and to expel the Tidorese and Jailolese from it.

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calipsi al Padre Yñatio » (D 41, 11). Beira to Rodrigues, February 7, 1553 : « El año passado escreví al Padre Ignacio el Apocalipse » (D 43, 1). Beira to Ignatius, February 8, 1553 : « Tanbién el año pasado escrebí a Vuestra Reverencia el Apocalypsy » (D 46, 1).

33*c*. — *Fr. Juan de Beira, Maluku, to Fr. Simão Rodrigues, Lisbon ; February 1552.*

Beira to the Jesuits in Coimbra (Fr. Rodrigues), February 7, 1553 : « Ho anno passado escrevi a Vossa Reverencia » (D 44, 1).

## 34

## FE. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. GASPAR BERZE SJ, GOA

## INSTRUCTION

GOA, APRIL 6-14, 1552

I TEXT : EX II 391-399 [394 and 398]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-6-9* ff. 90*r*-91*v* ; copy ; Portuguese.

II PRINTED : See ibid. 393. To be added SILVA REGO, *Documentação ... Índia* V 150 (borrowed from EX).

III NOTE : On April 6, 1552, Xavier appointed the Dutchman Gaspar Berze SJ (born in Goes on Zuid-Beveland, Zeeland, in 1515) to be rector of the college in Goa and vice-provincial of all the Jesuits in Asia during the time he himself went to China (EX II 335). He gave him ample instructions, not forgetting the toiling companions in Maluku.

### *Text*

1. *Berze must take care of the Jesuits living in the college of Goa ; of those living outside any Portuguese fortress like, for instance, in Moro which is beyond Maluku (Ternate) ; and of those living in the fortresses where there is a Portuguese settlement.* — 2. *He recommends again care for the second group.*

[...]

1. Portanto emcommendo-vos muito que tenhais grandissimo cuidado de acodir primeiro às necessidades do collegio, e depois às necessidades dos Padres e Irmãos que andão fora ; os quais, à mingoa de não terem o necessario, deixão de fazer fruito nas almas, como do Cabo de Comorim, e do Moro alem de Maluco, e os de Japam. Os que vivem em as fortalezas donde há portuguezes, à mingoa de não terem o necessario para sustentar a vida, não deixarão de fazer fruito nas almas.

[...]

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2. Lembre-vos mais as necessidades dos Padres e Irmãos que estão fora desta caza : lembre-vos que em Japam e Maluco e no Cabo de Comorim padecem muitas necessidades.
[...]

Francisco.

*Lost letter*

34*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Xavier, Malacca, to the Jesuits in Maluku ; about July 16, 1552.*

Valignano : « Llegados a Malaca, y despachando al Pe Balthasar Gago, que yva para Japón con los dos Hermanos que dixe, y consolando por cartas los que estavan en Maluco, quedóse él [Xavier] allí para yr con sus compañeros en la nao de Diego Pereyra » (*Historia* 201).

## 35

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. GASPAR BERZE SJ, GOA

SINGAPORE STRAIT, JULY 21, 1552

I TEXT : EX II 468-475 [473-474]. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Pombal 745* ff. 98*r*-99*v* ; original in Portuguese.
II AUTHORS : ibid. To be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 642-644.
III PRINTED : See ibid. 469. Moreover SÁ II 75-76 (gives EX text).

### *Text*

*Berze shall favour Beira's concerns and then send him back to Maluku as soon as possible. He must give him either a Father and a Brother, or, if there is no Father available, two Brothers.*

Mestre Gaspar [1]

[...]

A João da Beira darês toda ajuda e ffavor que puderdes, asy favorecemdo-o com o Sennhor Viso-Rey [2], como damdo-lhe os Irmãos que

[1] On Fr. Gaspar Berze SJ, see DI I 49*-51* ; Nic. TRIGAULT SJ, *Vita Gasparis Barzaei Belgae e Societate Iesu, B. Xaverii in India socii*, Antverpiae 1610.

[2] On wich issues Beira should treat with the viceroy, D. Afonso de Noronha (1550-1554), see D 36, 3.

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puderdes pera que o ajudem nas partes de Maluco a fazer cristãos; e ffarês como, em toda maneira, como o Padre Joam da Bera parta na naao que vay pera Maluco em Abril, porque sua ausemça ffaz muita mimguoa em Maluco. Se ouver algum Padre que posa ir com ele a Maluco, que veyo este anno de Portugual, aimda que não tenha letras, com algum outro Irmão de muita comfiamça e vertude poderá ir a Maluco, porque pera laa não são neceçarias letras, senão vertude e constamcia; e se nam ouver Padre que posa ir com Joam da Bera, em tal caso irão dous leiguos de muita vertude e perfeiçam [3].

[...]

Do estreito de Symquapura [4], a XXI de Julho de 1552.

[...]

[*Xavier's hand*] Vosso amygo e Hyrmão em Chrysto,

Francysco.

[*Address*] A meu Irmão em Cristo, o Padre Mestre Guaspar, rretor do colejo de Guoa.

Do Padre Mestre Francisco.

## 36

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ, MALACCA

SINGAPORE STRAIT, JULY 21, 1552

I TEXT: EX II 475-478. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Pombal 745* f. 102*r-v*; original in Portuguese.

II AUTHORS: ibid. To be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 644-645.

III PRINTED: See ibid. 476. Moreover SÁ II 77-78 (text borrowed from EX).

IV NOTE: Wanting to visit China, Xavier left Malacca in the middle of July 1552. In the Singapore Strait he wrote this letter to Beira whom he had met in Malacca. Beira was on his way to Goa to expound personally the difficulties of the Maluku mission to the viceroy. Xavier urges him to settle his affairs quickly and to return to his post next May.

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[3] Beira did indeed return to Ternate with some companions, most probably with Fr. Francisco Godinho and Br. António Fernandes; see SOUZA I III 2 2 and 3.

[4] Xavier had left Malacca on his journey to China on July 21, 1552; on a possible halt of some days in a place where much later the town of Singapore would be built, see EX II 474 note 22.

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## *Text*

1. *Beira must speak to nobody of his internal enlightenments which are of no advantage to the Maluku Christians. He must expound their real interests to the viceroy and ask for measures against the king of Ternate, « who is not our friend ». — 2. He must settle this business at his earliest convenience to be able to return to Maluku next May ; he must take with him some Fathers or Brothers ; the latter seem to be better suitable for that mission. — 3. Nothing should prevent him from returning next year. The viceroy should revoke the advantageous provisions made by his predecessor D. João de Castro on behalf of the king of Ternate, who does not keep his word.*

Jhus

A graça e amor de Christo Noso Senhor
seja sempre em nosa ajuda e ffavor. Amem.

Joam da Bera

1. Por serviço de Deus Noso Senhor vos emcomemdo e roguo, que das cousas innteriores, que Deus vos tem dado a semtir, não deis parte a nenhuma pesoa ; emtemdo daquelas cousas, que não são pertemcemtes ao bem e proveito esperitual dos cristãos de Maluquo e Mouro, e asy doutras partes [1].

Todalas cousas que tocão ao bem e proveito dos cristãos, trabalharês de as despachar com o Sennhor Viso-Rey [2], ffalamdo ao Bispo pera que vos ajude, se ffor neceçario, pera aver alguas provisões do Senhor Viso-Rey pera el-rey de Maluquo, pois como dizeis não hé noso amiguo.

2. Com toda brevidade vos despachareis pera tornar em Mayo na nao que for pera Maluquo ; e se não puderdes trazer Padres, trarês Irmãos, porque pera aquelas partes tamto ffazem os que não sam Padres como os que o são ; e pera viver em mais umildade e paaz parece-me que são milhores Irmãos leigos ; e fficará ordenado com Mestre Gaspar como cada annio vaa alguem da Companhia, ou leiguo ou Padre [3].

---

[1] What these « inner things » of Beira were like, can be seen from his later letters (D 41, 11 ; D 43, 1 ; D 46 1 and 2) : rather strange visions and inspirations, in which Schurhammer sees some first indications of the troubled mind of his later years (EX II 476 note 1 ; see DI IV 400 421 453 519).

[2] D. Afonso de Noronha.

[3] Neither in 1550, nor in 1551, had the Maluku mission received Jesuits from India. The order given to Berze to dispatch at least one Jesuit yearly to Maluku (see

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3. E oulhay que por nenhuma cousa leixês de tornar pera o anno em Mayo a Maluco, porque vosa ausemça ffaz laa muita mimguoa ; e guardarês esta carta pera que lá na Imdia nimgem vos ponha empedimento à vossa tornada a Maluco ; e oulhay que não comuniqueis as cousas que me dixestes na igreja de Malaqua [4].

Eu esprevo ao Padre Mestre Gaspar pera que vos dee todo favor e ajuda pera tornardes asynha a Maluco ; e virês de tal maneira acautelado pera com el-rey de Maluco, de provisões do Viso-Rey, que revoguem as que deu Dom João de Crasto em favor d'el-rey de Maluco, pois tam mal cumpre el-rey de Maluco sua palavra [5]. Noso Senhor nos ajumte na gloria do paraiso.

Do estreito de Cimquapura, a XXI de Julho de 1552 annos.

[*Xavier's hand*] Vosso Hyrmão em Chrysto,

[Francisco].

[*Hand of the secretary*] Pera o Padre João da Bera em pessoa. Do Padre Mestre Francisquo.

## 37

## FR. FRANCISCO XAVIER SJ TO FR. GASPAR BERZE SJ, GOA

SANCIAN [SHANG CH'UAN], OCTOBER 25, 1552

I TEXT : EX II 501-506 [504]. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Pombal 745* ff. 109*r*-110*v* ; original in Portuguese.

II AUTHORS : ibid. To be added SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 663-664.

III NOTE : See EX I 9*. In August 1552 Xavier arrived at the island of Shang Ch'uan near Canton, hoping to enter China from there. As toward the end of October a Portuguese ship was to sail to Malacca, he wrote some letters, among them also this one to Berze in Goa. He gave him instructions for the government of the Goa Province and did not forget his beloved Maluku mission.

---

D 37) was the first result of Beira's pains. But this rule was not always observed ; for practical reasons the mission was supplied in the next period predominantly in an irregular fashion.

[4] Belonging to the « inner things » mentioned above. On the church « Nosa Senhora do Monte », see EX II 496.

[5] For the political machinations of King Hairun, see SOUZA I III 2 2.



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*Text*

*Berze must send some men with Beira to Maluku and otherwise satisfy him. He must also in the future help the Maluku mission by sending tested and experienced people.*

[...]

A Maluquo em companhia de João de Bera mamdarês algumas pesoas, que a vós bem parecer, que tem virtude pera laa poder ffazer ffruito ; e trabalhay de mamdardes a João da Bera comtemte, pois nas partes de Malluquo há aguora tamta despocição pera acrecemtar nosa samta ffee. E polo comseguimte todolos anos terês cuidado de prover as partes de Malluquo do neceçario ; e as pesoas que laa mamdardes não sejão senão muito provadas e de muita esperiemcia.

[...]

Deste porto de Samchaoam da China, a XXV d'Outubro de 552 anos.

[*Xavier's hand*] Todo vosso en Chrysto,

Francysco.

[...]

[*Secretary's hand*] Pera o Padre Mestre Gaspar, retor do colejo de Guoa, meu em Cristo carisymo Irmão em pessoa. — Do Padre Mestre Framcisco.

## 38

## SHORT CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN JESUIT HOUSES IN THE BEGINNING OF 1553

I TEXT : DI II 618-621 [619]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* f. 1*r-v* ; fair copy in Spanish.

II DATE : See DI II 618-619. This catalogue was written in Portugal, not before the year 1554, as it results from the fact that it contains the name of Fr. [Gaspar] Vilela (ibid. 620). This Fr. Vilela did not enter the Society, in Goa, until November 1553, as can be deduced from FROIS, *Die Geschichte Japans* 46 and 59. This occurrence could be known in Portugal at the earliest in July or August 1554. So the fair copy of the catalogue, destined for the General's office in Rome (and therefore written in Spanish), cannot have been made before that date. The situation of the Indian houses and their members depicted here is that of the end of 1552 or of the beginning of 1553, whereas Maluku is not viewed later than 1552. That is why we insert this catalogue here between the years 1552 and 1553. Wicki doubts if a Goa-made original in Portuguese were at the root of this Spanish text.

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III PRINTED : SÁ II 130 (Text taken from DI).

IV NOTE : For a short history of the catalogues in the Society of Jesus, see DI II 618. Already in 1547 and 1549 Ignatius had urged the Portuguese Jesuits to send him lists of the houses and their inmates thrice a year. Soon it became a general rule that every Province yearly send a complete catalogue of residences and members to Rome. A short catalogue, « catalogus brevis », gives only the names of the Jesuits without further information on their personal qualities. Our document is the first catalogue mentioning the Maluku Jesuits.

## *Text*

*Five Jesuits in Maluku.*

Ihs

Rol de los Padres y Hermanos que están en la India

[...]

Maluco

P. Juan de Beyra
P. Alonso de Crasto
Nicolao [1] y otros dos Hermanos [2]

[...]

---

[1] Nunes.

[2] One of them was Melchior de Figueiredo who joined the Jesuits in Maluku, probably in 1549 (*Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 9) ; and the other is presumably the « otro Hermano que Jesú nuestro Señor nos dio », whose name is not mentioned (D 41, 10). That he can be identified with Vicente Pereira, as SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 629 does, remains very doubtful. Pereira does not turn up in the reports until February 1554, not as a member but only as a candidate for the Society. Nor can he be identified with Francisco Godinho, as SCHURHAMMER earlier did (*Quellen* 6002) ; see DI II 619 note 2.

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## 39

## [FR. GASPAR BERZE SJ] TO KING D. JOÃO III OF PORTUGAL

### List of favours asked on behalf of the Indian Christians

[GOA, JANUARY 1553] ?

I TEXT: DI II 603-612 [611]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 290*r*-291*v*; Spanish translation. At every request the royal answer is noted in the margin.

II AUTHOR, TIME and PLACE: see DI II 603-604.

III PRINTED: ibid. 604. To be added SÁ II 129 (Text taken from DI).

IV NOTE: Among the many favours for the Christians all over Portuguese Asia, for those of Maluku the Fathers merely asked for an encouraging letter, a petition to which the king immediately agreed. The letter in question up till now has never been found in any archives.

### *Text*

*The Jesuits petition for a letter to the Christians of Maluku in order to confirm them in the faith. — The king granted it.*

Apuntamentos de las cosas que los Padres
de la Compañía de Jesú, que están en la India, piden.

[...]

Maluco

Piden una carta de Su Alteza para los christianos de Maluco, con la qual se animarán mucho y confirmarán más en la fee.

[*Answer of King D. João III*] Dixo que sí [1].

[...]

---

[1] That the king did indeed write to the Maluku Christians, may be seen from D 52, 2. Such a letter does not seem any longer extant. See D 54*a*. On a much earlier occasion, in 1545, the first vicar general of the diocese of Goa, Miguel Vaz, had asked King D. João III for letters of encouragement on behalf of the Christians of Maluku: « Á mester, alem das outras cartas [see DI I 110-111], huma pera os christãos de Malucu do mesmo theor das outras, e outra pera aquele rey da ilha do Macaçar »; and the royal answer had been « Já » (WICKI, *Mais documentos de Miguel Vaz Coutinho* 145-154). — A repercussion of those lost royal letters

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## 40

## FR. GASPAR BERZE SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

GOA, JANUARY 12, 1553

I TEXT: DI II 578-603 [586]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 278*r*-279*r* and 266*r*-273*v*; partly Spanish translation, partly Portuguese original (our fragment from the latter). To the three MS texts mentioned (578) a fourth could be added: Rome, *Bibliotheca Vaticana, Ottoboni lat. 797* ff. 194*r*-198*r*: Italian translation, more than once much shortened and not without some strong deviations from the original, was evidently made after the shortened Spanish text of *Goa 10 I* ff. 278*r*-281*v*.

II PRINTED: see DI II 578 sub V. To be specified: in *Epistolae Indicae de stupendis, Lovanii 1566*, 137-155; in *Epistolae Indicae de praeclaris, Lovanii 1566*, 118-131, our fragment on p. 124. Moreover SILVA REGO VII 167-190: the full text, taken from DI; SÁ II 79: passages on Malacca and Maluku only, taken from DI.

### *Text*

*In Maluku Beira and Castro work, assisted by Nunes. They suffer great hardships. Most of the Christians live in Moro and Ambon.*

[...]

Em Maluco, que sam humas ilhas onde nasce ho cravo, temos alguas fortalezas, estão os Padres Joam da Beyra e Afonso de Crasto, o qual hé pregador, bom grammatico e confesor, e o outro anda correndo a christandade, que hé muita nestas partes. Ambos fazem grande fruto na vinha do Senhor, segundo os talentos que tem. Padecem grandes trabalhos polo contino chover que ay na terra [1] e contradição dos gen-

---

is to be found in a record of the honourable feats of D. João III, written by Fr. Álvaro Lobo, probably about 1590: «Hazía [el Rey Don Joan 3º] muy grandes mercedes y privilegios, no solamente a los sacerdotes y religiosos, que en la conversión de aquellas gentes [de la India] se occupavan, sino también a los que de nuevo se convertían. Y lo que más admira es que él mismo escrivió cartas a los christianos de la Costa de Pescaría y de las islas Malucas, animando a todos a perseverar en la fee y religión christiana, que avía[n] tomado, sin que en estas cartas tuviesse otro algún intento más que este» (*Apuntamientos breves de algunas cosas que se pudieron saber del Rey Don Joan 3º de Portugal*, in *ARSI, Lus. 106* ff. 424*r*-425*v*).

[1] The average rainfall in Maluku is more than two meters; in Ambon and Saparua it is even more than three meters yearly (ENI II 336). «A mor parte do ano anda o ar nubroso, que causa chover meudamente» (*Treatise* 36).

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tios e mouros; comem pam de farinha de paao [2]. Com elles está hum Irmão, que se chama Nicolao Nunez. Hobra o Senhor maravilhas naquela terra, louvores a ele para sempre. As fortalezas onde mais christãos ay, sam Moro e Ambueno [3].

[...]

Deste collegio de Sam Paulo de Guoa, aos 12 de Janeiro de 1553 anos.

[...]

[*Berze's hand*] Filius indignus,

Gaspar.

[*Address*] Ao muito R.do P. M. Ignatio de Loyola, Preposito Geral da santa Companhia de Jesus. Primeira via.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO DD 41-44 AND 46

Fr. Beira left Maluku in 1552 and, in February 1553, had already arrived in Cochin. This being the time that the ships were sailing from there to Lisbon, he wrote a series of letters. Five of them came down to us. Of three, addressed to Fr. Ignatius Loyola in Rome, the originals are still extant; two, written to Fr. Simão Rodrigues and to the Jesuits in Coimbra, are preserved in copies only. These five were written between February 2 and 8. To the historian they cause no little trouble and confusion.

Why did Beira write his letters with two different kinds of ink, a black and a brown? Why did he use writing paper with three different watermarks (vase with flower, hand with star, serpent), and even with two different ones in one letter (D 41)? SCHURHAMMER (*Quellen* 6007) tries to make deductions from the use of ink to establish the sequence of the letters and of parts of them. His description of the use of both kinds of ink is correct but not complete; he does not mention that D 46, written with brown ink, has the address again in black ink. But his

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[2] The *sagu*.

[3] In Ambon and Moro the Portuguese had not constructed proper fortresses, but at most some entrenchments that could be defended. By passing it over in silence, Berze suggests that in the island of Ternate there was nothing resembling a Christian community, at least not outside the Portuguese town around the fortress. In this he is quite right.

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deduction is rather questionable. As we simply do not know the circumstances under which Beira had to work, who was a passing guest in the Jesuit house of Cochin and had to rely on what the Fathers living there could, at the moment, put at his disposal, we do not see any constraining force in Schurhammer's view. Neither from the ink, then, nor from the watermarks can anything certain be deduced.

Some other problems : how could Beira, in D 43, add a postscript with a date earlier than that of the letter itself ? That he is repeating himself frequently can easily be explained : in the main he had to write the same account of occurences to his several addressees ; DD 41 and 42 are even highly identical in their contents. But why did he then change the address of D 41 from Simon Rodrigues to Ignatius Loyola to whom he directs D 42 too, so that the General twice gets the same information ? If Beira, when writing DD 41 and 42, had in mind individual addressees like Simon and Ignatius, then how can he write « I wrote to Fr. Ignatius » ; « I write to Fr. Simon » (D 41, 11) ; « To Fr. Ignatius and Fr. Simon I write more particularly » (D 42, 11) ? The last words of D 22, 5 are perhaps a partial answer to some of these problems. If he is directing D 44 to the Jesuits in Coimbra, addressing them as « Charíssimos Hermanos », what is the meaning of « Your Reverence » in nos. 1 and 8 of that letter ? How can he, in D 46, 4, touching upon the navigation and calendar of the Papuans, refer Ignatius to a description in another letter to him (« como en otra escribo a V.R. »), whereas this issue is only dealt with in D 44 to the Jesuits of Coimbra (no. 8) ? More than once he points to other letters or accounts he sent to Europe which are unknown to us. His style is often illogical and grammatically incorrect, and from the telling of hard facts he sometimes plunges into impassioned outpourings. Puzzling allusions to spiritual inspirations and prophecies, to quasi-dogmatical sayings and to the interpretation of the Apocalypse show perhaps the beginnings of a disturbed mind.

And yet the Beira letters of 1553 contain a lot of positive and interesting information, which is also frequently confirmed by other authors, as the reader will observe from the notes. As these letters were mostly known to their European readers in the altered form furnished by Polanco (Cf. D 46A), we must generally refer to this latter for the items « Authors » and « Printed ».

That these letters promptly arrived in Europe may be seen from what Ignatius wrote to Fr. Francisco Estrada SJ (Burgos), on January 6, 1554 : « Hubimos la letra latina de la India y en recompensa della se enbía otra de las Malucas en español, porque creemos no la habrán recebido allá » (MI *Epp.* VI 149).

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## 41

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COCHIN, FEBRUARY 2, 1553

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 176 Beira no. 4; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6002.

II AUTHORS: POLANCO, *Chronicon* II 769-772; LUCENA 298.

III TEXT: There is only one text, the autograph Spanish letter: *ARSI, Goa 8 I* ff. 49*r*-51*v*, erstwhile also 49*r*-51*v*. Four ff. are written on, f. 51*r* is blank, and f. 51*v* is used for the addresses. F. 49*r*, left upper corner: brief summary of the contents, made by Fr. João Rebelo SJ; beside it with lead pencil « 2/2 53, de Beira Jo. »; in right corner « 8 »; at the bottom of the page « 53 » and « V » (see POLANCO, *Chronicon* I 8); some ink blots. Whereas the bulk of the letter is written with a deeply black ink, no. 12, date, and signature have been added with a distinctly clearer, more brownish one. On f. 51*v*, beside the addresses, an archivist's note « 53 / Cochin 2. febru. », and a trace of a seal are to be found. The letter has some Portuguese summaries in the margin by the hand of Fr. Rebelo, and once a Latin reference to another letter « Vide Goa A, fol. 189 », which does not yet mean anything to the modern investigator because this signature has long been abrogated. Sometimes words are underscored, as it seems, in a rough and arbitrary manner. Once there is a vertical line and once an « a » in the margin, presumably in aid of the copyist of the abridged letter D 46A.

IV ADDRESSEE: On f. 51*v* the letter bears two autographic addresses, one directing it to Fr. Simón (Simão Rodrigues) in Coimbra, Provincial of Portugal, written with black ink and scored out, the other to Fr. Ignatius Loyola, General of the Society in Rome, written with the brown ink of no. 12. Did Beira want this letter to go successively to the Provincial and the General? Then the first address would have been crossed out in Coimbra, but in that case the letter surely would have been copied in Portugal in *Ajuda 49-4-49*. Or, what seems more probable, Beira made a mistake or changed his mind and consequently replaced the first address by the second. The subscription *humilde y en Christo siervo de V.R.* seems to show that he actually wrote to Ignatius; the other letters to him (DD 42 and 46) contain nearly the same wording, whereas those to the Portuguese Jesuits (DD 43 and 44) end in another way. That Beira mentions both Frs. Simão and Ignatius in the third person (no. 11) may be seen as one of the inconsistencies of his somewhat confused spirit. That Fr. Rodrigues, on May 3, 1552, had been removed from office as a Provincial of Portugal, could not yet be known by Beira (RODRIGUES, *História* I/2 104-105).

### *Text*

1. *Having written last year from Maluku, he will tell now what has since happened over there.* — 2. *He went to the Moro islands to assist the Christian people, but*

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*the kings of Maluku [Ternate], Jailolo, Tidore, and Bacan tried to make them apostatize from the faith and many, converted by Francis [Xavier], by Beira himself, and by his helpers, became renegades. — 3. He also visited the islands of Morotai. His many troubles : illness, shipwrecks, loss of clothes and books, chased by enemises, frequently bled, sold by renegades, going hungry, and, worst of all, three times disobeyed by his own subjects. — 4. But God delivered him and castigated the Moors and renegades : their rice would not grow, the earth did not produce fruits, the water spoiled and many died from hunger and disease. — 5. The Moors, assisted by the mountaineer people, put themselves into a state of defence. The captain of Maluku sent some Portuguese soldiers, accompanied with many Ternatan men guided by their king. — 6. As soon as confronted by the Portuguese, the enemy, still declining to become Christians, began to tremble and to drop their arms. — 7. Although it was midday the earth quaked, the sun darkened, fiery stones and ashes fell and worked havoc among trees and houses ; only one small house remained erect. — 8. The next day the whole situation had changed and nobody resisted the Portuguese any more. In another place where renegades assembled a lake had flooded and destroyed the houses. — 9. After a few days he visited them and was welcomed with joy and all returned to the Christian faith. — 10. From other islands, too, people came to be baptized ; therefore he summoned his four companions to assist him and now they are staying in that place. — 11. He came to India in order to get more Fathers. Some pious outpourings. — 12 [Postscript] He discovered the treachery of some kings and caused the conquest of Jailolo.*

Iesus et Maria sint senper nobiscum. Amen.

La suma gratia, pax y amor perpetuo de Jesú nuestro Señor sea sienpre en nuestro contino favor y ayuda. Amen.

1. El año pasado de 1552 escrebí a V.R.ª de Maluquo [1], y en ésta diré lo que Dios nuestro Señor por su infinita bondad en aquellas partes, donde agora bengo, maravillosamente obró, donde el Padre Mestre Francisco me avía mandado juntamente con algunos conpañeros [2] que los años passados escrebí.

2. Y después de yo aver andado en aquellas islas, que se llaman do Moro, con aquellos christianos, enseñándolos y quitándoles sus malas costunbres, y por los ayudar cómo se avían de salvar, y padesci[endo] muchos géneros de martirio ; mas el rei de Maluquo y el rei de Gilolo

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11 padesci[endo] *paper consumed*

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[1] A letter of Beira, written from Ternate in 1552, is not known to us. Its existence is asserted once more in no. 11. See D 33*a*.

[2] With Fr. Nuno Ribeiro, and Brs. Nicolau Nunes and Baltasar Nunes.

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y el de Tidoro [3] y el de Bachan [4] trabajaron quanto podieron por los hazer retraer de nuestra sancta ffee, especialmente el rei de Maluquo y el de Gilolo. Y asý por sus amonestationes y espantos e yndutiones del demonio retrayeron de la ffee, aviéndolos el Padre Mestre Francisco enseñado e yo, juntamente con los conpañeros, especialmente Nicolao Núnez, que en algunos trabajos comigo se alló, ya que los avía enseñado. Y con mucha diligentia y afavilidad tirándolos de sus malas costunbres en que vivían, así por ellos seren mui perversos y mui remisos por las induciones de los moros, que mucho los perturbaban para que no fuesen christianos, como tanbién por aver pasado con ellos mui grandísimos trabajos, visitándolos de un lugar en otro por mui grandísimos calores. Porque de noche no osava caminar por causa de la gente que vivían en las montañas y muchas vezes los venían a matar junto a sus casas [5]. Allávalos mui remisos para veniren a la iglesia y así pasava con ellos mui grandíssimos trabajos.

3. Y visitándolos por la mar, así a ellos como a otros que biven en otras islas que se llaman Morotai, vine a caer mui enfermo de unas febres y fríos mui grandes por muchos días y meses y con grandíssimo fastidio. Y andándolos visitando tres vezes hize naufragio y andube perdido por la mar. Tres vezes se anegaron comigo las enbarcationes y se anegaron comigo junto y en tierra de enemigos de nuestra santa ffee. Noche y día echado por las riberas, andando ascondido y desnudo, porque la rropa, bribiario y libros ya los abía perdido, solamente escapé con el rosario de nuestra Señora en las manos. Y así andava mui atribulado por caussa de los moros que tenían guerra con los portugueses [6].

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21 mucho] muchos *ms.* || 22 por *ins.* || 35 bribiario *interl.* || 35-36 solamente . . . manos *m.*

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[3] His name was Amir-udin Iskandar Dalkarnain (Clercq 151-152), shortened to Mir in the Portuguese and Spanish sources (1526-15 . . ?). Like his father Almansur, who was not successful in getting the Portuguese fortress built on his island, he generally took sides with the Spanish captains that visited Maluku against the Portuguese ; only when forced by arms at intervals did he call himself a vassal of the king of Portugal. See *Treatise*, Index s.v. Mir.

[4] We write *Bacan ;* cf. *Gen. Introd.* V 5. This is probably King Laudim (Alaudin) who, in 1536-1537, had to submit to the Portuguese captain António Galvão (*Treatise* 248 and 358) ; in 1557 he is called the *old* king (D 79, 6).

[5] The redoubtable Tabarus.

[6] The hostilities with Jailolo started in the summer of 1549 and culminated in the siege of the fortified town of Jailolo from the last days of 1550 to its fall on March 27, 1551 (Rebelo 448 and 451 ; 469-470).

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Y muchas vezes fui sangrado de los pies, de las manos, de los braços y de las espaldas ; julgado fui más a muerte que a la vida de los que me visitaban, y así por más de nuebe meses fui mui atribulado. Vendido fui de unos arreñegados y entregado en poder de moros. Otras vezes quería comer y no tenía qué, y así pasaba algunos días y noches. Por tres vezes retrayeron quatro conpa-[49*v*]ñeros de la sancta obedientia, que tanto y más me atormentaron que los trabajos passados [7].

4. Mas nuestro Señor Jesú a mí por su infinita clementia de todos estos trabajos y traiciones que los moros comiguo usaron libró. Y así a los moros como a los que retrayeron de la ffe y obedientia maravillosamente castigó. Porque donde solía ser la tierra más fertil, que en aquelas partes avía de muchos mantinimientos, luego que retrayeron de la ffee, nuestro Señor los castigó, primeramente por anbre, de tal manera que el arrós que guardavam para senbrar, por mui guardado que lo toviesen, todo lo hallavan comido, y lo que senbravan, por mui muchas vezes que lo senbraron, todo el tienpo que estobieron alebantados, dende el día que aposta[ta]ron nunca jamás les quiso nascer. Y donde solían tener muchos mantinimientos, la tierra después no quiso dar fruto ninguno, lo qual nunca en otro tienpo les avía acontecido otro tal castiguo. Las agoas eran mui salobres y sin sabor, y el comer y el beber, que antes solían tener, Dios nuestro Señor se lo quitó, y así muchos morían de anbre y de peste. Ni por eso los moros los dexaban de pervertir y inducirlos a que no fuesen christianos.

5. Después que el capitán de Maluco mandó por mí, siendo más julgado a muerte que a vida, los moros fueron allá y todos se sercaron de pared, y por los caminos hizieron muchos edificios mui peligrosos, de tal manera que ninguno los viera que no julgara ser cosa mui inposible los portugeses ni otra gente ninguna poder pasar por los caminos, sino con gran peligro de muerte. Y teniendo para sí que estavan mui seguros y reparados así de los portugueses como de otra toda gente, por tener tanbién consiguo otra mucha gente que los venían a ayudar de las montañas, el capitán de Maluco [8] mandó allá un capitán con algunos portu-

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47 ffe y *ins.* || 53 senbraron *corr. fr.* senbrasen | alenbantados *ms.* || 57 agoas *rep.* || 62 vida *corr. fr.* via

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[7] Fr. Manuel de Morais and Br. Francisco Gonçalves left Maluku on their own ; other cases of disobedience are not known to us. Did Beira perhaps refer to Br. Baltasar Nunes ? For a different, somewhat affected interpretation, see SOUZA, I III 2 7.

[8] Christovão de Sá, Captain of Maluku, October 1549 to October 1550. As the

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gueses, y el rei de Maluco con mucha gente [9]. Mas en conparación de los christianos que apostataron eran mui pocos. A juyzio humano a todos parescía ser inposible poder entrar con ellos, por tanbién estaren ellos en una tierra mui alta.

6. Luego que los portugueses allegaron junto a su lugar [10], les requirieron que se tornasen christianos, que no traýan consiguo armas ni gente sino mui poca, mas que ellos traýan consiguo la ffee y la verdad, que era Dios que los avía de ayudar. Y ellos respondiendo de alto donde estavan que no querían ser christianos, todos así como estavan luego començaron a tenblar tan reziamente [50*r*] que nunca jamás podieron tener las armas en las manos, y unos con otros no se podían tener.

7. Y siendo casi medio día, el sol y la luna escurecieron y perdieron la claridad. La tierra toda tenbló y con la mucha oscuridad unos a otros no se podían ber. Cayeron tantas piedras de fuego sobre sus ýdolos y sobre las casas, que a todas derrocó por el suelo, y los árbores muchos y mui grandes fueron arrincados de la tierra, las raýzes para el cielo y las rramas para el suelo. Los caminos que todos estavan armados a todos mui brevemente allanó, y las casas grandes y pequeñas mui brevemente fueron derrocadas con la mucha geniza y piedras que en cima dellas cayó ; excepto una pobrecilla casa que milagrosamente ficó en medio de todas, que ni en la casa ni en la covertura, aunque era de fojas de palmas, nuestro Señor Jesú la guardó [11], la qual estava junto a la iglesia que ellos antes avían desecha, y a la cruz y ymágenes avían cortado.

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70 mucha *corr. fr.* muga

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expedition to Tolo took place under this captain (REBELO 336), and as the favourable monsoon for sailing toward Moro was from April to November, it must fall in the summer of 1550.

[9] Luís de Paiva with twenty-five soldiers and King Hairun with five hundred men (REBELO 336 and 338). For the conquest of Tolo and for the volcanic eruption that made it possible, see REBELO 336-338 ; 402-404.

[10] Tolo, capital of the Moro region and centre of the Catholic mission. It had been conquered by King Katarabumi of Jailolo in August 1549 (D 28, 3).

[11] This was the house « em que os Padres e Irmãos de nossa Companhia soião pousar ». Rebelo reports likewise that this house had served as home to the Jesuits : « Quizerão alguns dizer que todas as cazas cahirão, salvo humas que lá ficarão dos Padres da Companhia ». (D 44, 3 ; REBELO 337). On this volcano and its eruptions, see E. GOGARTEN, *Der Vulkan « Tolo » auf Halmahera* (*Molukken*). Mit Karte ; in Petermanns Mitteilungen 63 (1917) 242-246 ; 273-277.

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8. Y después que el diluvio cesó [12], luego el 2º día los portugueses fueron allá y todo allaron de otra manera que antes estava, los caminos mui llanos y mui seguros, todos los abrojos coviertos con la mucha ciniza que sobre ellos cayó, y en ellos mataron mui muchos sin firiren ni mataren a ningún portugués, aviendo para cada portugués mui muchos que manos ni pies tobieron para resistirles. Otro lugar, 4 legoas poco más o menos, que tanbién se alebantó, y porque era mui peligroso acogía en sí los que rretraían de la ffee, y una agoa que ellos tenían en su anparo serca, que era una mui grande laguna, la agoa se allevantó en este mesmo tienpo y la agoa les derrocó las casas, que milagrosamente se llebantó [13].

9. Y después de ellos así castigados, de allí a algunos días me fui a ellos [14], los quales andavan mui atribulados. Yo me fui a ellos y me partí una noche mui secreto y dexé los conpañeros en la fortaleza. Luego que llegué al lugar, se vino a mí el regidor, y así vinieron todos a mí con grandíssimo plazer de las montañas donde andavan ascondidos y atribulados, y de día y de noche no me dexaban dormir con cantares de plazer, así grandes como pequeños. Hiziéron-me luego una cassa mui alta junto a

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93 el[s] *del.* otro | 2º *interl.* | dia *corr. fr.* dias || 99 acogia *corr. fr.* agogia

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[12] Repeatedly Rebelo declares that the eruption of stones and ashes lasted three days ; see REBELO 337 and 403.

[13] This was the lake of Galela ; the unusual event of the waters rising and overflowing is mentioned likewise by REBELO (404). The text says here *milagrosamente*. Likewise REBELO speaks of *algumas maravilhas* and of *obras sobrenaturais* with which Our Lord wanted to show his might (335) ; having described them he makes, in three points, a critical reflexion on them and finds them really miraculous (338 and 404).

[14] It results from several indications that Beira did not sail to Tolo before May 1551. Rebelo states very explicitly that the Tolo people, hiding in the woods, did not repent nor return until after the conquest of Jailolo, which happened in March 1551 : « Ficarão elles vencidos mas não contritos, e tomarão aquillo como acontecimento por seu peccado sem o conhecerem nem menos se emendarem, e ficarão só acolhidos ao matto sem acabar de tomar concruzão, à qual os forçou a destruição da fortaleza de Jeilolo, porque como virão, obedecerão aos vencedores, porque esta hé sua verdade, andarem com os que mais podem » (338). The same is suggested in D 63, 24. So there was no reason for Beira to sail to Moro before April 1551. As Beira himself wrote « después que se hizo guerra no podemos salir a visitar los christianos [of Moro] » (D 28, 4), it is highly improbable that he left Ternate for Moro shortly after the fall of Tolo in the summer of 1550. He could not even sail immediately after the defeat of Jailolo because the south winds, favourable and necessary for the voyage to Moro, did not rise before May.

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la iglesia [15]. Luego nuestro Señor les dio tanto comer y beber, que las agoas que antes eran salobres luego fueron mui dulces [y] cirinas. Convertiéronse mui muchos, así ellos como otros muchos que eran gentíos: día de más [de] cinco mill ánimas, semana de más de quinze mill ánimas [16].

10. Y así ellos como [50*v*] otros de otras islas luego vinieron a mí que querían ser christianos, y eran de diversas lenguas; e yo como era solo, así para los de la tierra como para los que venían de muchas partes que venían a ofrecerce a ser christianos, llamé a los conpañeros. Con mucha diligencia luego vinieron de la fortaleza, donde estavan, así el Padre Afonso de Castro y los Hermanos Nicolao Núnez y Milchior de Figueredo [17] y otro Hermano [18] que Jesú nuestro Señor nos dio, los quales anbos se convierteron en este tenpo. Todos quatro fican en este lugar principal [19] para que dende allí podan visitar a los otros que son muchos.

11. Y porque paresció así al regidor [20] y a todos, que serían menester muchos Padres de nuestra Congregación, vine acá asta la India a llamar Padres. Por amor de Jesú nuestro Señor que vengan. Y puesto que el año pasado escrebí que los que obieren de venir acá no dexasen la paciencia allá, vengan, vengan, que escrito está: « Dominus davit evangelizantibus virtute multa » [21]. Si los trabajos fueron mui muchos, las-

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111 Señor *interl.* || 112 agoas *ut. corr.*

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[15] At this point of the text, Polanco, who in his *Chronicon* (see above no. II) translates this letter nearly word-for-word, suddenly inserts a passage not to be found in the MSS (II 771 no. 746). It contains two rather strange names of towns. In the first, *Otholochiava*, we recognize the Portuguese form *o Tolo* for the chief town of Morotia, and the name *Chiaoa* (*Cawa*), for which see D 44 note 8. The second name occurs in the information « cum *Acidem* rediissent, statim cibum et potum Dominus illis restituit ». No such a name is known in Moro. The origin of this name may have been either a MS abbreviation of *à cidade*, or a slip of the pen of Polanco's copyist for *ad fidem*. (The printed *Chronicon*, at least at this point, renders faithfully Polanco's MS, written by a clerk).

[16] In D 44, 5: « ai dia que vem 5000 e somana de 20000 ». The two numerals ought not necessarily to be taken cumulatively.

[17] See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 9.

[18] See D 38 note 2. Both the new Brothers had been received into the Society in Ternate. Cf. *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 10.

[19] Tolo.

[20] D. Tristão de Ataíde (D 28 note 8).

[21] Ps 68 [67] 12, in the Vulgate version: « Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus virtute multa ».

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consolaciones son mui grandíssimas, y la alegría será infinita y para sienpre. Benid, benid, benid, hijos de Dios ! Reis les llamo sin escrúpulo [22], pues servir a Jesú reinar hes [23]. Víense, y así tengamos por ffee que por esclavos de Jesú nos hemos de tener, y así muy dich[os]os. Bengan vosas caridades ! Las agoas dulces, los mantinimientos mucho[s] y las consolaciones mui muchas.

El año pasado escrebí *el Apocalipsi al Padre Yñatio* ; *la declaratión al Padre Mestre Simón escribo*, y otras particulares. Pongá[mo]nos [in]diferentes [24] a lo que Jesú nuestro Señor por nuestros prepósitos hordenare. Al qual pregue por la su infinita misericordia y bondad sin término nos sienpre alunbre, dé gracia, adorne de virtudes y haga perseverar de bien en mejor en su sanctíssimo servicio. Amen.

De Cochín, 2 de Hebrero, día de nuestra Señora, 1553 años.

12. Las traiciones que el rei de Maluco y los otros reis tenían echo contra el Rei de Portugal [25], yo las alcancé a saver y luego las descobrí a sus capitanes ; e yo fui ocasión de se tomar Gilolo. A Su Alteza que nos favoresca y así a las otras religiones.

Deste humilde y en Christo siervo de V.ª R.ª,

Juan de Beira.

[*First Address*] [51*v*] Ihs. A noso en Christo Padre, ho Padre Mestre Simón, prepósito da Conpañía de Jesú, en Coinbria. Da India. De Juan de Beira.

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133 quo *ins.* || 135 consolaciones *w. corr.* || 137-138 el[2]. . .escribo *del. with ink of no. 12* || 138 ponganos *corr. fr.* ponganse || 140 pregue *corr. to* preguamonos, *but correction is del.* || 144-149 Las . . . Beira *with another ink* || 147 favoreça *ms.* || 150-152 Ihs . . . Beira *del. ms.*

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[22] Seemingly an allusion to Mt 25 34.

[23] « Deus . . . cui servire regnare est », words to be found in the prayer after Communion in the Mass of Saint Irenaeus in the Roman Missal.

[24] Indifferent, in the sense of without personal preference, completely at the superior's disposal. Cf. MHSI, MI *Ex* 166 : « Es menester hazernos indiferentes a todas las cosas criadas ».

[25] That Hairun machinated against the king of Portugal seems contradictory to the fact that he and his soldiers accompanied the Portuguese in their expedition against the rebellious and apostate Moro people (no. 5). In this way Beira reveals the double-dealing political attitude of the king, who used an external correctness, and even friendship, toward the Portuguese, and if need be also toward the Jesuits, in order to increase his own power and to weaken the influence of both Portuguese rule and Christian faith. In Polanco's words : « Is enim [Hairun], licet Regi Portugalliae se addictum ostenderet, nihilominus christianos persequendo et occidendo magnopere vexabat, et insulas Mauri cum suis christianis suae obedientiae subjecit » (*Chronicon* II 769).

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[*Second Address*] Ihs. A nuestro en Christo Padre, el Padre M. Yñatio, Prepósito General de la Conpañía de Jesú, en Roma. De la India.
155 De Juan de Beira.

## 42

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COCHIN, FEBRUARY 5, 1553

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6004.

II AUTHORS: POLANCO, *Chronicon* II 769-772; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 623-630.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 8 I* ff. 52*r*-53*v*, formely 53*r*-54*v*; autograph; Spanish. F. 52*r* has in left upper corner « D » (duplicata) by Fr. Rebelo; with lead pencil « 5/2 53 de Beira »; in right corner « 9 »; at the bottom « V ». On f. 52*v* the sign « IHS » appears twice in the margin. Some passages of greater importance for the history of the Society are underlined or provided with vertical margin lines. On f. 53*v* an archivist note is to be found « 1553 / Cochin / Joan de Beira. 5. febru. ». The letter is well preserved except for a hole in the inner margin, probably the place of the lost seal. Nearly two pages have been written with black ink, the rest is done with brown ink. The contents are nearly the same with those of D 41, but there are also some new data.

IV ADDRESSEE: Undoubtedly the letter was addressed to Fr. Ignatius Loyola (see address). The fact that also here Beira applies to his companions within a larger reach (nos. 11 and 12) does not impair this nor can it justify the letter's assignment to simply « Mitbrüder, Rome » (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6004).

### *Text*

*See D 41.*

*Some new facts:*

*In no.* 3 *: Beira's rosary contained some grains blessed and sent by Pope Paul III.*

*In no.* 8 *: People risked being drowned by the lake in flood.*

*In no.* 11 *: In Malacca Beira met Fr. Francisco Xavier who was on his way to China. The Frs. Xavier and Francisco Pérez write at greater length on China and Japan.*

Jesus et Maria sint senper nobiscum. Amen.

La suma gracia, pax y amor perpetu]o] de Jesú nuestro Señor sea sienpre en nuestro continuo favor y ayuda. Amén.

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153-155 Ihs ... Beira *with ink of no. 12.*

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1. El año pasado de 1552 escrebí a V. Rr.ª de Maluco, y en esta diré lo que Dios nuestro Señor por su infinita bondad en aquellas partes, donde agora bengo, maravillosamente obró, donde el Padre Mestre Francisco me avía mandado juntamente con algunos conpañeros que los años pasados escrebí.

2. Y después de yo aver andado en aquellas yslas, que se llaman do Moro, con aquellos christianos, enseñándolos y quitándoles sus malas costunbres, y por los ayudar cómo se abían de salvar, y padesciendo muchos géneros de martirio ; mas el rei de Maluquo y el rei de Gilolo y el de Tidoro y el de Bachan trabajaron quanto podieron por los hazer retraer de nuestra sancta ffe, especialmente el rei de Maluco y el de Gilolo. Y así por sus amonestaciones y espantos y induciones del demonio retrayeron de la ffe, aviéndolos el Padre Mestre Francisco enseñado e yo, juntamente con los conpañeros, especialmente Nicolao Núnez, que en algunos trabajos comigo se alló, ya que los avía enseñado. Y con mucha diligentia y afavilidad tirándolos de sus malas costunbres en que vivían, así por ellos seren mui perversos y mui remisos por las induciones de los moros, que mucho los perturbaban pera que no fuesen christianos, como tanbién por aver pasado con ellos mui grandíssimos trabajos, visitándolos de un lugar en otro por mui grandíssimas calores. Porque de noche no osava caminar por causa de la gente que vivían en las montañas y muchas vezes los vinían a matar junto a sus cassas. Allávalos mui remisos para veniren a la iglesia y así pasava con ellos mui grandísimos trabajos.

3. Visitándolos por la mar, así a ellos como a otros que viven en otras islas que se llaman Morotai, vine a caer mui enfermo de unas febre[s] y fríos mui grandes y por muchos meses y con grandíssimo fastidio. Y andándolos visitando, tres vezes hize naufragio y andube perdido por la mar. Tres vezes se anegaron comigo las enbarcaciones y se anegaron comigo junto y en tierra de enemigos de nuestra sancta ffee. Noche y día echado por las riberas, andando ascondido y desnudo, porque la rropa, bribiario y libros ya los avía perdido, solamente escapé con el rosario de nuestra Señora en las manos, que traýa algunas cuentas benditas que el papa Paulo tertio, que en glori[a] está, nos invió de Roma [1].

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[1] These were some beads, specially blessed by Pope Paul III (1534-1549). which we find explained thus : « Li grani del anima benedisse il medesmo papa Paolo III, et concesse che tutte le volte che si diranno tre Pater noster et tre Ave Maria, havendo uno de questi grani seco, si cava un'anima del purgatorio. Il medesimo Paolo III benedisse li grani di tutte le gratie li quali perció si chiamano di tutte le gratie, perché hanno insieme le gratie delli grani communi et di quelli dell'anima » (BRAUNS-



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Y así andava mui atribulado y ascondiéndome por donde podía por causa de los moros que tenían guerra con los portugueses. Y muchas vezes fui sangrado de los pies, de las manos, de los braços y de las espaldas; julgado fui muchas vezes más a muerte que a la vida de los que me visitavan, y así por más de nueve meses fui mui atribulado. Bendido fui de unos arreñegados y entregado en poder de moros, y muchas vezes quería comer y no tenía qué, y así pasava días y noches. Por tres vezes retrayeron quatro conpañeros de la sancta obedientia, que tanto y más me angustiaron que los trabajos passados.

4. Mas nuestro Señor Jesú a mí por su infinita clementia de todos estos trabajos, y así de las traiciones que los moros comiguo usaron, de todo por su bonbad me libró. Y así a los moros como a los que retrayeron de la [52*v*] ffee y obedientia maravillosamente castigó. Porque donde solía ser la tierra más fértil, que en aquellas partes avía de muchos mantinimientos, luego que retrayeron de la ffee, nuestro Señor los castiguó, primeramente por anbre, de tal manera que el arrôs que guardavan para senbrar, por mui guardado que lo tobiesen, luego lo allavan comido, y lo que senbraban, por muchas vezes que lo senbrasen, todo el tienpo que estavan alevantados, dende el día que apostataron nunca jamás les quiso nascer arrós. Y donde solían tener muchos mantinimientos, la tierra después no quiso dar fruto ninguno, lo qual nunca en otro tienpo les avía acontecido otro tal castigo. Las agoas fueron mui salobres y el comer y el beber, que antes solían tener, Dios nuestro Señor se lo quitó, y así muchos morían de anbre y de peste. Ni por eso los moros los dexaban de pervertir y inducirlos a que no fuesen christianos.

5. Después que el capitán de Maluco mandó por mí, siendo más julgado a muerte que a vida, los moros fueron allá y todos se sercaron de parede, y por los caminos hizieron muchos edificios mui peligrosos, de tal manera que [ninguno los viera que [1]] no julgara ser cosa mui inposible los portugueses ni otra gente ninguna poder pasar por los caminos, sino con gran peligro de muerte. Y teniendo para sí que estavan mui seguros y reparados así de los portugueses como de otra toda gente, por teneren tanbién consiguo otra mucha gente que los venían a ayudar de las montañas, el capitán de Maluquo mandó allá un capitán con algunos portugueses con mucha gente. Mas en conparación de los christianos que

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BERGER IV 30; MI *Epp.* IV 575-576 note 5). Cf. MI, *Font. Narr.* III 731 No [20], where blessed rosaries, to be sent from Rome to Xavier in India, are mentioned. — Pope Paul III had died in 1549.

[1] Cf. D 41, 5.

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apostataron eran mui pocos. A juyzio humano a todos parescía ser inposible poderen entrar con ellos por tanbién estaren ellos en una tierra mui alta.

6. Luego que los portugueses allegaron junto a su lugar, les requirieron que se tornasen christianos, que no traýan consiguo armas ni gente sino mui poca, mas que ellos traýan consiguo la ffee y la verdad, que era Dios que los avía de ayudar. Y ellos respondieron de alto donde estavam que no querían ser christianos. Todos así como estavan luego començaron a tenblar tan rreziamente, que nunca jamás podieron tener las armas en las manos, y unos con otros no se podían tener.

7. Y siendo casi medio día el sol y la luna escurescieron y perdieron la claridad. La tierra toda tenbló y con la oscuridad unos a otros no se podían beer. Cayeron tantas piedras de fuego sobre sus ýdolos y sobre las cassas, que a todas derrocó por el suelo, y los árbores muchos y mui grandes fueron arrincados de la tierra, las raízes para el cielo y la[s] ramas para el suelo. Los caminos que todos estavan armados a todos mui breve[mente] allanó, y las cassas grandes y pequeñas mui brevemente fueron derrocadas [con] la mucha ciniza y piedras que encima dellas cayó ; excepto una pobrez[illa] casa que milagrosamente ficó en medio de todas y junto a la iglesia que ellos antes ab[ían] desecha y cortadas las ymágines. Y la cassa solamente ficó libre, así del fuego como del diluvio, que ni en la casa ni en la covertura, aunque era de fojas de palmas, nuestro Señor Jesú la guardó, la qual estava junto a la iglesia que ellos antes avían deshacha, y la cruz y imágines avían cortado.

8. Y después que el diluvio cesó, los portugueses fueron allá y todo allaron de otra manera que antes estava, y esto fue en una semana [3]. Allaron los caminos mui llanos y mui seguros, todos los abrojos coviertos con la mucha ciniza que sobre ellos cayó, y en ellos mataron mui muchos sin firirem ni mataren a ningún portugués, aviendo [53r] para cada portugués mui muchos que manos ni pies tobieron para resistirles. Otro lugar, 4 legoas del principal poco más o menos, que tanbién se alebantó, y porque era mui peligroso acogía en sí los que retraýan de la fe, y una agoa que ellos tenía[n] serca de su lugar, que era una mui grande laguna, la agoa se alebantó en este mesmo tienpo y la agoa les derrocó las casas, que milagrosamente se llevantó de la tierra, y los obiera de ahogar a todos.

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74 **poderen** *corr. fr.* poder || 87-91 *five supplies owing to damaged paper* || 94 nuestro *changing of ink* || 95 cruz] † *ms.* || 107 de[2] *interl.*

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[3] According to D 41, 8, they came « el 2º día » after the eruption had calmed down. Generally, Beira does not seem to be very exact in his datings.

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9. Y después de ellos así castigados por juyzio divino, luego de allí a pocos días yo me fui a ellos, los quales andavan mui atribulados, y me partí una noche mui en secreto y dexé los conpañeros en la fortaleza. Luego que llegué al lugar, se vino a mí el rregidor, y así todos vinieron a mí con grandíssimo plazer de las montañas donde andavan ascondidos y atribulados, y de día y de noche no me dexaban dormir con cantares de plazer, así grandes como pequeños. Hiziéronme luego una cassa mui alta junto a la yglesia. Luego nuestro Señor les dio tanto comer y beber, que las agoas que antes eran salobres luego fueron mui dulces y cirinas. Convertiéronse muchos, así los que antes eran como otros mui muchos que eran gentíos : día de más de cinco mill ánimas, semana de más quinze mill ánimas.

10. Y así ellos como otros de otras islas luego vinieron a mí, que querían ser christianos, y eran de diversas lengoas ; e yo, como era solo, así para los de la tierra como para los otros muchos que se ofrecieron a ser christianos, llamé a los conpañeros. Con mucha diligencia vinieron de la fortaleza donde quedaron, así el Padre Afonso de Castro y los Hermanos Nicolao Núnez y Milchior de Figueredo y otro Hermano que Jesú nuestro Señor nos dio después, los quales anbos se convertieron en este tienpo que el Señor hizo tan grandes marabillas. Todos quatro fican en este lugar principal para que dende allí podan visitar a los otros que son muchos.

11. Y porque paresció así al regidor y a todos, que serían menester muchos Padres de nuestra Congregación, vine acá hasta la India a llamar Padres. En Malaca, quando venía, allé al Padre Mestre Francisco que yba para la China [4]. Y porque así él como el Padre Francisco Pérez escriben largo de las cosas de Japán y de la China, en ésta no tengo más que pedirles por amor de Jesú nuestro Señor que vengan. Y puesto que el año pasado escrebí que los que obieren de venir acá no dexasen la pacientia allá, vengan, vengan, que escrito está : « Dominus davit evangelizantibus virtute multa ». Si los trabajos fueron mui muchos y grandes, las consolaciones son mui muchas y mui suaves, y las mercedes serán para sienpre. Benid, benid, benid, hijos de Dios ! Reis les llamo sin escrúpulo, pues servir a Jesú nuestro Señor reinar hes. Víense, y así tengamos por ffee que por esclavos de Jesú nos hemos de tener, y así

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109 castigados *corr. fr.* castigos || 127 después *interl.* || 131 menester *interl.* || 134 él *corr. fr.* ael || 139 y grandes *interl.* || 140 las consolaciones *rep.*

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[4] Xavier had arrived in Malacca in May 1552 (EX II 454 note1) ; Beira, sailing from Ternate in February and from Ambon in May, landed in Malacca in June.

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mui dichosos. Bengan, vosas charidades ! Las agoas dulces, los manti-
[ni]mientos muchos y las consolaciones muchas. Y porque al Padre Y- 145
ñatio y al Padre Mestre Simón escribo más particular, pongámonos mui
[in]diferentes a lo que Jesú nuestro Señor por nuestros prepósitos or-
denare.

12. Las traiciones, que los moros tenían ordenadas contra los por-
tugueses y contra los más christianos, yo las alcancé a saver y las deshize, 150
y más [53*v*] fui ocasión de se derrubaren las fortalezas de los moros [5].
El pendón de Jesú nuestro Señor ba adelante y el de Mahoma se ba
abatiendo. Vosas charidades en las orationes y en los sanctos y altos sa-
crificios me encomienden mucho a Dios nuestro Señor ; y acuérdense de
aquellos christianos sienpre, sea la charidad larga, y China y Japán. 155

Nuestro Señor Jesú por la su infinita misericordia y bondad sin
término nos sienpre alunbre, dé gratia y adorne de virtudes y nos haga
perseverar en su sanctíssimo servicio de bien en mejor. Amén.

De Cochin, cinco de Hebrero 1553 años.

Del en Christo siervo de Vosa Reverentia, 160

Juan de Beira.

[*Address*] Ihs. A nuestro en Christo Padre, el Padre M. Yñatio, Pre-
pósito de la Compañía de Jesú en Roma. De Juan de Beira.

## 43

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ
## TO FR. SIMÃO RODRIGUES SJ, PORTUGAL

COCHIN, FEBRUARY 7, 1553

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6003.

II TEXTS : The original is lost ; only two incomplete copies are avail-
able.

A. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 227*r*-228*r*. Calligraphic
text, written about 1566, copied from *Ajuda 49-4-49* f. 314, which got
lost (EX I 195*). Heading : « Capitulo de huma carta que o Padre João
da Beira escreveo de Cochim, vindo de Maluco, ao P^e^. Luis Gonçalvez

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155 y China y Japán *interl.*

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[5] Jailolo and Tidore.

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[*corr. interl.* Mestre Simão, Provincial da Companhia de Jesu de Portugal] em Lixboa a 7 de Fevereiro de 1553 [*corr. fr.* 1563] ». Under it a note : « Este pedaço desta carta do P.e João de Beira se pos aqui pera que vejam [*corr. fr.* se veja] que tambem nas cousas temporaes os da Companhia que andão naquellas partes procurão o proveito d'El-Rey de Portugal ». In the margin « 2ª », scored out : as on f. 224*r* likewise a letter of Beira of February 7, 1553 (D 44), is to be found, a first copyist thought that twice the same letter had been copied, therefore he wrote « 2ª » to indicate that the second copy ought not to be read in the refectory ; but another who knew better crossed out the warning sign. After those introductions in Portuguese follows the Spanish text. Adapting it to a more edifying reading the hand of Fr. Manuel da Costa, wherever occurs *yo*, replaced it by *un Padre de la Compañía*, *este Padre*, *uno de los nuestros*, etc. On f. 228*r* the date at the end of no. 3 and the whole of no. 4, have been added between this letter and the next one in very minuscule writing by Fr. da Costa (as can be seen from his handwriting, for instance in *ARSI*, *Lus. 64* ff. 278 and 308). The words *capitulo*, *pedaço*, and thrice an *etc.*, sufficiently prove that we have to do with an incomplete copy.

B. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, *Cartas da Índia* ff. 248*r*-249*r*. Transcribed from text A, taking over all its corrections, but giving no. 4 as a fragment of a distinct letter (see critical apparatus) and not as a postscript to this one. The introduction is in Portuguese, the letter itself in Spanish (not in Portuguese as SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6003, assumes).

III ADDRESSEE : The question of the addressee is somewhat entangling. Text A gives first Fr. Luís Gonçalves [da Câmara], but afterwards Fr. da Costa corrects this into Simón [Rodrigues]. This latter seems to be the real addressee. In his letter to Ignatius (D 46 no. 3) Beira says : « I am writing to Fr. Simón on the destruction of the fortresses » ; and it is precisely in this letter that he does so. Moreover, he had known Fr. Gonçalves as a novice scarcely or not at all, for he sailed to India on March 23, 1545, and Fr. Gonçalves entered the noviciate of Coimbra in April of that year. Beira speaks to his addressee as to someone who has influence with the royal court ; he knew this of Fr. Rodrigues but could not suppose it of Fr. Gonçalves. He is asking for cooperators, but only a superior like Fr. Rodrigues could be supposed to be able to send some. On the other hand, as it was exactly in 1552-1553 that the position of Fr. Rodrigues as a Provincial gradually became more precarious — May 1552, removal from office ; November 1553, arrival in Rome (RODRIGUES, *História* I/2 104 and 179) — and as at the same time Fr. Gonçalves was rising in the General's esteem, plausibly the latter's name substituted sometimes for the former's. A difficulty remains : Gonçalves went to Rome too, already in May 1553 ; so to whom was the letter delivered in Portugal ? If it was forwarded to Rome why is it not to be found in the Roman archives ?

IV DATE : Another perplexity is caused by the question of the date. The letter is given as being written on February 7, but at the end of the postscript we find February 4. Schurhammer simply states that it must be 4, and that 7 has been added only afterwards. But this is not what is contained in the title of the letter. The 4 at the end could rather be called

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« added » than the 7. First of all we have to take into consideration that the postscript is a direct reference to a passage in the letter, and not a scrap of another letter as the MS of text B suggests. The lost copy of *Ajuda 49-4-49* gave February 7, as can be seen from the Index on f. 3*r* « Do P.e J.o da Beira a 7 de Fevereiro : fo. 314 » ; so does text A in the title, and the same date has also been put at the end ; text B takes it over in both places. So we feel inclined to suppose that 4 was an error of Fr. da Costa. The numeral 7, written with a traverse line, can easily look like a 4.

V PRINTED : Text A, in SÁ II 81-84.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A, with the more important variants of text B in the critical apparatus.

## *Text*

1. *New Guinea, which he associates with the Apocalypse, has no Moorish people. Besides his pastoral work he also takes care of the king's service. He caused the conquest of Jailolo, and five times foiled treacherous plans of the king of Maluku. — 2. With gold and silk the latter bribed the Moro Christians into revolting against the Portuguese. — 3. He once discovered the conspiratorial plans of some kings and caused the destruction of the fortress of Tidore. Once people from Selebes told him of a plot and he revealed it to the captain. Another time, having learned that a brother of the king of Maluku smuggled cloves to Java to the detriment of the Portuguese, he caused ship and cargo to be taken, and, while touching at the port of Kayoa (Java), he heard that they were still waiting there for the king's brother. He reported to the captain the conspiracy of the kings of Maluku and Jailolo, consequently the fortress of Jailolo was conquered. — 4. He caused a daughter of a Moro chief, who was engaged to the king of Maluku, to marry instead a native who had been educated at Saint Paul's College in Goa.*

1. El año passado escreví al P.e Ignacio el Apocalipse, y sepa V.R. que es una tierra a que llaman Nueva Guinea, y toda aquella tierra, hasta las islas do Moro, se entiende el Apocalipse, así toda la India [1]. Traen armillas, etc. Es tierra fértil de sus mantenimientos, que son co-

3 asi] a *underl.*; Asia *add. interl.*; *om. B*

[1] As long as a letter or other writing of Beira about this « Apocalypse » is not found in the archives, we will remain in uncertainty as to his true intentions and his way of thinking when using this name. He applies it to New Guinea and its neighbouring islands reaching as far as the Moro country ; and in a wider sense to the whole of « India », that is, South East Asia. So « Apocalypse » here is no mutilated geographical name. One who keeps in mind the dramatic hardships of Beira's life, the apostasy and the return to faith of the Tolo Christians, the volcanic eruption with its rain of stones and ashes, and the hostility against Christianity of the Maluku kings, and then reads the Apocalypse of Saint John, will easily find many strikingly

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mo de las islas do Moro, y muy sana ; gente simple. No ay entr'ellos moros. Certifique V.R. al Rey [2] que allén de salvarse las ánimas, que es lo que pretendemos, que en ella ay otro provecho. Crea V.R. que, después del servicio de Dios N.S., una de las cosas que más advertimos es attentar el servicio de S.A. assí en las confessiones, como también generalmente en las exhortationes y predicationes. Y puedo dezir a V.R. que yo fui occasión de se tomar Gilolo [3], puesto que el rey de Maluco procuró quanto pudo de hazer todo mal, y cinco vezes que trabajó de se levantar con Maluco y de todas cinco quiso nuestro Señor que lo alcançasse yo a saber y luego com mucha diligencia dava el aviso a los capitanes de S.A [4]. muy en secreto, y Gilolo no se tomó sino con mucha arte.

2. Quando me truxeron enfermo a la fortaleza todos los christianos que estavan en el Moro, a todos rebolvió y [227*v*] engañó con muchas pieças de oro y ceda que dio al regidor [5], y una de sus hijas ia la tenía como por su muger y ellos todos por sus vassallos, y que no avían de acoger Padres ni portugueses. Así lo assentó con ellos a furtas de los portugueses quando allá fueron a pelear con ellos.

3. Quando allá fui ascondido hallé que los reis de Maluco todos estavão concertados pera se levantarem contra los portugueses, confessado por los mismos vassallos del rey de Tidor, con muchos fieros que hizieron a unos hombres que yo allá tenía embiado a llamar unos que avião ferido antes. Luego di el aviso al capitán, el qual con mucha diligencia derrocó la otra fortaleza que estava en Tidoro [6]. Otra vez em-

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5 de *om. B* || 11 yo fui *h2 corr. to* un padre della Compañía fue || 13 de *interl.* || 14 yo *corr. fr.* a yo ; *h2 corr. to* este padre || 19 como . . . muger *h2 corr. to* prometida para ser muger del rey de Maluco | de acoger *corr. fr.* onde coger || 27 Otra vez *corr. fr.* otras vezes

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applicable texts. But why then does Beira apply the name to the New Guinea region wher he had never been ? In Spanish, *apocalipsis* is used, in a figurative sense, for a terrible, dreadful, and horrific situation or scene (MOLINER, *Diccionario de uso del español*, Madrid 1966, I 215) ; could it be that Beira used it merely in this unexegetical sense ? It does not seem very probable. From D 46, 1-2 it can be seen that Beira's spirit took delight in mysterious and enigmatic theological reflexions. See D 36 note 1.

[2] D. João III.

[3] Neither Rebelo nor Couto recount the part played by Beira in the conquest of Jailolo.

[4] Bernaldim de Sousa and Christovão de Sá.

[5] See no. 4 and note 11.

[6] For the demolition of the fortress of Tidore in 1551, see COUTO VI 9 20 ; REBELO 271-278 and 479-484 ; they do not mention Beira's part.

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biava a llamar los geleves [7], que es otra gente que confina cerca de Maluco, y en Maluco viven muchos (de los quales bautizé algunos y el vicario), y los mismos geleves que andavan de partida me lo dixeron. Luego di el aviso al capitán y luego se remedió. Otra vez, andando yo agora en Amboyno visitando y haziendo algunos christianos [8], supe de un navío que traýa el hermano del rey de Maluco con mucho cravo que llevava para la Java, y venía muy a furtas de los portugueses ; no venía por donde estavan las naos mas por otro camino ascondido. Y hallándome allá solo con los christianos con mucha diligencia di el aviso a Don Rodrigo de Meneses [9], el qual fue allá y tomóle todo el cravo, que serían más de cien quintales, y embiólo con su gente para la fortaleza. Y quando llegamos a la Java hallamos en un lugar que se llama Cajoa [10] cómo

28 geleves *rep. m.* || 29 bautizé *corr. fr.* ebautize

[7] Stands for *Celebes*, that is, the people of the northern leg of Selebes or Sulawesi. That they had reason to put little faith in the Maluku kings can be seen from REBELO 480 : « sendo neste tempo o rei [de Tidore] ido às presas aos Celebes ».

[8] A very important statement : Beira, in his journey from Ternate to Goa, while staying in Ambon (February-May 1552), visited some Christians and made conversions. All the authors, even WESSELS (*Amboina* 24-26), assert that, between the death of Fr. Nuno Ribeiro in August 1549, and the arrival of Br. António Fernandes on February 22, 1554 (D 50), the Ambon Christians remained without any spiritual assistance. When Fernandes himself is making the same statement, he is only speaking of a permanently appointed Jesuit (D 50, 5).

[9] On D. Rodrigo de Menezes, see REBELO 234 (where once he is erroneously called Diogo), 273-276, 479-487 ; COUTO VI 9 10 and 20. He had come to Maluku in October 1550 as *capitão-mor* of a fleet and had taken part in the conquest of Jailolo, but he cherished an ever deeper hatred against Bernaldim de Sousa ; he left Ternate for Ambon in early February 1552, whereas Sousa arrived there later, probably in April or May. So Beira stayed in Ambon together with D. Rodrigo de Menezes (REBELO 281, 486-487).

[10] *Cajoa* in Java is the *Cajongam* (*Cajongã*) of PIRES (*Suma Oriental* 189, 429). The name, or a similar one, occurs on many Portuguese 16th century maps ; so, for instance, the *Atlas* of Fernão Vaz DOURADO, made in Goa, 1571 (new ed. Pôrto 1948), map 14, gives the names : Japara, Mandalique [Mandalika island], *Cajoam*, Tubam [Tuban], Cidaio [Sidayu], Grese [Gresik or Grisee]. On the map of Bartolomeo Velho of 1561 we find the names : Panaroca [Panarukan], Grece, Cidaye, *Cajoam*, Mandalique, Japara (*Portugalliae Monumenta Geographica* II 101, 6th row). Still earlier, in 1548, Escalante mentions a harbour in Java, *Cajongan* (ESCALANTE 198 ; see TIELE, *De Europeërs* III 283). On Lavanha's map in BARROS *Decada IV*, Madrid 1615 (Ed. Lisboa 1777, IV/1 p. 73), *Caioam* is not a sea port but a region between *Iapara* and *Tubam*. See LAGÔA, *Glossário toponímico* I 146, s.v. *Cajoão*. As to its identifica-

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el rey estava esperando por el hermano del rey de Maluco : y crea V.R. que si allá fueran, que Maluco se perdía, y no solamente los jaos mas cada uno de los otros que allá fueran corrían mucho perigo, porque el rey de Maluco se ponía contra los portugueses. Todas estas trayciones plugo a nuestro Señor que yo las alcançasse saber y las deshize ; y también supe el contrato que tenía hecho el rey de Maluco con el rey de Gilolo y lo descobrí al capitán, y el mismo rey de Gilolo lo dixo estando cercado al mismo rey de Maluco después. Y bien puede V.R. certificar a S.A. que yo fui occasión para que se derrocassen las fortalezas de los moros, y el capitán me dixo que tenía antes escrito a S.A. que [228*r*] Maluco no lo tenía si el rey quisiesse, mas, bendito Dios, seguro está aunque el rey es allí muy perigoso. Después que yo me partí de allá a llamar companheros el capitán Bernaldín de Sousa dixo a los portugueses que yo fuera occasión de se tomar Gilolo y que nunca se tomara se yo no fuera, etc.

Mande V.R. por amor de Dios compañeros y no cure de muchas letras. Hartas ay en el inferno, vengan con buen espíritu, etc.

7 de Fevereiro de 553.

Joan de Beira.

[*Postscript*]

4. Esta hija del regedor de o Moro [11], que él tenía prometida al rey de Maluco, yo la casé con hun moço que se crió en San Paulo de Goa que yo truxe comigo [12]. Es un buen christiano y de honrrada gente, natural del mesmo lugar donde agora fican los compañeros [13]. Dios nuestro

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41 si] se *B* || 44 yo $h^3$ *corr. to* el padre | deshiziesse *B* || 46 descobrí $h^3$ *corr. to* descobrió el padre || 48 yo $h^3$ *corr. to* este padre || 53 yo $h^3$ *corr. to* uno de los nuestros || 54 yo $h^2$ *corr. to* el padre || 59 *Add.* Capitulo de huma do mesmo padre *B* || 62 fican] quedan *B*.

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tion, I cannot back the suggestion of Armando Cortesão (PIRES 189) that Kayoa is possibly a village called Saranjawa, nor that of Tiele (*loc. cit.*) that it could stand for Pekalongan. Though Pires recounts that « because Cajongam was destroyed by Gusti Pati it had no more inhabitants », here it appears to be functioning as a port still many years later. The name seems to have disappeared entirely from use and consequently from maps. Modern maps, even the very detailed ones, do not give a name that clearly reminds one of the old *Cajoa* or *Cajongang*.

[11] Mentioned in no. 2. On the regedor of Tolo, see D 28 note 8, and D 41 note 20.

[12] By the Constitutions of Saint Paul's College in Goa, drawn up in June 1546, it is laid down that among the students six could be admitted from Maluku (DI I 120) ; from the same document it appears that at that very time six « malayos de Malluquo » were already actually studying there (ibid. app. crit.). It may have been one of those six whom Beira brought with him to Maluku in April 1547.

[13] Tolo.

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Señor evidentemente amostró grandes misterios y maravilhas coram omnibus.

Mande V.R. por amor de Dios muchos compañeros y no cure de 65
muchas letras. Ayan buenos espíritus.

4 de Fevereiro de 53.

## 44

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO THE JESUITS OF COIMBRA

COCHIN, FEBRUARY 7, 1553

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : SOMMERVOGEL XII 10-11 Beira no. 5 ; STREIT IV 747 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6005.

II AUTHORS : LUCENA 268 ; FRANCO, *Imagem . . . de Coimbra* II 382, who calls this letter « hum como indice de suas [Beira's] cousas » ; *Varones ilustres* I 534-535 (ed. 1889 : III 25-27) ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/III 623-632.

III TEXTS : The original is lost. As Beira always wrote in Spanish, even to his non-Spanish addressees (see DD 20, 28, 41-43, 46), we have to presume that this original was in Spanish too. There are four MS texts, one in Spanish, three in Portuguese.

A. Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Gavetas 15-16-39 no. 4.* Very corrupted Spanish copy with many Portuguese turns and endings. Six unnumbered pages of which f. I*r* contains a modern archivist note, whereas f. I*v* is blank, except for *De Maluco.* Ff. II*r*-III*v* : gracefully written text, tight, clear, only at the end of f. III*v* showing once a separated paragraph (no. 8). Heading : « † Jesus. Copia de una de Joan de Abera para el Mestre Symón ».

B. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 179*r*-180*r*. Heading : « Hua do P.e João de Bera, que está em Maluco, para os Irmãos de Coimbra de 1553 [*h2 interl.* :] a 7 de fevereiro ». Very legible Portuguese text, often quite different from text A. More than one correction, sometimes evidently made by a second hand, perhaps only to facilitate refectory reading. (And we have to remember the warning of EX I 191* « Saepe non facile deciditur utrum aliqua mutatio textum emendet vel deturpet »). Some more clearly separated paragraphs than in text A, especially in the second half.

C. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 224*r*-225*r*. Beautifully written copy, Portuguese, similar to text B. Heading : « Huma do Padre João da Bera, que está em Maluco, para os Irmãos de Coimbra [*interl.* :] da Companhia de Jesu [*add. h2* :] a 7 de fevereiro de 1553 ». Some few corrections ; some interlinear additions by another hand.

D. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* ff. 246*r*-248*r*. Meticulously written copy, apparently transcribed from text C, with better Portuguese spelling. Heading : « Copia de huma carta do P.e João da Beira, que escreveo de Maluco pera os Irmãos da Compa-

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nhia de Jesus em Portugal aos 7 de fevereiro de 1553 ». Shows brief summary titles in the margin and nearly the same interlinear additions as in text C.

IV ADDRESSEE : There is a discrepancy between text A saying the letter was directed to Fr. Simón (Rodrigues), and the three Portuguese versions giving the Jesuits of Coimbra as the addressees. The two are not mutually exclusive. As we do not possess the addressed original we have to consult the text itself. In the first line Beira addresses his recipient as *Vuestra Reverencia* in the singular number, which suits well Fr. Rodrigues. But at the end of no. 5 he addresses his *Carísimos Hermanos*, which reveals that he has in mind a larger audience. Beira knew well enough that Fr. Provincial wuold not keep this letter only for himself.

V PLACE : In February 1553 Beira was in Cochin on his way from Maluku to Goa. Text A has at the end *De Cochim.* The three Portuguese versions omit this, and whereas texts B and C say in their heading *que está em Maluco*, text D shows an evolution when stating wrongly *que escreveo de Maluco.*

VI PRINTED : Text A in *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* V 57-60, unfortunately not always correctly copied nor sufficiently punctuated. Text B, partly and with some shortenings and liberties, in FRANCO, *Imagem . . . de Coimbra* II 382-385. Wel feel constrained to differ in opinion with SCHURHAMMER (*Quellen* 6005), who states, but alas without advancing an argument, that Franco copied text C. From some words it appears that he is nearer to text B, for instance, *visitando*, and not *incitando* (See appar. at line 18). Text B moreover in SÁ II 85-91 ; it gives as place of dispatch *Molucas*, and, curiously, as addressee Fr. Rodrigues, of whom the MS of text B makes no mention at all.

VII OUR EDITION : Though one might be inclined to think that text A, being in Spanish, would be nearer to the Spanish original, yet on closer investigation it appears to be a text so much corrupted and, above all, interspersed with portuguesisms to such an extent that it creates rather the impression of being an awkwardly made re-translation into Spanish from a Portuguese version, and consequently to stand farther away from the original than the more correct Portuguese texts. Therefore we publish text B as being more trustworthy. The contents of this letter being very much similar to those of D 41, we refer the scholarly reader in the main to the notes for this latter document.

## *Text*

1. *He wrote a year ago ; he will tell now what happened since. He visited the Moro Christians, but his work was much counteracted by four native kings who managed to bring about a general apostasy. His various heavy sufferings until he fell ill.* — 2. *How God punished the apostates.* — 3. *The war : the apostate people entrenched themselves ; Portuguese and native soldiers were sent against them. At the moment that the enemy refused to return to the faith there was a volcanic eruption and an earthquake which made the rebels drop their arms ; their houses were all destroyed, except for one small cottage where the Fathers used to stay. People had earlier devastated the church. The Portuguese*

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*retired to a near-by island. — 4. Return to the Christian faith : after Nature had calmed down the Portuguese reappeared and slew many of the dismayed rebels. This was a punishment of God, which came down specially on the town of Tolo. Here he was again received with joy ; the apostates returned to the faith and built a new church. — 5. Many pagans too were solicitous to become Christians ; Beira had a day of 5000 and a week of 20000 converts. Many were baptized. He ordered four companions to stay with them and three elsewhere. He was invited to an apostate town and the people would not let him leave again. — 6. Another apostate town was drowned by the rising water of a near-by lake. — 7. The hand of a man was lamed, when striking an image of the Blessed Virgin with his sword ; one of his helpers got his leg pierced by a sword-fish. — 8. Near-by is a country called New Guinea or Papuas. It is more than 700 leagues in length and has many islands. It contains four kingdoms, but all the people speak the same language. They orientate themselves by the stars ; they use signs to indicate them. The people is not Muslim. In Maluku a king wants to become a Christian. Beira is on his way to Goa to recruit more Fathers. In Malacca he met Fr. Francis [Xavier], who ordered him to make for Goa and to return to Maluku that same year.*

Pax Christi.

1. Ho anno passado escrivi a Vossa Reverencia [1], agora direi nesta brevemente o que Nosso Senhor despois cá tem obrado. Eu, como tenho scrito, me exercito muitas veses em visitar os christãos das ilhas de o Moro, insinando-lhes a doutrina, trabalhando com elles que deixem seus maos costumes, como o P.e Mestre Francisco mo tinha mandado. Custa isto muito trabalho e hé hum prolongado martirio. El-rey de Maluco, e el-rey de Xilolo, e el-rey de Tidore e de Barcha trabalhão quanto podem por perturbar aquelles christãos e tirá-los da fé, especialmente o rey de Maluco e de Xilolo. E tanto trabalharão com suas amoestaçõis, procurando-o o demonio por sua parte que fizerão apostatar da fé a muitos que o P.e Mestre Francisco avia insinado, dipois eu e meos companheiros, especialmente Nicolao Nunes que comigo se achou em alguns trabalhos. Levamos grande trabalho em os insinar e reduzir de seus maos custumes, passando grandes quinturas, não ousando sair fora de noite, porque andavão alguns que vivião nas montanhas pera nos matar, e por outra parte os mouros não sessavão de distruir toda a doutrina que lhes insinavamos. Andando-os visitando, me perdi tres vezes no mar, an-

1 Pax Christi *om. D* || 8 Xibolo *ms.;* Gylolo *corr. fr.* Xibolo *C* | Tidore *corr. fr.* Tidoro | Barcha *w. doublf. corr. C;* Baroha *D* || 10 Xilolo *add. interl.* Gilolo ; Gilolo *corr. fr.* Xibolo *C* || 14 insinar e *interl.* || 18 visitando] incitando *CD*

[1] Beira's letter of February 1552 from Ternate has not been preserved. See D 33c.

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dando por elle sem saber nadar, e de huma ves andei dous dias sobre huma taboa sem comer, mas Nosso Senhor me quis livrar « et ab omnibus his liberatus sum, quia Dominus adiutor noster est »[2]. Em terra de inimigos andei noites e dias escondido polas rebeiras fugindo dos mouros que trazião gerra com os portugeses ; com isto cay em huma infermidade de frio e febres mui rijas ; sangraram-me nas mãos, pés e braços e nas espaldas. De huns apostatas fomos vindidos e entregados em poder dos mouros ; queriamos muitas veses comer, meu companheiro e eu, e não tinhamos quê, e passavamos dias e noutes sem comer ; mas Noso Senhor nos livrou destas treiçõis e trabalhos, ou por milhor dizer, mercês e beneficyos de sua mão.

2. E aos christãos que apostatarão castigou maravilhosamente : primeiramente com fome, porque, sendo de antes aquellas ilhas das mais fertiles que ai naquellas partes, logo como apostatarão da fé, ouve grande fome ; e despois que eu me vim de llá por estar mui enfermo, nem figos tinhão pera comer. O arôs que tinhão guardado em canas, quando o tiravão, achavão-no comido, e o que sameavão lhes comião os ratos, e o que lhe não comião nenhuma cousa produzia, cousa que em nenhum outro tempo há acontecido. As agoas se fizerão mui salobras, o vinhão que dantes suião ter Nosso Senhor lho tirou : de maneira que morrião com isto de fome muitos, e outros de peste, mas nem com todo isto deixavão os mouros de lhes persuadir que não focem christãos.

3. Foi de maneira que se sercarão de amparos, que são os muros de lá, pera contra os nossos, e nos caminhos fazião [179*v*] amparos pera se defender, tendo armas muy perigosas, de maneira que os não podião entrar os nossos sem grande perigo. Persuadindo-se elles que estavão mui seguros com isto e com ajuda doutros das montanhas que se lhes ajuntarão, mandou lá o capitão de Maluco acerca de 30 portugeses ; hia também el-rei de Maluco com muita gente sua. E como os portugeses chegarão ao lugar de aquelles apostatas que asi se tinhão fortalicido, rogarão-lhes que se tornassem à fé de Christo Nosso Senhor ; mas elles respondião que não querião, e que tinhão armas e forças pera lhes resistir. Os christãos[3] responderão (porque na verdade em comparação dos apostatas tinhão poucas forças) que elles não tinhão armas maiores que a fé e verdade que era Deus, o qual os avia de ajudar : ao que todavia

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39 todo] tudo *corr. fr.* todo *C;* tudo *D* || 40 lhes *interl.* persuadir *corr. fr.* persuadir-lhe || 41 emparos *D* || 42 emparos *D* || 43 os *interl.*

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[2] Cf. Ps 34 [33] 20, and Ps 33 [32] 20.

[3] Here : the Portuguese.

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replicarão que não querião ser christãos. Logo neste ponto começou a terra a tremer, e se abrirão humas montanhas deitando de si muitas pedras de fogo e tanta sinsa, que paricia o dia do juiso. Ouve tan grandes trevas que não se vião huns aos [o]utros nem se conhicião ; o sol paricia que tinha perdido sua claridade, acontecendo isto no meo dia pouco mais ou menos. Foi tam grande a chuva de pedras, fogo e sinsa que caio sobre suas casas e idolos, que todas as pôs por terra. Juntamente com o grande tr[e]mor da terra, as arbores quebravão e se desareigavão por grandes que focem. Elles tremião de maneira que não podião ter as armas nas mãos, e de tal maneira se lhes adormicião que as não podião alevantar pera peleijar. Com o grande strondo dos trovõis e com o fogo que este monte de si deitava, caia a gente por terra, que day a um gram pedaço se não podião alevantar. Todos se ajuntavão e amontoavão sem se poderem valer nem fugir a tam grande castigo de Deus, o qual não somente foi pera elles, porque ainda às criaturas irationais se estendeo : muito genero de serpentes e cobras morião, as aves caião do ceo, de maneira que às mãos se podião tomar, e nos montes da mesma maneira se poderão tomar os porcos e outras bestas feras.

Os purtugeses que estavão no mar com a armada se recolherão a huma ilha com medo de se alagar com a sinsa que caia nas embarcaçõis [4]. Cousa foi mui digna de admiração que, caindo as casas todas e arvores com este terremoto e tempestade, somente ficou em pé huma pobresinha casa, em que os Padres e Irmãos de nossa Companhia soião pousar, a qual estava num lugar alto junto da igreija, que elles antes tinhão derubado, cortando as imagens della ; nem passarão os que isto fizerão sem castigo de Deus como abaixo direy.

4. Despois que sessou a tempestade que tinha destruido as monicõis destes maos christãos e abertos os caminhos, vierão os portugeses que facilmente os vencerão matando muitos delles, sem que podecem matar nem firir alguns dos portugeses. E desta maneira castigou Deus aquelles que dele sse avião apartado. E com justo juizo mandou esta pena sobre aquelle lugar, chamado Tollo, mais especialmente que sobre nenhum dos outros por ser o mais principal, donde os outros tomarão exemplo pera apostatar. E asi donde primeiro começou o mal veo o mais forte castigo, o qual foi principio da salvação desta gente. Porque fica-

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56 paricia *del.* ser || 59 pedras *add.* de *CD* || 63 as *interl.* || 68 às *corr. fr.* nas || 71 os *ins.* || 85 Tollo, mais] Ptolomais *C; corr. fr.* Ptolomais *D*

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[4] On the departure of the Portuguese and of King Hairun to an islet, see REBELO 336 and 403.

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rão com isto tão obedientes ao Senhor e sua fé, que tornando nós outros depois de Maluco pera este lugar, nos receberão com muita alegria e consolação como gente tocada da mão de Deus, polos quais se podia dizer aquillo do profeta : « Cum occideret eos quaerebant eum et revertebantur, et diliculo veniebant ad eum, et rememorati sunt quia Deus excelsus Redemtor eorum est »[5], do que antes parecia que se avião esquecido. Fezerão logo huma igreija de novo mui grande, e os domingos vem a ella com muito fervor e devação. Agora nos ocupamos em os casar e pôr nos custumes de nossa santa lei, com o que elles muito folgão. Deu-lhes Nosso Senhor logo man-[180*r*]timentos em muita fartura e abastança ; despois de limpa a terra dos maos humores, sendo primeiro doentia, hé agora mui sam. Bemdito seja Deus que assi mostra sua benignidade e misericordia com suas criaturas, e ho cuidado que tem de ajuntar suas ovelhas no curral de sua igreija.

5. Despois se vierão a nós outros apostatas, mostrando grande arependimento de seu erro e muita vontade de perseverar em nossa santissima fé. Além destes vierão outros que ainda não avião sido christãos, dizendo que o querião ser : ai dia que vem 5000 e somana de 20000. Deus Nosso Senhor seja louvado por tam grande misericordia como tem usado com esta gente. Temos bautizado muito numero delles. Em huma parte deixo 4 companheiros, noutra 3 [6] pera que os insinem e doutrinem em as cousas da fé, a qual tam movidos de Deus receberão com grandes desejos. Ele por sua bondade lhes dê em tudo perseverança e os confirme em a vocação em que os chamou.

A um lugar fui (chamado dos regedores, que antes avião apostatado, e estavão já reduzidos), onde bautizey a muitos. Era tanto o prazer e contentamento da gente que não me querião deixar vir, mostrando-ce mui desejosos de saber as oraçõis e cousas de Deus, e de como se avião de salvar ; dizião-me que, pois me queria tornar, lhes mandace

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94 do *corr. fr.* dos || 99 primeiro *del.* enferma || 107 tem *interl. corr. fr.* a || 109 doutrinem *del.* na do[*utrina*] || 110 Deus *del.* tem reci . . . || 111 Ele *corr. fr.* eles || 113-114 *om. parenth. C* || 114 onde *corr. fr.* Donde

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[5] Ps 78 [77] 34-35.

[6] If *companheiros* means Jesuits (and that is what presumably it should mean, being the equivalent of the Latin *socius*), the *three* have to be understood as three out of the preceeding *four*. They were Afonso de Castro, Nicolau Nunes, Melchior de Figueiredo, and an unnamed one (D 41, 10). There were no other Jesuits in Maluku at the time of Beira's departure. The four worked at Tolo, where De Castro, as superior of the group, had his residence ; the other three went out from there visiting other villages.

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em toda maneira algem que os insinasse. Hé cousa maravilhosa ver gente tam brutal e simple com tanta fome e sede [d]as cousas de Deus, elle seja por tudo louvado. Vinde, charissimos, a partir o pão àquelles que Deus deu tanta fome de suas cousas.

6. Em outro lugar de apostatas [7] (como dizem os que o virão) em este mesmo dia, em que ouve a tempestade que vos tenho escrito, creceo tanto huma alagoa que estava perto e afogou muitos dos que arenegarão, e caio nela huma pedra de fogo ; os quais mui atemorizados desampararão o lugar.

7. O castigo, que prometi ariba de vos screver, hé que indo hun dos apostatas mui atrivido e sem temor de Deus pera lhe fazer alguma desonra, entrou na igreija e deu huma cutilada em a imagem de Nossa Senhora, e logo a espada se lhe pegou na mão, e sempre depois lhe ficou aleijada [8]. E outro que também lhe ajudou neste mal, indo ao mar com outros perversos a buscar não sey quê, hum peixe lhe atrevesou huma perna com huma ponta que tinha na cabeça [9].

8. Hay nestas partes huma terra chamada Nova Guiné e por outro nome Papuas [10]. É terra muy grande ; tem perto de si muitas ilhas. A terra firme tem mais de 700 legoas em comprido [11]. Nella ai 4 reinos

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119 sede *del.* e fome | das *CD* || 123 dia *interl.* || 124 afogou *corr. fr.* fogou || 127 hun] huns *ms.* | hun dos apostatas *corr. fr.* dos apostatas huns *C* || 132 peixe *add. interl. h2* saltou do mar e *C* || 134 Guiné *corr. fr.* Giné || 135 Papuas *add. interl. h2* está muy separada dessas islas de Omoro *C* | É *h2 del. and add. interl.* hé | grande *add. interl.* está mui separada destas de Omoro *D* || 136 A *underl., interl. h2* hé ; hé *C* | reinos *add. m. h2* hum se chama Miam, outro Missol, outro Ogueo, outro Noton *C*

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[7] Galela. According to REBELO (404), the Galela lake rose more than two fathoms.

[8] This happened in Cawa, Tjawa or Tiowa (Chiaoa), a village a little south of the present-day Tobelo (D 63, 25 ; Consult : *Schetskaart van de Oostkust van het Noordelijk Schiereiland van Halmahera*, by G. J. J. DE JONGH in Tijdschrift Aardrijkskundig Genootschap 1909, kaart XIV ; and C. F. H. CAMPEN, *Het eiland Halemahera*, 309). REBELO, when recounting this story, states emphatically that it took place much earlier, at the time of the first rebellion on behalf of Jailolo (1536), « alevantando-se elles por os mesmos Jeilolos muito tempo antes desta guerra » (338), and « no primeiro levantamento que fizerão pelo Geilolo » (404). He had been informed on it by the regedor of Cawa himself, D. Fernando (ibid.).

[9] In D 63, 25 and in REBELO's version (339) it was a needlefish that pierced his head or his eye, and not his leg. Presumably we have to do with a garfish, *julung-julung*. Cf. HUETING, *Tobeloreezen* II 256-257.

[10] The name of New Guinea was given to the great Papua Island by the Spanish captain Iñigo Ortiz de Retes on June 20, 1545 (ESCALANTE 155).

[11] That would be about 3800 km., whereas the entire length of the island does not come to more than 2400 km. (ENI VIII 1568). Ortiz, in 1545, sailed along the



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e todos se entendem com huma mesma lingua [12]. Regem-se polas estrellas e contão seus meses por ellas [13]. Huma destas hé a mão, e tem

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137 lingua *add. interl.* hum se chama Mian, outro Missol, outro Ogueo, outro Noton *D*

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north coast of New Guinea for 230 leagues, that is, the Portuguese-Spanish seamile of that time being c. 5.550 km, about 1270 km without seeing an end to it (ESCALANTE 155), whereas the entire voyage (Tidore-Talaud-Biak-coast of New Guinea-Tidore) is said to have totaled 650 leagues (ibid. 161). The latter numeral may have been confused with the former and may have caused exaggerated ideas of the extent of the island (See SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 722 note 578). According to the information that REBELO was able to obtain, New Guinea reached nearly as far as the Strait of Magellan, and it was a part of the Terra Australis (393) ! On Ortiz' voyage, consult WICHMANN, *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea*, 23-27.

[12] These are the « Four Kings » (in Papuan *Kalana Fat*, in Malay *Raja Ampat*) a name used to designate the islands west of New Guinea and some parts of its western coastlands, all of which fell under Tidorese rule (ENI III 298). TAUERN (*Patasiwa und Patalima* 25) confirms that the four kingdoms have one common language. At this point, texts C and D add four names (see app. crit.), written in a different hand. They are : Miam, Missol, Ogueo, Noton. They have been added much later, following a document that has been lost but was still used by LUCENA, who in his *História da vida do Padre S. Francisco de Xavier* (284) mentions the same four names, and who was plagiarized by other Jesuit historians like Jarricus, Sebastião Gonçalves, and Francisco de Souza. According to ENI III 298, the names of the *Raja Ampat* are : Waigeu, Salawati, Misoöl, and Waigama ; in ENI IV 335 and VIII 1568 : Waigeo, Batanta, Salawati, Misoöl. That Missol corresponds to Misoöl, and Ogueo to Waigeu or Waigeo, may seem to be evident. As to Noton, it occurs likewise as the name of an island in a relation of Hernando de los Rios, c. 1600, about the journey of Miguel Rojo de Brito among the western New Guinea islands (FERNÁNDEZ DE QUIROS II 294-296). It is perhaps to be identified with the preceeding « Botan », though the author asserts that this name means « tierra firme ». See WICHMANN (34) : « Mit Botan, bezw. Noton, oder richtiger Notan, . . . bezeichnen die Bewohner von Ceram das ganze Gebiet der 4 Radja's ». According to ENI VIII 1448, one island is called Batanta (WICHMANN 152 : Batantá or Batan Ta), Misoöl has as a second name Batan Me, and (1490) Waigeu is also called Batan Wagé. Moreover there is a small island, Batan Palé, west of Waigeu. So « Batan » or « Noton » appears to be a common name, and if it stands here for Batantá, the name of Miam (Miang) remains for Salawati. I was not able to check this meaning.

[13] That even primitive seafaring peoples like these acquired a large practical knowledge of the starry sky is not to be wondered at. The *Raja Ampat* peoples may not have been different in this from those of Polynesia, of whom Suggs reports that, although unfortunately their navigation procedures are not known to us in particular, all investigators agree on one point : in laying out their course they relied on the stars (ROBERT C. SUGGS, *The Island Civilizations of Polynesia* [Dutch : *Culturen*

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tantas estrelas como a mão de conjunturas, e chama-ce em sua lingoa « fale » [14]; outras são como hum arco, outras como huma nao, e assi outras figuras que as estrelas representão. Hé terra fertil e de muitos mantimentos, que são como os das ilhas de o Moro, e mui só [15]; e a gente simple, nem ay entre elles mouros; a que[m] se pode fazer grande serviço a N. Senhor em ajudar a salvar estas almas. Também nestas ilhas de Maluco, como entendereis pola carta do Irmão Niculao Nunes, se quer agora fazer hum rey christão [16]. Ay cá muita messe e poucos operarios. Agora indo a Goa a pedir Irmãos, que são cá muy necessarios, topei o P.e M. Francisco em Malaca, dei-lhe conta disto, e que fosse a Goa e que logo neste anno me tornasse [17].

Mande V.R. muitos Padres e Irmãos pera tam grande messe. Deus nos dê perseverança em o santo serviço. Amen.

A 7 de Fevereiro de 1553.

João de Beyra.

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139 de *del. C* | conjuncturas *add. interl. h2* y con el braço *C; add.* e com o braço *D* || 142 só] sã *CD* || 143 e] hé *but del. C* | 143 gente *add. interl.* é *C;* gente hé *D* | a quem aqui *D*

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*van Polynesië*, Utrecht-Antwerpen 1967, 94-95]). Cf. ZINNER, *Die Geschichte der Sternkunde*, 249-250).

[14] Unidentified. *Fale* in several Papuan languages, and likewise in Ternatan (*falah*, CLERCQ 286), means « house ».

[15] Without doubt this should be *sã* (*são*, « healthy »), as it was written in texts C and D; see app. crit.; *só*, meaning « alone » or « solitary », makes no sense.

[16] Probably D 33, 4: the king of Jailolo wanted to be baptized. True, this king had since died, but his successor, Kaicil Guzarate, — no longer with the title of *raja*, but only of *sengaji* (local governor) — likewise had shown his intention to become a Christian (REBELO 267).

[17] See D 36.

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## 45

## FR. AFONSO DE CASTRO SJ TO FRS. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME, AND SIMÃO RODRIGUES SJ, PORTUGAL

MALUKU [TERNATE], FEBRUARY 7, 1553

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO I 34; SOMMERVOGEL II 855; STREIT IV 745; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6006; WESSELS, *Amboina* 177 Castro 1.

II AUTHORS: Seb. GONÇALVES II 115; GUERREIRO, *Gloriosa Coroa* 294.

III TEXTS: The original has not been found.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 180*v*-182*v*. Neat copy in Portuguese. Heading: « Copia de huma carta que escreveo o P.e Afonso de Castro ao P.e Inatio e ao P.e M. Simão de Maluco [*add. interl. h2* a 7 de Fevereiro] no anno de 1553 ». Some additions and corrections, perhaps not always made by the same hand.

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 225*r*-227*r*. Beautifully copied from text A. Beside the heading in the margin « 3ª » and a cancelled « N ». Sometimes useful for a better reading and understanding of some questionable passages in text A.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* ff. 249*r*251*v*. Transcribed by three different hands probably from text B, and with some summaries in the margin.

IV PRINTED: in SÁ II 92-101; text A, alas not without many errors.

V OUR EDITION: We print text A.

### *Text*

1. *Praise to God who brought many a one of this barbarian people to the light of truth.* — 2. *Consolation and joy in hardships; fears and hopes.* — 3. *His pastoral work and its fruits.* — 4. *Work of Figueiredo in Ternate among youth; evening bell for the dead and sinners.* — 5. *Description of Moro region, Morotai and Morotia, where 35000 Christians live. Tolo formerly had 3000, has now only 1000 Christians on account of persecution; many were killed, others robbed or sold by auction, others apostatized.* — 6. *Nunes instructs [Moro] people in faith, introduces Sunday observance, and makes them put off their bad customs.* — 7. *Care for the dying and for the dead.* — 8. *A Brother within ten months baptized 340 children. Here many people die without baptism because of shortage of workers. Sally upon contemplative souls.* — 9. *In the inland of Morotia a treacherous people with savage manners and feared by all others asked to be christened.* — 10. *In Buru 4000 people in six towns became Christians. In Ambon there are at least 2000 Christians, formerly Muslims, but they have nobody to instruct them.* — 11. *Good outlooks; hopes and fears. He asks prayer for the people and for himself.*

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Pax et consolatio Spiritus Santi sit semper in cordibus nostris. Amen.

1. Não posso deixar de com mui grande contentamento escrever o fructo que Deus Nosso Senhor por estas partes obra, mostrando claramente sua liberalissima misericordia. Bendito seja elle, pois foi sirvido de trazer a gente, em tanta escuridade e trevas mitida, a verdadeiro conhicimento, para serem participantes de verdadeira lus que a todo o homem, que a este mundo vem, alumia [1]. Quia gens indomita, suis voluptatibus subiecta, a ratione et recto iudicio aliena, quae ventrem pro Deo colebat [2], nullius tribulationis adversitatisque capax, similis brutis in moribus, vidit lucem magnam [3], quando da graça divina seus coraçõis alumiados, assi como gente dormida et in peccatis soporata [4], com a força da graça invensibilis as cadeas e prisõis, com que estavão pelo demonio atadas, se romperão. Na qual soltura poderão cantar ao Senhor e dizer illud Psalmistae: Laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus [5] a vinculis peccatorum, in quibus a propria concupiscentia a demonibusque detinebamur [6]. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini qui fecit caelum et terram [7].

2. Bem se vê, e mostra o Senhor, quanto suas criaturas ama, pois tam intensamente procura sua salvação por infinitos meos, para que pola culpa não fiquem ingratas a tam grande beneficio e mercê, e do sangue justissimo do Filho de Deus, que na terra por sua redenção foi derramado, lhe seja pidida mui estreita conta. Ó ! quem pudesse fazer de si mil corpos pera que com tantos service ao Senhor, e levar ao ceo tantas almas, das quais temo que caiem algumas por falta de operarios ! Quoniam messis est multa, operarii sunt paucissimi [8]. Mas nós poucos, favoricidos da graça e ajuda do Senhor, na qual omnia possumus [9], pomos muito exercitio em fazer esta colheita, pera que não ache o demonio que vindimar. Estas são as riquesas que reparte o Senhor com os seus,

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5 trazer *interl.* || 10 nemoribus *BC* || 11-12 com . . . invensibilis *ins. in open space*

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[1] Jn 1 9. Note that Castro, being a preacher, likes quotations from Holy Scripture. In order to check them, one will have to use the Vulgate version.

[2] Cf. Ph 3 19 ; Rom 16 18.

[3] Is 9 2 ; Mt 4 16.

[4] Cf. Ps 3 6.

[5] Ps 124 [123] 7.

[6] Cf. Rom 7 6.

[7] Ps 124 [123] 8.

[8] Lk 10 2.

[9] Cf. Ph 4 13.

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huma consolação e aligria interior nos tais trabalhos, hos quais se convertem em verdadeiro descanso. Entanto que a alma tão ensanchada da visitação do Senhor diga illud Psalmistae: Renuit consolari anima mea: memor fui Dei et delectatus sum et defecit spiritus meus [10], ella corrobora e fortalese o spiritu e animo cansado na desconsolação e tribulação, pera que en tudo possamos mostrar igualdade e conformidade com a vontade do Senhor, que não hé pequena gloria e mercê saber homem gostar tanto de Deus na desconsolação e adversidade como na consolação. Mas coração não carecente da fomes do pecado [11], cheo da fartura da casa do Senhor, não podendo como Adão sofrer em si tanto bem, temo polo esfriamento da charidade [12] que o deixe perder. Mas vivo com sperança que não será asi, pola união que á entre os bemditos Padres e Irmãos desta sagrada Companhia, que, assi como hum membro cansado de nosso corpo hé ajudado do outro, assi nós todos em hum corpo mistico, quando por minha negligencia desfalecer, minha fraquesa e pusilanimidade por tão santos sacrificios e oraçõis se tornará em fortaleza e ousadia, para que com rezão possa já dizer illud Apostoli: Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem mundus mihi crucifixus est et ego mundo [13].

3. Do fruito mais em particular que mediante a graça, ajuda e favor divino nestas partes se faz, são ao presente ficar nesta ilha de Maluco, onde estão os portugeses, aos quais prego aos domingos e algu[m]as festas, e às tardes à gente christã da terra e[m] todas as quar-[181*r*]tas-feiras, e cada dia a doutrina christam. Bendito seja o Senhor que con todos sua santissima graça reparte, pera que alcansando o gosto e suavidade della, se venha [a] perder e ganhar fastio às cousas mundanas e transitorias. Elles se emmendão muito de sua vida, apartando-sse de estarem em pecado mortal, aquirindo interiormente hum conhecimento de suas proprias culpas, pellas quais arependidos se exercitão em obras de charidade nas pregaçõis e cousas [es]pirituais, mostra[n]do muita devação, como que[m] tem já alcansado o gosto de tam excellente e suave manjar; isto principalmente as molheres, as quais acho serem mui frequentes nas igreijas, desejosas de saberem o caminho de sua salvação.

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32 fui Dei *interl. h2, corr. fr.* fuit ei || 37 fomes *corr. fr.* fome || 38 chea *ABC* || 44 e oraçõis *interl.* || 55 vida *add.* passada *BC*

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[10] Ps 77 [76] 4.

[11] From the Latin *fomes peccati*, tinder of sin, evil lust (See PRUDENTIUS, *Apotheosis*, verse 942).

[12] Cf. Mt 24 12.

[13] Ga 6 14.

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4. Ho Irmão Belchior de Figeiredo insina aqui em casa os filhos dos portugeses a ler e screver, e o principal pera no principio os impormos na virtude e bons custumes, pera que, quando grandes, pareça terem-no já por natureza, e com areceo, tocados da tentação não deixem o bom principio que sempre tiverão, e já conhecedores dos enganos do imigo com mais fortaleza, com a ajuda da graça divina, os risistão. Todas as noites tange huma campainha por toda esta fortaleza, encomendando as almas do purgatorio e os que vivem em pecado mortal, e quasi vão os mininos de toda a povoação com ella, e em as encomendando se asentão todos de guelhos no chão com as mãos levantadas rezando, cousa de que todos recebem grande consolação e edificação com huma aligria espiritual por verem sua simplicidade e devação.

5. Noo Moro, bemdito o Senhor, se fas muito grande fruito, e estará alem desta ilha de Maluco 40 legoas, e todo o Moro se chama Morotia e Morotai. Chama-sse Morotia huns lugares que estão na terra firme, e são outo lugares todos christãos; chama-sse Morotay duas ilhas que estão no mar, huma pequena outra grande [14], a pequena tem tres lugares e a grande tem desoito [15]. É a gente christã que ao presente em estes lugares de o Moro pode aver, segundo a enformação que de muitos tivemos, trinta e sinco mil almas que receberão a agoa do santo bautismo. Da banda de Morotia está hum lugar principal que se chama Tollo e terá ao presente 1000 visinhos, e no tempo que se fizerão christãos serião 3000 pouco mais ou menos; e são agora tam poucos porque não faltarão cá Diocletiano e Maximiano, Desio e Licinio [16] que cruelmente persigirão e matarão não tam somente os deste lugar, mas todos os mais que tenho nomeados, por confessarem e tomarem a fé de N.S. Jesu Christo. Bendito o Senhor que em nossos tempos não faltão persiguidores da fé e quem pella confessar padeça, mas como o Senhor não fas mercês senão onde á mericimento, por falta delle não fui tão dino, que tal mercê recebesse do Senhor, que juntamente com elles por seu santissimo nome padecesse; mas o Senhor satisfaça nossos

64 terem-na *BC* || 67 com àjuda *ms.* || 73 sua *interl. h2, corr. fr.* huma || 77 outo *corr. lo* oyto *h2* || 80 enformoçāo *ms.* || 81 trinta *w. corr.* || 82 de] da *ms.* || 89 e *add. a AB; del. a C* || 90 não *and* senão *underl. h2; om. BC* || 91 que[1] *corr. fr.* de || 92 *corr. fr.* padecessem

[14] Rau and Morotai.

[15] On the Christian kampongs in Moro, see SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 773-782; map on p. 754.

[16] Roman Emperors, persecutors of Christians.

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desejos, como sabe ser mais seu santo serviço [17]. E aos que não matão, os desapoção de suas erdades e fazenda, e para mais vingança, quando se algum fas christão, o fazem vender em almoeda, dizendo ser cativo ; e muitos com temor de tanta pena que por ser christãos recebem, senhoreados da fraquesa que a muitos de mais rezão e conhicimento domina, se retrahem de o ser, não avendo quem os anime, console e esforce a receber tam grande coroa, porque se algem secretamente isto pudera fazer, como fazia o gloriozo martir São Sebastião, ainda que soubera justamente com os tais padecer martirio, ho fizera. Mas ay !, que a tudo á empedimento pera homem não [181*v*] comprir seus desejos ! V.R. ho encomende ao Senhor pera que alcansem fortaleza pera não enfraquecerem, e nós graça pera sempre perseverar, quia ille salvus erit qui usque in finem perseveraverit [18].

6. Neste lugar [19] está agora com estes christãos o Irmão Nicolao Nunes, nos quais fas muito fruito, insinando-lhes as cousas da fé. Sabem já quando hé domingo, porque de quanto á que o são, nunca o souberão, e isto pera elles hé muito ; no qual vem muitos à igreija, na qual lhes prega e declara os artigos da fé e reprehende seus maos custumes, o que todos ouvem com bons desejos de se confirmarem na fé. De hum mao custume que tinhão, que era crer em sortes [20], chamarem o diabo e darem-lhe de comer, são já de todo fora, quanto ao que sabemos ; e onde não podião viver sem muitas molheres, os que casamos mostrão guardar muita castidade por não viverem mais que com a sua, com que são casados, e isto com muita pas, amor e charidade.

7. Quando algum está em pasamento nos vem chamar, e o que vai os anima e corrobora na fé, lembrando-lhe a contrição e arependimento que de seus pecados deve ter ; e passado desta vida, ajunta quasi todos os mi[ni]nos do lugar e com a cruz e ladainhas a que todos os mininos respondem o levão a enterar à igreija, o qual a nós mete em grande fervor e à gente em devação. Esperamos em Deus Nosso Senhor que os dotará de graça com que alumiados conheção o verdadeiro caminho de sua sal-

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96 muitos *corr. fr.* muito || 100 justamente *corr. to* juntamente *B;* juntamente *C* || 101 á *corr. fr.* ay ; ha *BC* || 114 viver *interl. h2, corr. fr.* aver

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[17] Soon, in 1557, Castro's wish to be a martyr will be fulfilled ; see D 79.

[18] Mt 10 22.

[19] Tolo.

[20] On sorcery and divination, see *Treatise* 152-154.

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vação, e aos errados traga ao verdadeiro caminho e dexem seus maos custumes.

8. Neste lugar [21] fes o Irmão [22], de des meses a esta parte, trezentos e corenta mininos christãos, pouco mais ou menos, dos quais treze ou 14 morerão, do que nós recebemos muita consolação, os quais temos por fé estarem com o Senhor em sua gloria. E outros infinitos morrem por todos estes lugares que tenho nomeados [23] sem receberem agoa de bautismo por não aver quem lha dê, cousa certo pera chorar e muito pera temer dizer o Senhor iis qui sedent secus pedes Domini [24] gosando do otio da contemplação: « Quid statis hic toda die osiosi » [25]? Pois nelle parece buscar homem seo interese e consolação propria e não a do Senhor que hé imitá-lo em tanta charidade como en nos buscar mostrou animam suam tradens pro ovibus suis [26], pera que à mingoa não se percão tantas almas, doendo-nos do sange de Christo asi ser derramado sem aver quem o colha. E corporalmente não podendo os meos charissimos por estarem atados, saltem com o spiritu inflamado no Senhor, se doão da perda de tantas almas, dizendo: « Ecce egò, mitte me » [27], fazendo da vontade sacraficio ao Senhor e do corpo quando mais for seu serviço.

9. Da banda do Morotia pola terra dentro está hum lugar que terá 300 homens de peleja pouco mais ou menos; hé gente muy gerreira e atreiçoada, que ningem matão senão à treição, que de rosto a ningem esperão [28]; por esta causa são mui timidos da toda outra gente, e sogeytão a seu mando quantos querem sem ningem lhes poder empecer, por ser gente que não sabe viver senão entre matos mui espeços, e destes forão sempre mui persegidos os christãos. Mas, como quer que ho Senhor nihil odit eorum quae fecit [29], se lembrou de gente tão barbara,

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133 o] ao *ms.*; o *BC* || 134 parece *del.* nelle || 137 se *interl. h2, in stead of erased word* || 139 [corporal]mente *ins.* || 144 300 *d.r.*; trezentos *corr. fr.* 300 *B*; trezentos *C* || 146 da] de *BC* | toda *interl.*

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[21] Tolo.

[22] Nicolau Nunes.

[23] Of the Moro region.

[24] Lk 10 39.

[25] Mt 20 6.

[26] Jn 10 11.

[27] Is 6 8.

[28] The Tabarus or Tobarus. Though scattered over many inland regions of the northern and southern peninsula of Halmahera, their country proper is the upper course of the Ibu river which empties itself on the west coast at c. 1° 30' N. The nameless place of which the text is speaking cannot be identified.

[29] Cf. Wis 11 25.

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visitando-os com bons desejos [182*r*] e santos prepositos de deixarem sua infidelidade, e consigirem o verdadeiro conhecimento de seu Criador, dos quais temos novas e recado seu, em que dis[30] que o tenhão já por christão, mostrando ser esta sua vontade e desejo. Esperamos que mui cedo tam bom desejo e santa vontade venha a effeito de o pôr por obra, do qual estão todos os christãos mui alvoraçados com desejos de isto verem, por ser esta a gente com a qual os reis comarcãos aos christãos dissimuladamente persegem; e alegria não somente hé destes, mas dos infieis que o mesmo desejão pera livremente receberem nossa santissima fé. Deus N.S., do qual omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum ad nos dessendit[31], os visite com sua graça pera consigirem o [e]feito de tam santa obra, quebre as forças ao demonio, pera que delle perseguidos não desfaleção e tornem atrás de tam bom preposito. Polo qual Vossa Reverencia em particular mande orar, porque, se antes da oração pera este fim feita o forem, prestará pera na fé serem confirmados e estabelicidos; e crea que, vindo isto a efeito, é caminho pera se fazer por meo delle[s] (por de todos ser mui timido[s]) grande fruito e proveito nas almas.

10. Sincoenta legoas aquém desta ilha de Maluco está huma ilha, que se chama Burro[32], e não sem causa tem este nome, pera que homem saiba levar com alegria a carga dos trabalhos, e a elles se offereça sem murmuração e muita pacientia, porque às veses carega muito e tudo se á mister pera se levar[33]. Da qual ilha 6 lugares, que todos poderão ter 4000 almas, pouco mais ou menos, se fizerão christãos[34]. E em outra que se chama Amboino desta mesma banda muitos lugares della, a gente dos quais seria 2000 almas, antes mais que menos, e estes erão mouros, que mais induricidos são por na vida sensual terem sua bemaventurança[35]. Bendito o Senhor que coraçõis tam duros molifica pera

153 o . . . christão] os . . . christãos *BC* || 158 alegria *del.* a

[30] *Seu* and *dis* (*diz*) refer to the aforesaid Nunes.

[31] Cf. Jam 1 17.

[32] The island Buru, west of Seram.

[33] In Spanish and Portuguese *burro* means « donkey ».

[34] In Buru, some unnamed Portuguese merchants made the first conversions (D 49, 2). Perhaps these Christians were visited by Fr. Nuno Ribeiro (D 29 note 8); but, inasmuch as neither Vicente Pereira nor António Fernandes makes mention of such (DD 49-51), this does not seem very likely.

[35] This was what the average West European Christian thought of the Muslims. Cf. *Koran*, Sura 55 and 56.

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conhecerem a verdade. Não falo desta ilha de Amboino mais que daquelles que agora receberão nossa santissima fé, que dos já feitos hé mui grandissima copia e multidão, e asi será grande a copia de seus erros, porque não tem consigo quem os doutrine na fé e insine [a] apartar de suas gentilidades, tendo elles diso muito bons desejos, mandando sempre buscar Padres ; pola falta delles não são satisfeitos seus desejos.

11. Iam, charissimi, tempus putationis advenit [36], na qual forão cortadas as raizes e troncos de sua cigeira [37] pola graça do Senhor que empedia o crecimento do fruito e conhecimento seu, não falta mais que em terra já limpa das superfluidades seminetur semen verbi Dei [38] pera crecerem em fé e amor de Deus Nosso Senhor, antequam veniat inimicus homo [39] assumens secum alios septem spiritus nequiores se, e entre na alma quam iam videt scopis mundatam et ornatam et fiant novissima istarum animarum peiora prioribus [40], o que certo temo pola experientia de muitos que por falta de conservação apostatarão e retrairão da fé, cousa certo muito pera chorar. Deus Nosso Senhor, que hé verdadeira consolação e remedio dos aflictos, sua aflição mude em consolação pera que por ella recebão animo e esforço, pera poderem contradizer o spiritu mao que os fas desfalecer e tornar atrás, desviando-os do ver-[182*v*]dadeiro caminho de sua salvação. E pois a V.R. são manifestas as necessidades que se cá padecem e o homem não pode ter outro milhor recurso que o Senhor para em tudo alcansar favor, não deixe com as custumadas entranhas de charidade oferecê-las ao Senhor, pera que no tempo da tribulação e adversidade mostrem ser colunnas fortes, pera que se não possão brandir a todo vento de que forem combatidos, mas tocados com a suavidade da graça, que todas estas cousas mitiga, gaudeant pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati [41]. E nós não fiquemos esquecidos pera nosso spiritu ser corroborado e aumentado de cada ves mais na virtude, pera sabermos sintir com quanta diligentia e charidade nesta vinha do Senhor a saude das almas devemos procurar, pera sermos bons despenseiros [42] do talento da graça a nós comitida. Todo o qual conceda o Se-

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[36] Cant 2 12.
[37] Read *cegueira* (blindness).
[38] Cf. Lk 8 11, etc.
[39] Mt 13 28.
[40] Mt 12 43-45.
[41] Acts 5 41.
[42] Cf. 1 Pet 4 10.

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210 nhor como vir ser mais necessario, pois tudo hé desejado pera consiguir a perfeição com que a seu santissimo serviço somos obrigados. Amen.

Feita nesta fortaleza de Maluco, aos 7 de Fevereiro de 1553.

Servus inutilis [42],

Afonso de Castro.

## 46

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COCHIN, FEBRUARY 8, 1553

I BIBLIOGRAPHY ; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6007.

II TEXT : *ARSI, Goa 8 I* ff. 54*r*-55*v* (formerly 55*r-v* and 52*r-v*), autograph in Spanish. F. 54*r* : upper left corner, Portuguese summary by Fr. João Rebelo « P. João da Beira da copiosa conversão em Maluco » ; beside it with lead pencil « 8/2 53 Beira » and at the right « 10 » ; at the bottom « V ». F. 54*v* shows a summary in the margin ; f. 55*r* bears beyond the address several archivist's notes : « Cochim 1553 », « 53 », and « Beira » ; and again « 53 Cochin 8 Februar. », and finally a remainder of a seal in dark greenish wax. F. 55*v* is blank. In some places the text has been underlined or marked by vertical lines in the margin.

### *Text*

1. *He writes in another letter on God's benefits. Last year he sent the Apocalypse and now, in a distinct letter, an explanation of it. He wrote on the conception of Our Lady too.* — 2. *He writes on God's punishment of the apostates and on the miracles worked at their conversion. He destroyed a huge idol and this work took a day and a night. He wrote in praise of Holy Trinity and writes now on the troubles he suffered, and on what he expected about Jerusalem.* — 3. *To Fr. Rodrigues he writes how five times he revealed treacheries and caused some Moorish fortifications to be destroyed. The king of Portugal should give him more help, but equally to other religious orders because it is all one work.* — 4. *He is looking out for new companions because of the great number of conversions. In a far-off country* [*New Guinea*] *many people want to be Christians ; there are four kingdoms and the people are not Moorish. He writes on them in another letter.*

Jesus et Maria sint senper nobiscum. Amen.

La suma gratia, pax y amor per[pe]tuo de Jesú nuestro Señor sea ssienpre en nuestro continuo fabor y ayuda. Amen.

1. En otra escribo a Vuestra Reverentia las mercedes que el Señor

[42] Cf. Lk 17 10.

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por la su infinita bondad nos haze, y sienpre de bien en mejor y cómo usa de su infinita misericordia por aquellas partes donde agora bengo. Tanbién el año pasado escrebí a Vuestra Rreverencia el Apocalypsy [1], y este año la declaratión de lo que hes en otra que con ésta ba. Y tanbién escrebí a Vuestra Reverencia sobre la Conceptión de nuestra Señora [2]; acá dezimos: Benedicta Anna, mater tua, qui te concepit et peperit sine peccato [3], excepto si la señora sancta madre Iglesia otra cosa tiene en contrario, y así como lo ordenare y mandare así se hará.

2. Y escribo el castigo que Dios nuestro Señor Dios hizo en los que apostataron y retrayeron de la ffee, y las maravillas que en su conversión hizo y cómo les fueron derrocados los ídolos; y uno que teníam echo mui alto en desacatamiento de la Sanctíssima Trinidad, que un día y una noche puse en derrocarlo. Eran mui altos y mui grandes. Y eso mesmo escrebí en alavança de la Sanctíssima Trinidad: vien que eternus Pater, eternus Filius, eternus Spiritus Sanctus [4], y así en la iglesia triunphal y militar dezimos: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus [5]. Y eso mesmo escribo en otra los géneros de martirio, o por mejor dezir, manjares que del Señor gusté, así por mar como por tierra; y ta[m]bién las consolationes y inspiratio[n]es sobre la recuperatión de la cassa ssancta de Jerusalén: ella se ganará y la profesía del glorioso doctor Sant Ysidoro se cunplirá [6].

3. Al Padre Mestre Simón escribo cómo yo fui ocasión de se derrocarem las fortalezas de los moros, y supe de las traiciones que contra el Rei de Portugal tenían ordenadas. Los moros cinco vezes las procuraron de hazer y todas las dezhize, dando mui en secreto el aviso a sus

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13 Y *ẃ. corr.* || 16 echo *ẃ. corr.* || 20 Sanctus s.s. *ms.*

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[1] Cf. D 43 note 1.

[2] A letter on this issue is not known to exist. Perhaps D 46*a*.

[3] Perhaps an allusion to Lk 1 42: Benedicta tu . . ., benedictus fructus ventris tui.

[4] Taken from the Athanasian Creed, *Quicumque*, of the fifth century (DENZINGER-SCHÖNMETZER, *Enchiridion symbolorum* no. 75).

[5] In the threefold *Sanctus* (Is 6 3), theologians used to see an indication of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

[6] Saint Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) is by no means known for prophecies. True, in his *Contra Iudaeos* he wrote two chapters on the ruin of Jerusalem (Bk II chap. 10 and 12; in *Opera omnia* VI, Romae 1802, 86 and 88), but they do not contain a prophecy for later times, nor does it, therefore, seem likely that Beira is referring to these texts. The commentator of the EX (II 477 note 1), in quoting this passage (in Latin), incomprehensibly wrote « doctoris Antiysidori ».

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capitanes. Escribo al Padre Mestre Simón para que Su Alteza se más anime a ayudarnos a servir al Señor, y así a las otras religiones, pues todo el negocio hes uno [7].

4. Bengo en busca de conpañeros, que son mucho [54*v*] nescesarios, porque día de más de cinco mill ánimas, semana de más de quinze mill ánimas que se convertieron a nuestra sancta ffee, y mui muchos que se ofrecieron a ser christianos. Y otros mui muchos que avitan en una tierra mui separada destas donde quedan los conpañeros. Ay en ella 4 reis y todos se entienden con una lengua. Hes tierra sana y mui fértil; en ella no ay moros; guíanse por las estrellas y contan sus meses por las estrellas, como en otra escribo a Vuestra Reverencia [8]. Cuya vida y salud, así spiritual como corporal, nuestro Señor Jesú por la su infinita misericordia y bondad sin término por largo tienpo guarde de vien en mejor. Amén.

De Cochin, 8 de Hebrero de 1553.

Deste en Christo siervo de Vuestra Reverentia,

Juan de Beira.

[*Address* 55*r*] Ihs. A nuestro en Christo Padre, el Padre M. Ygnatio, Prepósito General de la Conpañía del nonbre de Jesú en Roma.

De Juan de Beira.

## 46A

## FR. JUAN DE BEIRA SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COCHIN, FEBRUARY 8, 1553

The most wide-spread and best known letter of Fr. de Beira was not actually written by him. Receiving his letters of February 1553, Polanco had a well styled summary account made of them which omits all personal outpourings, less balanced communications, and possibly offending stories. Evidently, he did so in order to have the text circulated among friends and eventually printed. And so this artificial letter found a large diffusion in several languages. On account of the mentioned alterations it

37 Ay en ella] Ay enella *ms., corr. fr.* Aye nella

[7] D 43, 3.

[8] D 44, 8. But that letter was not directed to Fr. Ignatius.

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should not in everything be trusted as an historical source. The *leguas* are rendered by thrice the number in miles (four leguas are twelve miles); the disobedience of some subjects is transformed into the defection of some dear Christians; that the Papuans are desirous of the faith is ascribed to the miracle of Tolo.

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL I 1433; VIII 1833; XII 10-11 Beira no. 4; STREIT IV 746; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6007; MILLIES 52; WESSELS, *Amboina* 176 Beira no. 5.

II AUTHORS: LUCENA 269-275; Seb. GONÇALVES II 116-120; GUZMÁN I 184-186; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 1-3; SOUZA I III 1 52-53; *Varones ilustres* I 534-535; VISSER, *Onder Portugeesch-Spaansche vlag* 102-108. LUCENA, in refuting the opinion that the « mysterious punishment of Tolo » took place in the time of Francis Xavier, alleges the letters of Beira and Castro of 1553 to show that it has to be dated later.

III TEXTS:

A. *ARSI, Goa 10 I* ff. 288*r*-289*v*, formerly 274*r*-275*v*. Spanish text with several corrections made by Polanco. Heading: « Jhesus. Copia de una letra del P. Juan de Beyra de la Compañía de Jesús al P.e M.o Ignatio, prepósito general della, sobre algunas cosas notables en las illas (*del.* de Maluco) de Omoro o Malucas ».

B. *Bibliotheca Vaticana, Ottoboni lat. 797* ff. 192*r*-193*v*. A generally faithful Italian translation of text A with sometimes an inversion of sentences. Heading: « Copia d'una lettera del P.e Joanni di Beyra della Compagnia di Iesu, mandata al P.e M. Ignatio, preposito generale di essa Compagnia, nella quale si narrano alcune cose notabili nelle isole d'Omoro, o vero Maluche, novamente accadute ».

C. Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, Jesuitenabteilung 722* ff. 308*r*-310*r*. Latin translation, dressed up with many exaggerations and pretentious superlatives, headed: « Exemplum literarum Patris Joannis de Veyra sacerdotis de Societate Iesu, ad R.dum Patrem Ignatium Praepositum Generalem eiusdem Societatis »; another hand added « 1553 ». Two archivist's notes on f. 310*v* run « 1553, 8 febr. » and « Ex India Maluchi vel Omoro ». This text was obviously sent to Cologne by the Jesuit headquarters in Rome.

IV PRINTED: Italian version, in *Diversi Avisi particolari dall'Indie di Portogallo*, Venetia 1565, ff. 134*v*-137*v*; gives text B but for the heading (and therefore it did not enter the *Tavola* of the volume) with deviating signature « Giovanni di Baeyra »; and in *Lettere dell'India Orientale*, Vinegia 1580, 1-8; Latin version, in *Epistolae Indicae de stupendis et praeclaris . .*, Lovanii 1566, 164-174, follows text C only substantially; *Epistolae Indicae de praeclaris et stupendis . .*, Lovanii 1566, 81-89, same text; *Epistolae Indicae et Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1570, 298-305, same text; German version, in *Kurtze Verzeichnuss*, Ingolstadt 1586, 437-452, made after the Latin printed text; *Die Missionsgeschichte* I 196-205, a different translation from the Latin.

*Lost Letter*

46*a*. — *Fr. Juan de Beira, Cochin, to Fr. Ignatius Loyola, Rome, and to Fr Simão Rodrigues, Lisbon; February 1553.*

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Beira to Ignatius, February 2, 1553 : « El año pasado escrebí el Apocalipsi al Padre Yñatio ; la declaratión al Padre Mestre Simón escribo » (D 41, 11). Beira to Ignatius, February 8, 1553 : « El año pasado escrebí a V.Rª el Apocalypsy, y este año la declaratión de lo que hes en otra que con ésta ba » (D 46,1).

## 47

## BR. NICOLAU NUNES SJ TO FR. FRANCISCO PÉREZ SJ, COCHIN

MORO, JANUARY 8, 1554

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6039.

II TEXTS : The original got lost.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 206*v*-207*r*. Copy in Portuguese. Heading : « Copia de huma carta que escreveo Nicolau Nunez de o Moro ao Padre Francisco Peres que estava em Cochim [*add. interl. h2* a 8 de Janeiro] no ano de 1554 ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 271*r-v*. Similar to text A.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* ff. 288*r-v*. Similar to text A.

III PRINTED : text A in SÁ II 131-132.

IV OUR EDITION : We print text A.

### *Text*

1. *To Beira, Godinho, Figueiredo, and Nunes fell the Moro region ; kinds of activity there. Castro is in Ternate with António China, a former travelling companion of Xavier ; his work and success. António Fernandes departs for Ambon where many towns are converted.* — 2. *Request for more workers. Remarks on correspondance.*

1. Do fructu que nesta terra se fas saberá V.R. mais em parti-[207*r*]cular [1]. Ao Padre João da Beira, Francisco Godinho [2], Belchior de

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[1] From D 48.

[2] Fr. Juan de Beira had returned to Ternate from Goa in October 1553. His voyage had obviously not been fruitless. Suddenly we meet with new names in Maluku : Francisco Godinho, António China, and António Fernandes (Cf. *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 11 and 12). Beira brought with him from India three new companions : Godinho, Fernandes, and Manuel de Távora. Arriving in Malacca he assisted at the exhumation of the corpse of Francis Xavier, who had died on Sanchian in December 1552 and had been buried in Malacca. Beira ordered Manuel de Távora to accompany the dead body to Goa ; instead of him he took António da Santa Fé, called China, with him to Maluku ; the latter had assisted at Xavier's death

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Figueiredo e a mi, nos coube o Moro por sorte, onde fazemos igreijas, doutrinamos, tiramos ruins custumes e bautizamos muitas almas. O Padre Afonso de Castro e Antonio China [3], que com o glorioso Padre Mestre Francisco andava, estão na fortaleza de Maluco. O Padre prega e fas muito fruito e hé muito bemquisto e amado de todos, e tem huma fermosa escola de mininos. Antonio Fernandez [4] vay pera Amboino, porque se convertem lá muitos lugares.

2. Por amor de noso Senhor, que escreva Vossa R. a Goa que nos mandem cá companheiros, porque somos poucos e ha obra hé muita. E ao Padre Anrique Anriquez [5] que se alembre de Niculao. Isto faça pola charidade, e que não posso escrever por ser muito occupado. Não escrevo mais largo por ter muito que escrever. Lembre-se V.R. sempre de me encomendar a nosso Senhor. Elle nos ajunte na gloria. Amen.

Deste Moro, oje outo de Janeiro, 1554.

Minimo filho em Christo de V.R.,

Niculao Nunez.

## 48

## FR. AFONSO DE CASTRO SJ TO THE RECTOR OF THE COLLEGE IN GOA

TERNATE, JANUARY 29, 1554

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : SOMMERVOGEL II 855 B ; STREIT IV 760 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6044 ; MILLIES 53 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 177 Castro no. 2.

II AUTHORS : POLANCO, *Chronicon* III 490 ; SOUZA I III 2 1.

III TEXTS : No original is extant.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 207*r*-208*r*. Portuguese. Copy, without ending formula and signature. There is a double heading, first « Copia de algumas cartas que vierão de Maluco pola via de nao de Banda no an-

3 nos *rep.* || 10 Por amor] para mor *ms.;* Por amor *BC* || 11 cá *add.* mais *BC.*

and brought his corpse to Malacca (See DI III 651-676). Though António China worked with the Fathers for many years, he never was a Jesuit. We find him still alive in 1578 (PÉREZ, *Informação* 75-76) and even as late as 1583 in Macao (VALIGNANO, *Historia* 259-260). Both authors call him « homem chim » and « moço china », and never « Irmão » or « Hermano ».

[3] See note 2.

[4] See note 2. He wrote from Ambon on February 28, 1554 (D 50).

[5] For Fr. Henrique Henriques, see WICKI, *Liste* No. 11 ; DI I 46*. He was a missionary and a superior of the other fathers in the Fishery Coast in South India.



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no de 1554 » as an introduction to four letters (DD 48-51), and then « Huma do P.e Afonso de Crasto pera o reitor do collegio de Goa [*add. h2* a 29 de Janeiro de 1554] ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 271*v*-272*r*. Transcribed from text A, omitting « pola via de nao de Banda » in the first heading. At no. 2 it has a very short summary in the margin, made by a second hand.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* ff. 288*v*-289*r*. Transcribed by two hands from text B with the same omission. At no. 1 a third hand noted in the margin « Siquita, Chao ».

IV Date : All the older printed texts give as a date January 18. As the MS texts are unanimous in ascribing the letter to January 29, there can be no doubt as to this date.

V Addressee : The letter is directed to the Rector of the college in Goa. In the mind of Castro this must have been Fr. Gaspar Berze, who, however, had died on October 18, 1553, and had been succeeded by Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto. But surely Castro could not know this (See DI III 9*-10*).

VI Printed : in Sá II 133-135, text A with some corrections from text B ; Italian version in *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portogallo*, Romae 1556, 27-28 ; *Avisi particolari delle Indie de Portogallo*, Romae 1556 (kind of 2nd edition) 27-28 ; *Diversi avisi*, Venetia 1565, 189*r*-190*r* ; German version in *Die Missionsgeschichte* I 211-213, sometimes deviating from the Italian model.

VII Our Edition : we print text A.

## *Text*

*1. After his return from India Beira went to Moro with three companions : Beira and Godinho to Tolo, Figueiredo to Sakita, Nunes to Cawa. He himself lives in Ternate with António Fernandes, who will sail for Ambon. — 2. The captain of Ternate set out for Moro in order to separate Christians from Muslims ; the king of Ternate, though a Muslim, assisted him in that with much zeal. — 3. The king's loyalty and his helpfulness towards the Fathers. The king of Portugal should remunerate him for this service. — 4. Castro caused some Moro children to be sent to his school in Ternate. — 5. He suffers from bad health.*

Gratia et comunicatio Sancti Spiritus sit semper in cordibus nostris. Amen.

1. A chegada do P.e João da Bera a esta terra me deu muita consolação, por ser cousa esperada de tão longe. Dipois de o Padre ter aqui
5 repouzado alguns dias, se foi pera o Moro com ho Irmão Belchior de Figeiredo e Antonio China, e o Irmão Nicolao Nunes que lá noo Moro

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1 Gratia *add.* et pax Christi *BC*

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estava. Antonio Fernandes e eu ficamos aqui entretanto. O P.e João da Beira está num lugar principal que se chama Tolo e com elle Francisco Godinho ; Figeiredo está noutro lugar muito apartado, que se chama Siquita [1] ; Niculao Nunez em outro que se chama Chao [2], cujo exercicio hé bautizar os mininos, e tirar aos grandes seus maos custumes e erros. Todos andão com grande fervor de amplificar o nome de Jesus. O Irmão Antonio Fernandez vai pera Amboyno com licença do P.e João da Beira [3] polo [207*v*] muito desejar.

2. Ho capitão desta fortaleza [4] com quasi toda a gente se foi ao Moro, pera meter os christãos em concerto e os tirar dantre os mouros [5], e de hum só lugar [6] tiraria perto de duzentas almas, afora outros donde tambem tirou muitas ; e polo grande zelo que tem da fé quis ser o primeiro que lá fosse [7], no que não deixou pequeno exemplo aos que ao diante vierem pera fazerem o mesmo. Ell-rei de Ternate, que hé mouro, foi com o mesmo capitão e deu todos os meos pera se apartarem os christãos dos mouros. Trazia huma espada nua nas mãos fazendo grandes ameaças aos proprios mouros, e que os avia de distruir se não entregavão os christãos ; e alem disto dava-lhes muitas resões por onde os devia[m] de alargar, dando-sse a si mesmo por exemplo : que suas irmãs, que se fizerão christãs, estavão com os portugeses e que folgava com isso,

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[1] Sakita, on the east coast of Morotai near Cape Salamadoto.

[2] Cawa, near Tolo. See D 44 note 8.

[3] This implies that Beira, after his return, was again the superior of the mission.

[4] Francisco Lopes de Sousa. For the following enterprise, see COUTO VI 10 11 ; REBELO 296 and 492 (where *Çama filho* must be read *Çamafo*). Both authors state that the plan had been conceived by the Jesuits.

[5] When did this expedition take place ? The accounts do not mention a date. Considering that the participants stayed in Moro thirty-six days (REBELO 492), and that twice they needed roughly a couple of weeks for their journeying, considering also that the favourable south winds were blowing until October, whereas the north winds, needed for the return, began to blow steadily in December (November being the month of transition), considering finally that, according to both Couto and Rebelo, Lopes de Sousa died shortly after his return, and that Castro, though mentioning him twice (nos. 2 and 4), is silent on his death, our inference is that the expedition took place from October until December 1553. This implies that Beira and his helpers sailed to Moro (no. 1) with the expedition fleet. Lopes de Sousa must have died about February 1554.

[6] According to Couto and Rebelo the enterprise was principally aimed at the town of Samafo, which belonged to the king of Tidore.

[7] Never before had a captain of the Portuguese fortress gone to Moro.

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e que estar christãos com mouros juntamente era insofrivel [8]. E isto não fes por huma ves somente senão por muitas, levando muitas más noutes e dias, e passando algumas veses sem comer e fazendo gasto à sua custa sem ser requerido do capitão. E como sabe que em seu lugar [9] está algum christão, não sofre tê-lo mais e ameaça-o e manda-o logo à fortaleza. Huma molher trazia consigo muito honrrada, não sabendo ser christã, e sabendo dum seu parente que o era, loguo a dispidio de si com muitas lagrimas, dando-lhe hum pano com que estava vistido. Certo digo a V.R. que fiquei muito edificado, porque de hum mui chatolico christão não se espera mais do que elle fes, indo en tudo contra sua lei.

3. Na amizade que com os portugeses tem, se mostra mui leal e nos ajuda emquanto pode [10]. Para connosco tambem se mostra folgar de nos favorecer com embarcações, como agora fes ao P.e João da Beira mandando-lhe dar duas corocoras [11], pera com os Irmãos se ir pera o Moro [12].

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27 era *add.* cousa *BC* || 32 molher *del.* que || 37 e *del.* em || 39 com embarcações *interl.*

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[8] This description creates the impression that the king were actually present at the action of separating the people ; but, as stated by both the aforesaid authors, the Portuguese captain and Hairun stayed in Tolo (In Couto, read Tolo instead of Toloco). In accordance with customary native laws (the famous *adat*) it is unthinkable that one king would visit the territories of another king without the latter's authorization (*Treatise* 152). This first application of the principle of local separation of Muslims and Christians may be the origin of some doubled villages in Halmahera, like *Buli-serani*, and *Buli-islam*.

[9] The natives' town near the fortress of Ternate, on the SW coast, corresponding to the present Baturaja where the king was living.

[10] Here the Italian version of the *Diversi avisi* contains a statement lacking in the MS texts : « . . . e insegna buoni mezzi per rihavere li Christiani che fuggono da loro » (190*r*).

[11] *Korakora*, or rather *kura-kura*, in common Malay and Indonesian means « turtle » ; in the Maluku Islands it was used to indicate a certain type of war boat with outriggers. (Yule 159 ; ENI V 115 ; *Treatise*, Glossary 370).

[12] Quite the contrary of what Nicolau Nunes was writing three years earlier (D 33, 5). This shows the seemingly fickle but as a matter of fact very shrewd and opportunistic line of Hairun's politics : knowing undoubtedly that unfavourable information had been given about himself to the viceroy (Cf. D 36), and fearing, not without reason, that he might be taken prisoner (end of this no. 3) — as had happened in 1545 and would happen again in 1557 — he tried to gain the favour of the new captain Lopes de Sousa and to create the impression of being a friend of Christianity. Probably, a clear-cut separation between Muslims and Christians, meanwhile robbing the latter of their possessions, was more favourable to his anti-Christian

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Deus N.S. lhe dê graça pera perseverar no bem, porque não sei se terá firmeza nestas cousas, pois carece do temor e conhecimento de Deus. Isto escrevo a V.R. pera que o diga ao Viso-Rei e se escreva a Purtugal pera que, sabendo Sua Alteza mostrar-se elle tão amigo de seu serviço, lho agradeça e remunere, porque em ves de ser assi, temendo que digão mal delle, cada anno espera se o mandará prender.

4. Eu disse ao capitão que mandasse vir alguns mininos do Moro pera nesta casa se insinarem e doutrinarem na fé e bons custumes e ler e escrever, pera poderem ser nossas lingoas e nos ajudarem a frutificar nas almas [13], o que pera este effecto [208r] não hé pequeno principio. Elle mandou logo que viessem. Já lhe tenho huma casinha ordenada.

5. Novas de mi são estar do ispirito necessitado e do corpo sempre enfermo, que me causa alguma desconsolação, por deixar algumas veses de dizer missa e occupar-me no serviço do Senhor e proveito das almas quanto eu desejo.

De Ternate, a 29 de Janeiro de 1554.

*Lost Document*

48*a*. — *Fr. Juan de Beira, Ternate, Instruction for Br. António Fernandes, Ambon ; February 1554.*

Fernandes to the rector of the Goa college, February 28, 1554 : « Há

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46 preder *ms.* || 47 disse *corr. fr.* dixe || 56 Ternate *del.* anno de

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politics than their living together. Fr. de Castro does not seem to have been suspicious of King Hairun's methods. He may have been influenced by Gabriel Rebelo (the author we so often quote), who during Lopes de Sousa's Moro expedition officiated as captain of the fortress (REBELO 492), and who in his writings shows himself always a defender of Hairun. At least Castro's esteem of the king proves that it is not true that all the Jesuits were against him. It is tragic that just such an admirer of Hairun as Castro should become a victim of his politics and should be killed by his supporters (D 79). — That the Jesuits and Hairun did not trust each other is made manifest in a striking way in Francisco Palha's letter to D. João III of March 16, 1551 : King D. João sent some arms, among which a richly ornamented rapier, to the viceroy in Goa with the order to forward them to King Hairun. The Goa Jesuits managed to change this destination and to send the arms to « the king of Japan ». But the covering letter of D. João III was delivered to King Hairun, and therefore the latter knew all about it (SÁ II 46). That this incident did not increase the love of Hairun for the Jesuits doubtless will seem as clear as daylight.

[13] One of the missionary methods of the Fathers was to educate young boys to be interpreters. See the letter of Melchior Nunes Barreto to Ignatius Loyola of May 1554 (DI III 85 no. 30).

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daqui a doze legoas huma terra que se chama Burro . . . Pedem misericordia que os vão bautizar . . . Não á quem lá vá. O Padre [Beira] me mandou em hum regimento que se podesse a fosse visitar, mas o tempo não me dá lugar . . . » (D 50, 3).

## 49

## VICENTE PEREIRA TO THE RECTOR OF THE COLLEGE IN GOA

AMBON, FEBRUARY 26, 1554

I AUTHORS : LUCENA 282 ; Seb. GONÇALVES I 233-234 (Both our no. 2).

II TEXTS : There is no original extant.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 208*v*-209*r*. Copy in Portuguese. Heading : « Huma de Vicente Pireira, que andava em companhia do Irmão Antonio Fernandez, para o P.e Reitor de Goa [*interl. h2* a 26 de Fevereiro] de 1554 ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* f. 273*r*. Similar to text A. In the heading, after Fernandez, another hand added « de Amboino ». Once it has a name in the margin.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* ff. 290*v*-291*r*. Calligraphically transcribed from text B ; thrice a short title in the margin by a later hand.

III ADDRESSEE : See at D 48.

IV PRINTED : in SÁ II 136-138 ; text A.

V OUR EDITION : We print text A.

### *Text*

1. *Fr. Beira sent him with Br. Fernandes to Ambon.* — 2. *Ambon is destitute of workers. Buru asks to be christened ; 4000 or 6000 are said to have been baptized by merchants.* — 3. *Papuans and people of Labuha solicit baptism and priests.*

A graça de Christo seja sempre com V.R.

1. Chegando de Maluco, mandou o P.e João da Beira ao Irmão Antonio Fernandez pera Amboyno por não aver Padre que pera lá fosse ; e tambem, por falta de Irmãos da Companhia que fossem com elle, me mandou a mi por seu companheiro [1] e que aqui andaria até Nosso Senhor

[1] Vicente Pereira had not yet been received into the Society ; whether he was afterwards, we never hear. He appears on the scene and soon disappears from it with the volatility of a shooting star. See D 50, 4 ; D 51, and D 38 note 2. That he was the man who accompanied Fr. Nuno Ribeiro on Ambon (D 60, 1 ; cf. DI III 343 note 53) remains a mere supposition.

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de mi aver misericordia [2]. São tantos os laços do imigo, que não sinto poder delles escapar senão sendo servo dos servos da Companhia. Muito bem sabe V.R. quanto tempo á que ando nesta demanda. Pola paixão [209r] de Christo lhe pesso que se alembre de mi e me mande como subdito, posto que não mereço de ho ser.

2. Ho Irmão Antonio Fernandez me parece que escreve a disposição desta terra. A orfandade della hé muita por falta de obreiros, porque á nella muita christan[da]de e muita mais se faria, se ouvessem quem os quisesse bautizar. No Burro Grande e Pequeno [3] bradão e clamão que os fação christãos, e hé tanta sua vontade, que indo huns homens com hum navio a fazer viniagoa [4], vararão em sua terra e não no deixarão lançar ao mar até que os não fizessem christãos. Então os fizerão assi como souberão, que serião 4 mil almas. E depois que forão christãos lhe preguntarão de que maneira avião de viver. Não lhes disserão mais que mandar-lhes fazer huma crus e que, quando passassem por ella, fizesem reverencia. Dizem os homen[s] que de lá vem, que serão feitos 6 mil christãos [5].

3. Á outra gente, que se chama apapuas, em outra terra de tres castas, huns são brancos como gente de Cambaya [6], outros mais pretos e outros cafres de todo; não tem nenhum cabelo na cabeça, mas todos são calvos [7]. Estes dizem que querem tambem ser christãos. Outra terra á, vinte legoas de Ternate, que se chama Alaboa [8], que todos se querião fazer christãos. Vierão pidir Padres a Ternate e, quando se virão

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6 sinto] cuido *BC* || 13 christandade] *add.* nella *ms.* | ouvesse *BC* || 16 viniagoa] aguada *C* | no] o *B;* os *C* | deixarão *corr. h2 to* quiserão; quiserão *BC* || 23 apapuas *corr. to* os papuas *B;* os papúas *C* | em] e *BC* || 24 brancos *corr. to* baços *C*

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[2] That is, until he will be received into the Society.

[3] Buru and Ambelau.

[4] *Viniagoa*, mostly written *veniaga* or *beniaga*, is the Malay *berniaga*, composed with the verb *niaga* = to trade. *Fazer veniaga* also means « to trade » (DALGADO II 411; POERWADARMINTA 222 s.v. *niaga*). Text C and the authors changed *viniagoa* into *agoada*.

[5] Thus the Buru Christians had been converted by Portuguese merchants without the intervention of a priest.

[6] Gujarat in NW India; its former principal port was Cambay.

[7] The people of the *Raja Ampat* islands are known not to represent, on account of mixing with Maluku peoples, the pure negroid type of the Papuas (ENI III 298), but completely bald tribes are never mentioned in the scientific reports.

[8] Labuha, on the island of Bacan.

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sem o remedio necessario, fizerão-se sujectos a el-rei mouro de Tarnate,
30 por conselho de muitos cacizes [9] e feiticeiros.

Assi que digo a V.R. que muito á que fazer nestas partes, e bem conheço não ser dino de tanta mercê do Senhor, como hé ser chamado pera tam grande officio, todavia pesso-lhe polas chagas de Christo que tenha misericordia de mi.

35 De Amboyno, a 26 de Fevereiro de 1554.

Vicente Pireira.

## 50

## BR. ANTÓNIO FERNANDES SJ TO THE RECTOR OF THE COLLEGE, GOA

AMBON, FEBRUARY 28, 1554

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: MILLIES 53; SOMMERVOGEL III 646; WESSELS *Amboina* 178 Fernandez no. 1; STREIT IV 762; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6047.

II AUTHORS: POLANCO, *Chronicon* IV 668-669; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 7; SOUZA I III 2 3; VISSER 114-115; WESSELS, *Amboina* 25-27.

III TEXTS: Only copies are available.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* f. 208*r-v*. Portuguese. Heading: « Outra do Irmão António Fernandez que escreveo de Amboyno ao Padre Reitor do Collegio de Goa [*h?* a 28 de Fevereiro 1554] ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* ff. 272*r*-273*r*. Same text. In the margin some salient names occurring in the text, written by a later hand.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* ff. 289*v*-290*r*. Seemingly copied from text B. Also here some proper names of persons and islands in the margin. At the end it omits the signature after the date.

IV ADDRESSEE: See at D 48.

V PRINTED: text A, in SÁ II 139-142. Italian version, with the date: February 27, in *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo*, Romae 1556, 28-29; *Avisi particolari delle Indie de Portugallo*, Romae 1556, 28-29; *Diversi Avisi*, Venetia 1565, 190*v*-192*r*, mixed with a passage of D 49. German version, in *Die Missionsgeschichte* I 214-217.

VI OUR EDITION: We print text A.

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[9] *Caciz*, derived from the Syriac through Arabic, to indicate a Mohammedan « clergyman ».

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## *Text*

*1. He came on February 22 to Ambon, where many Christians are living sorely persecuted by Moorish people. He runs the risk of being killed. — 2. About an island where innumerable people asked to be baptized. He could not visit them. — 3. Concerning the island of Great Buru where Christians number already from 3000 to 4000. Also Little Buru asked for the faith, and so did Alabua, but it was no use and now they became Muslims. — 4. Vicente Pereira, still a layman, assists him. Complaints of being alone and strong appeals for some more Jesuits. Difficulty in getting provisions. — 5. He will sail for a close-by island where many want to become Christians. On Ambon, after the death of Fr. Ribeiro, the churches have been destroyed.*

A graça e amor de Christo Jhesu faça continua morada em nossas almas. Amen.

1. Chegei a esta provincia de Amboyno a 22 de Fevereiro. Creo que já Vossa Reverencia será emformado como á nella infinita gente e a maior parte della christã, antre os quais á muitos mouros que os distruem, matão e cativão, e os vão vender e, quando lhos não comprão, os botão com pedras ao pescoço ao mar, e poem-lhe fogo aos lugares assi os mouros do reino de Ternate como os lucebates, que são doutro reino sobre si [1]. Des homens portugeses pagos à custa d'El-Rei que andem em

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4 emformado *corr. fr.* emformada || 7 predras *ms.*

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[1] This is Lisabata, a powerful kampong on the north coast of Seram. VALENTYN has the spellings Lissabatta and Lessi Bate (II a 51). In Portuguese writings it is commonly called Luçabata, Luzabata, and Lucebata ; its people are called the luçabates, etc. According to VALENTYN (II a 51-54), the town changed its site in the 17th century, moving eastward at least two times ; on his map of Seram (after the title page and between pp. 2 and 3) it occurs three times from W to E : « Lissabatta, Out Lissabatta, Nieuw Lissabatta ». On more modern maps, like that of TAUERN (*Patasiwa und Patalima*, Uebersichtskarte), there is a Lissabata near Noniali at 128° 22' E, and a Lissabata Baharu (= new) at 128° 50' E, the latter oddly enough on the site of Valentyn's Old Lissabatta ! Tauern had personnally spoken with the raja of Lisabata-Noniali who had authority over a large domain (23). As a matter of fact, the Lisabata people, though moving eastward, did not completely leave their former site. At the time of our document, 1554, there was only the Lisabata close to Noniali. It was the king of Bacan who asserted his rights over Lisabata (VALENTYN I b 120) ; but in the second half of the 16th century the king of Ternate brought it under his control (*Relação Vasconcelos* 354 and 361). However, as late as about 1580 LEMOS calls Luçabata « hum lugar del-rey de Bachão » (469). Apparently, António Fernandes did not know this, so he called it an independent kingdom.

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quatro caracolas [2] por todo anno nesta terra podem impedir todos estes males, porque nem os christãos podem sair de suas casas até a praia, nem eu fazer tão seguramente o que devo porque, sendo só, ando emprestado a risco de me matarem cada dia, ou de me venderem a outros mouros e ficarem os christãos sem nenhuma doutrina, pois que com pancadas se não satisfazem de mi.

2. Antes que aqui chegasse me querião levar a huma ilha [3] onde avia infinidade de gente que se querião fazer christãos, e rogavão aos portugeses que levassem lá Padres e, fazendo-sse esta gente christã, segurava-sse mais esta terra dos imigos. Não fui lá por não ter possibilidade pera os sustentar, porque sou só, e tambem por serem os lugares diversos e o numero da gente tanto, que a seis de muito fervor que cá venhão sobejará em que se exercitem.

3. Há daqui a doze legoas huma terra, que se chama Burro Grande, que hé de duzentas legoas [4]. Chorão e pedem misericordia que os vão bautizar e já lá averá obra de tres ou quatro mil christãos que fizerão homens portugezes chatins [5] que lá vão fazer suas fazendas polos importunarem. Não á quem lá vá. O Padre me mandou em hum regimento [6] que se podesse a fosse visitar, mas o tempo não me dá lugar e mais á mister muitos companheiros. Os homens que os fizerão christãos puserão ay huma crus e disserão-lhe que quando passassem por a par da crus se asentassem de guelhos e ale-[208*v*]vantassem as mãos pera os ceos, e isto fazem por amor de Christo que aja misericordia com elles. A outra terra que se chama Burro Pequenho, que hé maior que o Grande [7],

---

14 mouros *corr. fr.* muros || 20 só] sao *B* || 21 a *interl.* | a seis *corr. fr.* asas *B* || 22 sobejava *B*, sobeja *C* || 26 chatins *corr. fr.* Tachins ; *corr. fr.* cabines [*?sic*] *C* || 32 fazem *d.r., corr. fr.* fação ; fazem *BC*

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[2] *Caracolas*, variant of *coracoras*, vessels.

[3] There is in this communication no element whatever that permits an identification of the island mentioned.

[4] In fact, the circumference of Buru comes to much less.

[5] *Chatim* means « merchant » Cf. YULE 189 s.v. *chetty ; Treatise*, Glossary 370. For these conversions, see D 49, 2. The Christian villages were situated along the north coast ; cf. *Relação Vasconcelos* 322 : « Os outros lugares estão da banda do norte, e dizem elles que são christãos, principalmente sei eu que comem eles porco e tem nome de christãos ; não se conversão huns com os outros [that is, with the Muslims] e na real verdade estiverão já Padres nos seus lugares e portuguezes e forão christãos e tiverão conhecimento de Deos ».

[6] So Beira wrote Instructions for Fernandes ; see D 48*a*.

[7] A very embarassing statement ! It is rather unlikely that the greater island was called « Buru Pequeno », and the small Ambelau « Buru Grande ». For the rest,

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gente pera louvar a Deus, chamão que os bautizem e não ay quem. Outra terra há que se chama Alabua, a qual pidio bautismo e por não aver quem lho desse são agora mouros e perderão-sse à mingoa [8].

4. Vicente Pireira, que ainda não hé recebido [9], o qual ya em busca do Padre mestre Francisco à China [10] e o P.e João da Beira o mandou comigo pera me ajudar, anda nos vestidos de soldado, muito virtuoso e perseverante. E assi fico nesta provincia de Amboyno sem mais companheiro, onde não posso ver nem falar com ningem da Companhia senão de anno em anno por não vir a esta terra gente de Maluco fora da monção. Considere V.R. que perfeição á mister quem á-de andar hum anno sem se confessar e sem comunicação dos da Companhia ! Polas chagas de Christo que proveja com companheiros. No Moro vêm ao Padre João da Beira cada dous dias, e eu ainda corro risco de o ver cada anno ! Lá bastão os que estão, porque não á gente pera converter [11], mas aqui á muita e mui desposta pera isso. Deus Nosso Senhor sabe as necessidades que aqui padecemos, alem dos trabalhos, porque, se temos que jantar, não ceamos, nem ai possebilidade pera se comprar meo quartilho [12] de vinagre, e hé muita a fome pola pouca provisão que vem de Maluco.

5. Oje me derão novas que numa terra perto desta se querião muitos fazer christãos, hé necessario bautisá-los por ser infinidade de gente. Fá-lo-ei [13] porque está entre christãos e são muito nossos amigos. A muitos mais faria tambem christãos, que só não posso sustentar. Achei aqui

---

these two names do not seem to have ever been used outside these letters (DD 49 and 50), and the Jesuit authors dependent on them, as for instance Sebastião Gonçalves I 233-234. Wessels (*Amboina* 26) suggests that Buru Grande stands for Seram.

[8] Labuha is the present-day Bacan island, the largest one of the Bacan group. That this Bacan consisted, in the 16th century, of two islands, the southern of which was called Labuha (ENI I 204), is debated by Wessels (*De katholieke missie in het sultanaat Batjan* 117 and 139 note 1). The local chief (sengaji) of Labuha is known to have enjoyed authority over a large area in rather loose dependence on the king of Bacan who, in those years, still lived on the island of Kasiruta.

[9] Received, that is, into the Society.

[10] Francis Xavier. In July 1552 he had sailed from Malacca with the intention of entering China, if possible.

[11] In pleading on his own behalf he represents the religious situation of Moro in a tendentiously favourable way.

[12] An ancient Portuguese liquid measure, one fourth of a *canada*, and actually less than half a liter.

[13] He did so indeed ; see next document.

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as igreijas desbaratadas, porque dipois da morte do P.e Ribeiro não veo ningem a esta terra pera os insinar [14]. Agora determino de pôr em cada lugar homens e meirinhos [15] que insinem a doutrina. Sinto que pola bondade de Deus se á-de fazer muito fruito, e assi me irei sustentando até virem companheiros que possamos todos abarcar o muito que está pera fazer. Nosso Senhor nos confirme em seu amor.

A 28 de Fevereiro de 1554.

Filho de V.R. no Senhor,

Antonio Fernandez.

*Lost Letters*

50*a-b*. — *Francisco Lopes de Sousa, Captain of Maluku, to Fr. Francisco Pérez, Cochin, and to the rector of the Goa college (two distinct letters); February 1554.*

A Brother of Cochin to the Jesuits in Goa, January-February 1555: « A vinte outo de Janeiro de 1555 chegou aqui huma carta do capitão de Maluco pera o Padre Francisco Peres, e outra pera o Reitor de Goa, nas quais dava conta do muito fruito que os Padres por aquelas partes fazião » (D 56, 2).

## 51

## VICENTE PEREIRA TO THE RECTOR OF THE COLLEGE, GOA

AMBON, MARCH 29, 1554

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: MILLIES 53; STREIT IV 763.

II AUTHORS: POLANCO, *Chronicon* IV 669-670; Seb. GONÇALVES II 128-129; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 7; SOUZA I III 2 3.

III TEXTS: The original has not been preserved.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* f. 209*r-v*. Copy. Portuguese. Heading: « Outra do mesmo Vicente Pireira que escreveo [*corr. fr.* escreve] ao Pa-

64-65 Filho ... Fernandez *om. C*

[14] Fr. Manuel de Morais and Br. Francisco Gonçalves, who, returning to Malacca in 1550, had stayed in Ambon (D 28, 8), did not do anything for the Christians; and the visit of Beira (D 43, 3) had evidently been too brief to be of any use for them.

[15] *Meirinho* can mean a bailiff, an apparitor, a kind of constable, and, in a more ecclesiastical sense, a church official who serves as a church attendant and, where priests are lacking, as a religious teacher. Cf. DI XI 31. (The word passed over into the Malay language as *meriŋu* in the meaning of overseer, inspector; see SANTA MARIA 56 no. 167).

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dre Reitor de Goa, sobre a morte do Irmão Antonio Fernandez [*add. h2* a 29 de Março de 1554] ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 11 azul* f. 273*v*. Same text as A. Twice a name from the text has been added in the margin.

C. Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Cartas da Índia* f. 291*r-v*. Same text.

IV ADDRESSEE : See at D 48.

V PRINTED : text A, in SÁ II 143-145. Italian version (with the name *Pereira* corrupted to *Petera*), in *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo*, Roma 1556, 29-30 ; *Avisi particolari delle Indie de Portugallo*, Romae 1556, 29-30 ; *Diversi avisi*, Venetia 1565, 192*r-v*, a very arbitrary translation with omissions and additions. German version, in *Die Missionsgeschichte* I 217-218.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A.

## *Text*

1. *Twenty days after their arrival Br. Fernandes and he sailed to people who had asked to be baptized. They were shipwrecked, and Br. Fernandes was drowned. He saved himself. — 2. Having reached the shore he was carried to a Christian village and well tended by the native Christians. They request Fathers. He can only teach, not baptize.*

Ho amor e graça divina seja sempre com Vossa Reverencia. Amen.

1. Dispois que ho Irmão Antonio Fernandez escreveo a V.R., avendo vinte dias que eramos chegados a estas terras, nos partimos a requerimento da gente pera os lugares que se querião fazer christãos em companhia de hum sobrinho de Jordão de Freitas que hé senhor destas terras [1], que cá foi capitão-mor, o qual nellas hé mui necessario pera favor

[1] Jordão de Freitas, Captain of Maluku, 1544-1546. In 1537, King Tabarija (after his christening : D. Manuel) of Ternate had bequeathed the Ambon islands (« ilha e ilhas e terras d'Amboyno e Ceirão . . . desde Buro até hos Papuas ») to him, a donation that had been confirmed and approved by D. João III of Portugal in 1543 (SÁ IV 31-35 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 205 ; COUTO V 9 3). For Jordão's life, see EX I 322 note 16 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 745. Jordão's nephew was Vasco de Freitas, son of his brother Diogo de Freitas ; he had, in 1544, been sent by his uncle to Ambon in order to « visitar e tomar posse » of the island and its surroundings (REBELO 432). Vasco built a small wooden fortress « entre o mar da enseada em que as naos invernão e a villa de Ative » (COUTO VII 10 13), which, according to SCHURHAMMER (*Franz Xaver* II/I 667), was near Hukunalo (the modern Rumahtiga), where a narrowing of the Ambon Bay separates the inner bay from the outer one. In the year 1574, on June 18, the eldest legitimate son of Jordão, Gonçalo de Freitas, still managed to obtain from King D. Sebastião a confirmation of his vassalage of Ambon (*Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 21526* ff. 72*r*-74*v*). That King Hai-

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dos christãos. Porsiguindo nós nosso caminho, por meus pecados se foi a embarcação em que iamos ao fundo numa parte longe da terra, onde se affogou o Irmão e outra muita gente. Eu me sai com elle com quatro negros do capitão pera o salvarmos, e polo temor que tinha por se ver longe da terra, não sabendo nadar, soltou-se de hum catre sobre que o traziamos nadando e apegou-me do pescoso. Afirmo a V.R. que Nosso Senhor me livró polo muito que me oprimia, e contudo provera a Deus que antes fora eu morto que elle pois tanto proveito fazia nesta terra e eu tão pouco. Tornou-se dispois ao negro do capitão e foi tanta a força, já com ho trabalho da morte, que o sangue lhe fes deitar polos olhos. Parece que Nosso Senhor o quis levar porque o achou [209*v*] em estado de graça. Crea Vossa Reverencia que sua virtude era muita.

2. Eu sai pola bondade de Nosso Senhor em huma rocha onde o mar me lançou e ferio-me por muitas partes do corpo, de maneira que não podia andar senão com mãos e pés polo chão, e assi andei tres dias sem achar pessoa alguma nem caminho algum pera ir a povoado. Quis Deus pola sua clemencia infinita que veo ter comigo hum homem da terra dos que vivem no mato que se chamam alifuras e me levou às costas até hum lugar dos christãos [2]. Era pera ver o pranto que fizerão por todos os lugares dos christãos; tanto que fui no lugar vinhão-me muitos ver, e huns me trazião o pano pera camizas com que me cubrisse, outros a patola [3] pera gastar, outros a galinha pera comer. Certefico a V.R. que não achei nenhuma differença dos portugeses que forão christãos toda a sua vida. Sei-lhe dizer que bradão e chorão por Padres que os insinem e fação christãos. Seja com tudo Deus Nosso Senhor muito louvado e bendito pera sempre. Eu, Padre, não faço mais que insinar a doutrina; não bautizo porque o P.e Afonso de Castro [4] não me deu esse poder. Folgara de o fazer por se não perderem as almas que se perdem

---

7 por *corr. fr.* pormitirão || 16 ho trabalho *corr. fr.* a força || 21 andei *del.* sem || 33 Afonso] Antonio *AB* | Afonso de Castro *corr. fr.* Antonio de Quadros *C* | esse] ese *B*, e se *C*

---

run had no intention of acknowledging this donation and of renouncing his claims to Ambon can be seen from his letter to D. João III of April 4, 1546, from Goa (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 2110).

[2] It is not possible to identify this village, nor even to decide whether it was in West Hitu or in Leitimor.

[3] *Patola* is a silk cloth, woven of threads of various colours, or a red linen with a special pattern. Cf. ENI III 393-394; *Treatise*, Glossary 374.

[4] As Beira had left Ternate for Moro shortly after arriving from Goa in October 1553, Vicente Pereira had received his last instructions from Fr. de Castro.

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à mingoa. Não digo mais senão que fico numa cama muito maltratado, esperando, se o Senhor me der vida, de ser muito consolado por V.R. ainda que o não mereça.

De Amboyno, a 29 de Março de 1554.

Vicente Pireira.

## 52

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

LISBON, JUNE 8, 1554

I TEXT: DI III 90-95 [93-94]. Taken from *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 171* ff. 426*r*-427*v*. Original in Spanish.

II PRINTED: in SÁ II 146-147, a fragment; text taken from DI.

### *Text*

1. *The king [D. João III] ordered the captains of all the fortresses to lend every kind of support to the Jesuits.* — 2. *The king writes encouraging letters to the Christians of Comorin and Maluku.*

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre

[...]

1. Quanto a lo que toca más inmediatamente al fructo de las ánimas escrivió Su Alteza a todos los capitanes de las fortalezas, que ayudasen en lo que pudiessen, o en lo que fuessen requeridos, a los Padres de la Compañía en la conversión de los infieles en qualquiera parte que fuesse, dándoles toda ayuda necesaria para ello [1].

[...]

2. También scrive Su Alteza a estos christianos del Cabo de Comorín y a los de Maluco nuevamente convertidos, animándolos a perseverar en la christianidad, con lo qual nos escrivieron los [Pa]dres que andan

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38 Amboyno *del. illeg. word*

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[1] See DI II 605.

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en aquellas partes, se animarían mucho y confortarían en la fe aquello[s] christianos [2].

[...]

Oi 8 de Junio 1554.

Hijo indigno de V.P.,

Antonio de Quadros [3].

*Lost Letter*

52*a*. — *Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto to Fr. Baltasar Dias, vice-provincial, Goa ; probably from Malacca in June-August 1554.*

Fr. António Vaz to Fr. Dias, February 22, 1555 : « Per lettere del Padre Maestro Melchior intenderà la R.V. come da esso son stato mandato col fratello Emanuele de Tavora in queste isole di Malucho » (D 57, 1).

## 53

## FR. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO SJ, VICEPROVINCIAL, TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 3, 1554

I TEXT : DI III 119-128 [127]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 II* ff. 343*r*-346*v*. Original in Spanish.

II SENDER : Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto, after the death of Fr. Gaspar Berze, had been appointed a viceprovincial ; as such he set out to visit the young church of Japan, and on the way he wrote this letter in Malacca. He used Luís Fróis as a writer, but gave his own autograph signature.

III PRINTED : See DI III 120. To be added SÁ II 148 ; text taken from DI.

### *Text*

*By letters from Maluku he knows that the faith is spreading there and that the Fathers do a fruitful work.*

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[2] See D 39 note 1.

[3] For his life, see DI III 5*. Born in 1529, he entered the Society in 1544 at Coimbra and sailed to India in 1555 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 43), where, from 1559 to 1571, the year of his death, he was in charge of the Jesuit province of Goa.

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[...]

De la christianidad de las partes de Maluquo, de las islas de Moro y de Amboino, avemos aquí em Malaqua tenido cartas [1], que va la ffee em crecimiento, y que los travajos de los Padres de la Compañía que allá andão, son con mucho fructo, loado sea aquel de quien todo lo bueno procede.

[...]

Deste Malaqua, a 3 de Dezienber 1554.

Pobre y hijo,

Mestre Melchior.

## 54

## SCHOLASTIC AIRES BRANDÃO SJ TO THE JESUITS IN COIMBRA

GOA, DECEMBER 23, 1554

I TEXT: DI III 163-196 [186; 190; 193]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 I* ff. 56*r*-67*v* and *Goa 10 II* ff. 347*r*-348*v*. Autograph in Portuguese.

II SENDER: Aires Brandão was a Scholastic and a Latin teacher in the college in Goa. As he himself explains in the beginning of this letter, he wrote it, giving a bird's-eye view of the entire Indian Province, by order of Melchior Nunes Barreto, the viceprovincial, who had set out for Japan.

III PRINTED: Some fragments in SÁ II 149-150, taken from an incomplete Portuguese text in *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 182*v*-186*r*.

### *Text*

1. *Two Fathers, Beira and Castro, and two Brothers are stationed in Maluku; they converted many people. He awaits their letters; they are farther from Goa than Portugal is. A Father, António Vaz, and a Brother are in Malacca.* — 2. *Roman wishes and complaints about correspondence; they are not easily to be satisfied on account of the distances: sometimes two years without news from Maluku, Japan, etc.* — 3. *In the coming year news from Maluku may be expected. Geographical positions.*

[...]

1. Do grande fruito que os mais Padres e Irmãos fazem em as terras onde andão, o que vos eu posso screver hé nada pera o muito que elles fazem, scilicet: em Maluco estão dous Padres, Johão da Beira e

[1] In another letter of the same date to the Jesuits in India and Europe, he writes: «De Maluquo e da christandade das ilhas do Moro e Amboino temos cartas; o sumario delas lhe mando» (DI III 139). These are DD 48-51, which were opened and read in Malacca, and maybe other letters that did not come to our knowledge.



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Afonsso de Crasto, e tem consigo dous Irmãos [1]. Delles temos por novas que tem feito muito numero de christãos. Esperamos por suas cartas, que doutra maneira o não saberemos bem, por a viagem ser de tanta detença ou mais que a de Portugal pera quá. Em Malaca estaa o Padre Antonio Vaaz que lá mandou o Padre Mestre Melchior, e tem consigo outro Irmão [2].

[...]

2. Tendo já escripto atequi, me deu o Padre Balthasar Diaz [3] huma carta do Padre Johão de Polanco, que por comissão do P. M. Ignatio screvia ao P.M. Gaspar [4], em o quoal per apontamentos lhe dizia de que cousas avia de escrever a Roma. [...] E quoanto ao que se diz nela, que aos Padres que andão por diverssas terras o P. M. Gaspar tivese cuidado de, alguuns meses antes da partida das naos, os fazer escrever, pera que as novas fosem laa ter não tão imperfeitas como sempre forão, isto nom hé possivel, porque há muitos Padres, ou quasi todos, que se passa ano e às vezes dous que nem elles de nós, nem nós delles temos novas, pela muita distancia de caminho que há entre nós e elles: como são os de Maluco, que hé huma viagem de muito tempo, e Japão o mesmo.

[...]

3. Quoanto aos Padres e Irmãos de Maluco, Japão, Malaca, pera o ano esperamos no Senhor ter grandes novas deles, as quoais lhe mandaremos. Malaca estaa em 2¼ graos da banda do norte; Japão em 36 da banda do norte, e tem perto de si de huma banda o regno da China; Maluco está em huum grao da banda do norte.

[...]

Deste collegio de Sam Paulo de Goa, a XXIII de Dezembro de 1554.

Deste vosso Irmão e indigno,

Aires Brandão.

---

[1] There were three Brothers who had sailed there from India: Nicolau Nunes, Francisco Godinho, and António Fernandes; a fourth was Melchior de Figueiredo, who, however, had not come from Goa as a Jesuit but had entered the Society in Maluku.

[2] Fr. António Vaz and Br. Manuel de Távora, by order of the vice-provincial, Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto, left India in April 1554 for Ternate. By the time this letter was written, they had arrived there about October of the same year (*Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 13 and 14).

[3] Fr. Baltasar Dias had left Portugal for India on March 24, 1553 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 39), and had been appointed a substitute vice-provincial by Fr. Nunes Barreto, when he sailed to Japan in 1554 (DI III 10*).

[4] Fr. Gaspar Berze (Barzaeus). He had, however, died on October 18, 1553.

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*Lost Letter*

54*a*. — *King D. João III, Portugal, to the Christians of Maluku ; 1554.*

Fr. António de Quadros, Lisbon, to Ignatius, June 8, 1554 : « También scrive Su Alteza a estos christianos del Cabo de Comorín y a los de Maluco nuevamente convertidos, animándolos a perseverar en la christiandad » (D 52, 2). Consult D 39, and note 1 there. The fleet in which Quadros and the royal letter sailed to India weighed anchor in Lisbon on April 1, 1555 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 43).

## 55

## FR. NICOLÒ LANCILLOTTO SJ TO FR. IGNATIUS LOYOLA SJ, ROME

COULÃO (QUILON), JANUARY 12, 1555

I TEXT : DI III 216-228 [226]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 II* ff. 352*r*-355*v*. Original. Portuguese.

II PRINTED : See ibid. 216. Moreover in SÁ II 157, our fragment only, taken from DI.

### *Text*

*Names of two Jesuits in Malacca and of five in Maluku.*

[...]

En Malaqua está o Padre Antonio Vaz e huum Irmão por nome Manoel de Tavora [1].

Nas partes de Maluquo está o Padre Jão da Beyra e o Padre Afonso de Crasto e tres Irmãos, scilicet : Niculao Nunez, Antonio Fernandez e Francisco Guodinho.

[...]

De Coulão, a 12 de Janeiro de 1555.

De V.R. inutil servo,

Nicolao.

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[1] See D 54 note 2.

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*Lost Letters*

55*a*. — *Fr. Afonso de Castro, Ternate, to Br. Nicolau Nunes, Moro ; before February 1555.*

Fróis to the Jesuits in Portugal, November 19, 1556 : « Mandou huma vez o P.e Afonsso de Crasto, que agora lá naquelas partes reside por reitor, huma carta ao Irmão Nicollao Nunez, ao Moro » (D 63, 36).

55*b*. — *The Fathers of Maluku to the Jesuits in Goa ; about February 1555.*

Fróis to the Jesuits in Goa, December 1, 1555 : « Nam screvo largo de Maluquo, porque lá sabereis as novas particularmente polas cartas dos Padres e Irmãos » (D 59, 1 ; cf. note 1 there).

## 56

## A JESUIT BROTHER OF COCHIN TO THE JESUITS IN GOA

[COCHIN, SHORTLY AFTER JANUARY 29, 1555]

I TEXT : DI III 258-259. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-49* f. 206*v*. Copy in Portuguese.

II SENDER : One of the two Brothers who with Fr. Francisco Pérez stayed in Cochin : João Bravo or Bernardo Rodrigues (see DI III 244 note 3).

III DATE : It is clear from the letter itself that the Brother received some letters on January 29 while the ships for Goa were pressed by time to sail. So the date of this letter must have been not much after January 29.

IV NOTE : This is a covering note to two letters written by the Captain of Maluku, which had arrived in the Banda ship, and to some letters of Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto and his companions, written from Malacca, where they stayed on their way to Japan (among which D 53,), moreover perhaps to other letters from Maluku (our DD 47-51) which, however, at the moment of writing, had not yet arrived in Cochin. In the Lisbon MSS (see DI III 258) it figures as an introduction to these last ones. They were obviously copied in Goa and sent to Europe, but possibly at a later time. Generally letters from the Far East arriving in Cochin were read, copied, and distributed over the ships bound for Lisbon and Goa (departure in both directions in January or February).

V PRINTED : see DI III 258. To be added SÁ II 158-159 ; text of *Ajuda*, but evidently borrowed from DI (atraher, santa).

### *Text*

1. *As the ships are in a hurry to put to sea, ha hastens to provide them with the news from the far East.* — 2. *On January 28 two letters of the captain of Maluku arrived. He shows himself highly pleased with the work of the Jesuits there.* — 3. *Next day*

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*news of Fr. Melchior was delivered from Malacca. The letters from Maluku arrived in the Banda ship. It is rumoured that this year no ships from Japan, China, and Maluku will come in.*

Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi sit semper nobiscum. Amen.

1. Charissimos Irmãos. Estou vendo se vos posso em algua maneira escrever alguas novas dos nossos Padres que andão por aquellas partes tão remotas, como hé Malaca, Maluco e ho Japão, posto que as naos estavão pera lá tão depreça, que podê-las ainda tomar estas minhas regras foi muito, e por isso não curo senão de me ir às novas.

2. A vinte outo de Janeiro de 1555 chegou aqui huma carta do capitão de Maluco [1] pera o Padre Francisco Peres e outra pera o Reitor de Goa, nas quais dava conta do muito fruito que os Padres por aquelas partes fazião. E o muito que este os ajudar e favorecer em tudo não hé muito, porque hé grande amigo da Comphanhia, em especial do Padre Mestre Gaspar [2], o qual tinha especial dom de nosso Senhor pera atrazer [3] a gente ao caminho da verdade.

3. E logo ao dia seginte chegarão novas do Padre Mestre Belchior e dos mais companheiros que leva consigo pera o Japão, e como não puderão passar, pera ir a sua scilicet [4] vinha [5], e do muito fruito que fizerão esses dias que istiverão em Malaca, pola muita devação que aquella gente tem à Conpanhia; mas todavia logo esperavão de se partir. As naos, como ficarão atrás desta que nos deu as novas, não sei se poderão chegar a tempo que possão ir, mas confio que Deus me á-de ajudar pera que ainda as aqui mande; ainda que nos disem que não vem este anno naos de Japão, nem da China, nem de Maluco, porque as novas e cartas que vierão de Maluco foi pola via de Banda [6], as quais cartas vão escritas nesta, posto que com muita pressa.

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[1] Most probably Francisco Lopes de Sousa, who died in February 1554 (D 48 note 5), just about the time that the ships sailed from Ternate. He had agreed to the proposal of the Jesuits for an expedition to Moro and is praised by Fr. de Castro «polo grande zelo que tem da fé» (ibid. no. 2). See DD 50*a-b*.

[2] Berze (Barzaeus).

[3] *Atrazer*, obsolete form for *atrahir*, *atrair*. DI read *atraher*.

[4] For *scilicet*, written .s. in one MS (and omitted in two others), DI read *santa*.

[5] Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto and his companions were held up in Malacca much longer than they wanted to be (DI III 131). For their names, see ibid. 226 no. 16.

[6] So the royal Banda ship, loaded with nutmeg, had already arrived, and it

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## 57

## FR. ANTÓNIO VAZ SJ TO THE RECTOR OF THE COLLEGE, GOA

MALUKU [TERNATE], FEBRUARY 22, 1555

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 179 Vaz no. 1; STREIT IV p. 306; SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 6080.

II AUTHORS: POLANCO, *Chronicon* V 708-709, and for no. 3: VI 819 (no. 3512). Cf. BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 8.

III TEXTS: The Portuguese original has been lost. We do not even have a Portuguese copy, but Italian versions only.

A. *ARSI, Epp. NN. 78* ff. 176*v*-177*v*. Rough copy of Italian translation, presumably nearest to the original; some portions are cancelled and many corrections are made by Polanco. Heading: « Copia de una che'l Padre Antonio Vaz [*corr. fr.* Vas] scrisse de Malucho al Rettor del Colleggio di Goa ». To the left a « 5 » and a cancelled « 1 », traces of old numberings. Sometimes the orthography seems reminiscent of the Portuguese original, for instance, *costa* in stead of *costo* (Port. *custa*), *aqui*, etc.

B. *ARSI, Goa 31* f. 40*r-v*, earlier 428 and IV. Fair copy of text A, omits all passages crossed out by Polanco, and has a better orthography.

C. *ARSI, Goa 10 II* f. 321*r-v* earlier 404. Another fair copy, same text as B, with many underlinings.

IV ADDRESSEE: The rector of the college in Goa, and at the same time viceprovincial of India, was Fr. Baltasar Dias, appointed to this office by Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto when leaving Goa, in April 1554, for Japan.

V OUR EDITION: We print text A, putting in italics the portions crossed out by Polanco and consequently omitted by texts B and C. We take over the corrections seemingly made by the translator or copyist himself, and refer to the critical apparatus for those of Polanco. An example of a « correction » that betrays the original wording and the intention of the sender can be found in no. 4, where it brings about a quite different destination of Br. de Távora and falsifies this historical source.

### *Text*

1. *Fr. Melchior [Nunes Barreto] sent him to Maluku; he longs to suffer and to help souls.* — 2. *He had a slow voyage and arrived suffering from quartan fever. As he*

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brought the letters of the captain Francisco Lopes de Sousa. The letters of Nunes and companions, among which our D 53, had arrived in the Malacca ship on January 29, a day after the Banda ship. The royal Ternate ship, loaded with clove, had apparently stayed behind and was rumoured as not coming at all; it carried the letters of the Maluku Jesuits. It is possible that it arrived at the last moment, but this does not appear necessary in order to explain that this covering note and the DD 47-51 are united in the Lisbon MSS (see NOTE).

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*found the Ternate Fathers more ill than he himself was, he had to start immediately preaching and hearing confessions ; so while the others recovered he now has a double quartan. — 3. The country is badly provided with what the body needs. Fathers and Brothers are always rather more ill than healthy. Their housing and living conditions are worse than those of the laity. Sometimes he would like to see them work elsewhere. He asks for more workers and better sustenance. — 4. They are now three priests and five lay brothers. They are continually ill. Where each of them stays and works. — 5. In Ambon there should be at least two priests.*

La gratia et amor di Christo nostro Signore sia sempre in nostro favore et aiuto. Amen.

1. Per lettere del Padre Maestro Melchior intenderà la R.V. come da esso son stato mandato col fratello Emanuele de Tavora in queste isole di Malucho, il che certamente non fu sensa divino misterio et providenza per stare questa terra in gran bisogno ; quantunque io sia inutile, io sto molto consolato et confirmato nella fede della santa obedienza, cognoscendo [177*r*] che per virtù di essa *santa obedienza* il Signor me ha commonicato et concesso il desiderio che io ho de in queste bande patir per amor suo et aiutar queste povere anime.

2. In questo viaggio nostro habiamo speso molto tempo per esser longo et haver hauto molte bonaccie. Et essendo che Idio nostro Signor mai se dimentica delli peccatori, alcuni dì avanti de essere arrivati si dignò visitarmi con *la febre* quartana ; della quale venendo io travagliato et desideroso de qualche riposo, il Clementissimo Padre, che sa quel che più expedisce, mel' negò, per farmi magiori et più importanti gratie et beneficii. Perochè venendo io con questi pensieri trovai il Padre Ioanni di Beira et il Padre Alfonso de Castro et un altro Fratello [1] molto più infermi de quel che io veneva, de ma[n]iera che me bisognò intrar come sano a predicare et confessare. Et trovai la gente tanto desiderosa et famelica che della povertà mia ne faceva reliquie, et io vedendo la necessità mi messe al opera più de*l dovere et* quel che voleva la inbecillità corporale. De onde è proceduto che l'infermi sanorno, et io restai con doppia infermità, perochè prima n'haveva quartana semplice et adesso resto con quartana doppia. Rengratiato sempre sia il Signore nostro di tutti questi doni et gratie sue.

3. Questa terra, Padre, è molto priva delle necessità corporali, perochè in vece di pane si magna qua farina de un certo legno senza gusto

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6 inutile *del.* non potria e || 11 In questo *corr. fr.* nel || 13 alcuni *corr. fr.* qualche || 14 la febre *corr. to* una *Pol* || 24 semplicice [!] *ms.* || 28 qua *del.* certa | un certo *interl.*

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[1] Melchior de Figueiredo. See no. 4.

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nè sustantia et di odor *non bono* [2]; carne si trova poca o quasi niente, solamente qualche volta alcuni porci; pesce ce n'è poco et tristo, et trovasi anche con gran fatica. La terra è stimata sana, benchè io in me non lo senta insino al presente, nè manco nelli nostri Padri et Fratelli che qua si trovano. E gli è ben vero che'l nostro riparo et il vivere è molto differente di quello delli *mondani*, et però non è maraveglia esser loro sani et noi ammalati. Se aggionge a questo che il travaglio et disagi, che patiscono gli nostri visitando le altre isole intorno, causano in loro vivere tanto malsani et esserci sempre più ammalati che sani. *Il che me fa desiderare qualche volta de vederli in altre parti, dove con manco fatiga et più suavemente facciano più frutto* [3]. La miseria anche et infermità della terra et la perversità della [177*v*] gente ne son cagione di farsi poco frutto. Ma giachè s'è fatto questo principio, non conviene abandonare l'impresa, avenga che haverá sempre de essere con molta *costa et* travagli, *nei quali pure potriano essere aiutati mandandosi della India alcuni boni cooperarii et per la sustentatione della vita corporale qualche subsidi.*

4. *Qui siamo tre sacerdoti et cinque altri Fratelli* [4], *et le malatie sono tanto continue come ho detto, che basta per condolersi sapere che il più delicato cibo et vivanda del mondo per uno ammalato seria un boccon di pane se l'havessi. Non voglio più racontar miserie che qua si patiscono per non sconsolare et attediare la R.V., ancorchè sappia che charitas numquam excidit* [5]. *Io, Padre, resto aqui col carico della obedienza sopra le spalle* [6]. *Questo dico acciò con più efficacia mi racommandi nelli suoi santi sacrificii et orationi al Signor. Resta con me* il Fratello Emanoele de Tavora.

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29 non bono *corr. to* cativo *Pol* || 31 anche *interl.* || 34 mondani *corr. to* secolari *Pol* | maraveglia *del.* far || 36 gli nostri *interl.* | causano *corr. fr.* causava || 39 frutto *del.* perochè . . *and some illeg. words* | anche *interl.* || 40 et *del.* anche || 42 costa et *corr. to* spessa de *Pol* || 48 del *corr. fr.* di tutto il || 53 Tavora *add. interl.* et *Pol*

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[2] The *sagu* food.

[3] For an interpretation of these words as indicating a more general trend, see POLANCO, *Chronicon* VI 819 no. 3512.

[4] Three Fathers: Juan de Beira, Afonso de Castro, António Vaz; five Brothers: Nicolau Nunes, Francisco Godinho, Melchior de Figueiredo, Manuel de Távora; as for the fifth, perhaps António China (no. 4) or Vicente Pereira was considered as a Jesuit though we do not know that they actually were.

[5] 1 Cor 13 8.

[6] He remained in Ternate, which was the post of Afonso de Castro (cf. DD 19, 3; 47, 1), and he had the responsibility of the command, which belonged to Castro as well (D 63, 36). Here for the first time the cat peeps out. See D 60 note 1.

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Il Padre Alfonso de Castro andarà in Amboino con un altro Fratello [7]. Il Padre Joan di Beira resta aqui finchè sia passata la quadragesima [8], per andarsene con Figueredo di poi al Moro, che è un'altra provincia, dove si trova ancora il Fratello Nicolao *Nunges* con Antonio [9]. *Et il Padre Joan de Beira ha da menar seco il Fratello Figeredo.* Et per esser questa provincia grande ha bisogno di più Padri et Fratelli.

5. *In Amboino sono anche necessarii altretanti per esser due provincie molto grandi et de molta gente* [10]; *et non possono venire di llà a confessarsi aqui da noi, se non una volta l'anno, che è grande sconsolatione. Essendo doi sacerdoti et la gente et loro medesimi potriano esser consolati et più securi et farsi più frutto.*

Vengano dunque questi figlioli di Iesù et non temano la croce, nela quale il suo bon Padre et Signore volse *vivere et* morire per amor loro, che questa è la professione della Compagnia. Il Signor Idio ci dia a sentire sua santissima volontà. Amen.

Di Malucho, a 22 de Febraro 1555.

*Lost Letters*

57*a*. — *Fr. Afonso de Castro, Ambon, to Christovão de Sá, Captain of Maluku, Ternate ; between February and May 13, 1555.*

Castro to the rector of the Goa college, May 13, 1555 : « Questa terra di Malucho non essendo aiutata né essendoli dato soccorso, mandò il capitano Don Giorgio una fragata a Ternati domandando soccorso al capitano della fortezza ; al quale scrissi anche io per il medesimo » (D 58, 4). Castro had arrived in Ambon in February 1555.

57*b*. — *Fr. Afonso de Castro, Ambon, to Fr. General, Rome ; May 1555.*

In D 65, Polanco, under the year 1556, refers to experiences made

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54 andarà *corr. to* andarano *Pol* || 55 aqui *add. interl. and del.* con Figueredo || 56 con Figueredo *interl.* || 59 Padri et Fratelli *corr. to* gente *Pol* || 62 Essendo *corr. to* Se fussino *Pol* || 67 Compagnia *del.* Alle orationi del

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[7] In his letter from Ambon of May 13, 1555, Fr. Castro does not mention a Brother, even asserting plainly that he is living there alone (D 58 2 and 3). According to Fróis (D 61, 2, apparently relying on this letter) and Polanco (*Chronicon* V 708 no. 1974) Castro was accompanied by Br. Francisco Godinho. There is no obvious solution for this incongruity. Perhaps Godinho, after arriving in Ambon, soon left Castro. Godinho's name, after 1555, vanishes completely from all Jesuit documents, whether Maluku or Indian.

[8] In 1555, Easter fell on April 14.

[9] António de Santa Fé, also known as António China ; he was a lay-helper (EX II 475 note 24).

[10] Ambon and the Uliaser islands.

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by Fr. Afonso de Castro on the Ambon Island « anno praecedente », that is, in 1555. As Castro was the only Jesuit on the island at that time, and as he was stationed there at the time the ships sailed for India, in May (as is proved by D 58), it is only obvious that he himself informed Fr. General and the Roman Jesuits of his life and work.

## 58

## FR. AFONSO DE CASTRO SJ TO THE RECTOR OF THE COLLEGE, GOA

AMBON, MAY 13, 1555

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO I 33; MILLIES 53; SOMMERVOGEL II 855; WESSELS, *Amboina* 177 Castro no. 3; STREIT IV 787.

II AUTHORS: POLANCO, *Chronicon* V 709-710; VI 817 (3503-3504), 819 (3510-3511); VISSER 116-117; WESSELS, *Amboina* 28-29.

III TEXTS: Barbosa Machado, who wrote about 1740, says that in his time three letters of Fr. de Castro (DD 45, 48, and this one) were still kept in the archives of the professed house of São Roque in Lisbon, obviously meaning Portuguese copies of them. They seem to be lost. We can only produce Italian translations.

A. *ARSI, Epp. NN. 78* f. 176*r-v*. Rough copy. In the left upper corner « 2 », crossed out and replaced by « 6 ». Two different handwritings. Heading: « Ihs -- Copia d'una del Padre Alfonso de Castro Rettor del collegio di Maluco scritta [Rettor . . . scritta *del. and corr. to* scritta in Amboino *Polanco*] al Rettor de Goa ». A few passages crossed out and some corrections made by Polanco with a view to printing this letter.

B. *ARSI, Goa 10 II* f. 323*r-v*, earlier 410, red number 132. Calligraphic fair copy, omits parts cancelled in text A. Some other omissions and errors clearly show that this text has been copied directly from the corrected text A and that it did not serve as a specimen for the *Avisi* (see PRINTED).

C. *ARSI, Goa 10 II* ff. 321*v*-322*r*, earlier 404*v*, red number 131. Another fair copy with many underlinings. In the margin the numerals 7, 8 and 1. At the end it omits « de Amboino » and so the *Avisi* cannot have been printed after this text either.

D. *ARSI, Goa 31* f. 51*r-v* earlier V i. At the foot of f. 51*v* « Copia ». Fair copy with variants which exclude this also as a model for the *Avisi*.

IV PLACE: There could be some doubt whether this letter was sent from Maluku (Ternate) or from Ambon. The heading first said « Rettor del collegio di Maluco » which was changed by Polanco to « scritta in Amboino », and in the conclusion again « Malucho » has been replaced by « Amboino ». Our document evidently has been written in Ambon. In the first line Castro is speaking of Ambon « dove al presente mi trovo ». Moreover, the ships which had left Ternate about February 15, sailed, after a three month hibernation, in the middle of May from Ambon. Hence, to write

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a letter in Ternate on May 13 was of no use at all. Castro wrote this letter in Ambon a few days before the ships sailed. That at the end he put « Di Malucho » is quite explainable because this name was used by the Portuguese also in a wider sense for all the islands east of Selebes, and by the Jesuits for the entire area of their mission there.

V ADDRESSEE : See at D 57.

VI PRINTED : in *Avisi particulari dell'Indie di Portugallo*, Romae 1557, 27-28 ; *Diversi avisi*, Venetia 1559, 228*v*-230*r*. Whereas all MSS speak of « 50 miglie » (no. 2), and of « pirati » (no. 5), the printed texts read « 500 miglia » and « corsari ». So the latter seem to have been set up after a MS, lost now and different from texts B, C, and D. German version, in *Die Missionsgeschichte* I 278-281, translated from the *Avisi*.

VII OUR EDITION : We print text A putting in italics all passages cancelled or changed by Polanco.

## *Text*

*1. He has Ambon as a field of action. As the grown-up people are incapable of receiving the word of God, he tries to win the children. — 2. On the islands of Ambon there are 43 Christian villages. In one island, man-eating is practised. The Christian villages are in the inland area and difficult of access. — 3. The journey from Ambon to Ternate can only be made in the monsoon, takes a couple of weeks, and is dangerous. Hence there is great difficulty for the only priest there to go to confession. The rector should supply one more Father and two Brothers. People return to paganism. He can stay only one day in each village. — 4. A Muslim enlisted the Javanese in making the Christians apostatize. Thereupon he himself and a captain asked help of Ternate, wich sent three light galleys with the promise of a bigger fleet. — 5. Br. Fernandes sailed to evangelize some villages and was drowned in a tempest just after setting out upon his journey. The viceroy should pardon him the loss of ship and men.*

1. Per volontà d'Iddio mi tocò la parte d'Amboino, dove al presente mi trovo, aggiutando gli piccol*ini* et facend*oli* christiani, perochè li grandi non hano capacità *ni talento* per seminarsi in loro la parola d'Iddio (stultitia enim est illis et non possunt intelligere [1], quia quae carnis sunt sapiunt et non quae Dei [2]) ; confidando però che con la faticha de molti operarii, che in *la vigna co*tanto petrosa e piena de zizania spendano suoi infogati desiderii et fervori, il Signor nostro illuminarà col lume della sua gratia l'osc[u]rità et tenebre dei cuori di queste povere sue crea-

2 aggiutando *corr. fr.* confortando | piccolini *corr. to* piccoli *Pol* | facendoli *corr. to* facendo altri *Pol* || 6 la vigna *corr. to* terra *Pol* || 7-8 col . . gratia *m.*

[1] 1 Cor 2 14.

[2] Rom 8 5.

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ture, col suo sangue pretiosissimo ricomperate, *acciò sian fatte partecipi della verità della fede et anco della eterna gloria.*

2. Questa isola potrà haver' de circuito 50 miglie [3]; sarano in essa da 30 terre di christiani [4]; in un'altre isola tre miglia appresso, dove saranno da 10 terre, son tutti christiani [5]; in un altra pur appresso sono solamente tre terre fatte christiane [6]. La gente di quest'isola mangia carne humana et gli uni agli altri domandano in prestito li padri et parenti, quando sono vecchi, per mangiarli [7]. Li lochi dove habitano gli christiani sono molto dentro de la terra et molto lontano del lito; sonno molto fatigosi a caminare, per esser la terra molto aspra et tanto che scarpi non giovano. *Et se la pacienza non anda sempre innanzi, non mancano pericoli da perdere il poco che se potria guadagnare.* Tanta messe così piena de zizania ha pochi operarii, pero chè io son solo [8].

3. Di qui di Amboino se va a Ternatti con la motione del sul, et se riviene con quella de noroest. Il viagio è in se periculoso et sonno quindici dì de viagio. Questo dico perchè il Padre che qui sta, non potendosi confessare, vive molto sconsolato: in andare in Ternati spende molto tempo et lascia la terra sola. V.R. [176*v*] *doveria* provedere de uno altro Padre, acciò insieme se potessero consolare et far più frutto; medesimamente de un par de Fratelli, poichè essendo due privincie [9] non possono esser da me ben visitate et la gente, per essere da se maligna et di mala natura, han bisogno in tutti li lochi dove sono christiani di uno

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11 potrà *corr. fr.* può | miglie *del.* la terra || 12-13 dove . . terre *interl.* || 17 gli *corr. fr.* questi [?] | sono] sondo *ms.* | et *interl.* | lito *add. interl. and del.* et || 18 fatigosi *del.* et aspri[. . ?] | a *interl.* || 19 che *del.* li || 19-20 Et se . . . guadagnare *corr. to* è molto necessaria grande patienza *Pol* || 22 Amboino *del.* vanno a || 23 viagio *corr. fr.* camino | sonno *corr. fr.* sondo || 24 Questo *w. corr.* || 25 sconsolato *corr. fr.* sconzolato || 26 doveria *corr. to* veda se potrà *Pol* || 27 et *del.* cosi || 30 sono *corr. fr.* sondo

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[3] A rough estimate. The *Relação Vasconcelos* (192) says of Ambon: « Esta ilha de redondeza terá trimta legoas ». The same in D 3, 3.

[4] *Gen. Introd.* III 1.

[5] Probably the island Haruku, east of Ambon.

[6] The island Saparua, still a little more east. At what time conversions took place in these islands and by whom they were made is not revealed by any sources known. Maybe Fr. Nuno Ribeiro went there (see D 29, 2 and note 8); maybe Br. António Fernandes was setting out for the Uliaser islands when he was drowned (D 51, 1). It is thinkable that the Portuguese (Vasco de Freitas ?) made Christians without the intervention of a priest, as they did in Buru.

[7] See D 3 notes 37-39.

[8] See D 57 note 7.

[9] The island Ambon and the Uliaser islands.

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che li stia appresso. Perchè solamente nel loco dove io sto mostrano alcuna apparenza di christiani, ma nelli altri molti ritornano al vomito [10] et vivono come gentili, per vedere ch'io sto tanto lontano et non li posso visitare et veder li loro errori. Di maniera che essendo io solo, con questi che stano discosto non si può far altro frutto che farli li figlioli christiani *et altro non si può fare*, perchè non mi posso fermare più che un gio[r]no per loco. V.R. provega come vedrà esser più gloria et honore de Dio nostro Signore et ben delle anime.

4. Li giavii sono venuti in questa terra [11] ad instanza di un moro di questa isola che andò trovarli per esser adiutato da loro contra li christiani, acciò li facesse ritornare alla infideltà, per non essere ben confirmati nella fede. Et così, questa terra *di Malucho* non essendo aiutata nè essendoli dato soccorso, mandò il capitano Don Giorgio [12] una fragata a Ternati domandando soccorso al capitano della for-

31 Perchè *del.* questi | nel *corr. fr.* il | mostrano *corr. fr.* monstrano || 32 di *add.* esser *Pol* || 34 con *corr. fr.* in || 35 stano *corr. fr.* stando | far *add.* quasi *Pol* || 43 aiutata *corr. fr.* adiutata

[10] Cf. Prov 26 11 : « Canis qui revertitur ad vomitum suum », and 2 Pet 2 22.

[11] From of old there had been close relations between Ambon and Maluku on the one side, and the Javanese northern coast towns on the other side. The Maluku people boasted of having descended from the Javanese (*Treatise* 104) and claimed to depend on them in many cultural and religious respects, having received Islam from them (ibid. 104-105 ; 82-84). In the 14th century the Maluku kings had already submitted themselves as vassals to the mighty ruler of Majapahit, not least on account of great trade advantages. From then up to the 16th century the Javanese merchants managed to establish a clovetrade monopoly and to control all the important sea routes of Indonesia. The clove was bought by them and shipped along the north coast of Java to Malacca, and sold there. When the Portuguese began to exclude everyone from this clove trade, the Javanese were of course not willing to give it up without opposition ; an extensive contraband trade came into being (Cf. D 43, 3). As in the last quarter of the 15th century the coastal rulers of Demak, Japara, and Tuban in northeast Java had embraced Islam, they were only too eager to prove themselves defenders and friends of the Maluku sultans and, in Ambon, of the Hitu chief in their struggle against Christianity. In 1538, a Javanese fleet had been defeated by Diogo Lopes de Azevedo in the Ambon waters (CASTANHEDA VIII 200 ; *Treatise* 304).

[12] Dom Jorge de Eça had received from D. João III, in 1548, the favour of a voyage, as captain of the royal ship, to Maluku (SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 3702). On his first voyage he arrived in Ternate on October 18, 1549, carrying with him Christovão de Sá, the new captain of Maluku, and Fr. Afonso de Castro and his companions (REBELO 233 and 447). During his second voyage he had to wait out the monsoon in the bay of Ambon in April-May 1555 (REBELO 325 and 395). In 1558 he made a

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tezza [13]; al quale scrissi anche io per il medesimo [14]. Et sono venute tre fuste con recapito de Ternati, che il re di Malucho faceva grande armata per venire contra li giavii. Speramo in Dio nostro Signore che le forze delli inimici di nostra santa fede saranno *rotte et snodolate* per riformatione de tante anime perse. V.R. faccia ricommandare a Iddio questo negotio.

5. Stando il Fratello nostro Antonio Fernandes in questa isola de Amboino et bisognando fare una o doi terre christiane, pregò al figliolo de un capitano [15] lo volessi accompagnare et portar nella sua fusta. Il che havendo fatto di bona voglia et havendo già cominciato il viaggio, li sopravenne una gran tempesta et la fusta et robbe che dentro erano insiemi col Fratello nostro et tutti li altri che erano dentro se annegorono, fuora del capitano il quale con gran stento et periculo si salvò. V.R. per amor del Signor si degni intercedere appresso il Vice-Re, acciò la perdita delle cose del Re, che dentro la fusta erano, gli sia perdonata, poichè s'è adoprata in cosa de tanto servitio de Iddio et di Sua Altezza, et detta provisione della fusta et genti et altre cose era molto necessaria per li molti pirati che ce sono et il periculo che hanno i Padri, non andando in simili inprese accompagnati da portoghesi. Dio nostro Signore ce dia a sentire sua santissima voluntà per servirlo perfectamente et goderlo nella gloria. Amen.

Di *Malucho*, li 13 di Magio 1555.

De V.R. servo in Christo,

Alfonso de Castro.

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45 sono] sondo *ms.* || 46 il re di *corr. fr.* in | Malucho *del.* se | armata *del.* et che il medesimo || 48 sarrano *corr. fr.* sarrando | rotte et snodolate *corr. to* destrutte *h3* || 49 perse *del.* vostra || 52 et *corr. fr.* accadette che || 53 et portar *corr. fr.* [. . ?]levandolo || 54 voglia *del.* et essendo || 62 non *del.* essendo || 66 Malucho *corr. to* Amboino *Pol*

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third journey with the *Conceição* from Malacca in order to succour the Ternate fortress, and was made a « capitão-mor do mar » of Maluku. (Couto VII 5 3). That he came to a bad end, in 1563, can be seen from the sentence, in SÁ III 43-44.

[13] Christovão de Sá, who ruled the fortress from February 1554 to November 1555.

[14] See D 57*a*.

[15] Vasco de Freitas, son of Diogo de Freitas ; cf. D 51 note 1.

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## 59

# SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ TO THE JESUITS IN GOA

MALACCA, DECEMBER 1, 1555

I TEXT : DI III 311-322 [320-321]. Taken from *Archives Toledo Jesuit Province, Varia Hist. 3*, f. 102*r*-105*v*. Coeval copy. Portuguese.

II NOTE : Luís Fróis, not yet a priest, belonged to the group which with Fr. Melchior Nunes had set out from Goa in April 1554 in order to visit Japan. When after a stay of nearly one year in Malacca which had been abandoned by the Jesuits in 1552, they finally found an opportunity to continue their journey, Fróis was left behind to keep an eye on their residence and to teach catechism. The ships from Ternate/Ambon arrived in Malacca at the end of June and sailed for Cochin/Goa in the beginning of December.

III PRINTED : see DI III 312. Moreover SÁ II 160-170, our fragment 168-169 : a defective Portuguese text, retranslated from a Spanish version.

## *Text*

1. *Jesuits working in Maluku, and their residences. Fr. Vaz replaces the vicar of the fortress who died.* — 2. *Fire of the Portuguese settlement in Maluku.*

[...]

1. Nam screvo largo de Maluquo, porque lá sabereis as novas particularmente polas cartas dos Padres e Irmãos [1], somente que o Padre Afonso de Crasto fiqua agora em Amboino, e o Padre Joam da Beira no Moro com Melchior de Figueredo e Nicolao Nunez e Antonio China, e em Maluquo [2] o Padre Antonio Vaz com o Irmão Manoel de Tavora, onde se faz muito fructo pola bondade de Deus. O vigairo que estava em Maluquo morreo [3]. Por nam ter consigo outro nenhum clerigo [4], serve

---

[1] Out of those « cartas dos Padres e Irmãos » only the letters of Frs. António Vaz (D 57) and Afonso de Castro (D 58) have come down to us.

[2] Ternate, in the Portuguese town.

[3] His name is not known. That he was still the Rui Vaz of the years 1544-1545 (DI III 320 note 27) does not seem probable ; cf. D 10 note 31. The vicar must have died between February 22, 1555, when Fr. Vaz wrote his letter (D 57), not yet mentioning the change in his work caused by the priest's death, and c. May 15 of that year, when the ships were to leave Ambon.

[4] In February 1550 a vicar and one mass-priest were stationed in the fortress (D 28, 2).

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agora o Padre Antonio Vaz de tudo e faz suas estaçoens e dis-lhe a missa como seu cura, mas fiquava mui mal desposto de terçãs e quartans.

2. Maluquo queimou-se, de muito pouco tempo pera quá, quatro ou sinco vezes [5]; e a derradeira foi o incendio e ardor de fogo tam grande, que ficou mui pouco da povoaçam dos portugueses da banda do mar e da terra que nam ardese; e foi de maneira que se nam pode mais salvar da casa da sancta Misericordia, segundo dizem os que de lá vieram, que hum crucifixo e a bandeira.

[..]

De Malaqua, ao primeiro de Dezembro de 1555.

Servo inutil de todos,

Luis Frois.

## 60

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS SJ TO THE PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL, FR. DIEGO MIRÓN

GOA, DECEMBER 6, 1555

I TEXT: DI III 329-354 [343-344]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 226*r*-231*v*. Copy in Portuguese.

II NOTE: Fr. de Quadros had this very year arrived in Goa from Portugal. He had been commisioned to become provincial of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, which, however, he never would be. On January 1, 1556, he was to become vice-provincial of India. Meanwhile he tried to get acquainted with the Asian churches, a task in which he succeeded rather well, witness this letter.

III PRINTED: See DI III 329-330. To be added SÁ II 171-173, same fragment as ours; *Documentos sobre os Portugueses* VII 327-361.

### *Text*

1. *Nuno Ribeiro worked in Ambon with the help of only one Portuguese, where he lived up to the standards of the indigenous life until he died. Now Fr. Vaz is there from whom there is no news yet.* — 2. *Castro in Maluku; Beira in Moro, his sufferings. Maluku and Japan are a much more arduous field than India.*

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[5] Much earlier, about 1544, the *Treatise* reported that before the time of António Galvão the Portuguese town of Ternate had been burnt down two or three times (292).

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[...]

1. E na ilha de Amboino, que hé huma das de Maluco, andou aly antigamente nosso Padre Mestre Francisco, o qual mandou aly o Padre Nuno Ribeiro ; o qual dispois de fazer muitos christãos, alem dos que fes o Padre Mestre Francisco, andando ele só com elles sem aver aly portugeses, mais que hum que por devação quis ficar com elle, não levando outro tratamento corporal que o da gente da terra, que como gente misera não tem outro senão dormir e manter-se com pouco mais de nada ; os quais doutrynou algum tempo com muito trabalho. Despois adoecendo mortalmente se mandava levar em hum pano como cubertor e ya visitar e doutrinar os christãos en suas casas em sua infirmidade, assi como o fazia na saude ; e andou nesta santa ocupação até que deu a alma a Deus. Agora está nesta terra o Padre Antonio Vaz doutrinando e ajudando esta christandade, do qual ainda não temos novas nenhumas [1].

---

[1] Fr. Quadros could not yet know of the letters written in early 1555 (DD 57 and 58), nor does he seem to have been acquainted with the Ambon letters of 1554 (DD 48 to 51). From his statement it can be gathered that in India Fr. António Vaz had been assigned to Ambon. He managed to stay on in Ternate and to send Castro to Ambon instead.

According to Jesuit authors (SACCHINI, *Historia Societatis* II 1 156 ; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 12 ; SOUZA I III 2 5 11, and 12) strange scenes were enacted in Maluku by António Vaz. He was a pious man, but had a shallow spiritual life (Cf. D 85, 6). Having a high opinion of himself and being a clever fellow, prompted by jealousy of Fr. Castro he managed not only to send him to Ambon, but also to have the jurisdiction of superior delegated temporarely to himself. He went so far as to forge letters patent of his appointment as superior by Fr. Provincial. Playing up to the new captain, D. Duarte de Eça, and acting as the vicar of the fortress, he made himself an important and indispensable man. At his return from Ambon, Castro, discovering the fraud and seeing the stubbornness of Vaz, expelled him from the Society. Consequently the captain and the Portuguese began a campaign of persecution and of sabotage against Castro, who finally saw himself forced to leave Ternate and to go to Moro. Fr. de Beira informed the superiors in India of these events, and Fr. Provincial sent Fr. Francisco Vieira as superior to Maluku with letters patent containing these points : that Vaz was a usurper, that he had forged false documents, that his expulsion from the Society was valid, that the withdrawal of jurisdiction from Fr. de Castro had been invalid. Vaz, at the first opportunity, was sent back to India.

It must be remarked, first, that no contemporary document from Maluku or dealing directly with Maluku (DD 57 to 73) makes mention of those unsavoury occurrences, though D 57, 4, looking harmless, contains already the first act of the drama ; only at a later date and in some indirect documents, like catalogues and a



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2. Em Maluco está hum Padre nosso chamado Afonso de Castro [2], cuja vida e doutrina tem muito edificado aquella terra, porque hé homem mui dado à oração e de muita virtude. Nas ilhas do Moro, aonde há muita christandade, anda João da Beira com tres Irmãos [3], aonde padecem muito por a estrelidade da terra ser mui grande ; pelo que dizia Mestre Francisco que mais se avião de chamar aquellas ilhas ' Ilhas de

---

general survey of the entire Goa province (DD 83, 85, 89, 99), is the tragedy revealed. It is not impossible that the pertinent documents have been destroyed.

Second, at the beginning of 1557, Vaz' fraud was known in Goa, where Beira had arrived in February or March, and from where Vieira would sail in April. Consequently the events had occurred in Ternate before February 1556. The chronology must have been like this :

| | |
|---|---|
| Autumn 1554 : | António Vaz arrives in Ternate (D 57, 1). |
| February 1555 : | Castro sails to Ambon ; Vaz remains in Ternate as a rector *ad interim*, « col carico della obedienza sopra le spalle » (D 57, 4). |
| Febr.-May 1555 : | Vaz begins acting as vicar of the fortress (D 59, 1). |
| May 13, 1555 : | Castro is in Ambon (D 58). |
| November 1555 : | The new captain, D. Duarte de Eça, arrives in Ternate (Couto VII 4 7). Vaz makes friends with him. |
| Before December 1555 : | Castro returns from Ambon (in the period December- April the north monsoon would have made this impossible). |
| Soon after : | Castro wants to discharge Vaz from his rectorship *ad interim*. Vaz shows him false letters patent (D 99). Castro expells Vaz from the Society. Castro is sabotaged by the captain and people. |
| February 1556 : | Castro lives in Ternate as the legitimate rector (D 63, 36) ; Beira and Nunes sail to India (D 63, 3). |
| Presumably shortly after Whitsunday (May 24) 1556 : | Castro sails to Moro (D 72, 5). |
| February-March 1557 : | Beira and Nunes arrive in Goa ; they inform Fr. Provincial of the behaviour of Fr. Vaz. |
| April 1557 : | Francisco Vieira and his companions leave Goa (D 72, 2) with the sentence against Vaz. |
| October 1557 : | Vieira arrives in Ternate (ibid.) and executes the sentence. |
| February 1558 : | Vaz sails from Ternate, bound for India. |

[2] He worked in the Portuguese settlement of Ternate from October 1549 to February 1555, with a short break in 1551, when he was summoned to Moro by Beira (D 41, 9-10).

[3] Nicolau Nunes, Francisco Godinho (whose eventual departure could not yet be known), and Melchior de Figueiredo.

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Esperar em Deus '[4] que do Moro. Nellas se perdeo já o Padre, indo por mar, tres vezes, e de todas o Senhor o livrou ; e de huma andou dous ou tres dias pelo mar sobre huma taboa e andou muitos dias embrenhado fugindo aos mouros que andavão pera o matar[5]. Outro Irmão tambem no mar, indo pera a fortaleza onde chegou nu de todo[6]. O trabalho que se tem em converter aquelles jentios e conservar os que são convertidos e sofrer as persicuções dos mouros, hé muito, alem da falta temporal do necessario assi acerca de comer como dormir, como do outro soccorro e ajuda humana. Pelo qual o Padre Mestre Francisco deixava sempre mui encomendados os Padres de Maluco e Japão, polos muitos trabalhos e necessidades que, como esperimentado, sabia que padicião, mais que os outros Padres que por cá estavão.

[...]

De Goa, oje 6 dias do mes de Dezembro de 1555.

Antonio de Quadros.

## 61

## SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

MALACCA, DECEMBER 15, 1555

I TEXT: DI III 359-365 [363-364]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 10 II* ff. 369*r*-370*r*. Coeval copy in Portuguese.

II PRINTED: see DI III 360. Moreover in SÁ II 174-179, after a text in *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 234*v*-235*v*.

### *Text*

1. *Success and troubles of the Jesuits in Maluku.* — 2. *Fr. Vaz replaced the vicar who died. Names and locations of the others and their continuous sufferings.*

[...]

1. De Maluco, omde aguora estão tres Padres nossos e quoatro Irmãos[1], vierão aqui novas que fazem muito fruito. A christamdade da-

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[4] D 10, 4.

[5] D 41, 3, and D 44, 1.

[6] Nicolau Nunes ; D 33, 2.

[1] Cf. D 62.

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quellas partes hé mui gramde, os trabalhos com que hé comservada pellos da Companhia parecem intoleravês: padecem grandissima necessidade em suas imfirmidades e a maior comsolação que teriam quamdo estão pera morrer seria hum bocado de pão, se o tivessem [2].

2. Acertou aguora de morrer em Maluco o vigairo que haí estava [3], e por não aver outro nenhum sacerdote o Padre Antonio Vaz que haí reside serve de tudo [4]. O Padre João de Beira estaa no Moro com o Irmão Belchior de Figueiredo, e o Padre Afonso de Crasto estaa em Amboino com o Irmão Framcisquo Guodinho [5], e o Irmão Nicolao Nunez soo em outra provincia [6]. São todos muito mal despostos pollos gramdes trabalhos, nudeza, fomes, calmas e frios que comtinuamente padecem: mas, porem, desta maneira se vão apurando no foguo das tribulaçõis e se vão despomdo pera serem pedras, caa neste valle muito bem lavradas, pera o celestial edeficio.

[...]

Deste collegio de Malaca, aos 15 de Dezembro de 555 anos.

Servo inutil de todos,

Luis Frois, que por outro nome se chama Pulicarpo [7].

## 62

## CATALOGUE OF THE JESUITS OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

[GOA, BETWEEN DECEMBER 21 AND 31, 1555]

I TEXT: DI III 409-412 [412]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 4*r-v*. Original. Spanish.

II DATE: not indicated, but has been calculated by Wicki, DI III 410. The catalogue gives the situation in Maluku of the middle of 1554. The letters of early 1554 had been received in India, and Fr. António Vaz with Br. Távora had sailed, in April, to Maluku from Goa.

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[2] D 57, 4.

[3] Cf. D 59 note 3.

[4] Fróis forgets to mention Br. Manuel de Távora: D 59, 1.

[5] It should be noticed that Godinho is mentioned here, whereas in D 59 he is not. See D 57 note 7.

[6] Cawa, SE of Tolo; D 48, 1.

[7] This is, as far as I know, the only time that Luís Fróis still calls himself Polycarpus, which was his name before he entered the Society. (Cf. WICKI, *Liste* no. 26 and p. 336). See, however, DI II 537.

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III NOTE : On catalogues, see D 38. This one is remarkable for the distribution of the 78 Jesuits who were working in the whole of the India (= Asian) mission field and for the place Maluku takes in that whole. For several places the numbers are : Goa 44 Jesuits (Fathers, Brothers, Scholastics, Novices), Ethiopia 2, Hormuz 2, Bassein 4, Cochin 2, Quilon 2, Comorin 2, São Tomé 2, Maluku 7, Japan 11.

IV PRINTED : in SÁ II 180 ; only the seven names of the Maluku Fathers, taken over from DI.

*Text*

*Seven names of Jesuits in Maluku.*

LISTA DE LOS PADRES Y HERMANOS QUE ESTÁN EN LA INDIA

[...]

Maluco

P. Joam da Beira [1]
P. Alfonso de Castro
P. Antonio Vaz
Nicolao Nunez
Francisco Guodinho [2]
Melchior de Figueiredo
Manuel de Thavora

[...]

*Lost Document*

62*a*. — *Br. Nicolau Nunes, Ambon, Baptismal Register, February-May 1556.*

Fróis to the Jesuits in Portugal, November 19, 1556 : « Baptizou ali em Amboino então ho Irmão [Nunes] perto de mil e trezentas almas, todos per rol escritos seus nomes pera que lhes não esquesesse ; . . . e mais baptizara, senão que, por elle mesmo lhe escrever os nomes, não deu o tempo lugar pera mais » (D 63, 49).

---

[1] Beira ranks first, for in Goa he is still considered the superior of the Maluku Jesuits. Actually Melchior Nunes, while staying in Malacca from June 1554 to April 1555, had nominated Castro superior instead of Beira (see D 63, 36).

[2] See D 57 note 7.

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## 63

# SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 19, 1556

I TEXT: DI III 522-564 [527 ; 528 ; 534 ; 538-564]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 279*r*-286*v*, with corrections and additions from other MSS. Copy. Portuguese.

II NOTE: On May 23, 1556, Fr. Dias had arrived in Malacca to act not only as a spiritual guide but also as a kind of liaison officer between Goa and the Far East: Japan and Maluku. There he found Luís Fróis (see DD 59 and 61). A month and a half later Beira and Nicolau Nunes came into port from Ternate. Nothing of the stories they had to tell escaped the notice of such a literary man as was Fróis. Dias commissioned him to write it all down. The result was this letter, which apparently went to India with the same ship as Beira and Nunes themselves. It is one of the most circumstantial and important accounts on Maluku and on the work of the Jesuits there in this early period, and, as depending immediately on eyewitnesses, a document of great authority.

III PRINTED: See DI III 524. Moreover in SÁ II 233-272.

## *Text*

1. *He writes in commission of Fr. Baltasar Dias and confines himself to news from « these parts ».* — 2. *Fr. Dias was appointed to reside in Malacca ; he arrived on the eve of Whitsunday and found two Brothers there.* — 3. *A month and a half later Beira and Nunes came from Maluku on their way to India to ask for more helpers.* — 4. *He reports on Maluku with the help of Beira and Nunes.* — 5. *The most powerful ruler there is the king of Ternate, a two-faced man, loyal to the king of Portugal while persecuting the Christians.* — 6-7. *Some conversions in the king's family.* — 8. *The island of Ternate, its volcano, its produce, its serpents.* — 9. *Other islands : Tidore, Makian, Motir, and Bacan.* — 10. *The king of Jailolo was an enemy of the Portuguese and of the Christians ; he was defeated.* — 11. *In Moro, Morotai, and Morotia, many Christians ; various peoples and languages.* — 12. *Produce of those islands, especially sago.* — 13. *Hens and their eggs.* — 14. *Two kinds of crab.* — 15. *Lizards and turtles.* — 16. *A kind of manatee.* — 17. *Speaking parrots.* — 18-19. *Two primitive and barbarous peoples and their way of life.* — 20. *The Papuan country and people.* — 21. *Their favourable disposition towards Christianity.* — 22. *Many other islets.* — 23. *Flourishing Christian church in 46 or 47 villages of the Moro country, suffering from persecution and from shortage of spiritual guides.* — 24. *Revolt of apostates in Tolo and neighbouring villages ; volcanic eruption and rain of ashes ; return to the faith.* — 25. *Two sacrilegists punished by God.* — 26. *Manner of catechetical instruction of children and adults.* — 27. *Beira*

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*expelled rats with holy water. — 28. The rat plague moved to the heathen regions. The heathen gods. Earthquakes. — 29. In their illness the Christians expected too much from Beira and Nunes. — 30. An old Christian indulged again in heathen worship and was converted. — 31. Prayer for rain answered in Alilivo. — 32. Heathen lower divinities or evil spirits. — 33. Religious observance to conjure up the spirits of the dead. — 34. Seed-rice eaten by mice, conserved by prayer of Beira. — 35. Edifying Christian funeral rite. — 36. Some villages converted. — 37. Hardships of the Jesuits' life. — 38. Beira and Nunes escaped murderous designs of the king of Jailolo. — 39. After recovering from illness they returned to Moro, finding themselves helpless against cruel and bloody persecution. — 40. Threefold shipwreck of Beira. — 41. Twice he was sold, but escaped death. — 42. Nunes was shipwrecked, escaped death and, naked, reached Ternate. — 43. They felt themselves backed by the prayers of their European companions. — 44. Notice about Selebes. — 45. About Makasar. — 46. About Mindanao. — 47. About Buru. — 48. Many Christians on Ambon and neighbouring islands ; a Brother died there ; at present not a single Jesuit is assisting them. — 49. Nunes baptized 1300 people there. — 50. Interior consolation in hardships ; another escape from death. — 51. Information about Varanura and Banda. — 52-53. Urgent invitation to come and render assistance to the Maluku Christians. — 54. In Europe there is a sufficiency of preachers ; so the Jesuits should prefer to come to India. — 55. This year there is no news from Japan yet.*

Jesus

1. Gratia e amor etc. Como seja muita parte de nossa rreboração e contentamento spiritual, aos que estão tão distantes nas provincias e tão hunanimes em um amor, esta comunicação per cartas, coligindo da consolação que se quá recebe nestas regiones tão rremotas com as que de llá escreveis, pareceo ao P.e Baltazar Diaz que não seria menos consolação vossa saberdes por extensso algumas particularidades do que o Senhor cá obra pellos da Companhia. E como no collegio de Goa está ordenado escrever-sse dahy a ordem que se tem no proceder, assi das outras fortalezas da India onde os da Companhia residem como do mesmo collegio, he isto estar quá muy alheo da India, mandou-me o Padre que a todos, Charissimos, vos escrevesse esta carta em seu nome, porque as ocupações continuas que tem não lhe dão oportunydade pera por sua mão o poder fazer assy per extenso como elle deseja. He porque, como digo, que das cousas da India tereis largas novas das cartas do collegio de Goa, nesta somente tocarey algumas quá destas partes.

[...]

2. Na somana sancta se assentou que [o Padre Baltasar Dias] viesse pera Malaca a residir neste collegio pera daquy prover as cousas de Japão e Maluquo he mandar as vias a Cochim pera esse Reyno. Partio

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de Guoa o primeiro domingo depois da Pasqua [1] [...]. Deu-lhe N. Senhor por sua bomdade prosperos tempos, com que chegarão aqui vespora do Spirito Sancto [2]. Neste collegio achou dous Irmãos, hum que o Padre Mestre Melchior aquy deixou quando foy pera Japão [3], e outro dos que levava, que da China veo comvalecer a esta terra de humas terçãs grandes que lhe lá socederão, das quais aprouve loguo o Senhor dar-lhe saude [4].

[...]

3. Avendo obra de hum mes e meio que o Padre aquy hera chegado da India, vierão aqui ter de Maluquo huma nao e huma caravella. Nestas embarcações vinhão o nosso Padre Joam da Beira e o Irmão Nicolao Nunez [5], clamando e pedindo com muita instancia que, pelo amor de Jesu Christo, socorrecem aquela grande christandade de Maluquo, que, por falta de Padres e Irmãos, perecia. Afirmo-vos, Charissimos, verdadeiramente que se vos achaseis presentes a ouvir o que daquellas partes contavão e cada dia contão, e de quantas almas se perdem puramente ao dezemparo de não aver quem lhes acuda e os baptize, que não deixareis de aver grandissimo sentimento de tão evidentissima perdição. Mas eu sou ainda tão miserable e acho-me tão inabilitado pera vos exagerar [6] isto quanto deve ser, e pera vos propor esta tão grande necessidade de operarios, que totalmente não sinto outro meio milhor senão pedir e pedirmos os que quá estamos com grande instancia a Nosso Senhor que interiormente vo-llo dê a sentir, pois que tanto zelais sua honra.

[...]

4. Pellas cartas que o ano passado forão escritas a esse Reino tivestes, Charissimos, larga informação da christandade do Japão e das calidades da terra e dos abitadores della. Tambem o P.e Mestre Gaspar, que Deus tem, vos escreveo largo sobre as cousas do Preste, e das imformações que daquelles christãos tinha por huns portugueses que de lá vyerão [7]. E alem disto, da christandade do Cabo de Comorim tem

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[1] Easter 1556 fell on April 5 ; so he sailed on April 12.

[2] Whitsunday was May 24.

[3] Luís Fróis, the writer of this letter.

[4] His name was António Dias.

[5] So they landed about July 7. Nunes had been summoned to Goa (D 201, 1).

[6] Here it means : to amplify, to detail, to relate circumstantially.

[7] Fr. Gaspar Berze sent this relation in early 1553, using Fróis as his secretary. It was printed in BECCARI X 23-24.

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pelo conseguinte scripto per algumas vezes o P.e Anrriquez [8], grande agricultor daquella vinha do Senhor; e assi o Irmão Baltezar Nunez quando de lá veo de Comorim escreveo todas as particularidades de seus ritos antigos he novo modo de proceder [9]. Agora o P.e Baltazar Diaz me mandou que, com a emformação do P.e João da Beira e o Irmão Nicolao Nunez, vos desse de Maluco alguma noticia e da christandade que lá há [10]; porque, como Maluco seja a ultima fortaleza que El-Rey tem nestas partes, he viagem de dous annos por hida e vinda até à India, e os Padres andarem tão ocupados que pera estas particularidades lhe não vaga tempo, assentou o Padre que, com as emformações dos que aguora vierão clamar por gente da Companhia, recebereis muita consolação in Domino pera que vos fique servindo de grandes desejos de ajudar a tantas almas, que totalmente todos os dias e oras perecem por falta de obreiros. Não digo isto pera todos igualmente, mas pera que os que se começão a exercitar as virtudes, com mais instancia deseje[m] de se comsumar e perfeiçoar nellas, e os já provados e desejosos de a[s] exercitar achem aquy motivos que mais os espertem, oferecendo-sse muitas vezes a N.S. pera que os faça cooperadores desta obra tão aceyta a sua Magestade divina.

5. A fortaleza de Maluquo, Irmãos meus, está situada hum grao da linha pera a banda do sul [11]. Hé isto na terra do mais poderoso rey daquellas partes, que se chama Rey de Ternate [12]; é elle todavia obediente à fortaleza e todas as vezes que os capitães o mandão chamar, vem. Hé conversavel com os portugueses, e presa-sse em gram maneira de servir a El-Rey de Portugal, porque por isto hé elle obedecido de todos os seus e não seus. Vay-sse elle fazendo muy poderoso em dilatar he estender seu reyno [13]; e, posto que se mostra servidor, lá por detraz deita a pedra he esconde a mão em perseguir os christãos e mandá-los matar. Muitas vezes diz elle mal de sua ceita de Mafamede, mas tem por grave jugo deixar as muitas molheres que tem e seguir a vertude da ley evangelica; porem, se todavia o frequentassem far-c'ia nelle alguma cousa,

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[8] Henrique Henriques. For some of his letters, see DI I and II.

[9] This Brother is a different person from the Baltasar Nunes who sailed to Maluku. His letter: DI II 558-572.

[10] Fróis, being a good reporter, thankfully seized the opportunity to describe and to argue from the statements of reliable witnesses.

[11] The fortress was situated at 0° 45' N (and not S).

[12] Hairun.

[13] This statement proves that the Portuguese were not completely blind to the expansionist policy of the court of Ternate.

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e pera isto não há necessidade de interp[r]ete, porque elle entende e fala bem portugues.

6. De progenia deste rey são feitas algumas pessoas christãas, scilicet huma raynha, que se chama Dona Isabel, molher prudente que se confessa e comunga quasi sempre com os da Companhia [14]. Foy esta a mais emtendida na ceyta que todos quantos mouros há em Maluquo. Comverteo-a o Senhor pelo nosso bemaventurado Padre M. Francisco, e foy com pura desputa [15]. Não fora muito com ella todo Maluquo ser christão, mas socedeo per morte de seu filho Dom Manoel, rey de Maluquo que na India se fez christão e morreo neste Malaca [16], hum seu emteado que agora hé rey, o qual a tem muito perseguida e suas terras usurpadas; ajuntando-sse com isto tambem ser ella pouquo favorecida dos capitães, sendo ella, alem de sua virtude e onestidade, do mais alto sangue de Maluquo, porque hé rainha [17] he mãy d'el-rey, e irmãa d'el-rey de Tidore; e assi christã, quando vay fora hé muy temida e venerada dos seus. Tem ella consigo alguns filhos seus christãos muyto amigo[s] dos portugueses.

7. Tambem se fizerão christãas duas irmãas deste rey que aguora hé, que já são falecidas; e ahy alem destes em Maluquo dous sobrinhos seus christãos cujas mãis se comverterião, se não que o rey é muy tirano e toma-lhe as terras e as fazendas, e com isto todos ão medo.

8. Esta ilha onde a fortaleza está, será de sinquo legoas em roda. Diz o Irmão Nicolao Nunez que hé das mais altas terras que se virão, segundo o parecer de todos [18]. Tem em o cume da principal serra humas furnas que continuamente deitão fumo com chamas de fogo e faiscas, e pedras tamanhas e maiores que moos d'ataphona [19]. Hé das cousas spantosas que se tem visto no mundo, e dá às vezes esta furna estouros como de bazaliscos ou de artelharia muy grossa. O fumo que lança hé muy negro e com elle grande copia de cinza. Conta o Irmão de homens que o forão ver, que dezião ser hum buraco em fundo mais de quinhen-

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[14] On her, see D 14 note 5.

[15] Cf. EX II 127 note 16.

[16] Tabarija. He became king in 1532, was imprisoned in 1534, and, next year, was sent to India. In Goa he was christened as D. Manuel in 1537, and, while returning to Maluku, he died in Malacca in 1545.

[17] As one of the principal wives of King Boleif (Bayan Sirrullah) she was a queen; moreover, she had been ruling queen of Ternate for some months since October 20, 1545 (SÁ II 28-30).

[18] The Peak of Ternate measures 1,750 m.

[19] « E vem polo ar pedras tamanhas como arcas » (CASTANHEDA IX 16).

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tas braças; e alguns homens destes, que por coriosidade se chegarão perto do buraco, ficarão como alheos de si e lançarão a correr pella serra abaixo, dizendo huns aos outros: « fujamos da ira de Deus ». Alguns destes vierão agora aqui ter a Malaca na propria embarcação em que veo o Padre e o Irmão [20], e dizem que, na coroa deste monte, antes do fogo está hum grande vale, o qual enchendo-sse d'agoa pella força da chuiva do imverno, que depois o fogo a comsumira e gastara toda. Esta ilha tem muito cravo e canas muy grossas, e delas tem agoa dentro muy serena de que os portugueses bebem; muyta copia de laranjas doces das milhores que há por todas as partes. Tem as mais admirables cobras que se vyrão, e em tanto que hemgolem hum cão inteiro e huma cabra e hum porco, mas estas não fazem mal à gente senão quando hão grandissima fome e não achão pelos matos que comer.

9. Hum tiro de camelo [21] defronte desta está outra ilha de cravo, que se chama Tidore; esta tem rei sobre ssi.

Hahy outras duas ilhas que se chamão Maquiem e Moutel sobjeitas ao rey de Ternate [22], tambem de cravo. Dahy a 20 legoas hahy outro rey que se chama el-rey de Bachão [23], o qual está debaixo da linha; neste ahi tambem cravo e mantimentos.

10. Sete legoas da fortaleza está outra terra e hum rei nella, que se chama de Geillolo. Este foi rei e o capitão de Maluco lhe tirou o titolo por ter muito tempo guerra com os portuguezes. Teve este 17 annos huma fortaleza mui forte, e tomou muita artelharia nossa aos christãos da terra e matou muitos delles e muitos portuguezes. Hera mui tirano este he imigo dos christãos, e por sua industria inocentemente herão muitos martirizados. Esta fortaleza tomou Bernardim de Sousa com pouca jente e grande prudencia, tendo-a de cerquo tres mezes. Este rei foi dos homens magnanimos que se virão: quando se entregou dizia que Deus fizera justiça do que tantos tempos avia que tinha mal tomado. Ficou com outro titolo pagando pareas à fortaleza, e dizem que se matou com peçonha; socedeu-lhe agora hum filho seu no reino [24].

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[20] Fróis shows that he had taken the trouble to consult, besides Beira and Nunes, other people coming from Ternate.

[21] A small-bore artillery piece.

[22] Makian and Moti, south of Tidore. Eight villages on Makian's west coast were claimed by Tidore (COLIN-PASTELLS III 51 note 1).

[23] Bacan.

[24] Bernaldim de Sousa defeated and conquered Jailolo in March 1551; one of the conditions of surrender was that the king should content himself henceforward

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11. Deste terra de Geilolo 25 ou 30 legoas está o Moro, terra de muitos christãos, a qual tem duas ilhas ao mar, que estará[m] 8 he 4 e 3 legoas della, que se chamão as ilhas do Morotai ; huma dellas terá seis ou sete legoas em redondo, outra terá 35. Esta terra chama-se geralmente Moro, mas devide-se em Morotai, que são estas duas ilhas, e em Morotia que hé outra ilha grande, a qual dizem que será de 150 legoas em redondo. E a costa dos christãos será de 15 legoas pola fralda do mar, que lá por de dentro são jentios, gente cruel, barbara e que matão a gente que podem por lhe apanhar o fato [25] : toda sogeita a el-rei de Ternate. Tem esta ilha em si muitas nações, scilicet : hum reizinho a quem chamão de Loloda, o qual antigamente dizem que foi poderoso ; os geilolos, ganes, bedas, mabas, bicholas, e outras diversas nações [26] ; he muita diversidade de lingoas, he tanto que em duas legoas vio ho Irmão Nicolao Nunez lingoas mais diferentes que da portugueza à franceza [27].

12. Tem estas terras, em que os nossos Irmãos andão, arrozes, gengivres e outros mantimentos, em que entra o mais comum de todos a

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with the title of a *sengaji*, that is, local governor, under the king of Ternate. His eldest son, Kaicil Guzarate, succeeeed him (REBELO 241-263 ; 457-479).

[25] The Tabarus. See D 10, 5 and note 21.

[26] *Loloda*, on the west coast of the N peninsula of Halmahera, was a kingdom already in the 13th century. Later, its raja became a vassal of Ternate ; it continued to have its own rajas until 1910 (ENI II 615). *Jailolo* was the seat of one of the four kings of Maluku ; on him, see note 24. It was also situated on the W coast of the N peninsula more to the S. *Ganes* means people of the district of Gani, a double village in the far S of Halmahera at 0° 48' S : on the W coast Gani-di-dalem or Inner Gani, on the E coast Gani-di-luar or Outer Gani. *Bedas* stands for the population of Weda, kampong and country, on the E coast of the S peninsula at c. 0° 20' N. *Mabas* indicates the region of Maba around the bay formed by the NE and SE peninsulas, where Maba is the name of a village, of some islands, and of the inner gulf. *Bicholas* points to the people of Bicoli, a village at the E coast, nowadays S of Maba, but in the 16th century more to the N at the end of the NE peninsula. This short catalogue of geographical names of Halmahera betrays a thourough knowledge of the situation, enumerating as it does the really important centers of the island. On the map of Halmahera, made for the Admiralty of Amsterdam, c. 1700, and attributed to Isaac de Graaff, the most important regions indicated are surprisingly the same ones : *Moro*, *'t Landt van Moritia*, *Tobaro*, *Cust van Pitioli*, *'t Landt van Maba*, *'t Landt van Weda*, *'t Landt van Gana*, only *'t Landt van Patanie* being left for « outras diversas nações » (See the map in BKI 37 [1872] 264).

[27] Cf. D 3, 13.

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que chamão sagu [28], o qual tirão de humas arvores grandes como palmeiras, mais groças algum tanto. Estas fendem-lhe o tronco e aquelle miolo botão-no em humas gamelas d'agoa, e depois de mexido e a casqua fora, fiqua no fundo d'agoa como maça [29]; he escorrido d'agoa, peneirão-no brevemente, sem mais esperarem por levadura, e botão aquella farinha, que parece de trigo, muito alva em humas telhas mui vermelhas, em as quaes ahi huns repartimentos fundos de dous em dous [30] onde se coze e asa como fatias de pão; mas á-se de comer emquanto está quente. Dizem que o achão por milhor mantimento que ho arroz.

13. Há tambem nesta terra do Moro humas galinhas do mato, mais pequenas que as nossas, as quaes tem as cores como perdizes; poem ovos tão grandes ou maiores que de pata, he o mais delles hé gema. Estas galinhas poem os ovos nas areas moles junto com as praias, ou na terra molle do mato, e poem os ovos tão fundos, que hé perto de huma braça onde os metem; e dizem que os poem de dous em dous, e sem mais choquar com o qualor do sol saem os filhos, e per si se sostentão sem nutrimento nem favor das mãis [31]. Dezia a gente da terra aos Irmãos que as vião, quando querião pôr os ovos, sem esgaravatar furarem pola area dentro atee lá onde po[e]m os ovos. E pelos regedores da terra se defende muito matá-las, pola grande copia d'ovos que a gente acha pelo mato com que se mantem.

14. Tem mais esta terra duas maneiras de cangrejos em grandissima maneira diferentes, huns que tem as pernas como lagostas mas são muito maiores; tem huns buchos [32], cousa muito suave, e as femeas tem ovas. Estes cangrejos crião ou se acolhem en tocas de arvores, e não se tomão senão com fogo ou com cortarem as arvores. Ai hi outros pretos que tem humas cedas compridas por onde são conhecidos; estes, no mes-

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[28] On the sago tree, see *Treatise* 42; on its manufacture as foodstuff, ibid. 132-134. For a description of the typical Maluku method of manufacture, see ENI III 671.

[29] *Maça* is *massa*, in the meaning of dough, paste (and not as it is explained in DI III 544 note 63).

[30] These are the well-known small clay ovens for baking sago, with some ridges in them. For a picture of it, see WALLACE, *The Malay Archipelago* 291.

[31] This is a *Megapodius*; in English it is called *mound bird*. See *Treatise* 64; ENI II 621 s.v. Loophoenders; MARTIN, *Reisen in den Molukken* 37-39; WALLACE 304-305.

[32] One of the other MSS reads *gusanos* instead of *buchos*.

[33] That is, morrem os que comem. Cf. *Treatise* 68: « Á qui ... cramgueijos velosos he peçonhemtos; quem os come emproviso morre ».

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mo ponto em que se comem, logo morrem [33] sem aproveitar nenhum defenssivo [34].

15. Ahi tambem nos rios destas terras grandes lagartos [35], e poem ovos quatro ou cinquo braças pelo mato dentro, de que se gerão os filhos.

No mar destas partes há tartarugas mui grandes, as quaes poem os ovos na aarea das praias, e cavão com as mãos obra de mea braça, e cobrem-nos com a mesma area ; e com a quentura do sol gerão os filhos. E quando asertão de tomar algumas femeas que tem ovos, tem-nos em tanta cantidade que diz passarem às vezes de quinhentos, os quais são mui pouco meno[re]s que os das galinhas, mas são muito redondos [36]. A carne delas dizem ter alguma aparencia de carne de carneiro. São mui gordas e achão-nas por bom manjar.

16. Tem mais esta terra no mar huns peixes mui grandes que cada hum delles em postas encherá 5 ou 6 jarras ; chamão-lhe os naturaes daquelles lugares pexe-vaqua [37]. Parece que quis N. Senhor dar-lhes no mar isto, porque a terra carece das vacas. As femeas destas tem tetas como de mulher no peito ; o fucynho quasi como vaca ; tem sedas como de porco ralas ; as tripas como da propria vaca, e os figados o mesmo. Ho milhor comer delles hé a cabeça, pescoço e peitos. Os seus mantimentos são ervas do mar ; pesquão-se com redes ou quando se poem a lua, que vem a pacer. Destes comem lá os Irmãos e tem-no por muito bom mantimento.

17. Polas arvores há grande copia de papagaios. Dizem quá que são os milhores do mundo pela facilidade que lhe achão em tomarem qualquer lingoa que lhe ensinão [38].

18. Ao norte [39] da ilha do Morotai conta que há huma gente branqua bestial que se não cobre ; não sabem que cousa são armas, e se aser-

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[34] There is, in Indonesia, an extremely great variety of crabs and lobsters ; see ENI I 574 s.v. Decapoden.

[35] According to DALGADO I 504, the Portuguese often used the word *lagarto* for crocodile.

[36] ENI III 721 : the mature female turtle usually appears to contain c. one thousand eggs.

[37] On the cow fish, see *Treatise* 66 (where its Moluccan name is called *juro, juru*) and the explication on pp. 331-332.

[38] On parrots, see *Treatise* 62 : « Á outros [papagaios] vermelhos e coleirados . . . ; estes ão por milhores e que milhor tomão a ffala ». One is astonished to find nearly the same wording ! Cf. WALLACE 304.

[39] Another MS of this text has *oriente* instead of *norte*.

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tão de se encontrar com quem as tem, metem-se por ellas como criaturas irracionaes.

19. Vio ho Irmão Nicolao Nunez mais huma gente, que em suas terras veo pescar ao mar, e deu-lhes huma grande tromenta e corrente de agoas, com a qual vierão ter em tres ou quatro dias ao Morotai, terra dos christãos. É huma gente bem desposta, de boas staturas, à maneira de brazis, que trazem todo o corpo pintado à maneira dos ferretes de Africa. Vinhão em humas embarquações como chiqueiros em que comem porcos. E como ali chegarão, em poucos dias morrerão todos; somente hum, o qual, despois que soube a lingoa, dixe que na sua terra avia muitas ilhas baixas, e que naturalmente erão todos pasificos; e que não tinhão faqua, nem ferro, nem anzol pera pescar, e que pescavão ho pexe com humas casquas de hum genero d'ostras que lá há e fazião as embarquações com machados das mesmas ostras; e que o seu comer era tartarugas, galinhas, e huma maneira de figos verdes assados, coquos he o vinho delles. Hé esta gente em estrema maneira brutissima, mais que a outra de todas estas partes: dezião que nunqua virão outra gente. Vivem em humas choupanas cubertas com huns ramos de palmeiras [40].

20. Alem desta ilha do Morotai que asima dixe pera leste está a terra dos papuas, huma das grandes terras que há aí. Dizem ter 700 legoas de costa e chegar mui perto da Nova Espanha, segundo a informação dos castelhanos que de lá vierão [41]. Hé gente mui preta, quasi como cafres; toda gentia. Tem muitos reis. Dizem que há nesta terra muito ouro. Hé gente viva d'engenho, segundo os escravos que quá há entre nós, e facilmente tomarião a fee se ouvesse obreiros della.

21. Esta hé a gente que continoamente está clamando: Senhor, não há homens que nos metão na pesina do sancto baptismo. Segundo o que hum castelhano que lá esteve cativo dez ou doze anos dezia em Maluco, que sabe mui bem a lingoa, que per aqueles tesouros de tanto numero de almas era muito pera se despavoar grande copia de religiões, quanto mais alguns obreiros da Companhia. E pode-se tão facilmente ir da fortaleza de Maluco a ella, que não hé mais que seis ou sete dias de caminho, tudo por antre ilhas até chegar a elles: gente que folga muito

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[40] The same thing is told by Br. Nicolau Nunes himself in D 213, 28 (where he places this people likewise *ao leste* of the Moro islands), amplified in no. 29. (In our text nos. 18 and 19 apparently ought not to be separated).

[41] That New Guinea would stretch close to Mexico is an erroneous geographical conceit which long circulated in those times. The Spaniards were anxious to pull the islands within the area assigned to them.

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de ver os portuguezes e mui domestica. Grandes desejos teve o P.e João da Beira de lhes ir dar a bendita nova do Evangelho, mas o conservar os que já erão feitos o empedio, estando no Moro [42].

22. Antre esta terra dos papuas he a fortaleza d'El-Rei de Portugal ahi outras ilhas inumeraveis de diverssas gentes e varias naçõees, das quaes me dizia o Irmão que os nomes lhe erão ignotos ; porem que estes sabia e alguma gente delles vira, os quaes se chamão sumas, gebes, garceas [43], e que facilissimamente tomarião a fee se ouvesse quem lha fose denunciar.

23. Tornando, Charissimos, à terra do Moro, pela bondade de Deus ahi muitos christãos ; o numero dos quaes, segundo ho Irmão dizia, poderá ser de vinte mil almas. E já, bendito o Senhor, pela grande continuoação dos trabalhos dos da Companhia, vão tomando as cousas da fee e tendo fee nellas, e dando muito credito aos Padres e Irmãos, e tendo-lhe grande obediencia e acatamento, porque vem neles como em espelhos fazerem primeiro aquilo que lhes ensinão. Em toda esta terra do Moro há 46 ou 47 lugares de christãos antre pequenos e grandes, e alguns delles de setecentos ou oitocentos vezinhos [44]. Muitos mais se aumentarião cada dia se não tivesem dous enconvenientes : hum deles ho temor dos reis mouros e os medos que lhe poem por se fazerem christãos ; e o outro a falta de quem lhes mostre o caminho dos tizouros da gloria, porque não podem os Irmãos, com toda sua diligencia e zelo, tão velozes e ligeiros andar, que muitas vezes, antes de chegarem aos lugares que vão visitar, não morrão muitos mininos sem baptismo, quanto mais de novo converter outros. Por aqui podeis julgar, Irmãos meus no sange de Jesus Christo, a necessidade que quá poderá aver de Padres e Irmãos, porque isto na realidade da verdade asi passa.

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[42] Repeatedly Fr. de Beira in his letters shows that he takes a keen interest in the Papuan people.

[43] *Suma* was the name of a kampong and of a cape at the end of the SE peninsula of Halmahera ; the Dutch destroyed it in 1635 (RUMPHIUS, *Ambonsche Historie* II 64 ; Cf. *Treatise* 363). *Gebes* are the people of the island Gebe, lyng on the Equator and separated from Halmahera by the Jailolo Strait. *Garceas* or *guarceas* is the way the name is spelled in the MSS, whereas *gaiceas* (in DI III 547 no. 40) is a correction made by the editor ; and this could be nearer to the truth, because the people indicated here is most probably that of Waigeo, the nearest large island one meets when sailing past Gebe toward New Guinea.

[44] Castro reports in 1553 that Moro numbered 29 villages with 35,000 Christians (D 45, 5). As many villages were composed of several quarters or hamlets (the so-called *soa*), differences in the total number are due to different estimates according to whether or not these *soas* are numbered separately.

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24. Esta gente do Moro alguma dela era sogeita ao rei de Ternate, onde está a fortaleza, otra ao rei de Geilolo. E vendo-se asi este de Geilolo desapossado dalguns lugares, e por ser mais mouro que todos os outros reis, começou a perseguir os portuguezes e christãos do Moro, matando e cativando muitos delles; e deu-lhe tanta guerra com gente de mato, grandes frecheiros [45], que no lugar do Tolo quazi cada dia matavão christãos. Esta persucução já hé continoada, que o P.e nosso Mestre Francisco o foi visitar [46]: erão os christãos pouquo favorecidos dos portuguezes e recebião delles mais escandalos que exemplos [47]. E sendo este lugar de perto de tres mil homens de peleja, agora se tiver mil será muito [48], de maneira que com a pouca paciencia que tiverão, vendo-se dos reis mouros destruidos e dos portuguezes desemparados, estes de Tolo e outros alguns lugares ao derredor retrocederão, obedecendo e dando parias ao dito rei, e estiverão asi pouquo tempo até que mandou o capitão portuguezes a fazer-lhes requerimento que se tornassem. Elles insistirão porque vião ainda o rei mouro de Geilolo, que lhes fazia tiranias e persecuções, estar em pé e não ser destruido. Acabado[s] os tres requerimentos, outras furnas de fogo, que estão no mesmo Moro tres ou quatro legoas do lugar do Tolo pelo mato dentro, por grande juizo divino e manifestação de seu infinito poder, começarão a exceder o modo mais do que nunqua se avia visto, fazendo grandissimo estrondo, como de artelharia mui groça, lançando fogo e fumo tão escuro, que o sol se não via e parecia noite; e tambem deitava tanta cinza no mar e na terra, que se não podia estar. Era de maneira que com o pezo da sinza cairão os ramos das palmeiras, e asi ficarão cortados, que por espaço de dous ou tres annos não derão fructo. As casas suas tambem caião com o pezo da sinza, as agoas se lhe tornarão amargas, os animaes do campo e bestas feras do mato não achavão pasto nem ervas que comer, por tudo ser cuberto de sinza, entanto que se achavão por hi os porcos bravos e montezes a quem os queria tomar. Os caminhos que estavão ta-

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[45] The Tabarus.

[46] From these words it is clear that in the preceding ones mention is made of the first persecution, that of 1535. Persecution was resumed in 1545, and again, after the visit of Xavier in 1546, in the years 1548-1551; all of them were instigated by the king of Jailolo. When this king was defeated, Ternate had a more unimpeded influence in Moro, by no means wishing its people to be christened.

[47] Palha wrote on November 20, 1548, to King D. João III from Goa: «Hem o Moro há lugares christãos em que há higreias mall providas, e na jemte da terra ma doutrina, e de nós mao exempro» (SÁ I 574, corrected after the MS).

[48] The same is attested by Castro (D 45, 5).



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pados com estrepes pera que os portugueses não entrasem, se abrirão com a multiplicação da sinza que crecia, que se ella não fora, nunqua os poderão entrar. E asi aprouve a Deus Nosso Senhor, a quem obedecem as tempestuozas ondas do mar, que os indomitos corações destes se amansasem. E despois de entrados, a muitos delles matarão e asolarão o lugar, que foi exemplo vivo e grande admiração pera elles. E agora, com o rei de Geilolo ser tambem desbaratado, se reformarão e restaurarão muito, claramente conhecendo que por seus pecados o Senhor os castigara e que nenhuma cousa aversa os apartaria deste novo conserto que tem tomado da fee ; e isto averá quatro anos que socedeo [49].

25. Contarão alguns portugueses e christãos do lugar da Chiaua [50] ao Irmão Nicolao Nunez que quando socedeo este retroceder dos christãos, que huns dous daquele mesmo lugar, parece que pelo pouquo conhecimento que tinhão da fee, que pegarão ambos em huma imagem de Nossa Senhora pera a ofenderem, e que a hum delles se lhe tolherão as mãos e pouquo e pouquo se lhe forão todas comendo ; e ao outro que, indo-se lavar ao mar, viera hum peixe-agulha he se lhe metera pela testa, de que logo morrera.

26. A ordem que há de proceder na fee com esta gente hé esta : todos os filhos e filhas dos christãos, pequenos, vem todos os dias pela menhã à doctrina, e isto muito cedo, porque naturalmente hé gente pobre que sempre andão no campo com suas sementeiras. Em o lugar do Tolo ahi muitos mininos e mininas que sabem a doctrina, e na missa vê-los rezar todos juntos hé pera louvar a N. Senhor como cada hum reza como lhe o Padre manda. E pera nenhum faltar em cada bairro fazem hum meirinho, e ahi treze mininos meirinhos, os quaes por isso não tem nada porque tambem elles não fazem mais que acuzar os que não vem. Ahi hum sobre estes que lhe toma conta do que fazem e os castiga por mandado do Padre ou Irmão, quando os seus não vem à doctrina ; e quando tambem elle hé culpado em alguma negligencia ou descuido, dá-lhe o Irmão sua penitencia. Tem todos mui grande obidiencia aos Padres e Irmãos, e nenhum vai fora da terra sem licença. Os homens e molheres ouvem aos domingos e santos a palavra do Senhor, e lhes ensinão os artigos da fee e decrarão-lhe na lingoa o evangelho ocurrente. Tem grandissima fee na agoa benta, e como as crianças ou os grandes adoecem, logo chamão o Padre ou ho Irmão que lhe reze o Evangelho.

27. Avia pelos pecados desta gente grande numero de ratos na terra,

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[49] For the entire paragraph, see D 41, 5-8.

[50] Cawa, SE of Tolo ; see D 44, 7 and note 8.

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em tanta maneira que não lhes deixavão crecer os arrozes, e antes que nacessem lhe comião a semente; e despois de nado não somente o comião mas ainda o estragavão; e erão tantos que dentro nas casas vinhão de noite roer os dedos ao Irmão, que totalmente parecia praga. E despois que o Padre João da Beira tornou da India [51], hia pelos campos deitando-lhe agoa benta nas sementeiras, he misericordiosamente pela clemencia de Deus ouve aquele ano muito arroz, e dizião os christãos da terra que, totalmente por que ahi tinhão o P.e João da Beira comsiguo, lhes dava Nosso Senhor aquela fertilidade; e despois quando semeavão, diz o Padre que lhe furtavão quanta agoa benta benzia pera irem deitar nos campos de suas lavouras, e os mininos enfermos trazem-nos à igreja e lavão-nos com agoa benta, e muitos pela bondade de Deus recebem saude.

28. Outra cousa, que não hé menos de maravilhar que a de sima, socedeo no mesmo Moro, e serto digna de muita admiração. Despois de os ratos serem lançados fora das sementeiras dos christãos, quis Nosso Senhor pera maior confusão dos gentios, porquanto se elles jactavão de os christãos não terem que comer como elles, que os ratos, ou aquelles ou outros, se multiplicarão tantos nas terras dos gentios, que dizião aos christãos: «Vós outros nos deitastes quá os ratos pera destruição de nossos mantimentos». E os christãos lhe respondião que, porque elles erão gentios, lhes dava Dèus asi de rosto. E às vezes tinhão com os outros tantas disputas sobre quem tinha milhor Deus, que, quando não achavão rezões, pelo zelo que tem da fee, vinhão a briguoar seus razoamentos às cotiladas e às punhadas, que não era pequeno trabalho dos Padres e Irmãos nossos em os apasiguarem; porque os gentios tem deus de seus paes e de suas mãis e filhos, tem deus do arroz, deus do peixe, deus do vinho, deus grande e deus pequenino; e a cousa em que mais crem hé em sortes [52]. Seria cousa mui difusa contar os generos delas: arvorão grandes madeiros em estatuas de homens e armão em sima casas, e cobrem-nas com panos, e fazem-lhe seus altares, e tem outras casas muito grandes onde comem e bebem até se embebedar à onrra dos finados.

Aquelas terras tremem muitas vezes, cousa que aos christãos mete em muito terror, porque excede muito o modo e difere grandemente a

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[51] About October 1553.

[52] «Quamdo am-d'ir ou mamdar pera alguma parte, deitão primeyro sortes pera ver ho que do caso á-de soceder, que nenhuma cousa sem elas am-de ffazer» (*Treatise* 152; see the entire chapter).

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maneira do que lá treme em Portugal ; e pera isto pondo-se em oração invocão o adjutorio divino, mas os gentios batem todos com paos na terra e dizem que espantão as almas que estão debaixo e fazem tremer a terra.

29. Acerqua do credito que os christãos tem nos Padres e Irmãos, hé tanto que algumas vezes estando alguns enfermos, vinhão seus parentes perguntar ao Irmão Nicolao Nunez que lhes dixesse a verdade se avião de morrer ou não ; ao que o Irmão lhe respondia que homem nenhum lhe podia sertifiquar nem saber aquilo, porque soo a Deus pertencia. Outras vezes aconteceo estarem outros enfermos muito mal, que já de todo desconfiavão delles, e chamando o Irmão, lhes rezava o Evangelho e algumas orações ; e despois que Nosso Senhor se avia por servido delles convalescerem, tinhão elles tanta fé que lhe dizião : « Tu não fizeste viver outra vez ao que já estava morto ? » E o mesmo ao P.e João da Beira.

30. Hum velho christão parece que lhe ficou ainda hum pagode de vulto [53], e foi-se a elle e pôs-lhe muito comer diante, dizendo-lhe que, se comese e bebese tudo aquilo, que teria fee nelle, mas que se o contrairo fizesse que elle o veria ; e quando vio que pao não comia, deu-lhe con tudo no rosto e não se curou mais delle nem de sua adoração.

31. Indo o Irmão Nicolao Nunez huma vez visitar, passou por hum lugar de christãos, a que chamão Alilivo [54], e vierão-se a elle os principaes do lugar dizendo que, pois elle lhes tirava seus ritos gentilicos, que farião, que as sementeiras se lhes secavão sem chuva, porque elles estavão aparelhados pera guardar os custumes da lei que tomarão ? Dixe-lhes o Irmão então o que os christãos fazião nas igrejas, e que, pois elles ahi não tinhão nenhuma, que se fosem à crux, que em todos os lugares tem arvoradas, e que puzesem algum azeite diante della ardendo e pidisem ali a Deus chuva, e que Nosso Senhor averia misericordia delles e lhes daria a satisfação conforme a sua fee e pitição. E partindo-se logo dali, estando-se daquele lugar duas legoas, vio sobre o lugar huma grande escuridão, em que não pouquo foi no Senhor consolado e de alegria chorava pela confirmação que nos christãos averia das palavras que lhe tinha dito. E tornando passar por ali, já todavia sabendo, perguntou se chovera ? Diserão que si, era verdade tudo aquilo que lhe dizia. Dixerão-lhe mais que neste lugar ouvera hum homem medo de huma fan-

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[53] A sculptured idol.

[54] The northernmost kampong of Morotai ; its modern name is Papua-ma-leleo. MARTA, in 1588, writes Alilio (101 no. 16). *Leleo* or *loleo* means an anchorage.

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tasma que dizião que ali andava, e arvorando ali huma crux não vira mais nada.

32. Esta gente naturalmente não tem copia de vocabolos que lhe sirvão pera entendimento das cousas de Deus, nem tem noticia do diabo ; mas, segundo o que ho Irmão collegio da lingoa deles, entendeo que ao que antigamente os poetas chamavão nimphas, chamão estes charvisique [55], que quer dizer gente que está ou anda no mato ; e dizem que estão pellas arvores e que aquilo hé o que lhe faz mal.

33. Dizia mais ho Irmão que vira este genero de idolatria, estarem tres velhos com grandes tangeres metidos em huma tumba muito paramentada, com muitos velhos e velhas derredor tremendo e escumando ; e mandavão sertas moças ornadas com panos ricos a huma ponta de huma praia, onde de arvore em arvore punhão humas certas tiras de panos e com hum fole que levavão colhião ali qualquer vento e levavão-no muito quedo onde estavão os velhos a tremer, e ali dizião que levavão as respostas de seus paes que erão passados desta vida, se avião elles de morrer ou não e com a concruzão dos velhos, que ali dizem estar fora de seu sizo, tinhão serteza de suas mentiras [56].

34. Conta tambem o P.e João da Beira que o aroz que os christãos tinhão guardado em suas canas pera samear, que todo lho comião os bichos e o que despois de sameado recolhião que tambem os ratos lho comião ; e pela fee grande que tinhão em suas orações, quando hião samear, lho levavão primeiro pera que o benzesse, e permitia Nosso Senhor pera mais corroboração delles que [de] todos estes inconvenientes fiquasem os mantimentos preservados [57].

35. Quando algum dos christãos morre, vai o Padre ou Irmão que ali está no lugar com todos os christãoszinhos cantando a doctrina christã e razando as ladainhas com sua crux alevantada diante, e asi o levão de sua casa até à igreja, cousa que muito anima aos christãos ver aquele

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[55] That would be *caruisiki*. As it is not clear from which of the old languages this word is quoted, and as the ancient Morotai people have since completely disappeared from the island and have been replaced by populations from Galela and Tobelo (HUETING, *De Tobeloreezen* I 268), an identification may have become impossible. De Sá's explication by means of *ahli-sihir* presents itself as rather arbitrary and as little reliable (SÁ II 262 note 25). We see that Br. Nunes took the trouble to learn the native idiom.

[56] This description of a shamanistic ceremony, of a time before Islam influenced the N Halmahera shamamism into conjuring up the *jins*, might be of great interest to the science of religions (See ENI III 508-509 s.v. Priesters).

[57] Cf. D 44, 2.

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zelo dos Padres he charidade, e cuidado dos mininos em acompanhar os defuntos. Isto fiquou asi ordenado per regimento que diso tinhão do P.e Mestre Francisco [58].

36. Mandou huma vez o P.e Afonsso de Crasto, que agora lá naquelas partes reside por reitor [59], huma carta ao Irmão Nicollao Nunez ao Moro [60], que fose a huns lugares que novamente querião ser christãos, e lhes perguntase antes de os instruir, que cousas erão as que os movião a se fazerem christãos, se era por algum interesse ou medo do rei, ou de outra alguma cousa ? Responderão que a verdade que tinhamos e nossa verdadeira justiça e bons costumes totalmente os movia a tomarem a fee. Afirma ho Irmão que, de toda a christandade daquellas partes, não vira em dez annos que lá estivera gente nenhuma receber a lei de Deus com tanta alegria nem com tão pura entenção ; e desta maneira os instruio e doctrinou nas cousas da fee. Foi esta gente dantes mui inimiga dos christãos e tinha-lhes feita mui crua guerra, e avorrecião-lhe

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[58] Xavier's instruction to the Maluku Jesuits was lost ; see D 7*a*.

[59] Castro had been sent to Maluku by Xavier as a preacher and as a rector of the planned college of Ternate (D 19, 3 ; see also D 72, 5). The Jesuits would have to obey him in case Fr. Superior, Juan de Beira, had died (D 22, 8). POLANCO (*Chronicon* VI 815 no. 3493) reported that « P. Alphonsus de Castro, qui Rector Collegii Malucci institutus a P. Melchiore Nugnez caeteris etiam nostris in illa regione Malucharum praeerat, . . . », which would mean that Castro was at the head of all the Maluku Jesuits, and that he had been appointed as such by the vice-provincial, Melchior Nunes Barreto. In the entire affair of António Vaz (D 60 note 1) it is Castro and not Beira who played the decisive part and dealt firmly with Vaz (DD 85, 6 ; 89, 1). As Melchior Nunes sailed from Malacca to China and Japan on April 1, 1555, Castro's nomination must be dated before that day. When it reached Maluku remains unknown. Apparently Castro's rectorship was not considered in Goa as a full substitution for the task entrusted to Beira, for Valignano stated straightforwardly that, in 1557, « foy mandado por superior de Maluco, em lugar do Padre João da Beyra, o Padre Francisco Vieyra » (*Historia* 354). The title of « superior » is never given to Castro in the documents. As to the title « Rector Collegii », we have to remember that wishing to follow the trend of the Society in Europe of erecting colleges in more important towns, and imitating the example of Goa's St. Paul's College as well, the Fathers in India and Maluku dreamed of establishing a college likewise in Ternate (See also D 15, 1). As a matter of fact, they were never able to realize more than a rather elementary school for young boys. In point of fact, Castro was at the head of the Maluku Mission, as a supply for Beira during the latter's journey to Goa, 1552-1553, and from 1555 on, allegedly named by Melchior Nunes, whatever his official title may have been. A plain and clear solution of this question is not furnished by the documents.

[60] Lost letter ; see D 55*a*.

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em grande maneira portugueses e com elles não tinhão nenhuma comonicação ; despois que forão to[ca]dos da mão do Senhor e que se apartarão delles as trevas de sua ignorancia, e que virão lá o Irmão Nicolao Nunez que os hia ensinar, herão tão grandes os jubilos de todos e o dezejo que tinhão de viver e morrer pella fee, não sendo ainda baptisados, que dizia o Irmão ser huma das mais insignes consolações, que do Senhor nesta vida recebera, quando se vira delles tam bem recebido, sendo primeiro tão inimigos, vê-los depois com animos tão promptos pera receberem o sancto baptismo : até as velhinhas, que se não posião ter, vinhão ali ensinar os filhos e netos a fazer o sinal da crux e aprender as orações ; e da abundancia deste contentamento e nova alegria que tinhão nas almas lhe resultava no exterior, de modo que balhavão e saltavão de prazer por terem noticia de tal lei e de tão bom Deus. Estes, por se fazerem christãos, tem continoa guerra com os gentios, por serem estes novamente converssos os em que elles mais estribavão, e que com suas armas fazião mais forte guerra aos christãos ; e dahi a hum mes foi lá ho Irmão Melchior de Figueredo, e ambos os lugares baptisou com grande contentamento em o Senhor [61].

37. Os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia, que naquellas partes andão, tem passados e pasão grandes persecuções e trabalhos, e andão continoamente mui propinquos ao martirio [62] ; e parece que, se Deus Nosso Senhor em algumas partes destas remotas dilata fazer esta mercê a seus servos, que hé pella falta que suas mortes darião aos christãos, avendo quá tão pouquos pera tanta messe.

38. O rei de Geilolo, que com os purtugueses e christãos tinha muita guerra, dezejou grandissimamente ver se podia acolher o P.e João da Beira e o Irmão Nicolao Nunez pera os matar, somente porque frutificavão nas almas. Foi-lhes dado huma embarquação em que se salvarão delle, e se vierão curar à fortaleza de grandes enfirmidades que tiverão alem da persecução.

39. Despois de convalescidos se tornarão a baptizar e agricultar a vinha do Senhor, onde de novo tiverão grandissimas persecuções e trabalhos, por verem todas as oras os mouros lhe matarem diante de seus olhos os christãos, e as molheres delles e os filhinhos se lhe vinhão lançar às portas com os rostos em terra, varrendo com os cabelos o chão,

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[61] The present passage proves, first, that the Jesuits payed attention to the motivation why people converted ; second, that this motivation was not always suggested by political and selfish interests. One regrets not knowing the names of the two kampongs mentioned.

[62] « Padesciendo muchos géneros de martirio » (D 41, 2).

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pidindo justiça dos mouros e misericordia ao Padre e ao Irmão com grandes lagrimas e gemidos. Ora vede, Charissimos, que crux esta seria pera elles, ver diante de si estas magoas e os christãos tiranisados e mortos sem lhes poderem valer, ainda que, por outra parte, se gloriavão em Deus Nosso Senhor vendo a constancia con que padecião tantas aflições e martirios, puramente pola fee e porque erão christãos.

40. Depois disto teve o P.e João da Beira outros mui arduos e graves trabalhos, posto que o padecê-llos por tão bom Senhor lhos fazia suaves e toleraveis de sofrer. Indo do Moro per'a fortaleza de Maluquo falar com ho capitão sobre estas cousas, tres vezes se perdeo no caminho. No primeiro naufragio perdeo os livros e o breviairo, até a loba que trazia vestida. Depois da embarquação ser desalagada, tornou-se outra vez a perder na mesma viagem, donde misericordiosamente foi soccorrido de hum senhor de Ternate mouro, que lhe deu embarquação que o levase à fortaleza [63]. E não querendo o Senhor deixar de acomular mais seu merecimento, por sentir que o seu servo o louvaria con tudo e daria mais odor de sua virtude na prova destas cousas adversas, querendo atravessar hum golfão pera vir ter a Maluquo, asertou de lhe quebrar huma taboa da embarquação em que hia. E socedeo por misericordia do Senhor que estando-a concertando no golfão, pasou o rei de Geilolo, seu capital inimigo, com sua armada; e emquanto asi estiverão ao pairo amainados consertando a taboa, passou o rei sem aver vista delle. E não há duvida, se o vira, que o ouvera de onrrar com a coroa do martirio, como já a muitos christãos tinha feito, mas sua ora ainda não era chegada [64].

41. Conta mais o Padre que duas vezes ho venderão, e huma dellas acabando de comer com huma copia de gente, querendo-se encostar hum pouquo pera repousar, que tiverão todos mui boa vigia nelle e o serquarão com suas armas nas mãos pera, como adormesese, o matasem. Parese que sentio ho inocente Padre o rumor que antr'elles avia e, não podendo dormir, asentando-se lhes perguntou a causa porque asi estavão alterados e com as armas prestes? Elles, confuzos da treição que lhe fazião, não avendo nada que com elle estiverão comendo a huma mesa, mudarão o proposito em outra cousa. Parece que não se ouve o Senhor por servido que alli acabase. Dizia o Padre que depois dixerão elles a hum portugues que o proprio rei de Ternate o mandava matar, e porque nisso não comprirão o que lhe mandara, que dahi a alguns

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[63] Cf. D 41, 3, and D 44, 1. Fróis is more clear and more accurate than Beira himself.

[64] Cf. Jn 2 4, and 7 30.

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tempos lhe mandou estruir o lugar e queimar huma igreja que ahi estava, e que matarão em huma menhã oitenta e tantos por este mesmo negocio.

42. Ho Irmão Nicolao Nunez, vindo tambem outra vez de visitar os christãos, se perdeo e saio a nado com muito risquo, e com ter bebida muita agoa salgada. Perdeo-se à mea noite com grande escuro e mares mui empolados em huma rocha de pedras agudas como faquas e com chuva muito grande; meteo-se com outros debaixo de huma lapa até o outro dia, e sendo a terra dos inimigos mui perto, estavão-nos vendo dali com as armas às costas, cousa que os meteo em muito terror. Quis N. Senhor, por sua infinita bondade, que viessem ali ter embarquações d'el-rei de Tidore que hião pera a sua terra, e nellas se foi ho Irmão com os companheiros; estes, como erão mouros, estiverão no caminho pera o entregarem ao rei de Geilolo. Os trabalhos da fome e cede que aqui passou e outras adições de crux seria largo particularizá-las; de maneira que de presente ho trouxerão os mouros ao capitão de Maluquo asi nu, todo dispido. Dahi foi ter com o Padre João da Beira e com o P.e Afonsso de Crasto que não pouquo se alegrarão no Senhor quando ho virão, polo ter já por morto e missas ditas por sua alma [65].

43. He crede, Charissimos, realmente que em todos estes trabalhos tão continos e diverssos, asi dos que estão em Maluquo como no Japão, no Preste [66] e Comorim, e por todas as partes da India, que huma das cousas em que mais estribão e que lhe causa muito maior fervor he magnani[mi]dade em tão varias aflições e angustias, que hé a confiança que tem que são continoamente por vós todos ajudados sem nenhuma intermissão, asi nos sanctos sacrificios dos Padres, como em vossas orações e meditações, tendo que estes são os meos por onde com maior facilidade cometem cousas mais arduas do que naturalmente farião, se não fosem ajudados de vossas orações; e quando algum tempo lhes fiqua de suas ocupações e sanctos exercicios, dilatão e estendem sua memoria na concideração do exemplo que receberão de vós nesse bendito collegio [67],

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[65] See D 33, 2. This must have taken place after the arrival of Fr. Afonso de Castro, October 18, 1549, and before February 13, 1550, date of writing D 28, because the inference from the latter is that Br. Nunes stayed in Ternate and that another visit to Moro was impossible as long as Jailolo had not been conquered, which did not happen until March 1551. A couple of weeks after that, Br. Nunes tells the same story, writing from Ternate (D 33).

[66] Ethiopia.

[67] Fróis obviously has in mind Coimbra.

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onde forão criados, que não são pequenos motivos pera muito mais espertarem.

44. E porque seria exeder o modo aver meudamente de tratar de cada cousa per si, dar-lh'ei somente novas de outras terras, de que ho Irmão Nicolao Nunez me afirmou, onde há grande numero de almas perdidas sem conhecimento de seu Criador, antre as quaes há huma gente que se chamão selebes, onde há hum rei christão que se chama El-Rei do Manado [68]. Em esta terra dizem que há muito ouro, mas nenhum de valor infinito [69], porque ignorão todos ao Summo Bem. Hé gente bem desposta e bem acondisionada, mas não tem nem huma só pessoa pera que lhes diga : fazei-vos christãos.

45. Alem destas terras hai outras que se chamão os Maquaçares, onde há tres reis christãos. Estes, Irmãos meus, estão sem ninguem que os ensine, nem baptize, nem instrua na fee, e à mingoa de operarios se perdem [70]. E se dizeis, Charissimos, por que lhe não acodem do collegio de Goa, terieis muita rezão se ouvese quem mandar ; mas se ainda muitas vezes faltão pera as necessidades de casa, que será per'acudir fora ?

46. Ai tambem outras terras perto destas, a que chamão Mindanaao, Tagima [71]. Tem muita canela e ouro, e muitas almas perdidas que facilmente receberião a fee ; outros, que se chamão xulas [72], en que não há menos facilidade que nos outros.

47. Alem destas terras de Maluquo está Amboino, que hé huma das partes da christandade de Maluquo, onde os nossos Padres tem muito frutifiquado em o Senhor. Ahi nesta terra d'Amboino huma ilha, que

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[68] Under Captain António Galvão conversions were made in N Selebes in 1538 : « Se fezerão muitos outros [christãos] . . . , comtra loeste hem sesenta leguoas huns povos he cidades que chamão Selebres » (*Treatise* 298 ; confirmed by GALVÃO, *Descobrimentos* 256 ; cf. MARTA 108).

[69] « Gold of an infinite value », a symbolic way of indicating God's kingdom and man's salvation.

[70] The first baptisms were administered by Galvão to some high-ranking people from Makasar in Ternate in 1538 (CASTANHEDA VIII 200) ; first conversions on the spot were made by António de Paiva in 1544. From 1545 to 1547, a secular priest from Malacca, Vicente Viegas, performed mission work there ; after him no other priest was ever available to continue it. See JACOBS, *Celebes* ; PÉREZ, *Informação* 57-58.

[71] Tagima or Taguima was the former name of the island of Basilan, off the SW point of Mindanao in the Philippines (See, e.g., COLIN-PASTELLS I 5).

[72] That is, either the people of the Sula islands, NW of Buru, or those of the Sulu Archipelago between Mindanao and Borneo.

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se chama o Buro que terá 50 legoas em volta [73], em a qual ai já muitos lugares christãos e toda a ilha se faria se ouvesse quem a sostentasse com doctrina.

48. Dez legoas desta ilha estão as terras d'Amboino, onde há muitos lugares de christãos e duas igrejas. Na primeira ilha hai muitos lugares christãos, e muito mais se farião, mas não ai gente ; esta será de 25 legoas em redondo. Alem desta está outra dahi a huma legoa, a qual toda hé de christãos ; chama-sse Liasse [74], terá em roda seis ou sete legoas. Junto com esta, obra de hum tiro de bersso, ai hi outra que se chama Soreçore [75], em a qual avia já alguns lugares christãos. E agora, vindo ho Irm`o por ahi, fez hum dos maiores lugares destas partes d'Amboino christão, e com elle outro lugar mais pequeno. Era de maneira que se não podia valer com a multidão da gente que lhe pedia baptismo, e tinha por novas virem-se outros povos a elle ; e por não ter tempo e a nao não poder esperar, os não baptisou [76]. E asi á outros de muitos lugares diverssos que o mesmo pidião, cousa de que interiormente se afligia, compadecendo-sse muito de ver tanta perdição e tantos desejos de se converterem, e tantas mil almas sem lhe poder valer, porque o mandava a obidiencia à India a clamar e pidir misericordia e socorro pera tanto numero de gente que à mingoa perece. Porque com a cristandade d'Amboino e do Moro ser tanta, que poderá aver nestas duas partes cinquoenta mil almas christãs ou pasante delas, não anda agora no Moro mais que dous Irmãos e outro Padre, que hé Afonsso de Crasto, que está com outro companheiro na fortalesa [77]. Amboino não tem

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[73] A much more reasonable number than the two hundred miles of D 50, 3.

[74] Liasse, Lease, or Uliase(r), is the old native name of the island of Saparua, the middle and largest of the three islands E of Ambon (HOËVELL, *Ambon* 12 ; ENI III 65-66). But here it evidently points to Haruku, the nearest to Ambon of the three, whereas for Saparua the name Soreçore is reserved after an important kampong on it, which became the modern double town of Sirisori-serani, and Sirisori-islam. The collective name Uliaser for all three of them together, which is common now, is said to date only from the Dutch period.

[75] See preceding note. Consult map in HOËVELL, *op. cit.*

[76] Beira and Nunes left Ternate in February 1556 and had to wait out the monsoon in Ambon until May ; Nunes used that time to do mission work, not without success.

[77] Fróis is speaking of four Jesuits still working in Maluku after the departure of Beira and Nunes : two Brothers in Moro, and Castro, assigned to sail also to Moro instead of Beira, with another companion in Ternate. It is not easy to identify them. It is clear that Fróis described the situation of the time that Beira left, that is, of February 1556. But our latest information deals with February 1555 (DD 57 ; 59 ;

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agora ninguem, porque hum Irmão que lá foi, indo visitar huma ilha de christãos, quis-se Nosso Senhor antisipar com o premio e levá-lo pera si, porque morreo em hum naofragio afogado, todavia debaixo da obidiencia [78].

49. Baptizou ali em Amboino então ho Irmão perto de mil e trezentas almas, todos per rol escritos seus nomes pera que lhes não esquesesse ; e huma bespora de hum Apostolo baptizou desne pela menhã até noite que serião perto de setecentas almas, e mais baptizara, senão que, por elle mesmo lhe escrever os nomes, não deu o tempo lugar pera mais [79]. À noite comeo um pouco de ñame [80] e um pouco de sagu e coco, mais farto da consolação interior que da satisfação corporal.

50. Contava ho Irmão, alem de todas estas cousas, que quando estavão tão quarecidos de todo o remedio umano naquelas tão remotissimas ilhas, que não tinhão mais que comer que figos verdes assados, lhe dava N. Senhor tanta saude e consolação e alegria spiritual, sendo a terra muito doentia, que totalmente se confondião ; e quando da fortaleza herão providos com algumas [cousas] que, pera prova da confiança e esperança que só em Deus se deve ter, adoecião e se achavão mais dibilitados. Chegou tambem ho Irmão a hum lugar onde ali o quiserão vender, e diante de seus olhos via levar os recados à gente d'el-rei de Gueilolo que o pidia ; hà mea noite por divina clemencia veio hum homem dizer aos imigos que tal não fizesem. E dali a dous dias chegou el-rei de Ternate com portuguezes, e asi foi tirado de manibus caldeorum [81].

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61). As Godinho probably had left Maluku in May 1555 (D 57 note 7 ; D 58, 2), the only Brothers remaining were Figueiredo and Távora. Of António China, SCHURHAMMER (*Quellen* 6138) and WICKI (DI III 652) say that he probably sailed to India with Beira and Nunes in 1556. There is no strong proof for that. Next thing we know of him is that in December 1558 he directed a catechumens house in Goa (DI IV 166). So he may have sailed in 1557 as well. In this supposition the two « Irmãos » in Moro were Figueiredo and António China, and the companion of Castro in Ternate was Távora. Another possibility is that Fróis still considered as a companion António Vaz, whose dismission had not yet been confirmed by Fr. Provincial. Then Figueiredo and Távora were in Moro, Castro and Vaz in Ternate.

[78] António Fernandes was drowned on March 14, 1554, near Ambon (D 51, 1). Castro having returned to Ternate, no missioner was left on Ambon.

[79] So it is again in Ambon that we find a baptismal register kept ; see D 29 note 14. This one also seems to have been lost : D 62*a*.

[80] *Ñame* stands for *inhame*, « yam, sweet potato ». On food plants of the Ambonese, see HOËVELL, *Ambon* 54-64.

[81] Jer 32 4 : « Non effugiet de manu Chaldaeorum ».

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51. Ai hi outra ilha, que se chama Varanura [82], junto destas terras, que será de cento e L.ta [50] [83] legoas em redondo, onde muitos lugares pedem baptismo. Averem-se, charissimos Irmãos, todas estas gentes de multiplicar e baptizarem-se seria cousa facil; mas a dificultade que há, hé não aver operarios que os instruam e os conservem. Junto desta estaa Banda [84], onde há a noz mosquada e a maça, e outras muitas terras e reinos [85], que totalmente parecem estarem esperando por quem lhe vá dar a alegre nova de sua redenção. Alguns destes que dixe, com tanta instancia dezejão e pedem o baptismo, que dentro à nao estando pera se partir, mandavão recado que os fosem baptizar.

52. Hora, Charissimos, pelas chagas e paixão de Christo e pelo amor de sua propria onrra que tanto zelais, deixados fervores de cartas e istimulos que se podem escrever pera este mesmo efeito, que postos em huma indiferencia [86] e com animo desacupado de toda afeição, pondereis que conta será pidida no dia do grão juizo por aquele Soberano e Sumo Bem, a quem servimos, a todos aquelles que disto tiverem noticia sem lhe acodirem com grandissima presteza he diligencia. E pois o officio apostolico e o nome delle anda tão unido a esta tão bendita Congregação [87], olheis, Reverendos Padres e charissimos Irmãos, que estas são as partes de sua herança. Parece que estes tisouros, de tantos tempos incognitos, que o não dilatou Deus até agora, senão pera ser cavado, buscado e achado pelos que militão debaxo de sua bandeira.

53. Deixai letras, desemparai siencias, inhabitai essa multidão de collegios, onde há tanto que vos estais criando, e vinde pregar a estes com exemplo de vida, porque mais almas se converterão pelo minimo exemplo que lhe derdes de virtude, que por toda a eloquencia e argumentos e questõis sobidas. Não digo que isto asi quá, como em todas as

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[82] Varanura (also Veranula, Warnoela, Waranela), ancient name of W Seram, and more especially of the peninsula Hoamoal (*Treatise* 304, explained 363; see also VALENTYN II a 35). Without any doubt, here the name is rather used for the island of Seram itself.

[83] L.ta: abbreviation made up of the Latin numeral L for fifty, and of the ending of the complete word quinquagin*ta*, or the Portuguese cinquen*ta*.

[84] The Banda Archipelago, consisting of some very small islands S of Seram at 130° E, famous for the production of nutmeg and mace. Since 1512 the Portuguese had been trading there, but they had no fortress and the Banda people never submitted themselves to the king of Portugal.

[85] Perhaps among them the Kei islands. see D 130, 24.

[86] See D 41 note 24.

[87] The Society of Jesus.

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outras partes, não seja bom, mas antes mui necessario ; mas que sejão as siencias acquiridas em tal tempo, que não padeção as almas que custarão o sangue de Christo tanto detrimento. Ó Irmãos, se cada dia ouvisseis dizer da China que tem 700 legoas de costa, Japõis 600, São Lourenço [88] 600, e outros muitos reinos e imperios que por quá há, que compaixão terieis não lhe poderdes valer !

54. A christandade dessa Europa muitas religiões tem e muitos varões de mui sancta e virtuosa vida que podem conservar o que lá hé feito, pois há tanto numero delles por todos esses reinos da christandade. Estas partes, Charissimos, são pera vós, que se aquirem em mui breve tempo quilates de mui grande gloria e merecimentos. Oito ou nove annos há que não vejo outra cousa, senão clamarem as cartas que de quá vão que venhais, que venhais a esta tão madura e desemparada vinha colher o fructo de vossos trabalhos e gozardes dos suaves gostos da crux de Jesu ; e quando quá chegão algumas reliquias [89], o zelo da casa de Deus os consume e os gasta logo [90]. Pelo amor de Jesu Christo que inclineis vossas orelhas ao clamor destas almas, pidindo continoamente ao dador de todos os bens que vos conceda, sendo sua gloria, parte destes trabalhos, porque, inda que venhais à ora undecima, dito está pelo Senhor, comesai dos derradeiros até os primeiros [91].

55. Até o presente isto hé o que pudemos saber. Quanto [às cousas] do Japão, este ano não temos inda novas por se irem as naos pera a India deste Malaqua cedo, e a china [92] não ter vindo ; se a Deus trouxer e se puder negociar, far-se há tudo. N. Senhor nos dê a si mesmo pera seu sancto serviço. Amem.

De Malaqua, 19 de Novembro de 1556 annos.

Pobre de virtudes,

[*Autograph*] Balthezar Diaz.

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[88] Madagascar.

[89] Meaning : the Jesuits Europe can spare.

[90] Ps 69 [68] 10, and Jn 2 17.

[91] Mt 20 6-8.

[92] That is, *a nao de China*.

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## 64

## SCHOLASTIC AIRES BRANDÃO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. FRANCISCO RODRIGUES SJ, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

GOA, NOVEMBER 19, 1556

I TEXT: DI III 564-584 [569]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 255*v*-260*v*. Copy. Portuguese.

II NOTE: Scholastic Aires Brandão, who studied in the college of Goa, had a good penmanship, so that he was often commissioned by the provincials to write a report on the mission for Europe; see, for instance, D 54. In our case he had to write under commission of Fr. Francisco Rodrigues, the most important assistant of the Provincial of India (see DI III 7*).

III PRINTED: See DI III 565. To be added SÁ II 273-274; the same fragment as ours.

### *Text*

***Malacca had to be provided with a Father both for the people there and to better supply Japan and Maluku with things needed. Fr. Baltasar Dias was appointed for this.***

[...]

Acabada a Quaresma quis o Padre Antonio de Quadros [1] despidir algum Padre que residice na cidade de Malaca por ser muy necessario, assi peraa proveito do povo como pera com mais facilidade se prover o Japão e Maluco do necessario, por Malaca estar entre nós e elles em meio do caminho ou quasi, he onde as naos, que vão pera Maluco da India, vão ter, e pera Japão partem dahi mesmo. E escolheo pera este negotio ao Padre Balthesar Dias, asás contra vontade da gente desta cidade, porque entre eles hera mui accepto, assi em suas confições como nas pregações.

[...]

Do collegio de Goa, a 19 de Novembro de 1556 annos.

Por comissão do Padre Francisco Rodriguez [2],

Arias Brandão.

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[1] Vice-Provincial of the Goa Province, January-September 1556 (DI III 5*).

[2] Assistant of the new Provincial, Gonçalo da Silveira, with whom he had arrived in Goa in September 1556. (ibid. 7*).

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## 65

# CHRONICLE OF FR. JUAN ALONSO DE POLANCO SJ

[Rome, 1556]

I TEXT: POLANCO, *Chronicon* VI 818-819, nos. 3505-3509, taken from *ARSI. Hist. Soc. 69 II*, pp. 1246-1247. Latin.

II NOTE: Polanco composed his *Chronicle* or *History of the Society of Jesus* from letters and reports he found in the archives of the Generals. The direct sources of most paragraphs of this *History* are still to be found in these archives. In some cases, however, the source document has since disappeared. The document for the following passage, which is given under the year 1556, does not seem to have been preserved. Therefore, we give it here.

III OUR EDITION: We print the text of *Chronicon* VI, correcting it after the MS.

### *Text*

1. [*In Ambon*], *in 1555, the number of Christians was about ten thousand. They converted more from fear than out of inner conviction. As they retain their pagan customs and vices they give no satisfaction to Fr. de Castro.* — 2. *Disadvantages of mixed marriages under native law: the wife has to be bought; separation is easily practised and is in some cases a source of money.* — 3. *Other pagan practices.* — 4. *The Christians do not put off their pagan life. As they live in inaccessible towns in the mountains, more than one or two priests are needed for them.*

[...]

1. Christiani omnes numero, anno praecedente, ad decem milia ascendebant[1]. Sed praedicto Patri Alfonso[2] valde displicebant; nam parum admodum de his quae ad virtutem pertinent intelligebant, cum tamen ad mala satis essent perspicaces[3]. Et haec esse causa videbatur, quod ob timorem christiani facti erant. Quidam enim lusitani cum irruere vellent in quoddam oppidum[4], media eius pars facta est christiana

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1 ad *del.* dece ... | decem milia] $\frac{\text{m.}}{\text{X}}$ *ms.*

---

[1] Polanco is speaking of Ambon.

[2] De Castro. The text obviously is based on a letter of his, sent from Ambon in May 1555. See D 57*b*.

[3] Cf. D 58, 3.

[4] Already in 1545 Gaspar Nilio, who had lived in Ternate, had protested against the raids the Portuguese in their greed made on villages in Ambon and Banda, and

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ut vexationem redimerent. Et cum hic populus cum illo bellum gereret, qui inferiores sibi videbantur, ut christianorum favorem et auxilium obtinerent se ad Christi fidem sequendam offerebant. Et cum non ob divinam inspirationem id facerent, aliqui baptizabantur, aliqui se abscondebant ne christiani fierent, aliqui negabant se christianos fieri velle [5]. Et ita saraceni [6] cum gentilibus admixti vivebant in multis locis, imo [pro] maiori parte populorum res sic se habebat. Et cum christiani essent, mores tamen gentilium et saracenorum in multis retinebant, cuiusmodi est ducere uxores consanguineas, et quae, cum fratribus nupsissent, liberos ab eis non susceperant.

2. Multi etiam gentiles uxores ducunt, et tunc non diutius durat matrimonium quam utrique eorum placeat vel alteri. Nam hic mos est inter illas gentes ut, qui vult uxorem, cum eius patre et consanguineis, data pecunia qua ispa[m] emat, rem transigat. Ipse vero socer dat filiae aliqua exigua domus suppellectilia ; et si fugerit uxor as domum patris, denuo pecunia est redimenda. Si autem, quod alter alteri displiceat, matrimonium dissolvitur, maritus petit sibi reddi quae pro ea solverat ; nisi id restituatur, pro ancilla manet domi et licet ei vendere cui volet. Et quo quisque honoratior est plures habet uxores. Sive autem recedat ipsa, sive dimittatur a marito, nemo alius tali cum foemina coniungi potest. Et si quis id faceret, marito reddit mediam partem pecuniae quam ipsi dederat [1247] socero. Et cum id duret usque ad mortem eius, aliqui mariti ex dimissis uxoribus valde ditescunt. Ipsa vero foemina nulli poenae subiacet [7].

---

24 ei vendere *w. corr., d.r.*

---

not only on those of the pagans, but also of the Christians (SA I 458). This evil custom apparently had not yet disappeared.

[5] So here we find a striking and eloquent example of conversions from a non-religious motivation. They did not please Castro.

[6] Evidently a typical European rendering of « os mouros », meaning « Mohammedans ».

[7] By chance, this could be one of the earliest known descriptions of the Ambonese marriage *adat* (customary law). It refers to marriage by request only, whereas in later times the marriage by elopement has become the most common way practiced in Ambon. Muslim influences are not neatly discriminated from the original indigenous *adat* rules ; the pastorally inclined priest in Castro had a special eye for what contravened Christian customs and laws. For Indonesian marriage *adat* on the whole, see ENI II 117-125 ; for Ambonese *adat* in particular, Frank L. COOLEY, *Ambonese Adat : A General Description*, New Haven 1962, 20-50. The marriage de-



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3. Aliae etiam non magis rationi consonae leges impeditae sunt [8]. Quale est, si quis mutuo dedit pecuniam, illum sibi pignoris loco in servum vendicare donec pecuniam solvat [9]. Si quis etiam ad alterius domum se conferat ut ibi cibum capiat, licet sit liber, eius manet servus [10]. Et prorsus homines sunt avaritiae valde dediti et usuras omnimodas exercent.

4. Auguriis et superstitionibus satis obnoxii. Et ex his moribus gentilicis etiam christiani non paucos retinent ; timore cogendi sunt ut aliquid boni agant. Itaque parum consolationis nostris huiusmodi christiani praebebant. Eorum autem loca procul a maris littore in editissimis et asperis locis sita sunt [11]. Et tamen cum sterilis haec vinea multis egeret cultoribus, unus tantum aut alter ex nostris eam excolebat.

[...]

*Lost Letter*

65*a*. — *Br. Bernardino Scalzo, Lisbon, to Fr. Francisco Vieira, Maluku ; early 1557.*

Vieira to the Jesuits in Portugal, March 9, 1559 : « O carissimo, solicito em nos prover, Bernardino . . . cujo pequeno escrito neste distantissimo Malucco recebi e obedeci, com a quaixa dos oculos . . . » (D 79, 27). This « escrito » presumably contained an instruction for the administration of some money or some goods.

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31 Aliae *w. corr.* | consonae] consones *ms.* || 39 nostris *d.r.*

---

scription in *Treatise* 86-89 is more especially focused on Muslim Ternate and its court.

[8] A not very well worded nor very clear sentence.

[9] This is the *adat* institution of the *pawner*, in Dutch *pandeling*. See ENI III 281 284.

[10] The meaning is not wholly clear. Another example of an extreme juridical unapproachableness of the other's house, in *Treatise* 125.

[11] Some villages were situated in the mountains of Leitimor, others along the coast. For a survey, see SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 673 notes 190-191, with references to the principal authors.

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## 66

## NOVICE PAULO GOMES SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ, TO THE JESUITS IN INDIA

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 11, 1557

I TEXT: DI III 684-689 [689]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 178*r*-180*r*. Coeval copy. Portuguese.

II NOTE: The mestizo Paulo Gomes, born in Malacca in 1535, as a boy had been a helper of Fr. Francisco Xavier in that town (MX II 482-483), and in 1556 he had entered the Society there. Later on, from 1570 to 1578, he worked as a priest in Maluku.

III PRINTED: in SÁ II 285-291, our fragment 290-291.

### *Text*

1. *Fr. Francisco Vieira and some others arrived in Malacca from India, and, in August, sailed for Maluku.* — 2. *Br. Melchior de Figueiredo returned from Maluku in September and will soon depart to India and bring news from Maluku and Malacca.*

[...]

1. O Padre Francisco Vieira com os mais que de laa vierão [1], chegarão aqui a dezanove de Junho e estiverão aqui até dez d'Agosto, que foi o dia que daqui partirão; e forão daqui algum tanto desconsolados por terem ruins novas de Maluquo [2] e não saberem a certeza delas, porque ao tempo que de quaa partirão, não era a nao de Maluquo chegada. Não lhe escrevo mais novas deles porque me paresce que elles o farão [3].

2. A nao de Maluco, em que veio o Irmão Belchior de Figeiredo [4], chegou aqui a onze de Setembro, muyto tarde e a tempo que quasi estavamos desconfiados de ella poder quaa vir ao tempo que veyo. Laa vay o Irmão que lhes dará muitas novas de Maluquo e dos muytos fer-

---

[1] With Vieira came Frs. Nicolau Nunes (second time), and António Fernandes, and Brs. Fernão de Osório, Baltasar Araújo, and Simão de Vera. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 15-19.

[2] Whether there were other tidings from Maluku beyond those communicated in D 63, we do not know.

[3] They did so at the first opportunity (DD 69-73).

[4] So Figueiredo had left Maluku. In India he was ordained a priest in 1561; after that he became a missionary in Japan; he died in Goa in 1597.

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vores que laa há com esperanças dos Padres, e assi lhes dará algumas desta terra [5] posto que nela esteve pouquo.

Deste collegio de Malaqua, donde ficamos rogando a N. Senhor nos acabe a todos en seu santo amor e serviço.

Aos honze dias de Novembro de 1557 annos.

Por commissão do Padre Baltasar Dias.

Paulo Guomez.

## 67

## SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. FRANCISCO RODRIGUES SJ, [TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL]

GOA, NOVEMBER 30, 1557

I TEXT: DI III 698-730 [716]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 98*r*-108*r*, with corrections from other MS texts.

II BIBLIOGRAPHY: ibid. 698. Also BARBOSA MACHADO III 97.

III NOTE: Fróis had returned from Malacca to India and there he served again as an amanuensis. This letter arrived in Portugal in June 1558 (DI III 699).

IV PRINTED: See DI III 700. To be added SÁ II 292-293: our fragment. Incorrectly he gives as a source *Ajuda 49-4-49* instead of *49-4-50*.

### *Text*

1. *That year Fr. Beira and Nic. Nunes arrived in Goa to recruit more hands for Maluku. Nunes and Ant. Fernandes have been ordained priests. Nine men for Maluku; their names; Fr. Francisco Vieira as superior.* — 2. *In Ambon 15,000 or 20,000 Christians. They live in the mountains and suffer much from persecution by the Muslims. They will be strengthened by the presence of four new workers.* — 3. *Fr. Nunes and two Brothers are assigned to the 20,000 Christians in 47 villages in Moro. Fr. Vieira will stay in Ternate to supply the others with fare and other things.*

[...]

1. De Maluquo veio este anno o Padre João da Beira e o Irmão Niculao Nunez [1]. Pedio gente pela muita falta que lá avia de hobreiros e grande numero de gente que quer receber a fee, como largamente verão

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[5] Malacca.

[1] As they stayed in Malacca in July 1556 (D 63, 3), they must have arrived in Goa c. February-March 1557.

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por huma carta que vay por tres vias que se screveo em Malaqua [1], na qual particularmente conta todas as cousas de Maluco, conforme as imformações do Irmão Niculao Nunez que lá andou dez annos [3], ao qual aqui ordenarão loguo em Goa por saber muito bem as linguas daquelas partes [4], e outro Padre que se chama Antonio Fernandez [5]. E o Padre Francisco Vieira por superior daquela provincia [6] com tres Irmãos com elles, scilicet : Fernão d'Osouro, Baltezar d'Araujo, Simão da Vera ; com ho Padre Afonso de Crasto, que lá estava já, e Manoel de Tavora e Melchior de Figeyredo [7], que são por todos os de Maluquo nove [8].

2. O Padre Afonso de Crasto e Antonio Fernandez com hum Irmão ou dous pera fiquarem com a cristandade d'Amboino [9], aonde há perto de quinze ou vinte mil almas cristans sem nenhuma pesoa que os doutrine [10], e ateguora perecerão. Morão estes os mais delles por serras mui altas e por penedos mui imgremes, entanto que apenas se pode subir en gatinhas por ellas apeguados com os pees e mãos, e vivem em lapas como animays, pelo temor que tem dos mouros salteadores que andão pelo pee das serras tiranizando aos pobres cristãoszinhos desemparados de todo socorro e todo favor humano : e muitas vezes acontece soomente por serem christãos os matão os mouros e fazem em postas. Aguora

---

[1] D 63.

[3] From this we understand that the oral information for D 63 was given much more by Br. Nunes than by Fr. de Beira, who, moreover, suffered from a disturbed mind. Nunes had arrived in Maluku in 1547.

[4] Nunes was ordained a priest by the Patriarch of Ethiopia, João Nunes Barreto, who during a long vacancy of the see of Goa performed there many episcopal functions ; see DI III 711 no. 20. It is very interesting that the decision to ordain him was based, not on his study of theology, but on his knowledge of the native languages of Maluku.

[5] See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 16.

[6] He was the third superior of the Maluku Jesuits (1557-1560), after Beira (1547-1555) and Castro (1555-1557). See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 « Superiors ».

[7] Figueiredo arrived in Malacca from Maluku on September 11, 1557 ; at that time Fróis had already left Malacca, for he wrote on September 26 from São Tomé (Madras) (DI III 683-684). So he did not yet know that Figueiredo had left Maluku.

[8] Observe that neither Fr. António Vaz (D 60 note 1), nor Br. Francisco Godinho (D 57, 4) are any longer mentioned. After Figueiredo left, the Maluku Jesuits numbered eight.

[9] Actually Ambon remained devoid of such a large Jesuit crew.

[10] After Castro had left Ambon before December 1555, only Br. Nunes had worked there between February and May, 1556 (D 63 note 76) ; since that time no Jesuit was active there.

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com aquela ajuda de dous Padres e dous Irmãos se ão muito de animar e coroborar na fee.

3. O Padre Nicolao Nuneez á-de andar no Moro [11] com outros dous Irmãos, porque sabe (como digo) as lingoas daquelas ilhas omde á pasanta de vinte mil almas christãas en corenta e sete lugares [12]. Vede, Charissimos, pelo amor de Deus ho como se poderá acudir a tanto numero de christãos com tam pouqua gente. Em a fortaleza de Maluquo á-de residir o Padre Francisco Vieira pera dali prover aos outros com sagu pera comerem e com alguma cousa pera suas necessidades quando [la nau] vai à Imdia, que hé de anno en anno.

[...]

Deste collegio de São Paulo de Goa, ao deradeiro de Novembro de 1557 annos.

Por comissão do Padre Francisco Rodriguez.

Servo inutil de todos,

Luis Frois.

*Lost Letters*

67*a*. — *Br. Fernão de Osório SJ, Bacan, to Fr. Francisco Vieira, Ternate, November-December 1557.*

Osório to Vieira, January 1, 1558 : « Muitos dias há que tinha escrito a V.R. » However, the letter was not dispatched (D 69, 1).

67*b*. — *Fr. Francisco Vieira, Ternate, to Fr. Afonso de Castro, Moro (Tolo) ; shortly after December 1, 1557.*

Vieira to Fr. General, February 13, 1558 : « Il re di Ternate, . . . subito preso che fu, diede aviso alli suoi che mandassero ad incontrare nel camino il Padre Alfonso et lo pigliassero, il che essi fecero con molta prestezza. Et non giovò l'haver io scrittoli subito che non venisse se non acompagnato . . » (D 72, 5).

## 68

## CATALOGUE OF THE JESUIT INDIAN PROVINCE AND OF THE BOYS IN THE COLLEGE OF SÃO PAULO IN GOA

[Goa, December, 1557 / January, 1558]

I Text : DI III 783-791 [787 and 789]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I*, ff. 3*r-v* and 2*r-v*. Copy, made in Portugal.

II Note : The first part of this Catalogue gives 69 names for Goa,

[11] He did go there ; see D 71.

[12] Cf. D 63, 23.

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7 for Cochin, 2 for Quilon, 6 for Cape Comorin, 2 for S. Tomé, 2 for Malacca, 9 for Maluku, 7 for Japan, 3 for Thâna, 5 for Bassein, 3 for Hormuz, and 6 for Ethiopia. Although the title of this first part refers only to the residents of the Goa College, there is no other title for the rest of the towns, which perhaps were all considered to be dependent from Goa as their centre.

III DATE: With many ingenious reasons Wicki proves that this Catalogue gives the situation of the Indian Jesuit Province of December 1557 or of January 1558 (DI III 784-785). It could be added that, as Br. Figueiredo is still listed as a member of the Maluku community, the catalogue has been made before his departure was known, that is, practically before he arrived in Goa, which was not before February or March 1558 (Cf. D 66, 2).

## *Text*

*Nine Jesuits in Maluku. A boy from Ambon in the college of Goa.*

### [I]

ROL DOS PADRES E IRMÃOS QUE ESTÃO NESTE COLLEGIO DE GOA [1]

[...]

Maluco

1. O P.e Francisco Vieyra
2. O P.e Afonso de Crasto
3. O P.e Antonio Fernandez
4. O P.e Niculao Nunez
5. O Irmão Manoel de Tavora
6. O Irmão Belchior de Figeiredo [2]
7. O Irmão Simão da Vera
8. O Irmão Fernão d'Osouro
9. O Irmão Balthezar d'Araujo

[...]

---

[1] From the words after the first part, « Sam por todos os Padres e Irmãos que andão por estas terras fora do collegio cinquoenta e dous », the inference could be that, after the list of the Goa college and before that of the other towns, a title has been omitted which would have been « Rol dos Padres e Irmãos que andão por estas terras fora do collegio » (Cf. DI III 788).

[2] Br. Melchior de Figueiredo had left Maluku in early 1557, an event the makers of the catalogue could not know yet.

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[II]

ROL DOS MOÇOS E TODA A MAIS JENTE QUE ESTÁ NESTE COLLEGIO

[...]

Malucos

1. Dom João, filho dum rey mouro das terras d'Ambueno, grande persiguidor dos christãos [3].
[...]

*Lost Letters*

68*a*. — *Fr. António Vaz, Maluku, to King D. João III, Portugal ; late 1557 or early 1558.*

« Neste mesmo anno baptisou o P.e Antonio Vaz a el-rei de Bacham, como elle escreveo a el-rey Dom João » (Seb. GONÇALVES II 345). The letter was received by D. João's successor, D. Sebastião. Cf. Lost letter 91*a*.

68*b*. — *Fr. Nicolau Nunes, Tolo, to Fr. Francisco Vieira, Ternate ; late 1557 - early 1558.* (More than one letter).

Nunes to Vieira, February 5, 1558 : « Muitas lhe tenho scriptas sem ver reposta sua ». « Já laa lhe tenho scripto . . . » (D 71, 1).

68*c*. — *Fr. Nicolau Nunes, Tolo, to Fr. António Fernandes, probably in Cawa, Morotia ; late 1557 or early 1558.*

Nunes to Vieira, February 5, 1558 : « . . . lhe tenho scripto, como tinha scripto ao Padre Antonio Fernandez » (D 71, 1).

## 69

## BR. FERNÃO DE OSÓRIO SJ TO FR. FRANCISCO VIEIRA SJ, SUPERIOR, TERNATE

[BACAN], JANUARY 1, 1558

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : BARBOSA MACHADO II 44 (1557) ; MILLIES 54 ; SOMMERVOGEL V 1972 (1557) ; STREIT IV 852 (1559) ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 180 Osório no. 1 (1559).

II AUTHORS : BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 17 (in the margin *Ternate* instead of *Bacian*) ; SOUZA I III 2 20-21 ; WESSELS, *Batjan* I 123-124.

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[3] This agrees perfectly with what Fr. Pero Mascarenhas wrote on June 15, 1570 (D 179, 26) concerning Dom Diogo of Nusatelo and his son, who both had sailed to India. Cf. also D 114, 6.

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III TEXTS : There is no original.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 611*v*-613*r*. Copy in Portuguese, written by three hands. Heading : « Huma do Ir. Fernão do Souro, que escreveo do lugar do Tolo a Maluco ao P.e Fr.co Vieira, do primeiro de Janeiro de 1558 ».

B. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 304*r*-305*v*. Portuguese copy in smooth handwriting. On account of damp stains and of covering coarse paper, in some places completely illegible. It shows many minor variants from text A, once adding a sentence (no. 8). It might be a different « via » from text A. Heading : « Copia de huma do Irmão Fernão d'Osouro pera o Padre Fr.co Vieira do Tolo pera Maluco ao 1º de Jan.ro de 1558 ».

C. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* ff. 47*r*-48*v*. Beautiful uniform copy ; it follows now text A, now text B. It is divided into five clearly separated paragraphs. Same heading as text A.

D. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 74*r*-75*r*. Calligraphic copy, similar to text C. In the heading *Tolo* has been changed into *Bachão* by another hand. Twice a note in the margin says that this letter deals with the king of Bacan.

E. Florence, *Archivio di Stato, MSS 746 no. 23* pp. 11-12. This no. 23, under the title « Relatione dell'Indie cavate dalle lettere de' Padri Giesuiti l'anno 1558 », contains shortened texts of six letters (DD 73, 72, 77, 69, 70, and DI IV 150-163) in Italian translation, written in a coeval handwriting without deletions or corrections. The present letter is headed « Cavata d'una lettera di Ferrante Osorio scritta nel giorno di Giesù nell'anno 1558 al Pre Francº Viera nella fortezza di Ternate ». For purposes of edification, the Italian translator omits every manifestation of weakness in Osório and palliates some pitiful results of his work, for instance, in no. 3 : only fifteen are baptized of whom the greater part are boys, here is given in this way : « Ho ben fatto qualche buon numero di Christiani grandi e piccoli ».

F. Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, Jesuitenabteilung 722* f. 316*r*. Same shortened Italian text as E. Evidently it was sent, in identical copies, to some colleges outside of Rome.

IV PLACE : A place of dispatch is not mentioned. Although the three former texts in their headings say Tolo (which is in Moro), the entire letter shows that the author is writing from Bacan and is living with the king of Bacan. Nunes, writing from Tolo only one month later (D 71), makes no mention at all of Osório. Their ignorance of Maluku geography combined with the seductive vicinity of Nunes' letter, of nearly the same date and directed to the same addressee, may explain why the copyists located Osório in Tolo. In the heading of text D a second hand very correctly changed Tolo into Bacan. DD 82 and 93 testify that Osório worked on the latter island.

V DATE : According to the bibliographies and its oldest printing, our document was written in 1557 or 1559. However, all Portuguese MS copies unanimously ascribe it, in the heading as well as in the conclusion, to 1558. The letter appears to have been written shortly after the capture of King Hairun ; this took place on December 1, 1557 (BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 16 ; SOUZA I III 2 13). So there can be no doubt about 1558.

VI NOTE : The writer, Br. Osório, shows himself a simple, not very

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literate man. More than once his intentions and the meaning of his words are difficult to catch. From Polanco's letter of December 31, 1560 (DI IV 854), it appears that this and the following letters (DD 69-73) were received in Rome in 1560.

VII PRINTED : in SÁ II 294-300. He prints text C, pretending that text B is illegible, and not mentioning text A. Italian contracted version, in *Nuovi avisi dell'Indie di Portogallo, Terza parte* (Venetia 1562) ff. 35*v*-36*r*. Some variants from text E (« Estratto » instead of « Cavata ») show that the latter did not serve directly as a specimen for the printing of the *Avisi*.

VIII OUR EDITION : We print text A, indicating in the apparatus the variants of text B, and, rarely, those of texts C and D.

## *Text*

1. *He was given notice of the capture of the king of Ternate. His own king of Bacan sent a man patroling who only reached Makian and brought news that Fr. De Castro had been killed.* — 2. *News [of arrest of the king of Ternate], which arrived on Christmas Eve, caused people to crowd together around their king, and Osório made a fiery speech to them. Courage and persistency of the Bacan king who now arms his people. Up till now he could build neither church nor house ; he has to proceed patiently.* — 3. *Where he lives there are 300 children. He cannot work much ; he baptized only fifteen. He wants to go to Ternate, but the king does not allow it.* — 4. *High cost and dearth of foodstuffs. He sends a pitcher with oil and a small lot of dried fish.* — 5. *He suffers from itching in the legs and from fever. He would be pleased to receive the order of baptism in the vernacular. The king urges him to perform baptisms.* — 6. *He chose a building-site for church and house, but could not do any more till now. Christians arrived from another place ; most of them understand Portuguese ; so he will soon start preaching. Not knowing the native language, he is dumb like a piece of wood ; therefore the son of a Christian in Ternate should come and assist him.* — 7. *He would like to visit Fr. Vieira. Complaints on cold and wet country and on scarcity of victuals.* — 8. *Entanglement of Bacan politics towards Ternate ; its king : « John, by the grace of God king of Bacan ». People came to see him, he taught them prayers, they did not return. His conversation with the king.* — 9. *Seditious letters of the king of Ternate to the king of Bacan and attempt at bribery ; firmness of latter king.* — 10. *The king of Bacan wants to christen his whole realm. Osório erected three tall crosses ; prayer to be said before a cross.*

1. Charissimo Padre. Muitos dias há que tinha escrito a V.R. [1], mas nunca foy de quá cousa alguma pera lá [2], porque cada dia estavamos

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[1] Lost letter ; cf. D 67*a*.

[2] During the scarcely two months Osório had lived in Bacan the winds were blowing chiefly from the north.

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pera hir pera onde V.R. está, senão nos derão novas da presa desse rey [3]. Determinou este nosso rey [4] de mandar saber o que era, donde foy este mesmo portador [5] em huma caracora pera saber as novas. Chegou a Maquien onde lhe correrão a piogada. Quis Deus que o não tomarão. Trouxe as novas certas do P.e Afonso como era morto [6]. Consolado fuy em o Senhor por ver que hum dos nossos, dos de Maluco, estava já com Deus, e o tempo aparelhado pera os que agora vierem ho mesmo alcançarem.

2. Tanto que estas novas chegarão, ajuntou-se muita gente com el-rey, onde lhe fiz huma fala perante todos, a qual não escrevo, e confesso a V.R. que não foy com pouco animo, e forão cousas de Deus e tambem das gerras. Elle sempre se mostrou esforçado e bom christão, posto que lhe dixerão que tambem vinhão sobre elle muitas coracoras pera o destruirem ou fazer tornar mouro, onde elle mostrou grande animo. Hé bom christão (como digo) : porque algus lhe perguntarão que se os portugueses morrescem que faria ? E elle lhe respondeo que, se fossem mortos, que elles affiassem suas espadas e o viessem matar, porque elle avia de morrer christão. E isto passava lá com os seus, e logo se fes prestes com sua gente e esperava cada dia por elles, ategora que nos vierão estas boas novas, e chegarão vespora de Natal, onde foy tanto o contentamento que tivemos que não o sei dizer, pois o nosso rey não [o] cabia en si. Elle fas-se prestes pera fazer a gerra, porque eu ei-de hir com elle nesta jornada a dar Santiago [7], porque elle

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3 nos derão] quando nos forão dar *B* | desse *w. corr.* || 5 novas *add.* onde *B* || 6 tomarão *add.* onde *B* || 9 vierão *B* || 17 faria] avia de fazer *B* | lhe] lhes *B* || 18 affiassem *add.* as *B* || 24 a] ha de *B*

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[3] The Captain, D. Duarte de Eça, had imprisoned King Hairun of Ternate on December 1, 1557 (SOUZA I III 2 13).

[4] The king of Bacan, who had been baptized by Fr. António Vaz on July 1, 1557 (DD 72, 2 and 82, 1-3).

[5] In no. 4 he is called Tomé Vaz.

[6] Afonso de Castro. No source reports explicitly the date of his death. Osório's statement would imply that he was killed before January 1, 1558, consequently, in December 1557, for he was not captured until Hairun's imprisonment on the first day of that month (cf. D 72, 5-6). The thirty days of capture, alleged by Vieira (D 79, 6), do not fit in with this conclusion. The direct testimony of Osório seems to deserve more faith than Vieira's declaration of more than a year after. The possibility, however, that Osório's « certain news » was only a rumour, and that Vieira reported the truth, cannot entirely be excluded (See BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 16 : Castro died in late January 1558 ; SOUZA I III 2 18 : in January 1558).

[7] That is, to shout the war cry while swooping down upon the enemy. For Portuguese and Spaniards it was « Santiago » ; but for the king of Bacan it had been

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sempre diz : nome de Jesu. Muitas cousas tenho passadas com elle e sempre ho acho da mesma maneira, porem ainda não tenho feito casa nem igreja, mas não se pode mais fazer, porque vim em tempo que logo succederão huns trabalhos todos grandes, por onde eu bem veijo que se não pode mais fazer. E tambem digo a V.R. que o fruito nesta terra que se á-de fazer muito devaguar, porque paresse que querê-llo endireitar por força, quebra muy asinha : paresce-me que quem quer que aqui estiver que á-de ter a arte de nosso Irmão Francisco Anes [8] porque doutra maneira nada fará.

3. Paresce-me que neste lugar averá trezentos meninos, mas ainda agora hão medo de mi ; senão vou pouco assi pera que não ajão medo. Nos grandes não faço ainda até agora nada, somente falar com elles pera os conhecer. Até agora não tenho feito mais que 15 cristãos por duas vezes [9]. Aos primeiros, que forão 4, pus nome Francisco, agora offreça-os V.R. a Deus, pois forão feitos en seu nome ; os outros onze forão feitos en dia de S. Thomé [10] aos quais pus nome Thomé, os mais erão meninos. Eu me quisera ir pera me confessar e tambem pera informar a V.R. do que quá passa, mas el-rei não quis porque me não acontecesse alguum desastre ; eu por não fazer nada me quisera ir.

4. Esta terra está tam cara como Ternate porque se não acha nada pera comer ; apenas se acha saquu [11]. Os meus pescadores não pescão, com medo, e mais estão quá contra sua vontade, porque são homens que são acustumados a levar boa vida [612*r*] e comer e beber tuaqua [12]. Tambem agora se [a]chão sem nada, porque eu passo quá às vezes com bredos e na terra não há nada, porque depois que vim nem figos [13] achei nem fruita nenhuma. Quando cá achamos alguum peixe, que hé poucas vezes, hé tam caro como dentro en Tarnate. Lá mando huma jarra d'azei-

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25 diz *add.* o *B* || 26 mesma] huma *B* | feito *add.* nada, nem *B* || 27 mas *add.* porem *B* | fazer *add.* e *B* || 32 Anes] Enes *B* || 33 nada] não *B* | fará *add.* nada *B* || 38 Aos] os *B* || 45 saquu] saguu *B* || 47 lovar *B* || 48 Tambem *corr. fr.* muito bem | se *interl.*

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changed into « nome de Jesus », probably by António Vaz. At the conversion of a native people the question of the war cry was of great importance ; see D 72, 7 and JACOBS, *Celebes* 286.

[8] A Jesuit Brother from India, whom Osório had known there and who was now working in Thana (DI III 412 and 788).

[9] We see Osório administering the sacrament of baptism ; cf. no. 5.

[10] December 21.

[11] *Sagu*, the common food.

[12] *Tuak* (Malay), palm wine, toddy (DALGADO II 388).

[13] The word *figo* was used by the Portuguese for the banana.

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te pera a candea por me parecer que averá necessidade delle e mais huum pouco de peixe seco e mais outras poucas de sardinhas, porque agora não poderão pescar e tudo me custou dous belharines [14], os quais dará V.R. a esse portador que se chama Tomé Vaz. Faça-lhe V.R. muito gazalhado porque me faz quá muitas caridades.

5. Cá me saio huma comechão pollas pernas, às vezes se vai, às vezes torna ; cá andei huuns não sei quantos dias com febre, não sei ainda se estou com ella. Cá folgara com a lanceta pera me sangrar se for necessario. Tambem folgaria com o modo de baptizar en lingoagem [15] de meo quarto de papel pera meter entre as folhas doutro livro [16] pera fazer gente, porque estes negros olhão pera tudo. E declare-me tudo o que posso fazer acerca do sal e da candea e de tudo porque eu estava posto en não baptizar, mas foi-me forçado por me pedir el-rei que baptizasse, porque escusava-me com o Padre que avia de vir [17], mas agora hé necessario fazê-llo e por isso mande-me V.R.

6. O lugar pera fazermos a igreja e casa hé tomado, o milhor que há na terra, porem tem muitas palmeiras. A igreja não se pode fazer senão depois que el-rei vier de Tarnate, que não sei quando poderá lá ir pollas poucas caracoras que tem, e por esta causa me quisera ir, mas elle não quis. Mande-me V.R. dizer o que farei. Agora com a chegada destes christãos que no outro lugar [18] estavão, detremino de fazer prac-

60 folgaria] folguara *B* || 61 de] em *B* || 63 posto *om. B* || 67 hé] hey *B* | tomado *interl.* || 71 farei] farai *ms.*

[14] Not clear what is meant here. Either *barganim*, a small coin of 40 reis (DALGADO I 99 ; YULE 68), or *beirame*, *beiraminho*, a piece of cloth (DALGADO I 113 ; YULE 81). The latter was often used as a means of payment.

[15] In this context *lingoagem* seems to mean the Portuguese language.

[16] Presumably the *Rituale* in Latin.

[17] Fr. Alfonso de Castro had been ordered by Fr. Vieira to sail to Bacan after his return from Moro (D 72, 5).

[18] Unfortunately, neither the native name of the king, nor that of any town in Bacan is mentioned. According to WESSELS, in those years the king resided on the island called Kasiruta, where the ruins of a royal residence can still be seen (WESSELS, *Baljan* I 121 ; II 139). Others, however, do not agree (ibid. I 121 note 2). ENI VIII 1497 mentions likewise the ruins of a royal residence on the E coast of Kasiruta. ENI I 205 mentions a king of Kasiruta ; VALENTYN (I b 237) distinguishes the king of Bacan from a king of Ombacan (M'bacan, the N part of the island Bacan). When WESSELS (*art. cit.* II 139 note 1) identifies M'bacan or Ombacan with Kasiruta, he does not appear to be right (see ENI VIII 1497). Our documents do not seem to resolve any topographical questions ; the only thing certain is that they always distinguish clearly the king of Bacan and the *sengaji* of Labuha (see D 50 note 8).

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ticas sobre as orações porque os mais sabem falar portuguez. Se V.R. detremina de eu estar nesta terra há-de me dar quem fale porque não há quem fale. Hum christão malavar por nome Anrrique Botelho ou Francisco Botelho me dixe que me daria hum seu filho que lá estava em Tarnate que sabe ler e escrever. Fale V.R. com elle e mande-mo porque estou agora cá como pao, porque Thomé Vaz não hé senão pera os domingos, quando não tiver que fazer.

7. Eu muyto deseyo de me ver com V.R. pera o emformar das cousas de cá. Esta terra hé muyto fria, chove muitas vezes e às vezes se alagão as casas que estão baixas; faz tam grande orvalho que parece que chove. Soya a ser que morria aqui muita gente e agora depois que se fizerão christãos não morre nimguem, e se morrem são mouros, por onde os poem em grande [612*v*] espanto. Este lugar hé muy fresco que tudo hé mato; ainda até agora não vy cousa que ouvesse no mato que fosse pera lançar mão. Depois que vim não comi mais de tres figos, e por isso tudo o que me V.R. mandou me foy dado e veio a muyto bom tempo.

8. Quanto ao que me V.R. diz que me emforme da fazenda que deu o nosso rey aos de Ternate, não me espantei porque os negocios passão cá de outra maneira que lá não sabem, que são muy differentes. Mais me espantei quando vi que se não deu elle mesmo, que tão travada estava a cousa; e por isso este nosso rey se chama: Dom Joam, per graça de Deus rey de Bachão. As mais novas quando for as darei, porque não se podem escrever. Ainda ategora não tenho emsinado a ninguem a oração. Aqui começarão a vir ver-me, comecei a emsinar a oração e nunqua mais quiserão tornar. Sempre falo com el-rey, elle mostra contentamento quando lhe fallo algumas cousas de Deus. Grandes praticas tivemos cá com elle em hum banquete que lhe derão, porque fui chamado de sua parte pera elle. Assi que digo a V.R. que me vou metendo com elles pouco pera que não ayão medo; faço-me agora à sua cara pera depois os fazer à nossa [19], porque me parece que tudo hé necessario [20]. Não tenho

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73 portuguezes *ms.* || 74 de[2] *interl.* | há-de me] á me de *B* | fale *corr. fr.* falem || 75 fale *corr. fr.* falem || 76 dixe] dexe *ms.* || 77 Tarnate *add.* e *B* || 78 estou *add.* eu *B* | pao *corr. fr.* pão || 81 de cá] desta terra *B* | Esta terra *om. B* | muyto *om. B* || 86 até *interl.* | vy *B*, ay *A*, ai *C*, hay *D* | que ouvesse *om. B* || 90 aos *interl.* || 100 com elles *interl.* || 102 necessario *add.* e a me dixerão da despoesissão de meu irmão ho ministro *B*

[19] What Osório wants to say is: I am adapting myself to their ways in order to make them adapt next to our ways. However, *fazer-se à cara de . . .*, is no Portuguese idiom. Therefore we think he used the Malay term *cara* (*tjara*), spelling it *chara*, which means «manner, custom, way, habit, usance, fashion». Fr. Vieira would understand the word, but the Portuguese copyists did not, and wrote *cara*.

[20] Here text B adds a sentence (see app. crit.) that does not make any sense in the context of Osório's letter.

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mais que escrever, somente que tenha V.R. lembrança de mym e bem creio que não esqueço.

9. As principais novas me esquecião ; por estas saberá V.R. que homem hé este rey. Depois de eu estar cá e antes que viesse, recebeu este nosso rey quatro ou cinquo cartas desse que agora está prezo [21], em que lhe tornou todo seu fato que lhe tinha tomado, e muito mais que se fizesse mouro e que matassem os portuguezes, porque elle queria tomar a fortaleza e matar todos os portuguezes, porque já tinha falado com os ganges [22], e que fazia tres carocoras grandes pera fazer-sse amigo del-rey pera matar os portugezes que pera cá viessem. [613*r*] Juntamente lhe mandou com as cartas hum bom pedaço de ouro. E elle lhe respondeu que nam avia mister seu ouro, que já era mui rico e que avia de morrer christão e que avia de ser da banda dos christãos, e que quando ele tomase a fortaleza e matasse os portugeses tambem se fizese prestes pera o matar. Todas as cartas tem pera as mostrar ao capitão [23] e outras cousas muitas que nam escrevo.

10. Por certo, Padre, que me parece que hé o tempo chegado pera nam ficarem imagens, nem as do briviario, e por iso nam dê V.R. nenhuma a ningem, porque temos pera nós que agora se ham-de fazer todos christãos ; porque este noso rei tem proposito de fazer estas ilhas todas christans. Cá fiz fazer grandes cruzes, huma à porta del-rei num campo e outra na entrada do lugar e outra no cabo do rio [24]. A el-rei por bons meios dei huma feita por minha mão pera ter dentro de sua casa, e dise-lhe que duas vezes, huma pola menhã e outra à noute, se posese de giolhos e que disesse : « Senhor Jesu Christo, confirmai-me em vosa graça, que sou peccador », com as mãos alevantadas. Pouco a pouco imos fazendo o que nos o tempo dá lugar.

Feita oje dia de Jesu [25] de 1558.

Indigno filho de V.R.

Fernam d'Osouro.

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105 estas] esta *B* || 106 recebeu] receber *ms.*, recebeo *B* || 111 has Ganguas *B*, as Gangas *CD* || 113 ouro *add.* porque *B* || 115 que[3] *om. B* || 116 portugeses *add.* e *B* || 117 matar *add.* e *B* || 128 sou] são *B* || 132 Fernam d'Osouro *underl.*

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[21] Hairun of Ternate.

[22] That is *sengajis*, local governors.

[23] D. Duarte de Eça.

[24] Two of the methods used by the missionaries are revealed in these sentences : distributing religious pictures to the newly converted, and erecting tall crosses in public places.

[25] Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, January 1.

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## 70

## BR. FERNÃO DE OSÓRIO SJ TO FR. FRANCISCO VIEIRA SJ, SUPERIOR, TERNATE

[BACAN], JANUARY 8, 1558

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : BARBOSA MACHADO II 44 (1557) ; SOMMERVOGEL V 1972 (1557) ; STREIT IV 853 (1559) ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 180 Osório no. 2 (1559).

II AUTHORS : The same as at D 69.

III TEXTS : The Portuguese original has been lost.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* f. 613*r-v*. Coeval Portuguese copy. Clear handwriting. Heading : « Outra do Irmão Fernão do Souro de 8 de Janeiro de 1558 pera o P. Frcº Vieira em Maluco ».

B. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-49* ff. 305*v*-306*r*. Beginning of no. 1 and entire no. 3 scarcely legible. Same text as A with some variants ; perhaps a different « via ».

C. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* ff. 48*v*-49*r*. Written in two hands, substantially same text as A and B.

D. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* f. 75*r-v*. Similar to text C.

E. Florence, *Archivio di Stato, MSS 746 no. 23* pp. 12-13. Italian version, shortened and polished text. Heading : « Cavata d'un'altra del medesimo ».

F. Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, Jesuitenabteilung 722* f. 316*r-v*. Same text as E.

IV PLACE AND DATE : See D 69. From the context the letter appears to have been written from Bacan. All Portuguese MSS give the year 1558.

V PRINTED : in SÁ II 301-303, text C. Italian version, in *Nuovi avisi . . . Terza parte* (Venetia 1562) ff. 36*v*-37*r* : « Estratto d'un'altra del medesimo ». Presents text E, not without some notable variants.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A, pointing out some more important variants of text B — as far as legible — in the apparatus.

### *Text*

1. *On January 5, he had a talk on erecting crosses with the king who told him a dream.* — 2. *On Twelfth-day, solemn erection of a cross by the king himself.* — 3. *Anybody not worshipping the cross was threatened with capital punishment. He begged of the king to give him wood for two crosses, a bell to be rang on Sundays, and to further the faith in still other ways. The children are frightened of his black cassock.*

Charissimo Padre

1. Sam tantas as cousas que cada dia me socedem que as nam poso escrever, porque o demonio está nesta terra tam arreigado que nam

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há remedio pera o lançar fora, por onde me parece que pois elle tanto lhe peza que grande fruito se há-de fazer. Isto digo porque há muitos dias que tenho pedido a Sua Alteza que mande fazer humas cruzes, e nunqua o pôs por obra até bespora dos Reis [1], que foi pola menhã cedo, me fui polo rio acima rezando onde encontrei com Sua Alteza. Ele me perguntou polas cruzes, onde lhe dise muitas cousas por acenos, até vir hum homem que falava malaio [2]. Entre as quais lhe dise que Sua Alteza queria grandes honrras, que nam queria cruzes nem ouvir muitas palavras. E ele logo me deu dous carpinteiros pera fazer a cruz, e me dise que aquela noite sonhara que lhe aparecera hum mancebo com huma caixinha, na qual trazia huma cruz pequena, e que lhe dizia que tomase aquella cruz, que avia de ser grande homem. Sobre isto falamos muitas cousas. [613*v*]

2. Dia dos Reis pola menhãa se ajuntarão aqui numa ramada grande, por não se poder fazer a igreija, muitos christãos de Tarnate com suas molheres, e mais os portugezes com suas molheres, e el-rey com os seus mais principaes pera levarem a cruz, onde se avia de pôr. Tinha feito hum altar com a cruz que de lá trouxe, tudo enrramado e juncado. Fiz huma pregação sobre os Reis. Então comecei a dizer as ladainhas : em joelhos todos e Sua Alteza. Entonces me alevantei e dei ordem como a levasse el-rei, e então logo os principaes muito quietos, eu rezando as ladainhas, digo cantando alta voz até aquelle lugar onde se avia de pôr. El-rei logo fez hum poyal no pee da cruz, e dipois de acabada se assentarão todos de jiolhos e eu rezando huma oração [3].

3. Crea V.R. que foi com tanta devação, que quasi me fez chorar. Todos forão mui consolados. El-rei disse à sua gente que so pena de lhes mandar cortar a cabeça que todos pola manhãa posessem os jiolhos no chão à cruz e levantassem as mãos, e que ainda que não soubessem mais que Deos os ouviria. E tãobem lhe pedi Reis [4], porque os principes fa-

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4 há] hahi *B* || 10 homem *add.* em *B* || 11 cruzes *corr. fr.* louvores | nem *add.* queria *B* || 14 cruz] crusinha *B* || 20 levarem *id. corr.* || 23 a] se *B* || 28 chorar *add.* e *B*

---

[1] The day before Epiphany, hence January 5.

[2] Presumably a Portuguese who knew Malay. If Osório is not able to speak with the king except by means of gestures, it follows that on other occasions (e.g., D 69, 8) he always had to use an interpreter. This proves that the king of Bacan did not speak Portuguese.

[3] Apparently this cross is distinct from those erected before January 1, mentioned in D 69, 10.

[4] In accordance with a Portuguese custom for the day of Epiphany he asked for some presents. Cf. BLUTEAU, under R, p. 209 : « Dar os Reys » means to give presents on Twelfth-day.



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zião grandes mercês naquelle dia. Elle me disse que tudo me daria que lhe pedisse, que se fosse fato loguo mo mandaria dar. Eu lhe pedi que me desse pao pera fazer duas cruzes e que mandasse à sua gente que aquelles que tinhão meninos e molheres que os trouxessem pera os fazer christãos, e que mandasse que me trouxessem os meninos pera os ensinar e que Sua Alteza viesse aos dominguos à igreija com todos os seus. Elle folgou muito e me disse que si. E tãobem lhe pedi hum sino pera tanger aos domingos e dar as ave-marias [5]. Não tenho outro remedio pera trazer estes meninos, porque hão grande medo desta loba preta, senão com lhe dar d'almoçar huma casca de saguu. Afago-os e assi desta maneira me hei com elles e dispois os virei açoutar. Outras cousas muitas podera asaz escrever mas ey medo d'enfadar.

Feita oje 8 do mes de Janeiro de 1558.

De seu indigno filho,

Fernão d'Osouro.

## 71

## FR. NICOLAU NUNES SJ TO FR. FRANCISCO VIEIRA SJ, SUPERIOR IN TERNATE

TOLO, FEBRUARY 5, 1558

I TEXTS: We have three coeval Portuguese copies.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 517*v*-518*r*. Heading: « Copia de huma do P. Nicolao Nunez do Tolo de 5 de Fevereyro de 1558 ». In the margin « 1ª », perhaps meaning *primeira via*. A later hand underlined some proper names.

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* f. 49*r-v*. Text with many variants and considerable omissions (See crit. appar.). Heading: « Huma do Padre Niculao Nunez do lugar do Tolo pera o Pe Francisco Vieira em Maluco de 5 de Fro de 558 ».

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* f. 72*r-v*. Delicate handwriting; some underlinings. Apart from orthography this copy faithfully follows text A, also in the heading.

II ADDRESSEE: Only the heading of text B mentions an addressee: Fr. Vieira in Ternate. The entire context of the letter, written during the revolt against the Portuguese after the imprisonment of King Hairun

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42 casca] casta [?] *B* | saguu *w. corr.*

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[5] To announce, morning, noon, and evening, the time for the Angelus, a prayer commemorating the Incarnation of Christ.

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by D. Duarte de Eça, suggests the same person. So there can be no doubt about it.

III PRINTED: in SÁ II 304-306. He presents the shortened text B, not mentioning texts A and C, even suggesting that no copy of the letter is to be found in the Ajuda Library.

IV OUR EDITION: We print text A with a few corrections taken from text B when this shows an evidently better quality; we always mention such in the apparatus.

## *Text*

1. *They [i.e., the Moro Fathers and Portuguese] assembled in Tolo; they tried to reach Ternate, via Sakita in Morotai, but they had to return. Description of this useless effort; their encounter with hostile fleet.* — 2. *Disquiet in population of Morotai. The Father and Br. da Vera, who stays rather ill, came from there. He asks for medicaments. War will last a long time.* — 3. *Shortage of wine and flour for Holy Mass. On some clothes.* — 4. *If they could receive some light guns and gunpowder, they would be able to sail for Ternate and bring some food. What Fr. Afonso [de Castro] took along with him.* — 5. *Br. da Vera is probably going to die.*

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Muitas lhe tenho scriptas sem ver reposta sua [1]. Bem sei que meus pecados forão causa, assi como tãobem o forão de não chegarmos laa carregados de mantimentos e aribarmos ao Tolo. Perdoe Deus Nosso Senhor a quem foi causa disso. Já laa lhe tenho scripto, como tinha scripto ao Padre Antonio Fernandez [2], que nos ajuntasemos. Nós nos ajumtamos aqui no Tolo e daqui nos fomos com Baltesar Veloso [3] ao Morotai, a Saquita, ao junco do capitão [4]. Achamo-lo jaa carregado e prestes.

2 lhe *om. B* | scriptas *add.* a V.R. *B* | sua *om. B* || 4 carregados de mantimentos e *om. B* | arribamos *B* | perdeo *ms., perdoe vd. corr. C* || 4-5 Perdoe ... disso *om. B* || 5 Já ... scripto] lá escrivi a V.R. *B* || 8 Saquita *B*, sequitar *A*, saquitar *C*

[1] Lost letters, see D 68*b*.

[2] Lost letter, see D 68*c*. Fr. Francisco Vieira, the new Superior, sent Fr. Nicolau Nunes as the superior of a small group, consisting of Fr. António Fernandes and Br. Simão da Vera, to Moro. Soon after the outbreak of the war a Ternatan fleet began operating in the Moro waters against the Portuguese and the Christians, especially trying to impede foodstuffs being brought from there to the fortress. Nunes assembled his helpers in Tolo in order to sail to Ternate with the victuals, in which he did not succeed.

[3] He must have been, by this time, a man of 77 years of age (COUTO VI 9 10).

[4] So D. Duarte de Eça had sent a junk to Moro with a view to provisioning the fortress.

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Viemo-nos ter aonde estava a nao de Baltesar Veloso. Ahi nos detivemos alguns dias, até que veo a armada de lá [5] pera tomar o junco, e pellejarão mui fortemente com elles. E quis Deus Nosso Senhor que os nossos fizerão muita matança nos mouros e logo os alargaram, com morrerem dos nossos tres portugueses e alguma outra gente e feridos. Estavão neste comenos mais d'ametade dos portugueses em terra com Baltesar Veloso. Logo nos embarquamos todos nas caracoras, junco, e num navio pequeno que quá fez Baltesar Veloso. E em nós partindo deu otra vez a armada comnosco, em que nos fez algum estrovo. Amdamos às voltas pera dobrarmos huma ponta e jaa por nossos pecados nunqua pudemos, por aqui não hir nimguem que saiba navegar. Fogirão-nos algumas caracoras nossas pera o Tolo e o navio de Baltesar Veloso tambem aribou pera o Tolo. Quando isto vio Baltesar Veloso, veo-se ao Tolo e a armada atrás de nós, e anda ainda aqui ladrando sem nos poder empecer.

Baltesar Veloso detrimina de se não ir, nem pode, salvo se de laa vier artelharia, polvora e quem saiba mandar este navio, que hé Guonçallo d'Oliveira [6] que lá estaa. V.R. crea que não há outro remedio ; por isso ajude lá com que isto se faça e seja cedo.

2. Com esta vay huma carta pera o capitão [7], e vay aberta pera que a veja V.R. A terra do Morotai está algum tanto emquieta ; o lugar onde estava o Padre [8] deitou-se com os ternates e outros lugarinhos. O Padre não pode trazer o fato todo quando se veyo ; ficou lá o saco de Simão da Vera [9], arca, jarras e todos os bacios, e a roupa toda que de lá trouxe, com outros petrechos. Nós todos estamos muito tristes por vermos o pouco remedio que temos pera nos irmos. Não hahi polvora nem artelharia pera nos podermos ir. Dos portugueses que de laa vie-

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9 viemo-nos *add.* nelle *B* || 11 elles] elle *B* | Deus *om. B* || 15-16 e num *B*, em hum *A* || 18 e · *m. B* || 19 podemos *B* | que *add.* se *ms.* || 20 o[s]] hum *B* || 21 pera o] ao *B* || 24 se[s] *add.* lhe *B* | de[s]] da *ms.* || 26 Oliveira] Olva *A*, Dolivr[a] *B*, dolivr[a] *w. corr. C* || 28 e *om. B* || 29 desinquieta *B* || 31-33 ficou .. tristes por *om. B* || 34 vermos] vemos *B* | o *om. B* | que temos *om. B* | hahi] á *B*

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[5] The enemy fleet from Ternate.

[6] It is not likely, though not impossible, that this is the same Gonçalo de Oliveira who, in 1512, sailed with António de Abreu to the nutmeg islands of Banda (CASTANHEDA III 75).

[7] Lost letter, see D 71*a*.

[8] Fr. António Fernandes. The towns where he and Br. da Vera had been stationed are not mentioned by name.

[9] See note 2.

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rão são mortos seis homens na guerra e doença. Se de lá vier alguma cousa mande-nos V.R., se lhe parecer, algumas mezinhas pera os feridos e pera as febres dos doentes. Se nos formos no junco, eu trabalharei por levar algum [mantimento ?] ainda que pouco ; e se nos formos em hum naviozinho pequeno de Baltesar Veloso, nada podemos levar. Portanto V.R. faça lá, se lhe parecer, por se prover, porque eu tenho que a guerra á-de durar muito se não vem bom socorro. O Padre está bem, o Irmão está com febres e com poucos remedios por não aver quá [518*r*] conservas nem nada de doentes ; se de lá poder partir comnosco não deixe de o fazer.

3. Saberá V.R. que o vinho do Padre que se danou ; eu tenho hum pouco em hum frasco de que nos sirvimos pera as missas, e farinha já muito pouca. Em todo o modo nos mande V.R. farinha e vinho pera as missas, ou triguo que quá há pedra ; alguns adubos. Quá estão treze panos mutas [10] que são do viguairo [11] e não tem em que se lhe possa empregar por não aver pade [12] por amor da guerra. Dê-lhe V.R. lá outras tantas e guastaremos quá estas, e são huns panos que nós trouxemos de corenta em corja [13], e a falar verdade já tenho gastada huma. Tudo o mais que V.R. nos poder mandar receberiamos muy gram charidade.

4. Dizião quá os portugueses que, se el-rey de Geilolo dese refens lá na fortaleza, que podiamos ir por sua terra [14], mas eu diguo que se nos de lá vier hum falcão com berços e polvra, que milhor iriamos com nosas embarcações com alguns mantimentos. Isto alembro a V.R. pera que nos ajude de laa a dar algum remedio pera nos salvarmos. O P.e Afonso [15] levava de quá muitos livros, hum retavolo mui rico e hum cru-

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36 homens *om.* *B* | e *add.* de *B* || 38-41 Se nos ... porque *om.* *B* || 39 algum *followed by open space* || 42 bem] bom *B* || 43 febre *B* || 46 adanou *B* || 49-55 alguns ... charidade *om.* *B* || 57 podiamos] poderião *B* || 58 com$^{s}$] em *B* || 61 de quá *om.* *B*

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[10] Perhaps *mouta*, the name given to a kind of raw silk from Bengal (MORAIS, VII 51) ; otherwise unidentified. Clothes were the common means of payment, for instance, for buying rice.

[11] After the death of the vicar in 1555 (D 59, 1), a new vicar turns out to have arrived.

[12] *Padi* (Malay) is the rice plant.

[13] *Corja* is « score, set of twenty » (YULE 255 : *corge*, *coorge*). Duarte BARBOSA writes : « Estas sortes de panos vendem eles por corjas, que entre eles é um conto de vinte, como que dizemos dúzia » (*Livro*, 85). « Corenta em corja », « forty in the score », that is, of no great value.

[14] That is, via the isthmus at the S end of the N peninsula of Halmahera.

[15] Fr. Afonso de Castro had accompanied the three Jesuits to Moro with a

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cifixo do Padre Sancto Francisco [16] com huma vestimenta sua, hum calix, tres moços com outras cousas que me esquecem, das quaes todas eu faço pouca conta. Não sei que mais lhe escreva por o muito que tinha que lhe screver, somente pedir-lhe nos mande de lá muitas novas que hé o que agora mais desejamos. Deus Nosso Senhor nos dê a todos sua graça pera que perfeitamente o sirvamos. Amen.

Do Tolo, oje 5º de Fevereyro de 1558 annos.

5. O Irmão Simão da Vera está mui mal con desatinos, paresce-me que se irá seu caminho. Emcomende-o a Deus. Ao Irmão Araujo [17] que nos emcomende muito ao Senhor pois tanta necessidade temos disso.

Inutilis,

Nicolao Nunez.

*Lost Letter*

71*a*. — *Fr. Nicolau Nunes, Tolo, to D. Duarte de Eça, captain of the fortress in Ternate ; February 5, 1558.*

Nunes to Vieira, February 5, 1558 : « Com esta vay huma carta pera o capitão, e vay aberta pera que a veja V.R. » (D 71, 2).

## 72

## FR. FRANCISCO VIEIRA SJ TO FATHER GENERAL, DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Ternate, February 13, 1558

I Bibliography : Barbosa Machado II 260 ; Millies 53 (Uittreksel . .) ; Sommervogel VIII 741 no. 1 ; Wessels, *Amboina* 179 Vieira no. 1 ; Streit IV 843.

II Authors : *Rerum a Societate*, Coloniae 1574, 53-56 ; Sacchini, *Hist. Soc.*, *Lainius* I 155 (no. 2), 157 (no. 3), 175 (nos. 4-6) ; Bartoli, *L'Asia* VI 13-17 ; Souza I III 2 11-12, 14-15, 18, and 20-21.

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62 Sancto] São *B* || 63 tres moços *om. B* || 64 por o] do *B* | que[s]] pera *B* || 65 pedir-lhe *add.* que *B* | de lá *om. B* || 67 Amen *om. B* || 68 oje] a *B* || 69 mal] mão *B* || 70 Araujo *om. B*

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view to distributing them over the posts : Nunes in Tolo, and the two others probably in Sakita and Cawa.

[16] Xavier. During his life, people had called him « O Padre Sancto » (Pérez, *Informação* 64).

[17] Baltasar Araújo. From this it can be seen that he was stationed in Ternate with Fr. Francisco Vieira.

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III TEXTS : Neither the Portuguese original nor a copy of it turned up in any archives.

A. Florence, *Archivio di Stato, MSS 746 no. 23* pp. 2-9. Italian version with some clear Portuguese reminiscences ; probably shortened text, for the heading says : « Cavato d'una lettera del Padre Franc° Viera scritta nella fortezza et isola de Ternate à 13 de febraio 1558 al Padre Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Giesù ». The conclusion gives erroneously as a date : 1559. Regular and clear handwriting. This version must have been made in Rome and sent to some colleges throughout Europe.

B. Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, Jesuitenabteilung 722* ff. 314*r*-315*v*. Exactly the same Italian text as that of Florence, and with the same heading, preceded by « Jesus Maria ». In the conclusion : 1558.

IV NOTE : Vieira arrived in Ternate in October 1557 (D 72,2) ; on December 1, King Hairun was imprisoned by D. Duarte de Eça. This immediately led the Ternatans to rebel against the Portuguese and encircle the fortress on the land side. Within a month Castro was killed. On February 13, 1558, Vieira signed two letters, one to Fr. General (this one), and a shorter covering letter to Fr. Dias in Malacca (D 73). Normally the ships left Ternate in the middle of February, and the monsoons did not permit them to leave much later. The arrival in Malacca, after « hibernation » in the Ambon Bay, was in June or July, and they left it again in November. In January of the next year (so in our case, 1559) they reached Cochin. From a letter of Fr. Melchior Nunes, written in Cochin on January 15, 1559 (D 78 and 78A), we know that at that time an earlier ship from Malacca had arrived ; another, that carried the letters, had not yet arrived. So evidently Fr. Dias forwarded both letters of Vieira, the one for the General and the one addressed to himself, with the second ship and he added a letter of his own to Nunes at Cochin, which consequently must have been written between July and November 1558 (D 75). In this he curiously refers to the death of Castro only from hearsay, which, however, is quite understandable because he was not entitled to open and read Vieira's letter to Fr. General, and the letter to himself was so succinct on Castro's death that he must have taken pains to get any further oral account of it. On September 12, 1559, the Portuguese provincial, Fr. Miguel de Torres, forwarded Vieira's letter from Lisbon to Fr. General in Rome (*ARSI, Lus. 60* f. 148*v*), saying « Here we did not open it, doubting if we were commissioned to do so ». This proves that the Maluku letters had a prosperous and fast journey to Portugal, and it explains also why the text of the present document is not found in the Portuguese archives. That neither its Portuguese text, in original or in copy, has been preserved in the ARSI is regrettable.

V PRINTED : Italian text, in *Nuovi avisi, Terza parte*, Venetia 1562, ff. 27*v*-33*v*, substantially the same as that of the MSS, but with many variants (partly idiomatic corrections, as *egli* for *lui*, *morí* for *morse*, etc.), and some omissions. Dated in the heading *18*, but at the end *13* of February. Latin version, in *Epistolae Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1569 (1ª pars) p. 225 : a short fragment only, our no. 11, where Japan is mentioned.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A as being nearer to the Portu-

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guese original and more complete than the printed texts. The apparatus gives also the omissions of the *Nuovi avisi* (*Av*) and its more important variants which may be useful to better grasp the meaning of some passages.

## *Text*

*1. He writes by order of Fr. Provincial. — 2. Having arrived at Ternate with five companions in October 1557, the first news they heard was that the king of Bacan had become a Christian. Reasons of this conversion. Fr. António Vaz went to Bacan to baptize king and people. Annoyance to the king of Ternate by this case; firmness of the Bacan king against all efforts and menaces of Ternate. — 3. Owing to perfidious actions of the Ternate king the Portuguese captain of the fortress imprisoned him and his brother. This immediately caused war to break out against the Portuguese. — 4. Life of Fr. Afonso de Castro in Portugal. — 5-6. How Castro was seized at the command of the imprisoned king, and afterwards was put to death. — 7. Fernão de Osório reported on the good disposition of the Bacan king; the latter sent some vessels with soldiers to help the Portuguese against the Ternatans. — 8. Erection of tall crosses in Bacan and piety of the king. — 9. As conversions of Bacan and imprisonment of the king of Ternate give sound grounds to new hopes, Fr. General should send more workers and especially a patriarch, for Maluku deserves it better than Ethiopia. Once the king of Ternate is dead, the whole population will be converted. — 10. Information on some islands and peoples. — 11. An eventual patriarch should bring the means to open up the sailing way from Maluku to Japan. Maluku could be provided with bread and other requirements, especially in behalf of the sick, from Japan and China.*

1. Per ordine del P.e Don Gonzalo, provinciale della Compagnia nostra nell'India [1], son venuto in queste remotissime regioni del Malucco, donde scriverò (secondo l'ordine ch'ho dell'obedientia) delle cose ch'Idio N. S. si ha degnato operar' in queste bande per mezzo delli deboli suoi instrumenti. Et sappia V.R.P. che se mai ci fu necessità qui d'operarii, c'è adesso, per esserci aperto il camino da far' in queste parti molto servitio a Dio N.S. più che fin qui.

2. Nel mese d'Aprile del 57 partimmo di Goa sei di nostra Compagnia et di loro tre preti, et la prima cosa ch'intendemmo giunti che fummo al porto di Ternate nel mese di Ottobre, fu ch'un re moro soggetto a quel di Ternate [2] s'era convertito alla nostra santa fede con

10 nel] del *ms.*, nel *Av*

[1] Fr. Gonçalo da Silveira, Provincial of Goa, 1556-1559 (DI III 6*-7*).

[2] The newly converted king mentioned here is King João of Bacan (D 69, 8). That this kingdom was subjet to Ternate is an exaggeration. The truth is that

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il suo regno, ch'è una dell'isole clavari [3] discosta 18 miglia da questa fortezza. Il modo che la divina Providentia tenne in convertirlo (secondo mi narrò un capitano, persona molto honorata) fu ch'essendosi un figliolo del re di Bachian maritato con una figliola del re di Ternate, accadette che nel partorire lei passò di questa vita : cosa che, secondo l'usanza di questi paesi, poteva causare che fusse privato il padre et il figliolo del regno tutto, oltra dalla robba sua, dal re di Ternate imputandoli la morte della figliola. Ma il detto re di Bachan vedendo il pericolo della sua rovina, renuntiò il regno al suo figliolo christiano, benché restasse lui nella sua mala setta, nella quale pochi giorni dipoi [3] morse [4]. Et il re di Ternate mandò a farli l'essequie a sue spese per non volerle far suo figliolo essendo già christiano, perché subito si esseguì quel che 'l suo padre haveva pensato, mandando a richiedere il capitano di questa fortezza li mandasse subito un Padre segretamente, acciò lo battezzasse et ancho il regno suo, il che la seguente notte fu fatto. È vero che non si potette tanto secretamente questo fare che non venesse il medesimo giorno all'orecchie del re di Ternate, il quale mandò incontinente suoi ambasciadori per impedir quest'opera. Ma quel cavaliere che menò là il sacerdote (che fu il Padre Antonio Vaz) [5] li fe tornare ad inbarcare a forza d'archibugiate. Quanto sia stato grande il sentimento del re di Ternate per la co[n]versione di questo re di Bachan et del suo regno, si può veder per l'opere, perché primieramente mandò a robbarli la fanciullina nata dalla madre morta, sua nepote, il che li riuscì. Di poi li mandò sua avia et un'altra donna che l'haveva

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12 una] uno *ms.*, una *Av* || 14 essendosi] havendo *Av* || 15 maritato con] presa per moglie *Av* || 20 figliolo *add.* facendolo *Av* || 28 di Ternate] Ternante *ms.*, di Ternate *Av* 32 sentimento] dispiacere *Av* || 34-35 a robbarli . . . mandò *om. Av* || 35 avia] avola *Av*

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Ternate, more mighty than the weak Bacan with its less numerous population, ambitioned to dominate it and that therefore the latter had to consider the former's wishes. (See *Gen. Introd.* I 2).

[3] The clove islands or spice islands. In Italian there is no such word as *clavare* (*chiavare*) ; it recalls the Portuguese *cravo*. The Italian translation ought to be *Isole delle Spezie, Isole del Garofano.*

[4] So in 1557 there was a change of rulers in Bacan. The old king most likely is the Laudim mentioned by CASTANHEDA (VIII 117) and by the *Treatise* (249), who is otherwise called Alwadin, Ala Udin, Alaoeddin I (ENI I 205 ; V 288).

[5] Since António Vaz supplied the place of the vicar in Ternate, it was only logical that he was dispatched to Bacan by D. Duarte de Eça. At that time he was no longer a Jesuit. This seems also implied in the wording : il *sacerdote* che *fu il Padre* Antonio Vaz.

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allevato, acciò cercassino di ridurlo alla sua pessima setta con presenti di molto oro et altre cose fra loro preciose. Ma piacque a Dio dar tanta costantia a questo re (il quale pare nella sua cera più presto d'Alemagna che del Malucco) ch'il tutto rifiutò dicendo che già era molto ricco essendo fatto christiano et che perciò non si curava di suo oro. Ultimamente lo mandò a minacciare et inpaurire dicendo che l'amazzarebbe, se non si ritornava a far moro, dicendo che questo tanto più facilmente lui poteva fare, quanto ch'era pigliata la fortezza di porteghesi (il che pur era falso) et vi era accordo tra lui et il re di Borneo [6] d'amazzare li porteghesi che l'anno seguente haveranno a venir nel Malucco [7]. A tutto questo rispose il giovane che lui era deliberato di morire christiano et che affilassi a sua posta un'altra volta la spada con ch'haveva (a quel che diceva) amazzati li altri christiani.

3. Venute queste [4] cose all'orecchi del capitano del re di Portogallo nella detta fortezza (il quale si mostra molto geloso [8] della religione christiana), oltre altre che prima haveva già intese di lui, e specialmente ch'haveva t[r]attato secretamente d'amazzar li christiani del Burro, Ambuino et Moro, et teneva ordito un tradimento di pigliar quella fortezza con annimo di non solo estinguere la christianità, ma di farsi di poi chiamare et adorare per dio dalli vasalli suoi [9], determinò detto capitano di pigliarlo prigione insieme con un suo fratello [10] che con sua conmissione andava trattando questi maneggi. Et così dopoi che noi altri arivammo qua [11], li fe chiamare il capitano alla fortezza dissimulatamente et gionti che furno, lo fece mettere in una

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47 a sua posta *om. Av*

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[6] That is, of Brunei, which, having freed itself from Majapahit (1478), went through its golden age of power and wealth until it was captured by the Spaniards in 1580. It always showed itself a strong defender of Islam.

[7] The Portuguese ships sailing from Malacca to Maluku around the N of Borneo generally had to stop at the port of Brunei for refreshing their supplies. This was the Borneo route, in opposition to the Java route which took the way around the S of Selebes and Borneo (*Treatise* 216 ; 218).

[8] Meant is : zeloso.

[9] The last words occasion Souza to state : « Porque na verdade era mais Atheista que Mouro » (I III 2 13) ; at any rate, they reveal the imperialistic tendency of Hairun's politics.

[10] Kaicil Gusarate, according to Souza (*loc. cit.*).

[11] In October 1557 (no. 2).

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buona prigione [12]. Il che spargendosi per queste parti si levorno subito su tutte quest'isole chiedendo il suo re e minacciando di fare con porthoghesi cruda guerra se non lo liberassero. Et così lo fanno dal principio di Settembre [13] in qua. È vero che fin a mo non han guadagnato troppo con li christiani, et una volta venendo 38 navilii di loro ben forniti di gente et d'artigliaria all'incontro delli portoghesi, ch'erano poco più di 40 soldati, né anche alla prima vista potettero resistere mettendosi in fugha e lasciando quattro o cinque navilii con li suoi schifi et altre monitioni di guerra. Et così anche andando l'armata di portoghesi a due loro isole li han fatto grandissimo danno.

4. Adesso narrerò il felice transito del buon Padre Alfonso di Castro conrispondente alla sua non manco buona vita, della quale io son buon testimonio per haverlo ben conosciuto da principio in Lisbona. Suoi parenti furno persone ricche [14] et cominciorno dalla sua fanciullezza a farlo bene instruire nelli costumi et lettere. Ma come lui cominciò ad entrare negl'anni della discritione, si alontanò delle cose del mondo dandosi tutto a quelle [5] de Idio, attendendo all'oratione et frequentando li santi sagramenti longo tempo da che venne la Compagnia nostra in Portogallo [15]. Finalmente si risolse di passarsene all'India con un altro giovane provato nelle virtù et constantia [16], et andandosene dal Padre Mastro Francesco Xavier per esser riceuto nella Compagnia. Ma imbarcato che fu in Lisbona, un dottor suo fratello con altri parenti lo cavorno per forza di sotto la coperta della nave e lo condussero avanti il capitano di quella, dove lui costantemente disse non conoscere il detto dottore per suo fratello poiché l' voleva impedir del servitio d'Idio, e così lo lasciorno detti suoi parenti. Haveva tanto poco cura delle cose terrene che anche le provisioni necessarie al vitto per fin all'India haveva lasciate in terra, et havendo io usata diligentia di far che li fussero portate alla nave, lui et anche il suo compagno le dispensorno alli marinari vivendo essi di lemosina et attendendo nel camino a servire agl'amalati et alla meditatione et oratione.

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63 Settembre] Decembre *Av* | a mo] ad hora *Av*

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[12] This happened on December 1, 1557 (SOUZA, ibid.). The Padres protested against Eça's cruelty (COUTO VII 4 7).

[13] September ought surely to be December. The printed text of the *Nuovi Avisi* has December (f. 29*v*).

[14] His father is said to have been a goldsmith (SOUZA I III 2.18).

[15] See SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* I 590-591.

[16] His name was Gaspar Rodrigues (Ibid. II/II 183).

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5. Et giunto nel'India [17] et accettato nella Compagnia, et provato in diverse mortificationi con grande edificatione, fu promosso al sacerdotio [18]. Dopoi il Padre Francesco lo menò seco, facendolo predicare in Coccin et Malacca, dove fu molto accetto et con istantia richiesto che si fermasse ivi. Pur il Padre Maestro Francesco lo mandò al Malucco, dove è stato sei o sette anni [19], parte con carico di rettore parte visitando quest'isole, passando gran travagli et suportando molti affronti et persecutioni et infermità. Per esser lui così mal sano, ch'acciò non li toccassi l'aria che li faceva danno, mai si spogliava per dormire né la notte né il giorno, né mangi[a]va altra cosa ch'un poco di pesce senza sale n'oglio n'altro che potessi dar alcun sapore. Quando io giunsi qua, era più d'un'anno che stava nel'isola del Moro con li christiani, donde lo mandai a chiamare qui a Ternate, et di poi d'esserci molto consolati insieme in Domino et havere publi-[6]cato et servito un giubileo [20], che di Goa io portai, fummo di parere che se ne tornassi al Moro et menassi seco quelli della Compagnia ch'erano venuti meco per compartirli le provincie de quali dovessino tener cura [21] et il mantinimento con che dovevano sostentarsi, et che questo fatto se ne tornasse qua per passar poi al regno di Bacan novamente convertito (per saper lui molto ben la lingua) con un'altro Fratello nostro [22], il quale mandai avante al re di Bacan acciò lo disponesse a ricever con magior veneratione il Padre Alfonso, il quale dentro d'un mese haveva da esser qui. Ma si diede tanta fretta nel Moro, che in manco di 15 giorni già se ne ritornava ; nel qual tempo fu messo prigione (come di sopra ho detto) il re di Ternate, il qual, subito preso che fu, diede

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93-95 menò . . . Francesco lo *om. Av* || 104 servito] preso *Av* || 112 Anfolso *ms.*

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[17] In 1547 (Ibid. 184).

[18] In February 1549 (D 25, 1).

[19] Castro arrived in Ternate on October 18, 1549 (Cf. REBELO 233). He lived there for more than eight years.

[20] In a letter from Goa dated November 9, 1556, it is said : « Poblicóse el jubileo que se concedió por la conversión de la Anglia » (DI III 509), and another letter from Malacca dated November 11, 1557, mentions : « Se confessarão quasi todos para receberem o jubileo que aqui nesta terra se pubricou » (ibid., 688-689). When Julius III was informed of the restoration of Catholicism in England in November 1554, « indulgentia ad modum jubilaei per christianum orbem in gratiarum actionem publicata est » (RAYNALDUS, *Annales ecclesiastici* XIV, Lucae 1755, 532).

[21] See D 71 note 2.

[22] Fernão de Osório.

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aviso alli suoi che mandassero ad incontrare nel camino il Padre Alfonso et lo pigliassero, il che essi fecero con molta prestezza. Et non giovò l'haver' io scrittoli subito che non venisse se non acompagnato et in modo che securamente potessi venire, per havere anticipato lui il tempo [23].

6. Quel che mosse il re di Ternate a procurare la presa del Padre Alfonso fu che, per esser lui tenuto in molta stima dalli portoghesi, haveria potuto accadere che quelli havessero lasciato lui in cambio di detto Padre. Et il medesimo intentò di far con il capitano di nostra nave, nepote del capitano della fortezza [24], facendo usar gran diligentia per haverlo nelle mani insin' a circondar con navi accesi di fuoco quella, donde veniva detto capitano, per abrusciarla, benché questo disegno non gli riuscì come l'altro del Padre Alfonso. Il quale menorno qui vicino alla fortezza dove era il palazzo del re, havendoli tolti la libraria, calice, bona et ornamenti [25] con ogn'altra cosa insino a lasciarlo in camisia. La nuova della sua arivata ci diede il medesimo re preso, la qual udita, mandò un amico nostro un schiavo suo (che conosceva detto Padre) con segnale del re a visitarlo. Questo schiavo ci referì d'haverlo visto nel navilio star posto in croce con una grosse fune al collo et in camisa, [7] colui che per il danno che li faceva l'aria per sua infirmità ma[i] si soleva spogliare. Stette ivi [il] Padre in questa maniera alcuni pochi dì, dopoi lo menorno in un'altro luogo dove, secondo alcuni, lo fecero morir di fame et secondo altri con tagliarli la testa pigliandosi piacere et giocandosi con il suo capo et corpo. Et questo ci riferirno dopoi alcuni schiavi christiani che lo conoscevano et stavano all'hora ivi cattivi ma poi son fuggiti. Quando haveremo nuova più certa la scriveremo piacendo a Dio N. Signore [26].

7. Tornando al re [di] Bachan, li segniali che prima tenevamo et che lui dà, ci scrive nostro Fratello Ferrante Osorio che si mandò là a prepararlo (come ho detto), son molti buoni. Io havevo prima inteso [da] quel cavaliere, che menò il Padre Antonio per battezzarlo, ch' incontanente ch'egli fu battezzato, in persona andò a buttar per terra

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125-126 usar . . . insin' *om. Av* || 130 bona *om. Av* || 141 cattivi] prigioni *Av* || 143 tenevano *ms.*, tenevamo *Av* || 144 dà *add.* del suo animo *Av*

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[23] Lost letter ; see D 67*b*.

[24] D. Jorge de Eça, who appears here to be a relative of the captain D. Duarte de Eça (D 73, 3).

[25] See D 71, 4.

[26] For a more detailed description of Castro's death, see D 79, 2-12.

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con sua propria mano la moschea dove l'andava prima ad adorare, convocando anche li suoi a far il medesimo e con molto fervore la spianorno. Diceva anche che lui stesso menava li suoi al battesimo et esortava il Padre Antonio et il medesimo cavaliere a non maravigliarsi se non li vedessero più pronti che tanto a ricevere il battesimo, poiché tanto lungo tempo havevano vissuto in quella erronea legge. Dopoi per lettere del Fratello Ferrante [27] habbiamo inteso che volendosene venir lui a questa fortezza per confessarsi et ricevere il Santissimo Sacramento, non lo volse il re lasciar partire dicendoli che tutti due insieme lo farebbono, perché s'era determinato di venir qua ad aiutar il capitano della fortezza con sua persona et gente. Et fra questo mezzo li mandò tre mensagi con un suo nepote in diversi navilii per darli ad intendere l'animo buono che tiene, et questi sono sempre usciti con l'armata portughesa in qualsivoglia impresa. Et essendovi fra essi 15 o 20 ch'ancora non erano batezzati domandorno con istanza al capitano li facesse batezzare avanti che si mettessero in mare, perché volevano morir per la fede christiana. Et dopoi d'esser [8] battezzati et d'haver pranzato con il Padre Vicario, li domandorno che cosa dirieno invece di « caracheo » (ch'era la parola che solevano dire all'intrare nelle bataglie) [28]. Risposeli il detto Padre Vicario che dicessaro « Jesù », al che un'altro d'essi sogiunse : overo « Santiago ».

8. Domandando il Fratello Ferrante al re la mancia nel dì delli Re, lui s'offerì di darli tutto quello che li dimandarebbe. All'hora il Fratello li ricercò che facessi far tre grandi croci, una per metter nella piazza che stava avanti il suo palazzo, l'altre due per ponerle in altri luoghi publici. Il re si ralegrò molto di tal dimanda et subito mandò

149 convocando] provocando *Av* || 159 mensagi] ambasciatori *Av* || 166 dirieno] dovevano dire *Av* || 169 delli Re] della Epifania *Av*

[27] D 69.

[28] *Caracheo, carracheu, carrachez, garache,* is more than once mentioned as a native term by the Portuguese writers (Cf. *Treatise* 146 ; Rebelo 293, 356 ; *Relação Vasconcelos* 424 ; D 179, 4), mostly meaning a kind of tournament, the famous *cakalele* dance, sometimes however, as here, the native war cry. Sá, in a note to Rebelo 356, tries to explain it by the Malay *keracak*, wild, impetuous. Strange to say, none of the later authors on native customs of the Maluku peoples appears to know the word. See *Treatise*, Glossary 369-370. Perhaps related to the equally enigmatic *carrachel ; Treatise* 114 : « Espadas, escudos, carracheis e outras peças e armas » ; ibid. 146 : « Carrachel momole, que quer dizer cavaleiro valente » ; Castanheda VIII 39 : « Carachel mandi, que em sua lingoa quer dizer homem valente e esforçado ».

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a chiamar alcuni maestri, li quali le fecero et collocorno nelli luoghi deputati, et subito il re fece promulgare un bando pel quale si comandava che tutti quelli che per avanti dette croci passassero, se ingenochiassero levando le mani al cielo, perché quantunque non dicessero parola alcuna, Idio per cui honor si faceva ben intendeva l'animo loro. Per il medesimo re fece il Fratello Ferrante di sua mano un'altra croce et gli la pose nel camera dicendoli che due volte il giorno se ingenochiasse avanti di quella et l'adorasse et levando le mani al cielo dicesse: Signor, concedetemi grazia di conoscere vostra santissima voluntà et forze per adempirla perfettamente. Sempre sta il re con il detto Fratello nostro per intendere et informarsi ogni dì più nelle cose de Idio. Mostra grand' affetione et divotione alla messa, la qual ogni giorno udiva mentre stette lì il Padre Antonio havendo molto l'occhio alle ceremonie e riverentie che li nostri facevano, per imitarle; et dice voler mandar a chiedere al Re di Portegallo suo signore li fornimenti d'una cappella.

9. Con la nuova conversion di questo regno et con la presa del re di Ternate (il quale era come uno heresiarca della setta di Mahometto et al qual ricorrevano [9] gl'altri cazis [29] in suoi dubii come a cazis magiore [30], et così haveva già istrutto il suo figliolo primogenito per predicar al populo) speriamo di mettere V.P. in soliccitudine di pensare a mandarne sufficienti operarii, et principalmente di procurarci un Patriarca [31], per esser queste provincie senza comparatione maggiore di quelle del Preste Janni overo re d'Etiopia: et crediamo che se questo mal re di Ternate sará estinto, tutti si convertiranno alla santa fede nostra.

10. Vi è poco discosto da questa un'isola di settecento leghe di costa verso il mare, anzi si crede sia terra ferma, di gente così bianca

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183 forse *ms.*, forze *Av* || 200-201 di costa verso il mare *om. Av*

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[29] A Muslim mosque official. The word is still in use in Uliaser as *kasisi*, meaning the « clergyman » of a Muslim village (HINLOOPEN 327).

[30] Cf. *Treatise* 86: « Em cada reino há quasis-mor como papa e preguador ».

[31] A somewha' ingenuous wish. Explicable because of the experience Vieira had had in India of the presence and salutary influence of the patriarch of Ethiopia, Fr. João Nunes Barreto (DI III 6*; 711 no. 20). Yet the idea of appointing patriarchs for the new mission areas overseas was not foreign to the thinking of that time. The nuncio in Madrid wrote on October 1, 1568: « Si è parlato se si deve supplicare a Sua Santitá che ivi [in the Spanish Indies] si faccia un patriarca » (SERRANO, *Correspondencia diplomática* II 472).

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come la nostra [32], benché fra quella nella medesima isola ci sono altri ch'hanno li capelli ricci come gl'homini di Ghinea. Vi sono altre isole di 200 et 300 leghe, molto fertili et ricche de oro, senz'altre quasi innumerabili piccole cui gente son di maggior politia che l'altre, perché s'uniscano et vivano in sue congregationi. Questo pessimo re di Ternate ogni dì andava soggiogandole sotto la sua setta abhominevole, la quale pare si ha da terminare per lui in queste parti, come egli stesso disse senza sapere ciò che si volessi dire: perché dicendoli burlando un porteghese, quanto mala era stata quella luna per lui nella quale era stato pigliato, rispose egli che nella medesima luna era morto Mahometto.

11. Se venesse qua Patriarca, habbi memoria di portar seco provisioni bastanti da potere aprir il camino di qui al Giappon, il qual nella carta tien distanza 550 leghe, et di là si potria provedere di pane, et della Cina (che li sta de rimpetto) d'altri bisogni per le chiese et anche per li infermi. Perché 'l pane che qui si fa della medulla di certo albero [33] indebolisce molto la natura, oltre che sono frequenti le infirmità nostre causate in gran parte dal mancamento delle cose necessarie alla sustentatione della vita humana. Domando alla V.P. sua benedittione.

Della fortezza di Ternate, a 13 di Febraro 1559.

Indegno figliolo di V.P.,

Francesco Viera.

## 73

## FR. FRANCISCO VIEIRA SJ TO FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ, MALACCA

Ternate, February 13, 1558

I Bibliography: Barbosa Machado II 260; Sommervogel VIII 741; Wessels, *Amboina* 179 Vieira no. 2; Streit IV 842.

II Texts: No original is left.

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205 di maggior politia] più civile *Av* || 208 si ha da terminare per] che sia per haver fine in *Av*

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[32] In the extensive description of the different Papuan peoples of the former Dutch New Guinea in ENI (III 298-336), some of them are said to be less dark coloured, but white tribes are not mentioned.

[33] The sago.

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A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* f. 518*r-v*. Coeval copy in Portuguese. Heading: « Copia de huma do P^e Francisco Vieyra de Maluquo para o P^e Baltesar Diaz sobre a morte do Padre Afonso de Crasto de 13 de Fevereiro de 1558 ». In the margin « 1^a », presumably « primeira via ».

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 72*v*-73*r*. Portuguese copy, faithfully transcribed from text A without variants. In the margin: « Guerra em Maluco ».

C. Florence, *Archivio di Stato, MSS 746 no. 23* p. 10. Italian version, shortened. Heading: « Cavata d'un'altra del medesimo Padre Francesco pel provinciale del'India ». Dated « 13 de Febraro 1559 ».

D. Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, Jesuitenabteilung 722* f. 315*v*. Same text as C, but dated « 13 di febraio 1558 ».

III ADDRESSEE: Whereas the Portuguese MSS say « para o Padre Baltesar Diaz », the Italian versions have « pel provinciale dell'India ». The latter opinion may be explained and justified by the circumstance that Dias surely forwarded a copy of this letter to Fr. Provincial in Goa, and this forwarding was undoubtedly foreseen and intended by Vieira. But the direct and principal addressee was Dias in Malacca.

IV PRINTED: in SÁ II 307-308, text A. Italian version, in *Nuovi avisi, Terza parte*, Venetia 1562, ff. 33*v*-34*r*, a contracted text printed after a MS lost now, with some notable variants from texts C and D, dated « a tredici di Febraio 1558 ».

V OUR EDITION: We print text A.

## *Text*

*1. They are beleaguered; Fr. Castro was put to death; Br. Vera is dying in Moro, where many people are ill and enclosed without escape. — 2. They await help of a ship from Banda and of a Christian king and his people. They [in the fortress] are one hundred men. — 3. Narrow escape from death of D. Jorge and his company. — 4. He and Araújo often suffer from illness; there is no doctor. Outbreak of smallpox from which many died.*

Jesus, Maria sit semper nobiscum. Amen.

1. Padre reverendo e charissimo. Nós ficamos de cerco, louvado seja Deus, e com ho nosso Padre Afomso [1] morto, hoc est, crucificado nuu e degolado polas grandes misericordias de Deus, e Simão da Vera de caminho per'a outra no Moro, de febres e fernesis [2]. E os outros [3], com perto de cimquoenta portugueses que laa forão a vingar huma injuria feita aos christãos, adoeceram tambem dos inimigos e da terra,

[1] De Castro.

[2] Read *frenesi*, febrile delirium.

[3] Nicolau Nunes and António Fernandes.



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por ser mui doentia ; onde se ficarem, não se crê poderem escapar alguem, como já [518*v*] por experientia se vio em dous.

2. A nao que nos trouxe vay agora a Banda chamar outra pera nos socorrer e trazer alguns mantimentos de que vamos muito carecendo. Esperamos agora aqui hum rey com seu reyno, que achamos feitos christãos, pera nos ajudarem [4]. Tivemos já muitos recontros com estes negros e grandes victorias delles per quem Deus hé, e seremos cem pessoas entre mancos e aleijados e sãos.

3. Dom Jorje e sua molher [5] e sua gente estiverão quasi queimados com duas jangadas grandes que lhe deitarão, de que Deus os livrou, e logo ao outro dia lhes deu vento com que se vierão pera a par da povoação. Fica ainda sarando de huma espingardada e seu cunhado noutra de hum braço que lho quebrou, e o seu cafre [6] Gaspar doutra pellos peitos, e outro seu casado criado morreo doutra.

4. Peço-lhe, charissimo Padre, nos emcomende muito a Deus e a todo este povo. Aqui estamos eu e Araujo às vezes sãos, às vezes doentes e os moços outro tanto. E a terra que hé a mais estremada pera padescer que vy outra, sem medico nem cousa por elle, senão Deus ; elle nos cure. Tivemos huma surriada de bexigas de que falecerão muitos. Já vam abrandando. Por agora me não occorre mais que encomendar-me em seus sanctos sacrificios e orações, e os nosos fazem o mesmo.

Deste Ternate, oje a 13 de Fevereyro de 1558.

Seu em Christo frater et filius,

Francisco Vieira.

*Lost Letter*

73*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Vieira, superior of Maluku, to Fr. Provincial of India ; February 1558.*

Fr. Francisco Rodrigues to Laínez, November 17, 1559 : « Em Maluquo está ho P^e^ Francisco Vieyra . . . Estão com ele os Padres Nicolao Nunez he ho P^e^ Antonio Fernandez . . ; este anno escreveo Francisco Vieyra deles nom estar satisfeito » (D 83, 2).

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[4] The king of Bacan.

[5] So D. Jorge [de Eça] was in Ternate, and the naval battle took place between December 1557 and February 13, 1558. Couto (VII 4 7 and 5 3) puts the arrival of D. Jorge in Ternate and the battle later in 1558.

[6] A black slave, either a Negro from Africa or, more likely here, a Papuan or Alfuru servant.

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## 74

## [FR. JUAN DE POLANCO SJ]
## LIST OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INDIAN MISSION TO BE DISCUSSED

[Rome, August 1558]

I TEXT: DI IV 72-80 [77]. Taken from *ARSI, Instit. 18a* ff. 431*r*-434*v*; original or coeval copy in Latin.

II NOTE: Among 21 questions, proposed to Fr. General and his Assistents, we picked out this one, not only because Maluku is named here esplicitly, but also because it shows the anxiety of the General Directorate of the Jesuit order in Rome to resolve the difficulties connected with the long distances and to provide the members in far-off regions like Maluku with reachable superiors and with an efficient control. After a secretary had copied this list for Polanco, the latter himself added the last words « sic . . . Moro », thus extending the problem from Japan to Maluku.

### *Text*

*On the desiderability of their own provincial, or a commissary dependent upon the Indian provincial, for Japan and Maluku.*

[. . .]

De Provinciali vel Commissario iaponensi

An expediat iapponensibus provincialem seorsum ab Indiae provinciali praeficere, an commissarium aliquem qui subsit provinciali Indiae et praesit omnibus nostris qui ea in regione versantur; quandoquidem perdifficile est commercium et rarum cum Indiae provinciali. Et ad unum aliquem recurri oportet ex locis variis eius provinciae, sic in Malucis et Amboino et Moro [1].

[. . .]

---

[1] For the task and powers of such an eventual commissary, see the same document in DI IV 73 no. 2. This document, and the way it came about, are a small but striking illustration of a trend, showing itself more and more in the Society then, of attaching greater importance to the mission of Japan than to that of Maluku, and of favouring the former above the latter. In the first draft, Maluku had been fully overlooked (See NOTE).

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## 75

# FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ TO FR. MELCHIOR [NUNES BARRETO SJ, COCHIN]

Malacca, July-November 1558

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO I 437; STREIT IV 856 (with date belonging to no. 859).

II AUTHORS: SOUZA I III 2 24.

III TEXTS: Only an Italian version is available in two MSS, both lacking a conclusion.

A. Florence, *Archivio di Stato, MSS 746 no. 23* pp. 10-11. Heading: « Cavata d'un'altra venuta di Malacca del Padre Baldessar Diaz al Padre Melchior, et ricevuta nel anno 1559 ».

B. Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, Jesuitenabteilung 722* f. 316*r*. Same Italian text.

IV DATE: See Note at D 72.

V PRINTED: in *Nuovi avisi, Terza parte*, Venetia 1562, ff. 34*v*-35*r*. Substantially same Italian text as our MSS, not without variants and omissions. (The other imprints, mentioned by Streit under no. 856, belong to no. 859).

VI OUR EDITION: We print text A, giving the most important divergences of the *Avisi* (*Av*) in the apparatus.

### *Text*

1. *The king of Ternate was imprisoned, the fortress invested, Castro murdered. He heard so from the crew of a ship that came to get help and supplies.* — 2. *Dom Jorge by mistake captured a ship that had been stolen from the king of Ujungtanah; by Vieira's intercession he gave it back to him. On account of this Vieira was bodily harmed; his generous forgivingness.* — 3. *Br. Simão da Vera died in Moro.*

1. Sappia V.R. come c'è molta guerra nel Malucco et come la fortezza di Ternate sta assediata per haver il capitano di quella posto prigione il re della medesima Ternate, intendendo che lui ordinava un tradimento contra li christiani. Et venendo il Padre Alfonso di Castro dal Moro alla fortezza lo presero li mori nel camino con altri tre delli nostri giovani [1], et lo ligorno in certi legni in croce al modo che fu

3 ordinava] ordiva *Av* || 5 delli nostri *om. Av*

[1] Probably the « schiavi christiani » of D 72, 6, who were also imprisoned but who managed to escape. Cf. D 79, 5.

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posto Santo Andrea, et lo tennero in quel modo ignudo (dove si pensa li diedero anco molte botte) alcuni giorni, doppo li quali [11] li tagliorno la testa. Et ricercorno li detti tre giovani de farsi mori, et non volendo essi in niun conto fare, anche loro amazzorno [2]. Questo mi narrorno alcuni huomini che vennero a domandar socorso in questa fortezza, dalla quale se li mandò gente et provisione di vitto. Dio N.S. si ricordi di essi et ancora di noi altri tutti.

2. Andando Don Giorgio [3] in curso pigliò un navilio con molte cose dentro pensando fosse de nemici, ma realmente non lo era ma si ben rapina fatta al re di Giantanaa [4]. Il che vedendo il Padre Francesco Viera procurò che fosse restituito il suo al detto re et lo ottenne da Don Giorgio. Et mentre che 'l Padre stava trattando di questo avanti la moglie del detto Don Giorgio, un giovane mestizzo (cioè figliolo di padre portoghese et di madre indiana, a chi doveva poco piacere tal restitutione) diede un schiaffo al Padre Francesco Viera et una spinta con il pugno si grande che lo buttò per terra. Et la vendetta che 'l Padre ricercò fu dar ordine che subito li fusse data l'assolutione, et cosí non si parlò piú di tal cosa [5].

3. Un Fratello nostro chiamato Simone d' Vera morse nel Moro di febre. Dio sia laudato.

---

9 ricercorno li detti] tentarono i nostri *Av* | de] del *Av* || 12 vitto] vittovaglie *Av* || 16 Gianeanaa *Av* || 17 il suo al detto re *om. Av* || 19 mestizzo] nato *Av* | cioè figliolo *om. Av*

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[2] None of the other reports recounts that Castro's servants were killed ; on the contrary, they returned to the Fathers in Ternate (D 79, 10).

[3] D. Jorge de Eça, « capitão-mor do mar » (COUTO VII 5 3).

[4] Ujungtanah, country in the S of the Malacca peninsula, corresponding to the present-day Johore, in Portuguese sources often called Ugentana, Hugentana, Jantana, Gamtana.

[5] According to Catholic ecclesiastical law all members of the clergy enjoy the so-called *privilegium canonis*, which means that whoever commits « real » (that is, bodily) injury against one of them incurs the punishment of personal excommunication reserved to the bishop (CIC 119 ; 2343, 4).

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## 76

## FR. JUAN DE POLANCO SJ, COMMISSIONED BY FR. GENERAL, DIEGO LAÍNEZ, TO FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA

Rome, December 13, 1558

I TEXT: DI IV 129-136 [135-136]. Taken from *ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 1443 9 1* ff. 269*r*-270*r*. Spanish copy, transcribed from the original in Goa about 1575.

II ADDRESSEE: Along with this went the letter of appointment of Quadros to the office of provincial of the Goa Jesuit Province. Both letters arrived in Goa about September 1559. From that time on Quadros is actually the provincial (See DI IV 113 doc. 18*a*).

III NOTE: As a result of the discussions mentioned in the introduction of D 74 a series of general measures were taken and directed to Goa. From them we chose those parts which refer to the Maluku mission.

### *Text*

1. *Rome approves that a superintendent be sent to Maluku.* — 2. *He may have the competency to dispense with the rules, but changing them for reasons of adaptation should not be permitted without consent of the provincial of Goa.* — 3. *It is not against the Constitutions that fathers in far-off regions like Maluku are supplied from the revenues of the Goa college.*

[...]

1. Ha parecido bien que se embiasse alguno a Malucho que tuviesse superintendencia de los (de allí y de las islas del Moro y Amboyno y otros lugares que desde el Malucho se pueden bien regir) que allí attienden a la conversión y conservatión de los christianos [1].

[...]

2. A los inferiores que tienen cargo de otros se les podrá communicar facultad de dispensar, mas para el accommodar de las reglas al uso de aquellos lugares donde residen, no parece cosa de cometérsela a ellos, sino aý se determine y se les embíe la orden que conviene, pues aun de Japón y Maluchas abrá quien sea bien informado. Podrá todavía escrebírseles a los tales que, si allá en su experientia juzgas-

[1] For a full understanding of these fragments, see the complete text of the document in DI IV 129-136.

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sen deberse mudar algunas cosas en esta accommodatión de las reglas, den aviso a V.R.

3. Quanto al tener cargo en Goa de proveer las cosas necessarias a los que están en las Maluchas [2] y Japón y otras partes donde tienen necessidad, es muy conveniente que se haga, pues la fundación desse collegio es para bien universal de todas essas partes. Aunque fuessen professos los que se ayudassen, no sería mal, pues entienden en lo que incumbe a esse collegio, y assí conforme a las Constitutiones, que permiten vivir en los collegios a los que son útiles a ellos, se puede esto sufrir [3]. Verdad es que si pudiessen los professos vivir de lymosnas sufficientemente, sería mejor que assí lo hiziessen, aora las hallassen en los lugares donde andan o residen, aora se las procurassen las tales lymosnas del Rey o de quien más pareciere al propósito.

## 77

## FR. ANTÓNIO DA COSTA SJ, COMMISSIONED BY FR. PROVINCIAL, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Goa, December 26, 1558

I TEXT: DI IV 174-199 [178]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 131*r*-143*r*. Copy. Portuguese.

II NOTE: Costa, though assigned to the mission of Ethiopia, lived and worked in Goa. This letter, written by order of Fr. Provincial Gonçalo da Silveira, is a complete survey of the whole Indian Jesuit Province.

III PRINTED: in SÁ II 309-310 (fragment).

### *Text*

*Names of seven Jesuits stationed in Maluku. Issue of their work.*

[...]

Em Maluco estaa o Padre Francisco Vieyra; tem consiguo ou por outras terras, como se verá por suas cartas, o Padre Afonsso de

---

[2] Supplying the Maluku Jesuits with things needed had been entrusted, as early as 1549, to Fr. António Gomes in Goa; see D 21, 1 and D 22, 6. Gomes was dismissed from the Society in 1552 (VALIGNANO, *Historia* 115 note 35).

[3] Cf. *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* (textus *a*) P. IV c. 2 nos. 6 and 9 (MI *Const. II* 173-174).

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Chrasto [1] e o Padre Nicolao Nunez e o Padre Antonio Fernandez e o Irmão Symão da Vera, Fernão d'Ozouro e Baltesar d'Araujo. E vay tudo pola bondade de Deus em muyto crecymento, segundo o que sabemos por cartas [2] e pessoas que de llá vem, da gentilidade daquelas partes pella facilidade que tem em ouvirem a palavra de Deus e a instantia com que muytos pedem ser christãos.

[...]

Deste collegio de S. Paulo, a 26 de Dezembro de 1558.

Por comissão do Padre Provincial.

Servus inutilis,

Antonio da Costa.

*Lost Letter*

77*a*. — *A Jesuit, Maluku, to the Jesuits in India; 1558 or 1559.* Frs. Teixeira and Crasso in December 1583: « Em Maluquo, quando os portuguezes prenderão o rey delle e os mouros matarão o Pe. Afonso de Crasto da Companhia, matarão tambem hum cafre christão, que sabia a lingoa portugueza e fora criado antre os portuguezes, ao qual despois de esfaimado lhe davão a comer sua propria carne pera que se tornase mouro, e não quiz, e assi acabou, segundo nos escreveo hum Padre de Maluco » (DI XII 960-961 ; cf. Souza I III 2 21).

## 78

## FR. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO SJ TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

Cochin, January 15, 1559

I Text: DI IV 225-234 [233-234]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 98*r*-101*v*. Original in Portuguese.

II Note: By the time the ships used to sail from Cochin for Lisbon (end of January, beginning of February), Fr. Melchior Nunes had

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[1] From D 78, it is clear that the ships from Maluku, carrying DD 69-73, did not arrive in Cochin before January 15, 1559. This explains how Costa, supposing that letters from Fr. Vieira soon would arrive, did not yet know that Castro had been killed.

[2] We have no way of knowing which earlier letters had already arrived from Maluku and by whom they were written. We need not necessarily think of letters from Jesuits.

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prepared two letters, this one for Fr. General and another one for his fellow-Jesuits in Portugal. When he had not yet dated nor signed the letters, the first Malacca ship arrived with news from Maluku, and he added this to both letters in the same words. Therefore we find the same text in two different letters of the same date: DD 78 and 78A. Shortly after, the second ship with the letters of Fr. Vieira from Ternate arrived, so that they could still be handed over and sent to Portugal. See Note at the introduction to D 72.

### *Text*

*When he had finished his letter a ship from Malacca put into port and brought the [verbal] news that Maluku [Ternate] was besieged and that Fr. Castro had been killed. The second ship that brings the letters did not yet arrive.*

[...]

Feita esta, chegou huma nao de Mallaqua que trouxe por nova Maluco estar de cerco, e terem os portugueses ao rei da terra prezo, por traição que queria fazer contra nós; e o cerco hé periguoso por os mouros serem sem conto e os nossos muito poucos. Tambem contam que vem na mesma nao, que os mouros nas ylhas de Maluquo tomarão a hum Padre da Companhia, o qual affirmão ser Afonço de Crasto, e que ho poserão em hum pao à maneira de aspa e que ahi ho crucifficarão, como a S. Amdré. Isto creo que aconteceo nas ilhas do Moro, pegado com Ternate onde está a nossa fortaleza, andando o bemaventurado Padre ahi pregando a fee aos christãos e aos imfieis [1]. As mais cyrcunstantias de tam bom acontecimento não as sei, porque as cartas de Malaqua vem em outra nao que vem atraz. Se chegarem a tempo, escreverei mais particularmente ou mandarey as cartas a V.P., porque segundo ho contam parece que foi martir.

[...]

Oje, quimze de Janeiro de 1559 anos.

[*Autograph*] Servo inutil de V.P.,

Mestre Melchior.

[*Secretary's hand*] Ao muito Rdo em Christo Padre, o Padre Geral da Companhia de Jesus em Roma. 2ª via. Da India, do P. Mestre Belchior.

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[1] The writer is wrongly informed, probably not having a clear idea of Maluku geography. Castro was captured when returning from the Moro region, and was killed near Ternate.

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## 78A

## FR. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Cochin, January 15, 1559

I TEXT: DI IV 234-252 [251-252]. Taken from Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 263*r*-269*r*. Copy in Portuguese.
II PRINTED: in SÁ II 311-312 (fragment).

### *Text*

*Same text as D 78 with only some orthographic variants.*

## 79

## FR. FRANCISCO VIEIRA SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Ternate, March 9, 1559

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO II 260; MILLIES 54; SOMMERVOGEL VIII 742, A; WESSELS, *Amboina* 180 Vieira no. 3.
II AUTHORS: *Rerum a Societate*, Coloniae 1574, 55-57; GUZMÁN II 50; Seb. GONÇALVEZ II 346-348, SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc.*, *Lainius* II 176-179, 183-184; GUERREIRO II 19; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 13-14, 18; SOUZA I III 2 14-17 and 22; FRANCO, *Anno Santo* 783-784.
III TEXTS: There is no original letter preserved.
A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 269*r* [*corr. fr.* 276]-273*v*: « Treslado de huma carta que escreveo o Padre Francisco Vieira de Maluco o ano de 59 pera os Padres e Irmãos de Portugal ». Coeval copy in Portuguese. Regular and fairly readable handwriting, rarely leaving some doubt as to the right reading of a word. Inserting punctuation marks, however, at times presented itself as far more difficult. The text is divided in only ten rather extended paragraphs. Probably the *primeira via*.
B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* ff. 135*r*-140*r*. Contemporary Portuguese copy, headed: « Huma do Padre Francisco Vieyra que escreveo de Maluco aos Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal a 9 de Março de 1559; nella dá conta da morte do Padre Afonso de Crasto que os mouros aly matarão ». Clearly written text, but towards the end the copyist committed some flaws and omissions. Though in the main consistent with text A, it is so different from it that in no way it can be a direct copy of it. In many passages it gives quite a different redaction, omitting remarks, adding new details, changing

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at times the sequence of facts and very often the sequence of the wording. As this new redaction more than once reveals itself as a change for the better, we think it must be a *segunda via* of the same letter, though there is nowhere in our copies a mention of *vias*. We guess that Fr. Vieira, after having written this letter for the first *via*, critically went through it in order to write the second *via*, correcting and completing, omitting what might hurt or shock (e.g., in no. 2, his « political » stand against the captain), and at times adding what might edify (e.g., in no 14, the somewhat self-recommending remark « onde se guardão . . . »).

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 96*r*-98*v*. Portuguese coeval copy. Heading : « Treslado de huma carta que escreveo o Padre Francisco Vieira de Maluco o anno de 559 pera os Padres e Irmãos de Portugal. Da morte do Padre Afonso de Crasto [*add.* 9 de Março] ». Very tight and narrow, nevertheless regular, and even graceful handwriting ; some short titles in the margin. Some shortenings, especially at the end ; for the rest a generally faithful copy of text A.

IV PRINTED : in SÁ II 313-333. He prints text A, giving in the footnotes only some of the most important variants of text B (e.g., the strong divergences of nos. 17 and 18 are not indicated), at times also completing, without acknowledgment, text A with elements from text B.

V OUR EDITION : In order to do justice to the so strikingly deviating texts of the MSS, and to give scholars the truest possible impression of what Fr. Vieira really wrote, we see ourselves constrained to give both texts A and B side by side. Otherwise we would risk giving incomplete information. If we printed only text A or only text B, we would be obliged to add a very detailed and circumstantial critical apparatus with complete sentences in it, which would only mean discomfort to the reader. Our procedure is all the more justified by the fact that only the rendering of both the texts can give an idea in the concrete of how a Father in a distant mission wrote his correspondence for Europe. For the sake of clearness we divide the text in far more paragraphs than the MSS do.

## *Text*

1. *He promises to write in future every year.* — 2. *He lives in Maluku ; suffered from war and siege ; has been calumniated ; bestowed spiritual care on the people.* — 3. *Beriberi among the Portuguese ; he is nursing the patients.* — 4. *His sufferings and joys.* — 5. *Detailed account of the death of Fr. de Castro : his capture on Hiri, his transfer to Ternate. The Portuguese captain neglected to save him.* — 6. *Brought back to Hiri, Castro was vainly challenged to become a Muslim and was starved during thirty days.* — 7. *Evidence given by two eyewitnesses.* — 8. *How Castro was killed by two strokes with the sword.* — 9. *His corpse thrown into the sea drifted ashore ; his bones were found.* — 10. *Castro's servants gave testimony. The murderers and their relatives died all.* — 11. *Remarks of the king of Jailolo on Castro.* — 12. *Evidence given by a native of Hiri on Castro praying before his death and on the murderers dying from smallpox.* — 13. *A king and his people were christened*

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*and learn Christian civilization. — 14. Fr. Nunes explained the faith to them in their own language. Remarks on this language and its use. The Ternate Jesuit residence a recreation, nursing, and supply center for the outward workers. — 15. Edifying behaviour of Bacan children. — 16. A Bacan princess, kidnapped by the king of Ternate, was given back in order to be baptized. Fears of the king of Bacan on this issue. — 17. Vieira invited the people to make it a feast day. The fortress chaplain gave a sumptuous dinner. — 18. At night all people accompanied the princess in procession to the church. — 19. Baptism of the princess. — 20. Invitation to the Jesuits of Portugal to come and help in the Maluku mission field. — 21. On a nearby island people use carbuncles for lighting. — 22. The king [of Ternate] having been released, food began to pour into the fortress. Terms of peace imposed upon the king of Tidore. — 23-24. Description of a naval battle. A Portuguese victory with heavy losses. — 25. On the Tidore side many were killed. Tidore losses confirmed by fugitives. — 26. The captain asked him to send a Brother to Malacca to obtain men and provisions ; he consented to this demand, as he had done earlier, because in this war they lost sixty Portuguese and more than one thousand native people ; in the big town of Ternate only fourty efficient soldiers are left. — 27. Recommendations, thanks, greetings.*

A

Jesus, Maria, cuius gratia et pax sit semper nobiscum. Amen.

Reverendos Padres e charissimos Irmãos.

1. Bem creo que esperarieis todolos anos cartas minhas como das outras partes. Não no fiz tão continuamente e tão largo como desejaveis : disto tenho por escusa serdes vós quem sois e estardes tão rodeados de Deus, que minhas cartas ante vós nam possão servir de mais que de hum [269*v*] ser bem. Lá dizeis os philosophos averem-sse de fundar as proposiçõis em maximas e principios notos, como hé o grave buscar sempre o centro. A que reduzindo minhas tardanças, diguo que escrever-vos até aquy não ouve para

B

Jesus Maria cuius gratia et pax sit semper nobiscum. Amen.

Reverendos Padres e carissimos Irmãos

1. Bem creo que esperarieis todolos annos cartas minhas como das outras partes. Não o fiz tam continuamente e tam largo como desejaveis : disto tenho por escusa serdes vós quem sois e estardes tam rodeados de Deus, que minhas cartas ante vós não possão servir de mais que de hum bem ser. Lá dizeis os philosofos averen-se de fundar as proposiçoens em maximas e principios notos, como o grave buscar o centro. A que reduzindo minhas tardanças, digo que escrever-vos até aqui não ouve pera que, pois

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que, pois não avia chegado a Maluquo, centro de minhas esperanças. Aqui vos confesso que, depois de mo Nosso Senhor conceder, deixarão de fluctuar minhas cogitaçõis polas eleiçõis dos lugares, com este bordão de poder milhor servir a Deus, em que os fraquos religiosos como eu, mal nus de seus quereres, as deixão andar vagando. Polo que quaa por minha conta venho a chamar-lhe centro de meu querer em que, com ajuda de quem mo ministrou, espero manere et permanere usque in finem. Sem este, logo, charissimos, que vos podia eu escrever? Certo, en verdade nenhuma cousa. Ora aver-vos eu de escrever quero e não quero; contrario hé do que escrito estaa: sit rationabile obsequium vestrum[2], o qual eu sempre queria fosse o meu para convosco. Deste espero, Charissimos, (vita comite) d'oje en diante não perder anno em que de mi por estes papeis vos dee estreita conta. Esta promessa para vós garday com mor comfiança de assi poder comprir e por ella o requerey quando dela faltar.

2. Eu fico neste Maluco, cuja discripsão com outras da China vos mando[3], onde da chegada a

não avia chegado a Maluco, centro de minhas esperanças, ubi requies mea, ubi, segundo espero, manebo et permanebo nunc et in saeculum saeculi[1]. Porque vos confesso que, depois de Nosso Senhor mo conceder, deixarão de fluctuar minhas cogitaçoens em que os fracos religiosos como eu, mal nus de seus quereres, as deixão andar vagando pela eleição de lugares, com este bordão de melhor poder servir a Deus. Pelo que cá por minha conta venho a chamar-lhe centro de meu querer, donde espero, Carissimos, d'oje avante não perder anno em que de mim por estes papeis vos não dê conta. Esta promesa guardai com mor comfiança de asi o poder comprir.

2. Eu fico neste Malucco, cuja descripção com outras da China vos mando[3], onde da chegada a

A - 36 finem *add.* etc. *C* || 36-51 Sem . . . faltar *om. C* || 43 o[1] *interl.* || 51 o] ou *ms.* || 53 outras *corr. fr.* outra
B - 40 mor *corr. fr.* grão

[1] Cf. Ps 132 [131] 14: « Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi ».
[2] Cf. Rom 12 1.
[3] Lost letter or part of it; see D 79*a*.

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dous meses ategora, que pode ser anno e meo há que estamos de guerra [4] e a mor parte deste tempo de serquo, em que ouve e há muyta mortindade causada da guerra, fome e peste, assi dos nossos, pretos, pardos e brancos, como dos alheos, sem de alguma calidade tocar nesta nossa pousada, gloria seja a Deus e a sua Sanctissima Madre. Tãobem fomos calumniados e infamados por em minhas pregaçõis rijamente reprender a hum tiranno, capitão com mediocridade [5], porem na maneira e modo de morrer, que tudo manifestou seu desaventurado fim, como largamente enviamos à India don[d]e a vós há-de hir ter [6]. Tivemos sempre as occupaçõis que o exercitio belico daa de ssi : confiçõis a meude, visitaçõis de enfermos, predicas e doctrynas, segundo que mais e menos estavamos em aperto.

3. Os nossos que fora desta fortaleza erão inviados sofrerão o mesmo, senão que lhes coube mais hum poucachinho : grandes ynfirmidade[s] que a terra de si daa, tolhimento de peis, mãos e de todo o corpo, o que chamão

dous meses até agora, que pode ser anno e meio, há que estamos de guerra [4] e a mor parte deste tempo de cerco, em que ouve e há muita mortandade causada de guerra, fome e peste, asi dos nossos, pretos e brancos, como dos alheos, sem de alguma qualidade tocar nesta nossa pousada, gloria seja a Deus e a sua Santissima Madre. Tivemos sempre as occupaçoins que o exercicio bellico dá de si : confissoins a meude, visitaçoins de enfermos, predicas e doutrinas às tardes, segundo que mais e menos estavamos apertados.

3. Os nossos que fora desta fortaleza estavão enviados sofrerão o mesmo, senão que lhes coube mais hum poucochinho : graves enfermidades que a terra de si dá, tolhimento de peis, mãos e todo o corpo, e mui agudas fe-

A - 73 a *om. C*

[4] Vieira had arrived in Ternate in October 1557 ; two months later the war had started. From no. 22 it appears that the first 21 numbers of this letter had been written already in December 1558 ; at that time the war had been going on for a year.

[5] Unknown person.

[6] Lost report ; see D 79*c*.

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bere-bere [7], e muy agudas febres e dores de cabeça graves com incomparaveis pontadas, de que se vinhão a esta fortaleza curar por meo de muytos periguos de enemigos e mar. Hum soo bem tinhão, que em lugar de medico suprya eu com o que sabeis, Charissimos, disso aver aprendido. Não avia ahi senão encomendar a Deus, e asi creo que mais me curavão elles com o bom esforço que para as sofrer tinhão, do que eu para lhes alguma cousa saber aplicar. Purgavamo-los contudo e chamavamos essas mestras da terra que a poder de desordens a nosso parecer trazião a saude, ou Deus por ellas.

4. Experimentamos muytas traiçõis de que sempre nos Deus Nosso Senhor livrou. Ó quantas vezes nos vimos queymados, ó quantas alagados, outras quasi entrados de tanta infinidade de gente quanta nestas ilhas ay, em respeito da nossa muyto pouca!

bres, de que se vinhão a esta fortaleza curar por meyo de muitos perigos dos immigos e mar. Hum só bem tinhão, que em lugar de medico sopria eu com o que sabeis, Carissimos, disso aver aprendido. E asi creo que mais me curavão elles com o bom esforço que pera as sofrer tinhão, do que eu pera a ellas alguma cousa saber aplicar. Purgavamo-los contudo e chamavamos essas mestras da terra que, a poder de desordens (a noso parecer), trazião a saude, ou Deus por ellas.

4. Esperimentamos muitas treiçoins de que sempre nos Deus Nosso Senhor livrou. Ó quantas vezes nos vimos queimados, outras alagados, outras entrados de tanta infidelidade de mouros quanta nestas ilhas há! Agora não ficamos com menos arreceos, antes

B - 92 aver *rep.*

[7] WESSELS (*Amboina* 75 note 1) asserts that the mention of *beri-beri* in a letter by Fr. Ferrari of May 12, 1581, is the first known reference to this tropical disease. He surely had an extensive knowledge of the Roman documents of the Maluku Jesuit mission, but he did not know those from Portuguese archives; otherwise he would have come across the present one. DE LA COSTA, in his *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (286), relates the *bere-vere* raging in Ternate in 1603, adding «the earliest use of the term I have encountered». That the illness did not become known in Europe before the publication of JACOB BONTIUS' *De medicina indicorum* (Leiden 1642), may perhaps be true as far as a competent description by an expert is concerned (ENI I 276). A short but clear account of it, though without mentioning the name, was furnished as early as 1548 by ESCALANTE (197). Cf. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 717 note 527.

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Agora nam ficamos com menos arreceos, antes com mais, por teremos os inimigos de dentro e de fora. Soltamos com grandissima necessidade este rey de Ternate [8] que hé hum pestifero mouro, e andão já os nossos, de dous annos que sedo farão, a esta parte tão trilhados das continuas vigias, que tomão por partido deixarem-se prender que fazê-lo. Nossa alma porem se goza quando cuida estar tão perto da porta, por que sem duvyda se entra à gloria, hum acelarado martiryo que facilmente se pesca n'agoa envolta ; como foi o do P.e Afonso, que de meu conselho e persuasão a estas partes veo, hum grande religioso, de que já o anno passado escrevy alguma cousa ou falando milhor tudo em summa, e agora particularmente detrymino fazê-lo nesta, segundo que, com a mais diligentia que pude, o alcansey destes negros. [270r]

5. Asi que do P.e Afonso, alem do que o anno passado a Roma escrevy e à India, soube mais que vindo elle ter a huma ylha, na volta que fez do Moro, por nome Ires [9], qu'é à vista desta

com mais, porque [135v] temos os imigos de dentro e de fora, e andão já os homens, de dous anos quasi, a esta parte tam trilhados das continuas vigias, que tomão por partido deixaren-se antes prender que fazê-lo. Nosa alma porem se goza quando cuida estar tão perto da porta, per que sem duvida se entra à gloria, hum accelerado martyrio que facilmente acontece na agoa envolta ; como foi o do Padre Afonso, que per meu conselho e persuasão a estas partes veo, de que yá o anno passado escrevi alguma cousa em soma, e agora em particular nesta determino contar, segundo que, com mais diligencia que pude, por estes negros alcancey.

5. Asi que do Padre Afonso, alem do que o anno passado a Roma e India escrevi, soube mais que vindo elle ter a huma ilha na volta que fez do Moro, por nome Ires [9], que à vista desta de Tar-

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A - 121 esta parte *corr. fr.* estas partes || 138 destes negros] da gente da terra *C* || 144 Moro *corr. fr.* Morro

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[8] According to Bartoli, *L'Asia* VI 59, and Souza I III 2 23, Hairun was freed on Christmas day, December 25, 1558. These words « Soltamos . . . mouro » are lacking in text B ; indeed they do not belong here, as is proved by no. 22. They must have been interpolated by a copyist.

[9] Hiri, off the N point of Ternate Island.

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de Ternate distantia de huma legoa ou pouco menos, onde, tanto que chegou, informados os que o trazião na caracola (embarcação desta terra) como seu rey estava preso, detryminarão de o prender e começarão polos escravos que erão tres. Atados estes, prenderão o Padre e o dispirão encachando-o com hum trapo e atado de peis e mãos com grossa corda, segundo seu costume, por serem crudelissimos e nos terem grande odio. Dezião fazerem-lho porque elle fora o que prendera seu rey. Esteve assi preso no parao [11] cinquo dias e, deixãodo os moços disperssos por donos alheos, o trouverão a esta ylha [12] em que estava o filho do rey [13] com toda a gente pondo-nos serco. De sua chegada e estada nos disse o proprio rey preso. E offerecendo-o ao filho do rey os que o trazião asi prezo e nuu, ouve doo delle e vergonha, e dispio-ce logo da camiza e calçõis que lhe deu para se cobrir. Qui-lo tãobem reter para o mandar pôr en garda de sua mão, e os de Ires não quiserão dizendo que eles o gardarião, como me contou o proprio rey diante do filho. Encarregou-lho então o filho do rey e foram-

nate está, distancia de huma legoa pouco mais ou menos, onde, tanto que chegou, enformados os que o trazião na coracora como seu rei estava preso, determinarão de o prender e começarão pelos moços do Padre que erão tres. Atados estes, prenderão o Padre e o despirão emcachando-ho com huma fisa [10] — pano do Moro, feito como papel de codeas d'arvores, da feição dos lenços de Japão que lá vistes já — e atadas as mãos detrás com huma grossa corda e os peis, segundo seu costume, por serem crudelissimos e nos terem grande odio. Dizião-lhe fazerem-lho porque elle prendera seu rei. Esteve asi preso no parao [11] — embarcação sua — cinco dias, e deixando os moços, que vinhão com elle, dispersos por donos alheos, o trouxerão a esta ilha [12], em que estava o filho do rey [13] com toda a gente pondo-nos cerco à fortaleza. De sua chegada e estada nos disse o proprio rei preso. E offerecendo-o ao filho do rei asi nu e preso, ouve dó delle e vergonha, e dispio-se logo de huma camisa e calçoins, que lhe deu pera se cobrir. Qui-lo tambem reter pera o mandar pôr em guarda de sua mão, e os de Irez não

A - 156 atado . . . e *corr. fr.* atadas depois as

[10] *Fisa*, garment, usually a loin cloth, made of beaten tree bark.

[11] The *perahu*, kind of boat, ship.

[12] Ternate itself.

[13] See D 20 note 8.



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-sse com elle. Se o capitão fora amiguo do Padre Afonsso, como publicamente se sabia nam ser [14], elle o mandara tomar por pessoas suas amigas que para isso se offerecerão, pois que não estava mais da fortaleza que até tres tiros d'espingarda.

6. Tornarão o Padre outra vez à ilha Ires, onde logo que chegou lhe deitarão huma lara [15] ao pescosso, cortada de fresco de huma arvore e de pao muy pesado. Hé esta lara de feição das pegas, que deitão aos bois, ladrõis ou fujõis nessa terra. E puseram-no ao sol onde esteve de dia e noite ao sereno encachado com hum trapo, por até a camiza e calçõis, que lhe o filho do rey avia dado, lhe tornarem a tomar. E foy cometido por vezes se queria ser mouro, e alguns dizem que o açoutarão. Durou desta maneira 30 dias sem nunqua comer, segundo alguns nos dicerão. Outros dicerão comer algum cravo somente e que respondera, alguma vez que perguntado foi se querya comer, desta maneira: «Vós outros que quizerão dizendo que elles o guardarião, como mo contou o pay diante do principe seu filho. Encarregou-lho entam o filho do rei e forão-se. Se o capitão fora amigo de Afonso, como publicamente se sabia não ser [14], elle o mandara tomar por pessoas suas amigas que pera isso se offerecerão, pois não estava mais da fortaleza que até tres tiros de espingarda.

6. Levarão o Padre à ilha Ires, em que já os moços avião ficado destribuidos por alheos donos, onde logo que chegou lhe deitarão huma lara [15] ao pescoço cortada de fresco nhuma arvore e de mui pesado pao. Hé esta lara da feição das pegas que deitão aos bois que entrão nos sarrados nesa terra. E poseran-no ao sol onde esteve de dia e noite ao sereno emcachado com hum trapo, que até a camisa e calçoins, que o filho d'el-rei lhe dera, lhe tornarão a tomar. E foi cometido per vezes se queria ser mouro, e algumas dizem que o asoutarão. Durou desta maneira trinta dias sem nunca comer, segundo alguns nos diserão. Outros diserão comia algum cravo somente, e que respondera, alguma vez que lhe preguntarão se queria

A - 181 como] que *C*
B - 198 deitão] entrão || 204 dera *corr. fr.* derão

[14] D. Duarte de Eça had taken sides with Fr. António Vaz against Fr. De Castro.

[15] *Lara* is a Ternatan term meaning wooden fetters like those used for cattle or for fugitive slaves. See *Treatise* 128 and 372.

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tendes para me dar, ignames e sagu? Eu sou negro? Dai-me pão e vinho », de que entre nós somente se mantinha.

7. E vendendo-sse hum de seus moços para hum lugar desta ylha, pedio o trouvessem onde o Padre estava, que lhe foy concedido. Este moço me contou como chorara muito com elle e affirmava avê-lo visto da maneira já dita, sendo-lhe tão contraryo o ar por sua má dispocissão, que nem huma camiza podia vestir senão ao meo dia por naquele tempo bolir menos ar, nem podia ter a cama onde lhe tocasse ar, nem se avia de despir e dormia assi como andava de dia, de que eu sou boa tistimunha por dormiremos, depois que vim, ambos em huma camara. Hum cacis veo aqui ter, depois das prymeyras pazes com esta ilha, a casa de hum seu matalote morador e casado, que disse avê-lo visto da maneira dita e sempre bolindo com os beiços como que resava, sem comer todos oito dias que na ilha estivera; e notou o caciz nem por isso o ver desfalecido das carnes, do que o antes conhecera; e que lhe percomer, desta maneira: « Vós outros que tendes pera me dar, inhames e sagu? Dai-me pão e vinho ». E em alguma maneira o creo, porque quando aqui esteve, quando o troxerão ao filho do rei, veio hum parao com huma bandeira branca pedir da sua parte pão e vinho, de que entre nós somente se mantinha.

7. E vendendo-se hum dos moços pera hum [136*r*] lugar desta ilha, pedio o trouxessem por onde o Padre estava, que lhe foy concedido. Este moço me contou como chorava muito com elle e afirmava avê-llo visto da maneira já dita, sendo-lhe tam contrario o ar por sua má disposição, que nem huma camisa podia vestir senão ao meio dia por naquelle tempo bolir menos ar, nem ter a cama onde lhe dese ar, nem se avia de despir mas dormia asi como andava de dia, de que eu sou boa testimunha. Hun caciz veyo aqui depois das primeiras pazez com esta ilha, que dise a hum seu matalote portugues avê-lo visto da maneira dita e sempre bolindo com os beiços como que rezava, sem comer todos oyto dias que na ilha estivera; e notou o caciz nem por iso o ver mais mingoado das carnes do que o antes conhecera. E lhe preguntara se queria ser mouro, a que com só a cabeça respondera sorrindo-se que não. E

A - 214 Eu . . . negro *del.* *C* || 227 como *corr.* *fr.* que || 231 nem] tẽ *C* || 232 camiza *add.* nam *C* | meo *corr.* *fr.* medo || 239 camara *corr.* *fr.* cama || 243 morador] M$^{or}$ *ms.*

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guntara se queria ser mouro, a que soo com a cabeça respondera sobrindo-sse que não. E perguntado o mouro porque lhe dissera aquilo, respondeo que para levar aquela nova ao filho do rey para que[m] vinha.

8. Asi que visto seu não comer, segundo huns, cuidando humanamente não poder durar para o gardarem, asi como o tinhão prometido ao filho do rey, asentarão de o matar para tãobem de todo se não acharem sem parte desta morta. [270*v*] Tomaram-no dous negros com as mãos atadas atrás e encachado e levaram-no diante de ssi ao longo da praia hum grão pedaço, muyto empedido de pequenos e grandes penedos, por cima dos quais ya diante os negros com tanta ligeireza que deu que falar aos mouros. E como contou hum pescador (que neste tempo andava pescando e o seguio para o ver morrer) a hum Bastião Mendez [16], christão honrrado da terra, que a sua ossada me foi buscar no primeiro dia ou 2º que as pazes se publicarão com esta ylha [17], de cuja jurisdição hé ha de Ires, este pescador lhe foi mostrando tres pouzos que o Padre fez no caminho debruçando-sse sobre alguma pedra e dipreguntado o mouro pera que lhe disera aquillo, respondeo que pera levar aquella nova ao filho do rei pera quem vinha.

8. Asi que visto seu não comer, segundo huns, polo que cuidando humanamente não poder durar pera o guardar, asi como tinhão prometido ao filho do rei, asentarão de o matar pera de todo se não acharem sem parte de tal morte. Tomaran-no dous negros com as mãos atadas detrás, nu e emcachado, e levaran-no diante si ao longo da praya hum gram pedaço, chea de pedras grandes e pequenas, por sima das quais ya diante dos negros com tanta ligeireza, que deu que falar aos mouros. E como contou hum pescador (que neste tempo andava pescando e o seguio pera o ver morrer) a hum Bastião Mendez [16], christão honrado da terra, que a sua ossada me foi buscar no primeiro dia que as pazes se publicarão com esta ilha [17], de cuja jurisdição hé a de Irez, este pescador lhe foy mostrando tres pousos que o Padre fez no caminho debruçando-se sobre huma pedra e dizendo « Hé aqui ? ». Até

A - 253 perguntado *corr. fr.* perguntava || 269 grão *corr. fr.* longa || 271 ya *corr. fr.* yão, yam *C* || 272 diante *corr. fr.* diantes
B - 278 buscar *corr. fr.* levar

[16] Otherwise not known.

[17] That is, about one year after the execution.

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zendo « Hé aquy ? ». Até chegar a hum madeiro que junto à agoa estava, em que finalmente debruçado e falando da maneira dita, responderão os negros « Sim ». Onde logo virou hum delles com hum golpe de alto a baixo e cortou-o polas costas, de que logo não morreo, e acodindo o companheyro com outro o acabou, e chegando-sse hum terceyro, já depois de morto, lhe deu outro polo rosto.

9. E logo o deitarão no mar que naquele lugar leva grande corrente, onde e mais acima hum pedaço saio dahi a 3 dias, que logo os mouros notarão dizendo-no-lo quá ; outros dizem a doze, como me o rey disse averem-lho os negros dito. Saio tão fresco com as feridas como se naquela hora as recebera, e tão luzente que parecia dar de ssi algum desacustumado lustre. Estava à maneira d'assentado diante hum grande penedo que na maré chea ficava rodeado d'agoa, onde esteve por muytos dias sem se desfazer. O que o foi buscar me disse aver achado os ossos compostos à maneira de quem esteve assentado. Alguns dos ossos mingarão e a caveira ; e o queyxo veo, que hum grande seu amiguo conheceo pello ter o Padre maior que os outros homens comummente e a barba fendida. Algumas costellas vem como cortadas polo meyo, e assim, chegar a hum madero que junto à praya estava, em que finalmente debruçando-se, falando da maneira dita, diserão os negros « Sy ». E virou logo hum com hum golpe d'alto a baixo e o cortou polas costas e não morreo logo, e acodindo o outro o acabou. Achegando-se hum terceiro, já depois de morto, lhe deo outra pelo rosto.

9. E arrojaran-no log'ao mar que naquelle lugar corre como per canal, onde e mais asima hum pouco, sayo day a tres dias, que logo os mouros notarão dizendo-no-lo que pela corrente das agoas, outros dizem a doze, como me disse o rei averem-lho os negros dito. Sayo tam fresco com as feridas como que aquella hora recebera, e tam luzente que parecia dar de si algum desacostumado lustre. Estava à maneira de asentado diante hum grande penedo, que na maré chea ficava rodeado d'agoa, onde esteve por muitos dias sem se desfazer. O que o foy buscar me disse aver achado os ossos à maneira de asentado compostos. Alguns dos ossos mingoarão, e a caveira ; o queixo com alguns dentes veyo, que hum grande seu amigo conheceo pelo ter elle mayor que os outros homens commummente e a barba fendida, e na verdade, pelo que eu

A - 297 rosto] rostro *C* || 300 correntez *ms.* || 303 quá *add. interl.* pola corrente das agoas *C* || 322 fendida *add.* e *C*

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segundo que os Padres sabião de sua estatura por em algum tempo se averem medido, diserão serem os ossos das pernas aqueles. Vierão mais os ossos muy alvos e leves, e alguma cousa gastados por onde jogão as juntas, polo continuo sol, vento e chuva e bater do mar nelles, a que estiverão 7 ou 8 meses. Affirmou-sse o portador delles aver ouvydo, por huma soo boca a todos os com quem falou daquela ilha, serem estes.

10. Asi me trouxe dous moços dos tres que lhe avião tomado por mandado do rey que no-los mandou dar. Estes nos dicerão como os negros tinhão a caveira posta em hum certo alto penedo. O 3º moço nos veio à mão fugindo desta ilha para que fora vendido, da mão de hum cacis que nunqua no-lo quiz dar, posto que muytas vezes mandado polo rey, na qual contenda fugio o moço huma noite deixando hum madeyro em seu lugar cuberto com o pano com que se cobria. Gastou tres noites andando polo mato até chegar aqui.

O rey por outra vez fez perguntas e perante mym ao regedor de Ires e seus mandarins, logo nas primeyras pazes, sobre Afonso, que dixerão como era morta

sou lembrado de sua anatomia em vida, me pareceo aquelle. Algumas costellas vem como cortadas pelo meyo, e asi segundo alguns Padres que sabião bem sua estatura, diserão serem os ossos das pernas aquelles. Vierão os ossos mui alvos e leves, e alguma cousa gastados por onde jogão as juntas, polo continuo sol e vento e chuva e bater do mar nelles, a que estiverão sete ou outo messes. Afirmou-se o portador delles aver ouvido, por huma [136*v*] só boca a todos os com que[m] falou daquella ilha, serem estes.

10. Asi me trouxe dous moços dos tres que lhe avião tomado per mandado do rei que no-los mandou dar. Estes nos disserão como os negros tinhão a caveira posta em hum certo alto penedo. O terceiro nos veyo à mão fogindo desta ilha e da mão de hum caciz que nunqua no-lo quis dar, posto que muitas vezes mandado pello rei, na qual contenda andando fogio o moço huma noite, deixando hum pao em seu lugar cuberto com o pano com que se cobria. Gastou tres noites andando polo mato até chegar aqui.

El-rei outra vez perante mym fez preguntas ao regedor de Irez e seus mandarins, logo nas primeiras pazes, sobre Afonso, e disserão como era morta toda a parentalha dos que na morte de

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A - 352 madeyro *corr. fr.* pao
B - 343 nos *interl., corr. fr.* huns

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toda a parentalha dos que na morte d'Afonsso forão, huns na guerra com tyros d'artelharya, outros de fidissimas bexiguas com que em vivos fogos ardião, esfolando-se-lhe a pele como dizem da de São Bertolameu [18], falando lingoajens novas, porque dos seus não erão entendidos, qual se afirmão ser huma de portugez. E o mesmo [pay] dos mancebos que o matarão afirmou aquy ao rey que, por seu filho aver vendido o calix que ao P.e Afonso tomarão (e depois se tornou a comprar sem patena dos geilolos), seu filho adoecera inchando tam descompassadamente que facilmente se não poderia crer. E asi morrerão n o cessando com as mãos alevantadas chamar por Deus « Á Senhor Deus », pola qual maneira dizem forão alguns que de bexigas morrerão.

11. E hum soldado que en Geilolo avia estado alguns meses para com outros portugeses ajudassem a defender aquela fortaleza [19], me disse aver ouvydo ao rey de Geilolo [271r] e seus mandarins palavras desta maneira em favor do P.e Afonso, contando-lhe o grande anymo e esforço, antes que se debruçasse para o corta-

Affonso forão, e os mesmos que o matarão, huns na guerra com tiros d'artelharia, outros de fedissimas bexigas com que em vivos fogos ardião e se lhes esfollava a pelle, ficando como dizem de S. Bertolameo [18], falando lingoagens per que dos seus não erão emtendidos, qual se affirmão ser huma de portugues. E o mesmo pay dos mancebos que o matarão affirmou aqui ao rei que, por seu filho aver vendido o caliz que ao Padre Afonso tomarão, e depois se tornou a comprar sem patena dos geilolos, seu filho adoecera inchando tam descompaçadamente que facilmente se não poderia crer. E asi morrerão não cessando com as mãos alevantadas chamar por Deus : « Ha Senhor Deus ! », pola qual maneira dizem forão alguns que de bexigas morrerão.

11. E hum soldado que em Geilolo avia estado alguns messes pera com outros portugueses ajudasem a defensa daquella fortaleza [19], me dise aver ouvido ao rei de Geilolo e seus mandaryns palavras desta maneira em favor do Padre Afonso, contando-lhe o grande animo e esforço, antes que se debruçase pera o cortarem, pe-

A - 363 forão *om.* *C* || 372 pay *C* ||
B - 382 pola] polo *ms.* || 387 ajudasem *del.* a defender

[18] The apostle St. Bartholomew is said to have been skinned alive.

[19] D. Duarte de Eça, seeking allies against Ternate, has persuaded the *sengaji* of Jailolo to choose his side and, in return, had restored to him the title of king (REBELO 479 ; see D 44 note 16).

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rem, pedir a espada ao mouro que, não lha querendo dar, disse « Não temas ! », e vendo-a disse : « Vay-a afiar bem que não estaa boa ». [E]spós isto disse o rey : « Quê, nossos cacizes fazem assi ? » Muyto me affirmou este soldado estar entre elles mor reputação que entre nós. Mais me disse aver contado o rey que, depois do mouro aver tomado a espada, a alevantara para nelle cortar com tanto ympetu, que se ferira na testa, por onde o não cortou à sua vontade nem o Padre morreo deste golpe, como fica dito, senão do 2º ; que se aquilo não fora, as espadas destes são tais e tão pesadas que de hum golpe abastão para fender hum homem d'alt'a baixo.

12. Outro morador casado, a quem ao fazer desta mandei chamar por me dizerem saber alguma cousa deste felice transito, e dise que hum negro de Ires seu amigo lhe dissera como, estando defronte daquele lugar e hum tyro de pedra ao mar pescando, vio vir o Padre com os dous atrás si com suas espadas para o matarem e se chegou à terra para ver aquilo. A que chegando vio pedir o Padre lhe desatassem as mãos para se encomendar a Deus hum pouco, que os negros não quiserão fazer, e respondendo o Padre : « Desatay e nam ajais medir a espada ao mouro, e não lha querendo dar, disse o Padre : « Não temas ! », e vendo-a disse : « Vay afiá-[la] bem que não val nada ». E logo dise o rei : « Quê, nossos cacizes o fazem asy ? » Muito me afirmou este soldado estar entre elles em mor reputação que entre nós. Mais me disse aver contado o rei que, depois do mouro aver tomado a espada, [a elevantara] pera nelle cortar com tanto impeto que se ferio na testa, por onde o não cortou à sua vontade nem o Padre morreo delle, como fica dito, senão do segundo ; que se aquillo não fora, as espadas destes são tais e tam pezadas que de hum golpe abasta pera fender hum homem d'alt'a baixo.

12. Outro homem casado e morador aqui, a quem ao fazer desta mandey chamar por me dizerem saber alguma cousa deste felice transito, e dise que hum negro de Ires seu amigo lhe disera como, estando defronte aquelle lugar hum tiro de pedra ao mar pescando, vio vir o Padre com huns dous atrás sy com suas espadas pera o matarem e se chegou a terra pera ver aquillo. A que chegados pedio o Padre lhe desatasem as mãos pera se emcomendar a Deus hum pouco, o que os negros não quiserão fazer, e respondendo o Padre : « Desatai e não

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A - 396 que] e *C* || 402 elles *add. interl.* em *C* || 419 e] me *C.* || 422 e *om. C* || 430 pouco *add.* o *C*

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do que vos não ey-de fugir », subrindo-sse com hum certo ar de que os negros espantando-sse o desatarão, e logo se pôs em giolhos com as mãos alevantadas por hum pequeno tempo, de que alevantando se debruçou sobre o madeyro : « Agora fazey o que aveys de fazer ». Deu-lhe logo hum com a espada polas costas e o outro pola cabeça com que morreo. Acabado isto o deitarão no mar e dahy a dous ou tres dias o acharão no mesmo lugar da maneira dita. Mais disse aver-lhe dito o mesmo negro que adoecerão dahy a poucos dias estes que o matarão de pestiferas bexiguas, com que ardião em vivos fogos, sem sessar de chamar polo P.e Afonso até acabarem. Isto hé o mais que deste felice transito pude saber ; se me Deus der vida e tiveremos paz, yrey avante incquyrindo o que resta.

13. Polas do anno passado sabereys como temos já neste Maluquo hum rey com seu reyno christão [20], e segundo me contão os Padres e Irmãos que lá andão [21], são dos milhores que nestas partes há. O rey veo a esta fortaleza já duas vezes com sua gente

ajais medo que vos não ey-de fogir », sorrindo-se com certo ar de que os negros espantando-se o desatarão. E desatado se pôs em giolhos com as mãos alevantadas por hum pequeno tempo, de que alevantado se debruçou sobre o madeiro dizendo : « Fazei o que aveis de fazer ». Deu-lhe logo hum com a espada pelas costas e o outro pela cabeça, com que morreo. Acabado isto o arrastarão pera o mar e dahi a dous ou tres [137*r*] dias o acharão no mesmo lugar da maneira dita. Mais disse aver-lhe dito o mesmo negro que adoecerão dahy a poucos dias estes que o matarão de pestiferas bexigas, com que ardião em vivos fogos, e nunca cessavão de chamar polo Padre Afonso até que dellas acabarão. Isto hé o mais que deste felice transito pude saber ; se me Deus der vida e tiveremos pas, irei avante inquirindo o que resta.

13. Pelas do anno passado sabereis como temos já neste Malucco hum rei com seu reino christão [20], e segundo me contão os Padres e Irmãos que lá andão [21], são dos melhores que nestas partes há. O rei veio a esta fortaleza já duas vezes com sua gente

A - 449 o] os *ms.* || 453 acabarem *corr. fr.* que acabarão

[20] That is, of Bacan.

[21] Br. Fernão de Osório went there in November or December 1558 (D 69 and 70). Castro had been assigned to it but was killed before arriving there. Then Fr. Nicolau Nunes was sent but apparently for a short time only (see no. 14).

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nesta guerra. Hé mancebo muy bem acondicionado e cavaleyro. Anda para tomar molher. Parece-me tem vontade para casar com huma filha de hum portugez [22], para com ella se ajudar milhor nas cousas christãas. Quando vão, andão e vem da guerra, vão cantando segundo o custume da terra em suas embarcaçõis a som de cistros, tabaques [23] e sinos à sua feição cantigas nossas em lugar das suas. Todos querem receber suas molheres segundo o custume da Igreja, estão porem tão impididos com parentescos, que esperamos o cabo de estas guerras para nos poremos a ordenar isso com outras muytas cousas da policia christãa, para o que mostrão muytos desejos. Já vão gardando nossas cortesias e deixão de boa vontade as reverentias antigas.

14. Hum Padre que quaa anda há dias, Nicolao Nunez, lhes declarou, ainda que com as armas às costas, os artiguos da fee na lingoa [24], de que muyto folgarão dizendo que seus casizes nunqua

nesta guerra. Hé mancebo mui bem acondicionado, cavalleiro e de bom conselho. Anda pera tomar molher. Parece-me tomará huma filha de hum fidalgo e honrado portugues [22], pera com ella se ajudar melhor nas cousas christãas. Já agora quando vão, andão e vêm da guerra, cantão cantigas nossas santas em lugar das suas; o mesmo fazem em qualquer outro trabalho, como no deitar hum navio ao mar, etc. Todos querem receber suas molheres segundo o costume da Igreja, estão porem tam impedidos com parentescos, que sobreestamos até ver onde parão estas guerras pera então as ordenarmos, com outras muitas cousas de policia christãa, pera o que parece mostrão desejos. Já vão guardando nossas cortizias e deixão de boa vontade as reverencias antigas.

14. Hum Padre que cá anda há dias, Nicolao Nunes, lhes declarou, ainda que com as armas às costas, os artigos da fé catolica na lingoa malaia [24], de que muito folgarão dizendo que seus cacizes

A - 482 com *corr. fr.* de

[22] In 1550-1551, when a young man of about seventeen years (Cf. D 82, 5), he was engaged to a daughter of King Hairun of Ternate, while at the same time the king of Jailolo was spreading the rumour that he would give him his daughter in marriage (Rebelo 464; Couto VI 9 11). In actual fact he married Hairun's daughter, who died in childbirth in 1557.

[23] A term of Persian origin, meaning an Oriental drum; often written *atabaque* (Dalgado I 64; but not in Bausani, *Note*).

[24] In Malay, probably Moluccan Malay. On the use of Malay in Maluku, see *Treatise* 75.

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lhes ensinavão nada nem sabião como aquilo. A lingoa hé a mais facil que se pode achar; tem somente o tempo presente do infinitivo e a primeira e 2ª pessoa, eu e tu [25], para as demais há-se de usar de circunloquio; hé assaz cupiosa, loução e discreta. Hum ou dous dos que viemos a falão e entendem muyto bem, [271*v*] por se darem muyto a ella. Estes são enviados por amor disso agora desta vinda que o rey quaa fez com elle [26]. E os outros dous, que laa estavão [27], ficão aquy descanssando e refazendo-sse e, como Christo Nosso Senhor diz [28], sacodindo-sse do poo que esta maneira de trato consiguo traz, para que esta casa sempre aquy á-de estar, como tãobem para suas e nossas infirmidades, a que se vem para dellas serem curados, por ser esta ilha muyto sadia e nella aver algum maior remedio das cousas de botica. Está tãobem aqui esta casa como despenssa de todos os que estão espalhados por es[s]ou-

nunca lhes ensinavão nada nem sabião como aquillo. A lingoa malaya, que por todas estas partes corre, hé a mais facil que se pode crer. Tem somente o tempo presente do infinitivo e a primeira [e] segunda pessoa do singular, eu e tu [25]. Pera as demais há-se de usar de circunloquio, pelo que nella se não podem ad veritatem tirar as oraçoins, quanto hé o que eu yá aella entendo, fazer-lhe praticas e declaraçoins sobre ellas sy. As oraçoins lhe ensinamos na nossa lingoa, que lhe fica como a nós o latim. Hum ou dous dos que viemos a falam e entendem muito bem. Estes enviei por amor da lingoa com ho rei, que daqui se partio bespora de Natal [26]. E os outros dous que lá estavão [27], ficão aqui refazendo-se e sacodindo-se do pó que Christo N.S. diz [28], e esta maneira de tratar comsigo trás, pera o que esta casa aqui sempre á-de estar, onde se guardão as Constituiçoins e regras da Companhia ad unguem [29]. Está

A - 500 tempro *ms.* || 522 del do *ms.*, da *C* | *corr. fr.* boctica
B - 505 nella *corr. fr.* nellas || 512 viemos *corr. fr.* vimos

[25] With this statement Vieira, in nearly literally the same terms, runs ahead of the description given by Prof. van Ronkel in ENI II 657*b*.

[26] We do not know who were sent to Bacan then. Out of the group that arrived with Vieira only Fr. António Fernandes and Br. Baltasar Araújo remain possible candidates.

[27] Fr. Nicolau Nunes and Br. Fernão de Osório; see no. 26.

[28] Cf. Mt 10 14; Mk 6 11.

[29] *Ad unguem* (Lat.), very strictly and in a very detailed manner.

[30] Cf. Mk 6 31: « Venite seorsum in desertum locum et requiescite pusillum ».

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tras ilhas, aonde, faltãodo-lhe a privisão, mandão pedir outra.

15. São os myninos do novo reyno do Bachão tão obedientes aos mandados dos Padres que para fazerem os dos pais, maxime quando os han-de mandar fora, primeiro an-de saber dos Padres se querem, com que os pais tãobem folgão, porque sabem fazerem-lhes isto por não perderem dia da doctrina christã, que polas ruas andão cantando, e de noite polas soas [31], que entre nós são os bairos, se ajuntão para a dizerem e ensinarem aos de suas casas. Para o que se milhor fazer, se ordenarão meirinhos [32] mininos antre elles, que tem este cuydado e de os acusar aos Padres não querendo acudir, a que[m] os mesmos minynos (dizem os que de laa vem) terem tanta reverencia e medo como òs proprios Padres de quem a tal doctryna tem. Tãobem me dizem serem tão estambem pera suas e nossas emfermidades, a que se vem pera dellas seremos curados, por ser esta ilha muito sadia e nella aver algum maior remedio das cousas de botica. Está tambem aqui esta casa como despensa de todos os que estão espalhados per es'outras ilhas, onde, faltando-lhe a provisão, mandão pedir outra.

15. São os meninos do novo reino de Bachão tam obedientes aos mandados dos Padres que pera fazerem os dos [137*v*] pais, maxime quando os an-de mandar fora, primeiro an-de saber dos Padres se querem, com que os pais tambem folgão, porque sabem fazerem-lhes isto por não perderem dia da doutrina christãa, que polas ruas andão cantando, e de noite polas soas [31], que entre nós são os bairos, se ajuntão pera a dizerem e ensinarem aos de suas casas. Pera o que se melhor fazer, se ordenarão entre elles meninos meirinhos [33]: dizem os que de llá vem terem-lhe tanta reverencia e medo como òs proprios Padres de quem a tal doutrina recebem. Tambem me dizem serem tão espertos e cuidadosos em se trazerem huns a outros ao baptismo e avisar dos novamente nacidos aos Padres, se

A - 541 com *add.* o *C* || 543 -lhes] elles *C* || 547 bairos *add.* e *C* || 548 aos de] em *C* || 552 e *om. C* || 556 òs] aos *C*
B - 525 emfermidades *del.* pera de || 558 nacidos *del.* ( | padres *del.* (

[31] *Soa*, quarter or adjacent hamlet of a town, originally a one-family quarter. Moluccan term.

[33] See D 50, note 15.

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pertos e cuydadozos de se trazerem huns a outros ao bautismo e o acusar os novamente nascidos, se logo não vem dar rebate ao Padre, que hé grande contentamento e espora para os que andão na obra.

16. Desta segunda vez que o rey christão de Bachão veo a esta fortaleza fizemos, ou fez o vigairo della, se lhe entregasse huma filha que este rey de Ternate, tio delle e avô da minina, que então fazia hum anno e tantos meses lhe avia a seu reyno mandado tomar, ou lha mandou o mesmo mancebo com medo segundo outros, cuja mãy, filha deste de Ternate, avia falecydo logo quando a pario, que foi a causa de se o mancebo, que ainda então estava em poder do pay vivo, tornar christão por conselho do mesmo pay por escapar de perder o reyno, porque lhe alevantava este de Ternate aver-lha morto ou, como elle tem para si, comida; a que chamão soangas [33], como nós laa bruxas, se as ay, polo que [se] perguntão, Lionel de Lima [34], se vivo hé, dará mais polo particular rezão. Asi que entregue o logo não vem delles dar rebate, que hé grande contentamento e espora pera os que andão na obra.

16. Desta segunda vez que o rei christão de Bachão veyo a esta fortaleza, fizemos, o vigairo e nós, se lhe entregase huma filha que este rei de Tarnate, tio do Bachão e avô da menina, que então fazia hum anno e tantos messes lhe avia a seu reino mandado tomar, ou lha mandou o mesmo rei de Bachão com medo (segundo outros) entregar, cuja mãy, filha deste de Tarnate, avia falecido tanto que a pario, que foi a causa de se o mancebo, que ainda então estava em poder do rei velho seu pay, fazer christão por conselho do mesmo pay por escapar de perder o reino, porque lhe levantava este de Tarnate aver-lhe morta a filha ou, como elles dizem, comida; a que chamão joanjas [33], como nós lá bruxas, se as há, do que o Padre Lionel de Lima [34] mais polo particular dará razão. Asi que entregue o rei de Bachão

A - 560 a] aos *C* || 561 o *om. C* || 567 christão *add.* e *ms.*, *del.* e *C* || 587-590 se as . . . rezão *om. C*
B - 559 vem *del.*)

[33] When high-ranking people fell ill, they ordered some persons to be killed because they contended that these were devouring their heart. The victim was called *suanggi*, which means: pernicious spirit, vampire, werewolf, devil (*Treatise* 180).

[34] See D 5 note 7.

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rey de Bachão da minina, detryminamos de a fazer christã, que o rey não querya aqui diante o de Ternate, polo medo que ainda lhe tem, ainda que exteriormente o de Ternate para isso desse muytas mostras, até dizer que avya de gastar aquele dia muyto. Este mouro he muyto sabedor e o sobrynho não tem de ver com suas palavras senão com o que lhe fica. Não tivemos nós de ver com isso, posto que sabiamos estar atemorisado com causa o reizinho, e apartamos a fazer a mynina christãa antes que corresse algum periguo. Respondeo finalmente o pay da minina que nós entendiamos milhor as cousas da fee que elle, que fizessemos o que nos parecesse milhor.

17. Pregei aquele dominguo incitando a gente à honrra deste bautismo e devação de tão nova festa, tão nova nestas partes, pedindo a todo o genero de pessoas, asi molheres como homens, se ajuntassem aquela tarde em casa do rey para acompanhar a nova princesa christã de Bachão, que hé huma das cinquo ilhas do cravo. Fizeram-no assim e in primis o Padre Vigairo, que en dar hé muyto largo, ainda que seja a mouros e gentios. Fez aquele dia hum banquete ao rey e seus mandarins e muytos portugeses tão lauto,

da menina, determinamos de a fazer christãa, o que o rei não queria aqui diante o de Tarnate pelo medo que ainda lhe tem, ainda que o de Tarnate pera isso desse muitas mostras exteriormente, até dizer aver de gastar naquelas festas muito. Este mouro hé muito sabido e o sobrinho não tem de ver com suas palavras como quem o entende, senão com o que lhe fica. Não tivemos nós de ver com isso, posto que sabiamos estar atemorizado com causa, e apertamos a fazer a menina christãa antes que correse algum perigo. Respondeo finalmente o pay da menina que nós entendiamos melhor as cousas da fé e sabiamos melhor o que nisso ya, que elle que o defendia, que fizesemos o que nos parecesse melhor.

17. Preguey aquelle domingo incitando a gente à honra deste baptismo e devação de tam nova festa, tam nova nestas partes, pedindo a todo genero de pessoa, molheres como homens, se ajuntasem aquella tarde em cassa do rey pera acompanhar a nova princeza christãa de Bachão, que hé huma das cinco ilhas do cravo. Fizeran-no asi e primeiramente o Padre Vigairo fez como se celebrase a missa de diacono e subdiacono, ajudando hum de nossos Padres, que se cá não costuma polos não aver, pera o que ouve

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A - 621 christã *interl.*

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que se não esperava em tempo de hum anno de serquo onde huma galinha custava hum cruzado [35], a que tãobem eu fuy com outro Padre, asi por aver dito o evangelho [36] aquele dia como por eu aver pregado. A qual missa se disse com hum muy rico pontifical de borcado [37], que este anno chegara da India para a Misericordia desta povoação e fortaleza, em que entravão muy ricas peças de prata douradas, quais [272r] pode ser laa não vy. E para que o banquete fosse de todo perfeito, às escondidas mandey amaçar pam para elle do triguo que para as hostias tynhamos, que foi grande novydade. Ó quantos o tomarão e o beijarão louvando a Deus, dizendo huns : « Agora averá tanto que o nam comy », outros menos, outros mais.

18. Vindo a tarde se ajuntou a gente ornada e vestida de toda a ceda que quaa mais facilmente acharão que laa burel, e hum pontif[ic]al de brocado [37], que este anno veyo, de muito preço e cousa tambem não vista por cá, em que entravão mui ricas peças de prata douradas quais me não acordo ver por lá. Este veyo, como digo, este anno pera [138r] a Misericordia daqui. Mais deo hum grande banquete ao rei, por ser largo em dar, e a seus mandaryns e a muitos portugueses, tam lauto quanto se não esperava em hum anno de cerco, onde huma gallinha custava hum cruzado [35] ; a que tambem eu fuy com outro Padre, asi por hum de nós aver dito o evangelho [36] aquele dia como por aver o outro pregado. E pera que o banquete fose de todo perfeito, às escondidas mandei amassar pão pera elle do trigo que pera as missas tinhamos, que foy grande novidade. Ó quantos o tomavão e o beijavão pondo-o nos olhos, louvando a Deus e dizendo huns : « Agora averá tanto que o não comi », huns menos outros mais.

18. Vindo a tarde se ajuntou a gente honrada e ricamente de toda a seda ataviada, que cá hé mais comum que lá burel, e pô-se

A - 629 que] quanto *C* | se *rep.* | tempo de *om. C* || 635 A qual] Aquella *C* || 638 Misericordia *corr. fr.* igreja *C* || 639 povoação e *om. C* || 642-651 E para . . . mais *om. C*

[35] In 1536, at the end of the captainship of Tristão de Ataíde, a chicken had cost two or three cruzados (*Treatise* 230), or even four (CASTANHEDA VIII 131), the normal price being about fifty reis (CASTANHEDA VIII 156). See SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 558-559.

[36] As a deacon in solemn mass.

[37] A precious brocade cope.

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pos-se a cousa em ordem: e na dianteyra hia a cruz de N. Senhor arvorada, atrás ella os Padres revestidos do pontifical por não aver capa do mesmo geez [38], atrás dos Padres a criança e os compadres, a qual levava muyto ricas pessas d'ouro que lhe a avó mandara, ainda que bem contra sua vontade, porque era neta da unica filha sua a que muyto queria, e ir en tempo de perder o nome de Fatima por cobrar o de Constantia que então ouve [40]. Diante a cruz hia huma boa capella de cantores que aqui hay muyto bons; diante os cantores hião as trombetas, e por toda esta ordem andava huma dança de moços riquamente vestidos.

19. Chegamos à igreja que logo na primeyra entrada tinha hum cadafalsso armado, cuberto de boas alcatifas, e no meio huma grande bacia alevantada hum pouco sobre o cadafalsso, cuberta de lavrados e finos panos. Sobre este cadafalço se armava hum rico sobreceo de setim roxo de Portugal, franjado e apassamanado d'ouro

a cousa em ordem: ya no couce a menina, que hum homem honrado e fidalgo levava acompanhado de todas as donas e pessoas honradas, que ainda cá tambem se achão; ya logo a cruz com muitas tochas que a acompanhavão; mais avante huma capella de boa musica com canticos de Benedictus [39] competente à festa; após ella as trombetas e finalmente huma dança de meninos ricamente vestidos, e os Padres atrás da crus revestidos de pontifical. Ya tambem a menina carregada de muitas e ricas peças d'ouro que lhe a avó mandara, aynda que bem contra sua vontade, porque era neta da unica filha a que muito queria, e yr em termos de perder o nome de Fatema por cobrar o de Constancia que recebeo [40].

19. Chegamos à igreja que logo na primeira entrada tinhão hum cadafalso armado, cuberto de alcatifas e no meyo huma grande bacya alevantada hum pedaço, cuberta de lavrados e finos pannos. Sobre este cadafalso se armou hum rico sobreceo de setim dessas partes, franjado e apasamanado d'ouro, e pelas paredes d'ambas as

A - 664-665 por ... geez *om.* *C* || 674 ouve] lhe puzerão *C* || 678-680 por ... vestidos] dança *corr. fr.* danças *C*
B - 681 Fatenia *ms.*

[38] Stands for *jaez*.

[39] Either Lk 1 68 or Mt 21 9.

[40] Fatima, after the daughter of Mohammed; Constantia, after the daughter of Constantine, the first Christian Roman emperor.

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ro e de retrós; polas paredes de huma parte e doutra avya muytos paninhos de paijagens e arvoredos da China, cousa muyto fresca. E feito o exorcismo e chatequismo à porta, vierão à pia onde, acabadas as serymonias, tocarão os padrinhos a menyna: Dom Diogo, filho do Conde da Feyra [41], que de socorro avia vindo este anno aquy, e outros fi-[dalguos] e honrados homens, e assi mesmo outras donas. E acabada de bauthizar, tyrou a artelharya da fortaleza, e acabado ysto e de a encomendarem a Deus, se tornaram à casa do rey com boa ordem acompanhada de todos.

20. Ó Padres e Irmãos da Companhia, que fazeis? Não vedes quantos se perdem polo mundo, principalmente onde nos querem, como são os destas partes? Pois tãobem aquela autorydade de Ocea 6° cap.: «Misericordiam volo et non sacri[ficium]» [42], etc. estaa entendido por São Gregorio do

bandas ricos paninhos d'arvoredo e paijajes de pinturas da China, entremetidos entre outros ramos naturais, que manifestavão a gloria e triunfo da obra. E feito o exorcismo e catecismo à porta, vierão à pia onde, acabadas as cerimonias, tocarão os padrinhos a menina: Dom Diogo, filho do Conde da Feira [41], que de soccorro avia vindo este anno, e outras fidalgas e honradas pessoas, e as madrinhas asi mesmo donas mui honradas, a molher do capitão e outras que nunca faltão. E acabada de mergulhar, que eu procurey e porfiei que se fizese (ainda que tamanha), tirou toda a artelharia da fortaleza, e depois de a emcomendar a Deus se tornarão a cassa do rei com boa ordem acompanhada de todos.

20. Ó Padres e Irmãos da Companhia, que fazeis? Não considerais quantos polo mundo se perdem, principalmente aqui onde nos querem! Pois tambem aquella autoridade de Oseas 6°: «Misericordiam volo et non sacrificium» [42], etc. está entendida por Sam Gregorio do zelo das almas, cujo sa-

A - 694 retrós *corr. fr.* detras || 696 paijagens e *om. C* || 704 fidalguos *paper wasted* || 706 acabada *corr. fr.* a cada || 718 quanto se perde *C* || 720-732 Pois . . . terra *om. C*

[41] D. Diogo Pereira, bastard of D. Fernando, Conde da Feira (See SCHURHAMMER, *Ges. Studien* II 142). He had many brothers living in Asia: D. Manuel, D., Duarte, D. Jorge (SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 812 nos. 33-35; *Quellen* 703) D. João (ibid. and DI IV 514), D. Leonis (*Relação Vasconcelos* 218). In COUTO VII 8 13, a D. João Pereira is called «irmão do Conde da Feira».

[42] Hos 6 6: «Quia misericordiam volui et non sacrificium».



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zelo das almas, cujo sacrificio excede todos os outros iuxta illud Proverbiorum 21 : « Facere misericordiam », scilicet convertendo peccatores, « plus placet Deo quam victimae holocaustorum » [43]. Se vos eu perguntasse se vos desejão e fazeis falta nesta terra, onde até os filhos dos reis fazem muytas diligentias para saberem os misterios de nossa santa fee e cousas de sua salvação, avendo tanta falta de quem lho ensine, que me dirieis? Nesta há. E isto, sabeis quem? As filhas dos reis pedem licença para yrem ver nossas igrejas e meudamente querem que lhe digais as historias dos Sanctos, cujas ymagens vêm. Hé muy grande principio este para hum Padre, hum Irmão zeloso, falar de seu Deus e dá-lo a entender. Não vedes o sacramento que aquy estaa escondido? Olhay que à vossa falta introduzem servos de Mafamede sua danada doutryna tendo por ley que à espada a defendão. Sed de his hactenus [45].

crificio excede todos os outros iuxta illud Proverbiorum 21[o] : « Facere misericordiam », scilicet convertendo peccatores, « plus placet Deo quam victimae holocaustorum » [43]. E nesta terra por bondade de N. Senhor até os reis e filhos de reis vos estão importunan-[138*v*]do polas cousas de sua salvação, e vos pedem lhe digais os misterios de nossa santa fé, como porque fazemos tanta honra à crus; e nos rogam lhe demos licença pera irem ver a nossas igrejas as imagens dos Santos, e que meudamente lhe digamos as historias dos Santos cujas imagens vem. Hé mui grande principio este pera hum Padre, hum Irmão zeloso de falar de seu Deus e dá-lo a conhecer, porque doutra parte bem sabeis que contra negantes principium non est disputandum [44]. Não vedes o sacramento escondido? Vede que os que isto fazem são servos de Mafamede, que tem por ley defender a ley à espada por não concederem principios, como quem sabia certo que, concedendo-os, ficavão necessariamente vencidos. Disto vos não quero dizer mais, mas venho-vos contar o que ouvi.

A - 737 lho *corr. fr.* os || 737-752 que me . . . hactenus *om. C*

[43] Prov 21 3 : « Facere misericordiam et judicium magis placet Domino quam victimae ». St. Gregory the Great : « Nullum tam gratum Deo est sacrificium quam zelus animarum » MIGNE, *PL* 79, 593).

[44] There is no arguing with a person who denies the (first) principle.

[45] Ciceronian expression : « enough of this » (Cf. *De Divinatione* 2 24).

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21. Antes de se comessar esta guerra, veo ter ao Moro hum parao de 8 remeyros [46] que ao parecer vinhão desgarrados de perto, porque trazião ainda quasi frescas humas folhas de ynhames com que se cobrião, que andão todos nus por na terra não aver pano. Destes morrerão logo os 7, e ficando o octavo per dias entre aqueles moros e nossos portugeses, casado[s] por laa e tratantes na terra, [272*v*] onde vindo-nos a entender e nós a elle, começou a dizer que na sua terra não avia aquele acender de candeas di noite que entre nós avia, mas em lugar disso avya humas pedras, antre elles muy estimadas, que davão grande claridade. E fazendo-sse os nossos prestes para hir laa [47], quando socedeo a guerra, e o primeyro homem que matarão foi este. Dizem porem que bem se acertará com a ilha polos sinais que dela deu, antes afirmão veren-na em tempo claro de hum alto pico e serra, caminho

21. Antes de se começar esta guerra, veyo ter ao Moro hum paraoo de oito remeiros [46] que ao parecer vinhão de perto desgarrados, porque trazião ainda quasi frescas humas folhas de inhames com que as partes cobrião por na terra não aver panno. Destes morrerão logo os sete, e ficando o oitavo por dias entre os nossos christãos e portuguezes, veyo a entender-nos e nós a elle. Logo começou a dizer como na sua ilha não avia aquelle accender de candeas que à noite entre nós via, mas que em lugar disso somente e commummente entre os honrados avia humas pedras, d'estima entre elles, que davão grande claridade, de que uzavão de noite, e o rei ter huma muito mayor em huma cousa e outro lume como grandeza, de que uzava nos grandes banquetes e festas de casamentos. Pode ser sejão estes os carbunculos. Carece esta ilha de todo metal, ouro prata e ferro; fazem suas embarcaçoins com cas-

A - 759 Moro *corr. fr.* Morro || 767-770 entre ... onde] e *C* || 771 elle *add.* e *C* || 9 socedeo *corr. fr.* socedesse
B - 780 uzava *add.* de que *ms.*

[46] This is the famous story of the Carbuncle Island. It is repeated by Fr. Nunes in D 213, 28-29, and by Estevão de Lemos (LEMOS 466-468). Other authors who mention it are FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO (II 251), who places it in the Strait of Magellan; Manuel GODINHO DE ERÉDIA (*Informação da Aurea Chersoneso* 135-140); FERNÁNDEZ DE QUIRÓS (II 295), who finds it near the island Gebe; the author of the *Relação breve da ilha de Ternate* of 1619 (164); SOUSA VITERBO (153 note 1); SCHURHAMMER, *Die Karfunkelinsel* (*Ges. Studien* IV 159). There is much diversity in these descriptions as to circumstances and time.

[47] To the Carbuncle Island.

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de dous dias; cujo regedor dizia ter huma muyto maior que os honrrados (porque soo antre elles andão) e de muito mor claridade, de que usava nos grandes banquetes e festas. Pode ser sejão os cabruncolos estes. Carece esta ilha de todo o metal, ouro, prata e ferro; serven-lhe as cascas d'ostra para o necessario, que a nós a ferramenta. Pescam com anzois de tartaruga, de que ay tanto no mar que fazem sebes ao longuo da praia para lhe não yrem comer os inhames. Manten-sse com peixe de que há muyta cantidade e fruytas do mato. Hé rasa e dizem ver-sse de hum pico do Morro. Correm nella muyto as agoas e á-se de navegar para ella entre monção e monção, de noroeste e sul; para cujo discubrimento estando já prestes hum portuges e alguns christãos honrrados do Morro com boas embarcaçõis, entreveo a guerra em que matarão o homem della.

22. Depois de ter esta nestes termos e já para a cerrar, acordarão os de este povo, depois tãobem terem o capitão preso, de soltar el-rey de Ternate [48], por de outra maneyra se não estreverem a escapar à fome que ia en grande crecimento e tinhamos cas de ostra que lhes serve[m] como a nós a ferramenta. Fazem os enzois pera pescar de tartarugas, de que hay tanta copia que fazem sebes ao longo das prayas por lhe não yrem comer as sementeiras. Manten-se de frutas da terra e muito peixe que tem. A ilha hé rasa e crê-ce que se vê de hum pico do Moro. Vay-se a ella entre moção e moção do noroeste e sul; correm muito as ago-[a]s nella por onde hé difficil de tomar. Estando hum portugues e alguns homens christãos do Moro com boas embarcaçoins pera a ir descobrir, entreveyo a guerra onde matarão ho homem que de lá veyo.

22. Depois de ter esta nestes termos e já para a serrar, acordarão os deste povo soltar o rei preso [48], por de outra maneira se não atreverem escapar à fome que ya em grande crecimento e tinhamos nove ou dez mezes por passar até à vinda da armada e

A - 794 ostras *C* || 802-807 Hé . . . sul *add. inter'. C* || 807 cujo] o *C* | discubrimento *add.* della *C* || 813 nestes termos e *om. C* || 815 depois *corr. fr.* pois || 816 tãobem *add.* de *C*
B - 793 muito *interl.* || 794 crê-ce *corr. fr.* cresce, *rep. m.*

[48] According to Souza (I III 2 23), D. Duarte de Eça was captured on December 21, and King Hairun was freed on December 25, 1558.

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pouco menos de dez meses por passar até à vinda das naos e socorro que esperavamos [49]. Fes-se asi. Com esta solt[ura] do rey começou acudir algum mantimento, ainda que muy pouco, e já agora [acode] muyto mais e a terra paresce se vem à obediencia da fortaleza. Com a qual soltura el-rey de Tidore tãobem começou a temer e mandar requerer pazes, a quem se respondeo que si, contanto que quebrassem os quatro juncos dos jaos que tinhão carregados de cravo, ficando-lhe o cravo para o venderem a mor valya e mandarem a esta fortaleza o tavoado delles, e ysto feito lhe farião pazes. Respondeo o Tidore, não ao capitão mas ao rey de Ternate, que já tinha deitadas suas contas.

23. Espós isto se detryminou Dom Jorje de Saa [50] de ficar com sua nao para lhe fazer a guerra. Concertaram-sse as duas fustas que aqui tinhamos, afora a que nos avião tomado com vinte e tantos homens, entre portugeses e mestiços, a poder de fogo que tomou a polvora, e muytos escravos, com toda sua artelharya, hum falcão pedreyro e quatro breços e courras ricas de laminas e outras

soccorro que esperavamos [49]. Fes-se asi. Com esta soltura começou a acudir algum mantimento, ainda que muito pouco, e já agora ay mais. E o rei de Tidore, ilha comarcãa, começou a temer e mandar requerer pazes, a que se respondeo que si, com tanto que quebrasem os quatro jungos dos jaos que estavão carregados de cravo e recolhesem seu cravo pera o venderem a mor valia e mandasem a esta fortaleza o tavoado delles, e com isto lhe farião [139*r*] pazes. Respondeo o Tidore, não ao capitão mas ao rey de Tarnate, que já tinha deitado suas contas.

23. E logo após isto se determinou Dom Jorge [50] de ficar com sua nao pera lhe fazerem a guerra. Concertarão-se as duas fustas que aqui tinhamos, afora a outra que, poucos dias avia, nos tinhão tomado com vinte e tantas pessoas, entre portuguesses e mestiços e muita escravagem, e boa artelharia, hum falcão pedreiro e quatro berços e ricas couras de laminas, que foi causa de se este povo de-

A - 823 fes-se] o fez *C* || 824 soltura *paper wasted*, soltura *C* || 827 acode *paper wasted*, acode *C* || 831 temer *corr. fr.* tremer
B - 852 falcão *del.* hum

[49] This, according to the scheduled time, would not arrive before October.

[50] D. Jorge de Eça. He was the «capitão-mor do mar» of Maluku (Couto VII 5 3).

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armas, que foi causa em se este povo detryminar no prender do capitão, de que atrás disse. Para o que logo se forão as naos que na galheta [51] estavão, que hé perto da fortaleza, a Talanguame [52], porto em que se inverna, e perto de Tidore, asi a de Dom Jorge como a de Antonio Pireyra Brandão que este ano avia vindo [53], e o rey de Ternate [54] começou tãobem juntar sua gente e fazer prestes suas caracolas. E posto tudo a pique em Talanguame, saio huma manhã da banda de Tidore à nossa armada, que hia para Moutel (outra ilha do cravo) [56], huma caracola fazendo-lhe algasares [57], tendo o resto d'armada escondido, que erão 8 joan- terminar a prender o capitão de que atrás disse. Pera o que logo se forão as naos que na calheta [51] estavão a Talangane [52], asi a de Dom Jorge como a deste anno, e o rei [55] começou tambem ajuntar sua gente e fazer preste[s] suas caracoras. E posto tudo a pique em Talangame, sayo huma menhãa da parte de Tidore à nossa armada que ya pera Moutel, outra ilha de cravo [56], nhuma caracora fazendo-lhe algazares [57], tendo o resto da armada escondida, que erão outo joangas [58], navios que cada hum rema cento e tantos pangayos [59], remos de mão, e quatro coracoras grandes. Amainarão logo nossas fustas as velas e fizerão-se prestes pera pelejar. E

A - 858 as] os nossos nas *C* || 863 a] na *C* | de *interl. C* || 866 juntar] de ajuntar *C* || 870 à] descontra *C*

[51] This was the narrow and shallow anchorage situated between the fortress and the coral reef that surrounded the island (Cf. *Treatise* 38-40 ; 288-290).

[52] At the SE of the island, where over a small distance the coral reef is interrupted. The Portuguese always used it as an achorage for their larger ships.

[53] At the capture of D. Duarte de Eça, in December 1558, António Pereira Brandão, a native of Oporto, was made Captain of Maluku. However, he consented to be a substitute (*olheiro*) only. He had arrived as captain of the *nau da carreira* from India in order to bring help to the fortress. The next year he was imprisoned by the next regular Captain of Ternate, Manuel de Vasconcelos (October 1560) ; and in Portugal he was, together with D. Jorge de Eça, found guilty. He was exiled to Africa, where he died. Cf. REBELO 298 and 498 ; COUTO VII 5 3, 9 15 ; SÁ III 43.

[54] After having been released, he showed himself again a true and loyal vassal of the king of Portugal (COUTO VII 5 3).

[55] In the B version the following words could seem to apply rather to the king of Tidore.

[56] Modern name : Moti. Islet between Tidore and Makian.

[57] *Algazarra*, originally Arabic term, meaning a furious clamour at the start of the battle, a war cry.

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gas [58], navios que cada hum rema cento e tantos pangaios [59], e quatro caracolas grandes. Amainarão logo nossas fustas que à vela hião e fizeram-sse prestes para pelejar. E logo remeterão à capitania, em que Dom Jorge hia por capitão-mor d'armada, quatro valentes joangas, ficando as 8 embarcaçõis em garda contra a outra fusta e a caracola de Ternate. E abalroarão a fusta em que se travou huma crespa briga. Parece cuidarão de a caçar como a outra, que por fogo que nella tomou a polvora foi tomada. E desabalrroada a fusta com morte de muytos dos mouros e dous dos nossos portugeses, se afastarão, sem [273*r*] nunqua quinze ou mais embarcaçõis (pequenas porem) dos ternates quererem achegar, ainda que para isso pusesse sua força el-rey de Ternate, que em hum parao andou sempre a par da fusta capeando-lhes que chegassem, no qual lhe matarão dous parentes de duas berçadas, convidando-os outras vezes com lhes fazer a sumbaia [60] para os incitar e pelejando com sua espingarda; dilogo remeterão à capitaina, em que ya Dom Jorge por capitão-mor, quatro mui grandes joangas, ficando as outras oito embarcaçoins em guarda contra toda outra armada. E abalroarão huma fusta em que se travou huma crespa briga. Parece cuidarão de a caçar como a outra, que por fogo que nella tomou a polvora foy tomada. E desabalroados com mortes de muitos mouros e dous portugueses nossos, se afastarão, sem nunca quinze ou dezoito embarcaçoins pequenas d'el-rei de Tarnate quererem jamais chegar, ainda que nisso possesse toda sua força o rei de Tarnate, que num parao andou sempre a par da fusta capeando-lhes que chegase[m], fazendo-lhes a sumbaya [60] pera os convidar a isso, pelejando com sua espingarda, dizem valentemente.

A - 880-950 E logo . . . esse mar] onde assi de huma parte como da outra foy grande destruyção, contudo *C* || 883 joangas] varangas *ms.* || 892 dos[1] *interl.* || 896 quererem *interl.* | achegar *corr. fr.* achegarem
B - 891 possessem *ms.* || 892 num *corr. fr.* nhum

[58] *Juanga*, a large type of *korakora* ; cf. CLERCQ 264.

[59] *Pengayuh*, Malay term : oar, paddle.

[60] *Sembahyang* (Malay) or *subahyang* (Ternatan), respectful gesture, with raised hands, of veneration, greeting or supplication (CLERCQ 279 : *soeba* ; ENI III 744 ; its description in *Treatise* 122-124).

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zem aver tirado elle soo mais de 30 tiros.

24. A outra fusta lhe acodio somente, em que hia Bastião Machado [61], do charissimo Fernão da Silveira [62], por capitão, a qual algum tanto andava apartada pelejando com as oito, e acodio ao fogo que já na grande andava por acertar de cair no parol [*sic*] da polvora, no tal tempo aberto por esquecimento de hum que delle saio, da qual saltou na fusta pequena e em huma e outra ouve grande distruição, principalmente na grande porque refinou ao mar o proprio parol, masto e quantos quasi estavão no corpo da fusta, queymando-os bravamente ; de que tres ou quatro não durarão mais que dous e tres dias, outros mais, e os demais estão tais que se escaparem será maravilha, afora alguns marynheyros que tãobem logo morrerão. Com tudo ysto, por mostrar Dom Jorje aos immiguos ficar o campo por nosso, fez a el-rey levantar seu sombreyro [64]

24. Somente lhe acodio a outra fusta que algum tanto andava apartada pelejando com as oito, a qual acodio ao fogo que a grande tomou. Depois de afastados os imigos, saltando o fogo de hum berço que pela escorva se vazou em o payol da polvara, que acertou de estar aberto, o qual payol com o masto se refinou no mar ; e todos os portugueses e lascares [63] que pelo meyo da fusta estavão, tam queimados de rostos, pernas e braços, que era grande lastima vê-los ; de que morrerião até dez e os demais não sararão daqui a muitos dias. Contudo isto, por mostrar Dom Jorge aos immigos que ficava o campo por nós, fez a el-rei levantar seu sombreiro [64] e elle meteo-se em huma caracora seguindo os immigos que yão fogindo até não aparecerem. E fez logo vir aqui toda a armada com o rei e os doentes e feridos, de cujo numero era elle hum, ainda

B - 922 até *del.* vespera

[61] Being feitor and alcaide-mor of the fortress, he succeeded *ad interim* in the captaincy at the death of Manuel de Vasconcelos in 1561 (Rebelo 499 ; Couto VII 9 15). In 1564 he received the royal *mercê* of a capitão-mor do mar of Maluku (APO 5 2 no. 509 p. 565). Perhaps after this name a word like *criado* was left out. It is also possible that, given the imperfect grammatical constructions due to jumps in thought, the words « do . . . » belong to *fusta*.

[62] Otherwise unknown ; obviously a personal friend.

[63] *Lascar* (in Portuguese often *lascarim*), originally Persian term (laskar), used in the meaning of soldier, native sailor (Yule 507 ; Bausani, *Note* 16 no. 111).

[64] This is the royal umbrella or sunshade, being a token of dignity. It is described by Barros (III 10 9).

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e elle meteo-sse (ainda que ferido) nhuma caracola, seguindo os ymmiguos que hyão fogindo até não aparecerem. E fez logo vir aquy à fortaleza toda a armada com o rey e os doentes e ferydos. Muyto louvor lhe deu a gente aquele dia porque sem armas, mas somente com huma rodela e espada, enxorou os immigos ao mar e os fez desbalroar a fusta. Ouve aly soldado que, depois de com a espingarda andar às trochadas e tyrar com ella aos que abalroavão, tomou o capecete e fez tyro a hum que o demo levou com o capessete a esse mar.

25. Foy tanta a mortalha nos tidores que, se não fora o fogo [45], aquele dia se acabarão nossas queixas, mas parece quis Deus fosse assi para hum pouco mais ver para o que prestamos, ainda que creo será para pouco porque, estando agora escrevendo esta, chegou já mantimento de Gamocanora, que apertava de parte deste Tidore muyto comnosco e fazia grande mal aos do Morro. Asi mesmo chegou nova como erão passadas a Talangame, onde nossas naos estão, não sey quantas molheres christãas do Morro e moços de portugeses, tomados dos tidores, e outros fogidos para laa que dixerão serem muytos tidoque pouco. Muito louvor lhe deu a gente aquelle dia porque sem armas, somente com huma espada e rodela, enxorou os immigos ao mar e os fez desabalroar a fusta. Ouve aly soldado que depois que com a espingarda andar às trochadas e tirar com ella aos que abalroavão, tomou o capacete e fez tiro a hum que o demo levou com o capacete a esse mar.

25. Foy tanta a mortalha nos [139*v*] tidores que, se não fora o fogo [45], aquelle dia se acabavão nossas queixas, mas parece quis Deus fosse asi pera hum pouco mays ver pera o que prestamos, ainda que creo será por pouco porque, estando agora escrevendo esta, chegou já mantimento de Gamacanora, que apertava de parte deste Tidore muito connosco e fazia grande mal aos do Moro. Asi mesmo chegou nova como erão passados a Talangame, onde as nossas naos estão, muitos moços dos nosos portuguesses que pera Tidore erão idos e outros em saltos tomados. Estes disserão serem mortos muitos dos tidores,

A - 952 fogo *add.* que por desastre se alçou na polvora das nossas naos *C* || 960 destes Tidores *C* || 963 novas *ms.* || 965 estão *corr. to* estavão *C*
B - 938 ao *corr. fr.* do || 963 novas *ms.*

[45] See app. crit. at text A.

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res mortos, asi honrrados como da gente comum, e que tinhão já a armada varada e muy destroçada da artelharya nossa e que padecião muyta fome. Diserão mais que todos se embebedarão naquele dia para o feito de se perderem ou ganharem.

26. Agora me pedio o capitão [66] quisesse mandar a Banda e day a Malaqua o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro, que aquy tenho commiguo (afora o P.e Nicolao Nunez), para levar as cartas, nhum junquo que em Banda para isso se á-de mercar, e avisar ao capitão, que agora vem para entrar nesta fortaleza [67], a se prover de muyta gente e mantymentos. Eu lho concedi [68]; como já noutra pressa em que aquy nos vimos oferecy a outro Irmão, Baltasar d'Arraujo, da laya do R.P. Godinho [69], homem para muyto, para hir ao Morro com

asi honrados como da outra gente, e que tinhão já a armada varada e mui destroçada da artelharia, e que no dia de acomete[re]m-nos se embebedarão todos pera isso e com determinação de se perderem ou se ganharem.

26. Agora me pedio o capitão [66] quisese mandar a Banda e dahi a Malaca o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro que aqui tinha comigo, afora o Padre Nicolau Nunes, pera levar as cartas, em hum jungo que em Banda se á-de mercar pera isso, e avisar ao capitão, que agora vem pera o anno a entrar nesta fortaleza [67], pera se prover de muita gente e mantimentos. Eu lho concedi [68]; como já noutra presa em que aqui nos vimos ofereci a outro Irmão, Baltasar d'Araujo, do geito do Reverendo Padre Godinho [69], homem pera muito, pera ir ao

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A - 971-1023 e que ... isto *om. C* || 992 Godinho *corr. fr.* Doginho [*sic*]

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[66] António Pereira Brandão.

[67] Manuel de Vasconcelos, appointed to this task, did not leave Goa before April 1560, waited out the monsoon in Malacca, and arrived in Ternate in October. Having sent the ships to India «como houve monção de se partirem pera a India» (that is, in February 1561), he became ill and died within a few days (Couto VII 9 15). If Osório had sailed to Malacca in 1559, he would have been there a full year too early to carry out his task.

[68] We are not certain that Osório really sailed, since no other source informs us about this. On the contrary, Fr. Baltasar Dias wrote from Malacca on December 1, 1559, that he had not received any news from Maluku for two years (D 87, 2). No Maluku ship arrived that year in Malacca (D 92, 2).

[69] This is Fr. Manuel Godinho, one of the very first Jesuits of Portugal, who entered the Society in 1542 and died in 1569. On him, see Franco, *Anno Santo* 432. What the resemblance between him and Araújo was escapes us.

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huma joanga a trazer cinquoenta portugeses que laa tinhamos antes desta guerra [70], fazendo-a polos christãos aos galelas [71] por os maltratarem; para o que não avia portuges que se quisesse offerecer. O que vendo o Irmão e nossa necessidade que de gente tynhamos, pedio-me o mandasse laa. Mandey-o ao capitão. Folgou muyto com a offerenda, aviou-o e foi-sse laa [72], onde já os achou embarcados [273*v*] em hum grande junco de mantimentos que em nenhuma maneira podia aquy vir sem ajuda, no qual vinhão tãobem dous Padres nossos [73]. Estando nós agora na mesma necessidade de gente, por nos ser morta nesta guerra perto de 60 portugeses e passante de mil homens entre gente da terra e escravos, ficando na povoação [74] que hé grande até 40 homens de peleja e não mais, pareceo justo acudirmos a tal necessidade, assi que elle é o portador desta até Malaqua, que será jornada de dous meses.

27. E com isto acabo esta, sem poder acabar nem querer aca-

Moro com huma joanga a trazer sincoenta portuguesses que lá tinhamos [70] fazendo guerra aos galelas [71] por fazerem mal aos christãos. E não se achando portugues que lá quisese ir, me falou o Irmão nisso dizendo que elle iria lá, como foi [72], mandando-o o capitão. E trouxe os portuguesses em hum jungo, que já achou embarcados e fora do porto, em que vinhão dous Padres nossos [73]. E agora estando nós na mesma necessidade de gente, que [os que morreram] forão perto de 60 ou setenta, afora mais de mil homens christãos da terra e escravagem, e não avendo oportunidade, pela outra ficar mui ferida e queimada, pera tirar daqui algum — que tam poucos ficamos que pera vigiar tamanha povoaçam [74] se não achão na vigia somente dous velhos em huma das tranqueiras — fui constrangido a dar-lho. Elle será com a ajuda de Deus o portador destas até Malaca, que será jornada de dous messes.

27. E com isto acabo esta sem poder nem querer acabar de mui-

A - 1009 ajuda] trinda [*sic*] *ms.* || 1024-1025 sem . . . de] com *C*
B - 994 com] e a *ms.* || 1008 setenta] sesenta *ms.*

[70] In order to meet a request made by Nicolau Nunes (D 71, 4).

[71] People of Galela in Morotia.

[72] Probably in April 1558.

[73] Frs. Nicolau Nunes and António Fernandes; Br. Simão da Vera had died there. The Moro region will remain deprived of missionaries until 1562.

[74] The Portuguese town close to the fortress.

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bar de muytas vezes me encomendar em sacrificios do muyto R.P.e Provyncial, Rector de Coimbra, Lisboa e São Roque [75], Evora e de todas as outras provincias, como dos mais reverendos Padres e oraçõis dos charissimos Irmãos ubique dispersos, e do charissimo, solicito en nos prover, Bernardino [76] (ó quem mo visse quaa), cujo pequeno escrito neste distantissimo Maluquo recebi e obedici com a quaixa dos oculos, polos quais lhe desejo ver esses com que de tão longe nos vê muy melhorados e acabados em patientia, humildade e charidade. Amen.

Eu não escrevo a meus amiguos dessa cidade em particular por me ficar; podereis vós, Charissimi, dar-lhe parte desta como fazeis das outras; sunt equidem catelis que se contentão com as migalhas que caiem da mesa do Senhor [77]. Favorescei-mos sempre

tas vezes me emcomendar em os sacrificios do muito reverendo Padre, o Padre Provincial, Reitor de Coimbra, Lisboa e Sam Roque [75], Evora e de todas outras Provincias, como dos mais reverendos Padres e oraçoins dos carissimos Irmãos ubique dispersos e do carissimo, solicito em nos prover, Bernardino [76] (Ó quem [m]o vise cá!), cujo pequeno escrito neste distantissimo Malucco recebi e obedeci, com a queixa dos oculos, pelos quais lhe desejo ver esses com que de tam longe nos vê mui melhorados e acabados na paciencia, humildade, caridade. Amen.

Eu não escrevo a meus amigos dessa cidade em particular por me ficar; podereis-lhe vós, Carissimos, dar parte desta como fazeis das outras; sunt enim catelli (que se contentão com as migalhas) quae cadunt de mensa Domini [77]. Favorecei-mos sempre com

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A - 1034 ó . . . quaa *om. C* || 1036 obedici com *om. C* || 1043-1055 Eu não . . . partes *om. C*

B - 1045 podereis] poderderdes [*sic*] *ms.*

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[75] The Professed House of Saint Rochus in Lisbon, founded in 1553. Besides there existed in that city a college of Saint Anthony (Santo Antão), where the Jesuits had started to live in 1542 (Rodrigues, *História* I/I 619-621; 285-287).

[76] Bernardino Scalzo, an Italian-born Jesuit in Portugal, « cui iam pridem cura tradita est parandi omnia iis necessaria qui ad Indos, Aethiopes et Brasilios proficiscuntur, cuius rei curam optime semper gessit » (Fr. Miguel de Torres to Fr. General Laínez, Lisbon, December 31, 1562, in *ARSI, Lus. 51* f. 250*r*). See likewise Rodrigues, *História* I/I 288 note 1; DI III 482; Wicki, *Die Anfänge der Missionsprokur* 253 (Bernardino dos Reis, *alias* Scalzo or Discalciato). See D 65*a*.

[77] « Nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum » (Mt 15 27; cf. Mk 7 28).

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com as solitas amoestaçõis; in hoc enim reficietis viscera mea [78]. E perdoay-me nam ser mais largo, porque escrevy para muitas partes. Deus Dominus noster, dives in omnibus et per omnia [80], det nobis in hoc seculo folgar com o que elle mais amou. Amen.

De Ternate, oje 9 de Março de 559.

Frater in Domino,
Francisco Vieira.

as solitas amoestaçoins: in hoc enim reficietis viscera mea [78]. E perdoai-me não ser mais largo, porque escrevo pera muitas partes. Huma breve vay com esta pera a familia do meu antigo [140*r*] amigo Gracia Fernandez [79] em que lhe dou conta de hum seu filho que na China faleceo, se parecer a quem esta for ter à mão dar-lha. Deus Dominus noster, rico in omnibus et per omnia [80], det nobis in hoc seculo folgar com o que elle mais amou. Muito folguei com a entrada do Padre Diogo Vieira [81], de que muitos cei tambem se alegrarão.

De Tarnate, a nove de Março de 1559.

Frater in Domino.
Francisco Vieira.

*Lost Letters*

79*a*. — *Fr. Francisco Vieira, Ternate, to the Jesuits in Portugal; March 1559.*

Vieira to the Jesuits in Portugal, March 9, 1559: « Eu fico neste Maluco, cuja discripsão com outras da China vos mando » (D 79, 2).

79*b*. — *Fr. Francisco Vieira, Ternate, to the relatives of Garcia Fernandes in Portugal; March 9, 1559.*

Vieira to the Jesuits in Portugal, March 9, 1559: « Huma breve vay com esta pera a familia do meu antigo amigo Gracia Fernandez, em que lhe dou conta de hum seu filho que na China faleceo ». (D 79, 27).

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B - 1067 tambei *ms.* || 1069 1559 *w. corr.*

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[78] « Refice viscera mea in Domino » (Philem 20).

[79] Otherwise not known to us. Perhaps the one mentioned in SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* 533.

[80] Cf. Rom 10 12.

[81] He had entered the Society in 1544, left it in 1553, but was readmitted in 1555 to the great joy of the people of Lisbon, who esteemed him highly (*Litt. Quadr.* III 544; RODRIGUES, *História* I/II 127).

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79*c*. — *Fr. Francisco Vieira, Ternate, to the Jesuits in India ; March 1559.*

Vieira to the Jesuits in Portugal, March 9, 1559 : « Fomos calumniados e infamados por em minhas pregaçõis rijamente reprender a hum tiranno, capitão com mediocridade, porem na maneira e modo de morrer, que tudo manifestou seu desaventurado fim, como largamente enviamos à India, donde a vós há-de hir ter ». (D 79, 2).

79*d*. — *Fr. António de Quadros, Provincial, Goa, to Fr. Baltasar Dias, Malacca ; about April 1559.*

Dias to Quadros, December 3, 1559 : « Nesta não farei senão dar a emformação de Solor e Timor que me V.R. manda pedir » (D 88, 1).

79*e*. — *The Raja of Solor to Fr. Baltasar Dias, Malacca ; middle of 1559.*

Fróis to the Jesuits in Portugal, December 1, 1561 : « Agora fas dous annos lhes escrevemos como em humas ylhas . . . fizera hum fidalgo, que ali foi negociar sua fazenda, o rei de Solor christão . . . e lá foi huma copia de huma carta que elle escreveo a Malaqua ao Padre Baltazar Dias, em que lhe pedia muito fose ô fizese lá ir alguns Padres da Companhia pera o instruirem nas cousas da fee e pera se bauptizar a mais gente que ainda não hera feita christãa » (D 102, 2). Probably this letter was also an occasion for Dias to write D 88.

## 80

## SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PROVINCIAL, TO THE JESUITS IN EUROPE

Goa, November [before 12], 1559

I TEXT : DI IV 269-300 [286-287 ; 297-298]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 102*r*-110*r* and 112*r*-113*v*. Original in Portuguese.
II PRINTED : in SÁ II 334-335 ; fragment.

### *Text*

1. *In the past year two Jesuits died in Maluku. One of them was Fr. Afonso de Castro who was killed by the Muslims together with three or four Christian young men.* — 2. *The other was Br. Simão da Vera, who died in Moro. Death there is as desolate and wretched as was the death of Christ on the Cross.* — 3. *Ships from Malacca and Maluku arrive in Cochin only once a year at the very time that the ships for Lisbon are about to sail.*

[. . .]

1. Este anno pola bondade de Deus, posto que quasi sempre tivemos emfermos, [. . .] não nos faleceo nenhum Padre nem Irmão no

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colegio. Porem levou-nos Deus noso Senhor pera si, das outras partes remotas, tres grandes servos seus, scilicet : de San Tomé o Padre Sipriano [. . .].

Os outros dous morrerão em Maluco, como creio já lá saberão pelas cartas do anno pasado, mas, por irem já tarde e em poucas vias, pareceo bem ao Padre Provincial fazer-lhes aqui deles memoria e hir yuntamente a copia da carta que de lá veio [1]. Hum destes foi o Padre Afonso de Crasto, que noso Senhor por sua clementia con glorioso triumpho o levou pera si, avendo perto de doze annos que continoava aquele desterro [2], com grande edificação de seus trabalhos e pacientia, o que tudo lhe remunerou Deos amplissimamente com morrer nas mãos dos mouros tiranos, vindo em huma embarcação de visitar as ilhas do Moro. E dizem que por elles foy — nuu e posto em hum pao à maneira de cruz, e secundo afirmão, sobre muitos asoutes — degolado com tres ou quatro christãosinhos [3] que trazia pera a fortaleza de Maluco, os quoaes, pera lhe serem companheiros na gloria, o quizeram tambem nesta vida acompanhar no cutelo.

2. Faleceo tambem nas mesmas ilhas do Moro hum dos companheiros que o Padre Francisco Vieira levou pera Maluco, que era o Irmão Simão da Vera, gramde exemplar de virtude. O falecer naquelas partes hé absolutamente morrer em braços com a cruz nua de Yesu Christo, porque dos remedios humanos pera as enfermidades corporaes hé a terra tam esteril como o expermentão, milhor do que o eu saberey dizer, nosos dilectissimos Padres e Irmãos que naqueles desertos se exercitam em a redução de naçõens tam barbaras ao conhecimento de seu Deus e Redemptor.

[. . .]

3. De Malaca e Maluco pera o conseguinte, como não venham mais que hua vez no ano à India, e esta primeiro a Couchim que a Goa e a tempo que sam já partidas ou estam pera isso as naos do Reyno, não podemos agora escrever de caa, mas disto está encarregado o Padre Mestre Melchior [4] em Couchim pera que, vindo as naos daquelas partes a tempo, lhes escreva largo tudo o que noso Senhor naquelas provintias obra polos da Companhia.

[. . .]

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[1] D 72.

[2] Castro lived in Maluku 1549-1558.

[3] Castro's servants were not killed but sold and later on freed. See D 79, 5-7.

[4] Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto.

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Deste colegio de S. Paulo de Goa, aos .... de Novembro de 1559 anos.
Por comissam do Padre Antonio de Quoadros, provincial.
Servus inutilis omnium,

Luis Froes.

[*Address*] Aos Reverendos Padres e charissimos en Christo Irmãos dos collegios de Coimbra e a todos os mais da Companhia de Jesu nas partes de Europa.
Da India. 3ª via.
Do processo dos Irmãos deste collegio de São Paulo de Goa.

## 81

## CATALOGUE OF MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

Goa, November [before 12], 1559

I TEXT: DI IV 301-306 [304]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa* 31 ff. 110*v*-112*v*. Original in Portuguese.
II NOTE: Fróis added this catalogue to his letter (D 80). Therefore conclusion, signature, and address are the same as mentioned there.

### *Text*

*The names of three Fathers and two Brothers working in Maluku.*

LISTA DOS PADRES E IRMÃOS QUE ANDÃO POR FORA EN DIVERSAS PROVINCIAS

[...]

Maluco

9 O Padre Francisco Vieira [1]
10 O Padre Nicolao Nunez [2]
11 O Padre Antonio Fernandez [3]
12 O Irmão Fernão d'Osouro [4]
13 O Irmão Baltezar d'Araujo [5]

---

[1] For a personal outline of these Jesuits, see the «Sindicação de todos os desta provincia da India que Nosso Padre manda fazer» in DI IV 397-405; Vieira, 400 no. 10.
[2] Ibid. 402 no. 26.
[3] Ibid. 402 no. 28.
[4] Ibid. 404 no. 54.
[5] Ibid. 404 no. 52.

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## 82

## SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PROVINCIAL ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Goa, November 14, 1559

I TEXT: DI IV 316-353 [347-350]. Taken partly from *ARSI, Goa 10 II* ff. 529*r*-532*v*, partly from *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 120*v*-131*v*; our part from the latter. Copy in Portuguese.

II AUTHORS: cf. ibid. To be added WESSELS, *Missie Batjan* 119-122.

III PRINTED: cf. ibid. To be added, in SÁ II 336-340: our fragment, erroneously dated November 24 (For date, see DI IV 316-317). Latin version, in *Epistolae Indicae de praeclaris et stupendis*, Lovanii 1566 (2nd ed.) 201-258 (our fragment 248-253).

### *Text*

1. *Br. Osório was stationed in Bacan. The Father who baptized the king is now living in Goa. It is he who reported to the writer on the conversion of Bacan.* — 2. *As the king lost his wife in childbirth and feared vengeance from her father, the king of Ternate, he sent a message to the Portuguese captain asking for a Father to christen him and his people. To keep the king of Ternate in ignorance of it, a Father was sent secretly.* — 3. *The Bacan king, and many people with him, were baptized on July 1, [1557]. They dismantled and demolished the mosque. In Ternate, joy among the Christians, fury among the Muslims.* — 4. *The Father, assisted by the king, gradually baptized all the people, until, on account of illness, he had to return to Ternate.* — 5. *Sincere religious feelings of king and people of Bacan. As confederates of the Portuguese they took up arms against Ternate. Great expectations.*

[...]

1. Se as cartas do anno passado [1], que de Maluquo vierão, lá forão ter, saberião brevemente por ellas como o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro ficava em Bachão, vinte leguoas de Maluquo, soo com os reis da mesma terra de Bachão que se convertera[m]. E porque agora fica, recebido na Companhia, em este collegio o Padre que o baptizou [2], e por comissão do P^e^ Provincial me deu a relação do modo que se nisso teve, por aver tão pouco tempo e estar tão necessitado de gente que o en-

[1] DD 69-73.

[2] António Vaz, who in Goa had been readmitted into the Society. So we have here the report given by the protagonist himself.



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sine, pareceo bem ao Padre apontar-lhe nesta sua conversão, que foy na maneyra seguinte.

2. Bachão hé huma ilha que estaa vinte legoas de Maluquo pera a banda d'Amboino, da qual tomou nome o reyno que tem em si outras [3], ainda que pouco povoadas, são abastadas dos mantimentos daquelas partes, que hé pão de farinha de pao [4] e peixe. Hé este rey de Bachão filho de huma irmã d'el-rey de Maluquo [5] e era casado com huma sua prima coirmã, filha do dito rey, a qual lhe morreo de parto e foy sua morte causa (mediante Deus Nosso Senhor) da vida ispiritual e comversão do mesmo rey : porque estava o sogro mal com elle, por lha levar para Bachão furtada sem sua licença ; e quando vio que lhe morria logo poucos dias depois de a levar, cuidando que o sogro tomaria mal a morte de sua filha e lhe faria guerra, se detreminou deixar a falcidade da ley de Mafamede em que vivia e tomar a verdade de nossa sancta fee de sua parte com amizade dos portugueses. E assi logo mui secreta e apresadamente mandou huum paroo [6] esquipado dizer ao capitão de Maluquo Dom Duarte d'Eça que lhe mandasse huum Padre, que queria ser cristão elle com seis ou sete dos seus regedores. Visto o recado polo capitão e entendendo como vinha por Deus, com muyta presa e deligencia, na mesma noite em que lhe chegou o recado, fez embarcar o Padre que lhe o rey pedia. E porque o fez com parecer dos casados da fortaleza, temendo que podesse alguum i-lo dizer a el-rey de Maluquo — que pousa dahi muito perto, que disso avia de ter mortal paixão e sentimento por ser inimicissimo dos christãos e hum dos mayores tiranos e crueis mouros para os christãos que há em todas estas partes — porque se não impedisse tão notavel serviço de Deus Nosso Senhor, teve o capitão a todos, sem deixar nenhum sair da fortaleza, até que o Padre yá hia pelo maar à vella, e desta maneyra esteve a cousa secreta [7].

3. Chegou o Padre a Bachão bespora de São João [8] e, como o demonio semtia muito aquele bocado, temtou de fazer que o rey se arrependesse, e nesta perplexidade e em conselhos com os seus sobre as rezões que o Padre lhe dava, amdou até o primeiro dia da oitava de

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[3] Cf. D 69 note 18.
[4] That is, the *sagu*.
[5] Hairun of Ternate.
[6] A *perahu*, a small boat.
[7] But King Hairun knew all about it ; see D 72, 2.
[8] June 23, [1557].

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Sam João [9], no qual pela manhã se determinou ser christão com toda a gente que consigo tinha, e assi se baptizarão, fazendo o rey primeyro baptizar aos seus todos que presentes se acharão, e por derradeiro se baptizou elle com hum irmão seu e outro[s] primos e parentes [10]; ao qual se pôs nome Johão, asi polo dia ser do Santo [11] como por amor do zeloso rey Dom João, que estaa em gloria [12], de cujo falecimento ainda laa não era a nova chegada. Ouve logo cutiladas e golpes na misquita, desfazendo-a e desenxerceando-a como casa de falcidades e emganos. E assi foy loguo a nova a Maluquo, recebendo-a o capitão e portugueses e os mais christãos da terra com muyta festa e tiros e grande contentamento de todos, fazendo por isso procisão com seu repique e festas posivês; e polo contrairo nos mouros grande espanto e tristeza, e puseram-se em armas com magoa, querendo cometer a fortaleza mas não poderão.

4. O Padre esteve em Bachão quatro meses e meio [13] correndo as ilhas e fazendo cristãos todos, andando o mesmo rey com elle de lugar em lugar trazendo-os ao baptismo, assi homens como molheres, crianças, escravos e escravas, entrando tambem neste numero huma menina filha d'el-rey, bastarda, com sua mãy e tres irmãas d'el-rey casadas e toda a outra mais gente principal que naquele tempo se pode alcançar; e ainda fica muyta no regno que se não baptizou, por o Padre adoecer de huma emfermidade periguosa, polo qual el-rey o mandou aa fortaleza de Maluquo a convalecer, ficando então soo.

5. O rey de Bachão será mancebo de vinte e quatro até vinte cinco annos (segundo o diz o Padre), bem asombrado e gentil homem e, se fora hum pouco mais branco, julgaram-no por portugues. Estaa muito contente de ssi e todos os seus de sua comversão. Dise-lhe logo o Padre missa dahi a poucos dias, a qual ouvião com muita atemção, assi adorando o Sanctissimo Sacramento como se forão christãos de mais tempo, folgamdo em gramde maneira de ouvir as cousas de Deus que o Padre lhe comtava e en tudo mostrando sinais de interior comversão. E logo na guerra que socedeo antre os portugueses e o rey de

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[9] Baptism took place on the octave day of Saint John, that is, on July 1.

[10] The *Livro das cidades* f. 69*v*, relates: « El Rey de Bachão com sua molher e filhos e todos seus vassallos alluminados pello Spiritu Sancto com muito fervor receberom geralmente o sancto Baptismo ». See also COUTO VII 4 7.

[11] That is to say, the octave day.

[12] King D. João III of Portugal had died on June 11, 1557 (ALMEIDA, *História de Portugal* II 367).

[13] Until the middle of November.

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Maluquo, el-rey de Bachão se pôs polos portugueses e, como bom christão, se aparelhava para se defender e ofender aos imigos da cruz. Esperamos em o Senhor que, acabado o cerquo de Maluquo, com o favor de Jesu Christo Senhor Nosso, o mesmo rey de Bachão será causa da conversão doutros muitos que já antes da guerra andavão para se liar com elle. Quererá Nosso Senhor por sua infinita bondade abrir caminho para que muitos desta maa ceita se salvem; acqui operarii pauci [14] satisque rarisimi sunt.

[...]

Deste collegio de Sam Paulo de Goa, aos 14 de Novembro de 1559.

Por comissão do Pe Antonio de Quadros, provincial da India.

Luis Frois.

## 83

## FR. FRANCISCO RODRIGUES SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Goa, November 17, 1559

I TEXT: DI IV 372-391 [382-383 and 387-388]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24* II ff. 16*r*-21*v*. Autograph in Portuguese.

II NOTE: The Indian Provincial, Fr. António de Quadros, in order to carry into effect a Roman instruction, ordered Fr. Rodrigues to express by letter to Fr. General a moral and spiritual judgement on several members of the Indian Province (See DI IV 375 no. 4 and footnote 5).

### *Text*

1. *Fr. António Vaz left the Society in Maluku and reentered it in Goa.* — 2. *Judgment on the Jesuits in Maluku: three Fathers and two Brothers.*

[...]

1. Antonio Vaz hé hum Padre que foi mandado a Maluquo [1] e lá ou ho despedirão ou se saio ele (porque do modo que lá teve com ho Superior [2] he ho Superior com ele, parece que d'ambas partes ouve

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[14] Mt 9 37: «Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci».

[1] Cf. D 57, 1.

[2] Fr. Afonso de Castro. As to whether he was authorized to dismiss one, see D 22, 7.

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alguma culpa) [3]. E vindo a esta cidade se veio oferecer à Companhia; pareceo ser serviço de Noso Senhor torná-lo ha receber.

[...]

2. Em Maluquo está ho P.e Francisco Vieyra bem conhecido em Portugal [4], quá tem ho mesmo modo que lá tinha, com suas virtudes e firmeza na Companhia tem edificado muito nesta terra, tem cudado dos que andão naquelas partes (ainda que ysto nom parece tão proprio seu, como ho estar onde aja Superior [5]), faz fruto onde quer que vai, tem boa disposiçam.

Estão com ele os Padres Nicolao Nunes he ho P.e Antonio Fernandez, os quaes ão honestamente provado nas virtudes, quanto se pode conjeiturar pelos trabalhos que tem pasados, ainda que este anno escreveo Francisco Vieyra deles nom estar satisfeito [6]; em seu proceso quando daqui foram parecião, por serem antiguos na Companhia [7], e porque algum pouquo de tempo que aqui estiveram, em que mostrarão honestamente que podiam satisfazer naquela empresa em ho que lhe mandasem.

Está mais ho Irmão Baltesar d'Araujo, homem que tem muito bem provado asim nas virtudes como na firmeza da Companhia, tem bom juizo natural e asentado, nom sabe letras, hé homem já de dias.

Está mais ho Irmão Fernão d'Osouro que podia servir de coadjutor temporal, no proceso espiritual parece ter pouquo, faz ho que lhe mandão.

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[3] The judgment of Quadros, undoubtedly based on the oral account of António Vaz himself, that is, of one of the two parties, is somewhat less in favour of Castro than the judgment of SACCHINI (*Hist. Soc.*, *Lainius* I 156), BARTOLI (*L'Asia* VI 12), and SOUZA (I III 2 5).

[4] On the work of Fr. Vieira in Portugal, consult RODRIGUES, *História* I/I 468, 610, 618.

[5] That is, he has more gifts for being a subject than for being a superior (which he actually was).

[6] A letter with such contents is not extant. When estimated according to the scheduled times of navigation, this lost letter would have been written about February-May 1558. Against this supposition weighs the assertion that « este anno escreveo Francisco Vieyra ». This, however, can also mean that during this year (1559) his letter arrived. Though some navigation outside the scheduled times is not impossible, we have to adhere to them unless the contrary is positively proved. See D 73*a*.

[7] Nunes had entered the Society in 1545, Fernandes in 1549.

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Todos os de Maluquo são bem dispostos corporalmente.
[...]
De Goa, oje 17 de Novembro de 1559.
[...]
Inutilis,

Francisco Rodriguez.

[*Address*] Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre, ho Padre Dioguo Laynes preposito geral da Companhia de Jesu em Roma.
Da Yndia.
2ª via. — Do P.e Francisco Rodriguez.

## 84

## FR. MELCHIOR CARNEIRO SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Goa, about November 20, 1559

I TEXT: DI IV 409-425 [420 and 425], taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 5*r*-9*v*. Original with autographic signature and address. Spanish.
II NOTE: Not only Fr. Francisco Rodrigues (D 83), also Fr. Melchior Carneiro, named bishop but not yet consecrated, had been ordered to make his statements on the character and conduct of his fellow Jesuits in India.

### *Text*

1. *Information on Fr. Francisco Vieira.* — 2. *On Fr. António Fernandes.* — 3. *On Br.* [*Baltasar*] *de Araújo.*
[...]

1. En Maluco está el P.e Francisco Vierra por Superior, es firme en su vocación, siempre mostró en la Compañía honestidad i sempre provechó a los próximos en sus confisiones, sabe latim, averá 15 annos que está en la Compañía [1]. Después del P.e Mestre Simón ser mandado de Portugal quedó desabrido [2], no lo conocí mui inclinado a obedecer,

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[1] He entered the Society on January 15, 1544 (*ARSI, Lus. 43, f. 1v*).
[2] Fr. Simão Rodrigues, founder (1540-1546) and first Provincial (1546-1552)

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tiene poco saber natural i aquisito, es amiguo de sus traças i envenciones, fácilmente se detrimina en casos de consciencia con tener pocas letras, será de 40 annos.

2. El P.e Antonio Fernandez, su compañero, es colérico i poco mortificado, no conocí en él mucha obediencia un poco de tiempo que lo conversé en Cochim, es christiano novo, sabe latim, tiene de la Compañía 9 annos.

[...]

3. En Maluco está el Hermano Araujo que es la principal persona que alhá está, es prudente, humilde e obidiente, trata alí las cosas temporales para lo que tiene mucha habilidad i no menos tiene habilidad para las espirituales en las quales da mucha edificación de sí, es de edad de 37 annos, averá 5 que está en la Compañía [3].

[...]

De Goa y d[e] Noviembre de 1559 años.

De V.P. hijo indigno,

Melchior Carneiro.

[*Autographic Address*] A nuestro en Christo Padre Jacobo Laínez, General de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma. — De la India. — 2. vía.

[*Traces of a Seal*]

## 85

## FR. FRANCISCO CABRAL SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Goa, November 25, 1559

I TEXT: DI IV 442-463 [448-449; 457]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 10*r*-15*v*. Portuguese original with autographic signature.

II NOTE: The main concern of this long letter is to give, for the sake of an effective government, a circumstantial judgement on all members of the Indian Jesuit Province, thus fitting in with the two preceding documents.

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of the Portuguese Jesuit Province. His forced departure caused grave inner trials to the consciences of many of its members; see RODRIGUES, *História* I/II 125-132.

[3] In this same letter we find a note on a former Maluku missionary: « El Padre Joam da Bera en la virtud fué sempre todo oro, agora está medio loco » (DI IV 421 no. 30).

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## *Text*

*Description of the moral and religious character of the Jesuits in Maluku :* 1. *Fr. Vieira,* — 2. *Fr. Nunes,* — 3. *Fr. Fernandes,* — 4. *Br. Araújo,* — 5. *Br. Osório,* — 6. *Fr. António Vaz, now in Goa.*

[. . .]

1. En Maluquo estão 3 Padres e dous Irmãos, scilicet, o Padre Francisco Vieira por Reitor, de idade de 40 annos, formado coadjutor spiritual en Portugal [1], dos mais antiguos na Companhia nestas partes, sabe arezoadamente casos, está firme na vocação, asentado na virtude, muito amiguo da oração e afeiçoado às cousas de Deus, parece algum tanto amiguo de seu parecer e de hum ingenho enventativo, fiel no que o poserem, e de pouqua prudencia humana ao que parece.

2. O P.e Nicolao Nunez, de idade de 30 annos e com 13 da Companhia e 10 de Maluco [2], sabe a linguoa da terra e parece zeloso da christandade e que está firme na vocaçam e fiel ; tratei pouquo com elle [3], por isso não sei mais.

3. O P.e Antonio Fernandez, de idade de 26 annos e com 9 ou 10 da Companhia, parece-me firme nella e com desejo de crecer na virtude, sabe hum pouquo de latim, habil para tomar bem a linguoa e o mais a que se quiser aplicar, e tem boas forças corporais, christão-novo.

4. O Irmão Baltezar d'Araujo, de idade de 32 annos com 6 da Companhia, mui firme na vocação e asentado na virtude, e para se poder fiar delle tudo, hé idiota [4], mas prudente e mui habil para ter cuidado de huma casa no temporal, e para todos ho amarem com fazer tudo o que deve, e com boas forças corporais.

5. O Irmão Fernão d'Osouro, de idade de 28 annos com 11 da Companhia, idiota, mas firme na vocação e virtuoso, amiguo da oração e mui detriminado e contente con a sorte de Marta [5], hé bem desposto e fiel.

[. . .]

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[1] Vieira made his vows as spiritual coadjutor in São Roque, Lisbon, on October 1, 1553 (*ARSI, Lus. 1*, f. 4*v*).

[2] Nunes sailed to Maluku for the first time in 1547.

[3] Nunes stayed in Goa from February-March to April 1557, when he was ordained a priest. (D 67, 1 ; D 72, 2).

[4] Here : ignorant, uneducated.

[5] Cf. Lk 10 41.

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6. O P.e Antonio Vaz, de idade de 36 annos e 11 da Companhia, não o tenho por muito firme na vocação, porque, indo a Maluco por mandado do P.e Mestre Belchior que então era Provincial [6], teve com o P.e Afonso de Castro que llá era Reitor humas deferenças de que V.P. já estará enformado, por onde o P.e Afonso de Castro o deitou fora da Companhia [7], e asi andou 2 ou 3 annos até chegar a esta cidade, onde creio que, não com muita vontade ao menos ao principio, se recolheo aqui inda não há hum anno e ategora mostra desejar enmendar o pasado. Dizem que hé christão-novo ao menos duma parte. En sua maneira de conversação mui edificativo e aparelhado para se enganar com elle quem não tiver muita experiencia delle; pregua não sei o como, parece algum tanto amiguo de seu juizo e tem arezoada disposição.

[. . .]

Deste collegio de Goa, oje 25 de Novembro de 1559 annos.

[*Autographic Signature*] Indino filho de V.P.,

Francisco Cabrall.

[*Address*] Ao muito Reverendo en Christo Padre nosso, o P.e Dioguo Laines, Geral da Companhia de Jessus, en Roma.

2ª via, Da India.

[*Seal*]

## 86

## FR. GONÇALO DA SILVEIRA SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

[Goa, November 27, 1559]

I TEXT: DI IV 466-476 [466-467]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 90*r*-94*r*. Autograph. Spanish, with many Portugalisms. There is neither conclusion nor address.

II DATE: See DI IV 466.

III NOTE: Still another catalogue of personal informations. From this one it appears that Fr. General asked for them in a missive dated January 26, 1559 (See DI IV 252 no. 31*a*).

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[6] The vice-provincial, Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto, sent him to Maluku in April 1554.

[7] Cf. D 60 note 1.

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*Text*

1. *Information on Fr. Vieira.* — 2. *On Fr. Nunes.* — 3. *On Fr. Fernandes.* — 4. *On Br. Osório.* — 5. *On Br. Araújo.*

A lo que V. Reverendíssima Paternidad manda por una de Henero de 1559, a 26, por el P. Polanco, acerca de la informatión de los de la Compañía que por estas partes están.

De los de Maluco

1. El P. Francisco Vieira, ultra de lo que allá se sabe dél, acá persevera en buen odor; administra, lo que se sabe hasta ora, la christiandad de Maluco bien; y aunque se me antojava que no tenía acá el hervor que mostrava allá entre los devotos de Lisbona, téngolo por seguro, y siempre se emplea según su talento en confessar, etc.

2. El P. Nicolao Nunnez, verde en la virtud, rezio en las fuerças, parece perseverará. Es muy útil en aquellas partes, podrá llegar despacio a coadjutor spiritual.

3. El P. Antonio Fernandez no es tan rezio, quasi de la mesma dispusición en la virtud, y lo demás no parece tanto en él, digo de perseverar y útil, aunque ni lo contrario.

4. El Hermano Fernán d'Osouro tal en la virtud como los dos quasi; allá dizen que sirve como los que bien, digo de occupatión y lo que puede; no es muy sano.

5. El Hermano Balthasar d'Araujo, quan bueno puede ser un subjecto; simple de letras, no de prudentia para lo temporal, y aun acá para spiritual, que creo avrá de ser.

[...]

## 87

## FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ TO THE PORTUGUESE PROVINCIAL, FR. MIGUEL DE TORRES

Malacca, December 1, 1559

I TEXT: DI IV 481-483 [482 and 483]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-59* f. 328*r-v*. Coeval Portuguese copy.

II PRINTED: in SÁ II 341-343.

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*Text*

1. *He takes care of the material needs of the Fathers in Maluku which yearly run to 600 cruzados, provided by the king.* — 2. *The Maluku Fathers suffer from war and hunger. For two years no news came from there.*

[...]

1. Nas monções faço daqui o provimento para os Padres de Maluquo [1], scilicet, em cada hum ano lhe emprego seiscentos cruzados en roupas e outras cousas para seu mantimento e mando-lhos, e assi outros tantos aos Padres de Japão: ysto tudo que nos dá El-Rey [2]. E às vezes ysto me custa muytos trabalhos e contudo, Padre meu, eu são de cada vez pior. V.R. me mande muyto encomendar a Deus N. Senhor.

[...]

2. Os Padres de Maluquo vay en tres annos que tem muytos trabalhos com muytas guerras e fomes. Vay em dous annos que não temos novas de llá [3]; cartas, algumas duvidosas [4], são aver muytos trabalhos.

Deus N. Senhor esforce a V.R. com essa carrega que tem e lhe dee graça para seu santo serviço.

De Malaqua, o primeiro de Dezembro de 1559.

Pobre em virtudes,

Baltasar Diaz.

## 88

## FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ TO FR. PROVINCIAL ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS SJ, GOA

Malacca, December 3, 1559

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO I 437; MILLIES 53; SOMMERVOGEL III 37-38; STREIT IV 859.

II AUTHORS: FRÓIS, letter of December 1, 1561 (DI V 287 no. 29);

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[1] Consult D 147, 3.

[2] Under the rule of the royal padroado, the normal expenses of the Church were charged to the account of the crown.

[3] Cf. D 79 note 68. So D 73, dating from the beginning of 1558, may have been the last news Dias ever got from Maluku.

[4] For us, too, it remains doubtful what letters these were, and what was their ambiguous nature.

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*Rerum a Societate* (Coloniae 1574) 58-61 ; LUCENA 282-283 ; Seb. GONÇALVES III 8 ; SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc., Lainius* III 134-135 ; ALCÁZAR I 101-102 ; SOUZA I III 1 42 ; TIELE, *Europeërs* IV 417 ; VISSER 281 ; TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 390-392.

III TEXTS : No original text is left.

A. *ARSI, Goa 10 II* ff. 465*r*-466*v* (formerly 343-344). Copy in Portuguese. In right upper corner f. 465*r* bears a red numeral 179, at the bottom, a note « 59. Malaca Diaz ». Some ink blots and blot-like cancelings. The blank f. 466*v* contains the note « Copia de huma do Pe Baltasar Diaz, de Malaqua pera o Pe Provincial, sobre certas imformações de terras e reinos muito dispostos pera receberem a ffee, 2a via », in the handwriting of Luís Fróis, which proves that this copy was made in Goa and sent from there to Portugal. Fróis alludes to it in his letter of December 1, 1560 (D 92, 1), in which most probably he included it. Another note says « 559. 3 de Dezembro ». This is the second *via* out of the three by which Fróis dispatched his own letter (See DI IV 744 no. 44).

B. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 617*v*-618*v*. Copy in Portuguese, written in two hands. Omits the post-script. Heading « Copia de huma do Pe Balthesar Diaz de Malaqua pera o Pe Provincial da India sobre sertas informações de terras [e] reinos muito dispostos pera receber a fee, a 3 de Dezembro de 1559 ».

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 101*r*-102*r*. Coeval Portuguese copy ; some names in the margin ; contains the post-script.

D. *ARSI, Goa 10 II* ff. 544*r*-545*v* (formerly 447-448, red numeral 212). Italian translation. Written by different hands, with many corrections and cancelings by Fr. Polanco. The translation is rather free, at times a mere interpretation. Erroneous date 1560.

The Latin MS text in München, *Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuiten 101* ff. 401*r*-403*v*, is a mere translation from the Italian *Nuovi avisi*, made by Q. Marius Corradi, without any documentary value.

IV PRINTED : in SÁ II 344-348 ; he prints text C pointing to text B. — Italian translation, in *Nuovi avisi, Terza parte*, Venetia 1562, ff. 187*r*-189*v*. Quite different from text D. —Spanish, in *Copia de algunas cartas*, Coimbra 1562, 45-48, and *Copia de algunas cartas*, Barcelona 1562, 59*r* 61*r* ; twice the same text with only slight orthographic divergences. Without adding new items it gives a completely different sequence of paragraphs and sentences. It may be reducible to another *via* which got lost. — Latin version, in *Epistolae Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1569, [pars I] 227 : a very short fragment on Canton (no. 8), and in *Epistolae Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1570, 178-179 : same fragment but different in the wording.

V OUR EDITION : We print text A, referring in the apparatus to some more significant or explicative variants of the other texts, especially of text B.

## *Text*

1. *At Fr. Provincial's command he collected information on Solor and Timor and on some other regions. Geographic situation of Solor, its food-supply. Many Chris-*

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*tians. Islam entered the island. — 2. Sailing to and from Solor and Timor is tied to the monsoons. On people, their religion and language. Some distances, food-supply. — 3. Christians on an island in front of Solor. A priest was sent to visit them, but he remained in Solor, taking care of his business. — 4. Largeness of the island, its food supplies, its religion. People live in the mountains ; they have their magicians. Danger of islamizing. — 5. Solor within reach of Maluku and visited by Chinese and Portuguese. — 6. He makes provisions to be able to lodge many Jesuits on their way to those islands. Notice on Makasar and on a priest who went there and returned ; and no priest ever went again. He tries to get fuller information. — 7. On the people of Panarukan in Java ; they are friends of the Portuguese and do not want to become Muslims. — 8. A short notice on the kingdom of Cambodia and on a significant occurrence in Canton, China. — 9. Fr. Provincial should not be sparing in sending Fathers ; he, Dias, will write to the king and people of Solor and hold out great hopes to them. — 10. [Post-script] He has got information on Makasar ; Islam did not yet enter there on account of the people liking to eat pork. Some kings, once baptized, are still alive. He induced the Malacca captain to write to them.*

† Jesus

Pax Christi.

Christo Noso Senhor more em nosas almas. Amen.

1. Nesta não farei senão dar a emformação de Solor e Timor que me V.R. manda pedir [1], porque o mais escrevo pello Irmão Pa[u]los Gomez [2]. O que tenho collegido asi de Timor e Solor [3], como de outras partes que aqui direi, hé o seguinte.

5 Paulos *B*

[1] The letter is not extant. See D 79*d*.

[2] Such a letter of nearly the same date, written by Br. Paulo Gomes at the behest of Fr. Baltasar Dias, is not known. See D 88*a*.

[3] Timor was famous for its white and red sandalwood, which was shipped in great quantities also to Malacca. The first visits of Portuguese merchants to that island started shortly after 1515. The name Solor, or « the Solor Islands » designated the three islands : Solor proper, Adonara, and Lomblen, and also the E part of Flores. As the waters between them provided better and safer anchorages than Timor itself, the Portuguese, having to wait out the monsoon, soon became acquainted with them, and originated the current expression « Solor and Timor ». Literature : JOÃO DOS SANTOS, *Ethiopia Oriental* II 100-112 (A matching map is to be found in VISSER, *Onder Port.-Spaansche vlag*, 292) ; CACEGAS-SOUSA VI 272-280 (Description of the Solor islands), IV 337-346 (Beginning of the mission). Recent authors : A. FARIA DE MORAIS, *Sólor e Timor*, Lisboa 1944 ; Humberto LEITÃO, *Os Portugueses em Sólor e Timor de 1515 a 1702*, Lisboa 1948 ; LUNA DE OLIVEIRA,

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Solor está oito graos e tres quartos da Linha, da banda do sul. Hé terra aonde há poucos mantimentos, ven-lhe d'arredor de muitos lugares aonde os há muitos. Hé terra muito sadia. Há na mesma ilha muitos christãos que fazem portugueses que ahi residem [4]. Entra muito na ilha a seita de Mafamede, e há misquita e muitos mouros. São todos bestas, todavia tirando-lhe tres ou quatro cacizes que nella andão, dous de Calequ [5] e tres de Bengalla — hum destes de Qualecu faz polvora — e tirados estes, tornará a terra a seo ser [6], porque já lhe

9 d'arredor *ut. corr.*, de derador *B* || 11 ahi *interl.*, || 15 a seo ser *interl.*, *om. B*

*Timor na História de Portugal*, Lisboa 1949 ; ENI IV 42 (Solor), 338 (Timor), I 706 (Flores), VII 1366-1375, and literature given there.

[4] For the church history of Solor it is of the greatest interest that no priest is mentioned here. Information on the very beginning of the church in those islands it rather vague, uncertain, and confusing. A few words written by GASPAR DA CRUZ in the Prologue of his *Tractado* open the series : « Tem feito hum frade de Sam Domingos passante de cinco mil christãos na ilha de Timor domde vem o sandalo, e na ilha de Ende tambem tem feito muitos ». Repeating this testimony CACEGAS-SOUSA (III 341) tell us the name of this friar, António Taveira, and that he sailed there with a merchant to be of spiritual help to the crew, and that at his return to Malacca he informed the bishop of what had been done. JOÃO DOS SANTOS adds (II 101) that this happened in 1556, this being the year when Da Cruz himself was in Cambodia. It must be remarked 1 : that Da Cruz does not say that the work of the Dominican friar in Solor coincides with his own stay in Cambodia ; 2 : that this António Taveira does not seem to be known from any other source ; 3 : that the first bishop, Jorge da Santa Luzia, did not arrive in Malacca before November 1561 (DI V 310-311) ; 4 : that Fr. Dias, knowing very well what was going on in Malacca, instead of mentioning a priest sent there, asserts that the Solor Christians were converted by Portuguese who were dwelling there, and by « hum João Soares » (no. 3), whom he surely would have called « Padre », if he had been one. The lay origin of the Solor Church is confirmed by D 102, 2-3. So it seems that the thesis concerning António Taveira would need much stronger proofs. See A.B. DE SÁ, *Textos em Teto* 256-260. Literature on the ancient Solor mission (in addition to the above mentioned Portuguese authors) : G. P. ROUFFAER, *Chronologie der Dominikanermissie op Solor en Flores, vooral Poeloe-Ende, ca. 1556-1638 ;* M. BIERMANN, *Die alte Dominikanermission auf den Solorinseln ;* B. VISSER, *Onder Portugeesch-Spaansche vlag* 281-292 ; MANUEL TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* II 81-102.

[5] Calicut (Kozhikode) in Kerala, India.

[6] An interesting testimony for the story of the Islamization of Indonesia. There are still at present some Muslim villages to be found in the region of the Solor islands.

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tiramos [7] hum principal, que não foi com pouco trabalho. Lá vai se for.

2. A este Solor e Timor partem daqui em duas monçoens, scilicet, huma no fim de Setembro e outra na entrada de Janeiro ; e o mesmo de lá vem duas vezes no anno, scilicet, em Junho e em Outubro. A gente deste Timor hé a mais besta gente que há nestas partes : a nenhuma cousa adorão nem tem idolos, tudo quanto lhe dizem os portugueses fazem. A lingoa desta gente dizem ser muito curta [8], comforma em algumas cousas com a malaya. De Malaqua a Solor são trezentas legoas, de Solor a Timor asi da banda de fora como da de dentro [9] são vinte até quarenta legoas. Solor hé huma ilha de dez legoas em redondo. Os comeres da terra são algum aroz, milho, muitos inhames, galinhas asás, grãos, feijõens.

3. Defronte deste Solor 3 legoas está huma ilha muito grande [10], aonde averá duzentos e mais christãos que fez hum Johão Soarez [11]. Chama-se este lugar aonde estão estes christãos Labonama [12], em que entra o rei da ilha, christão com todos os grandes ; pedem muito quem os insine e outros muitos que se querem fazer christãos no mesmo lugar. O anno pasado mandou lá o vigairo hum clerigo [13] com achaque de hir visitar este rei christão e toda sua gente. Eu dise ao Padre vigairo que não mandase lá o Padre, porque sabia que tinhão elles armação de mercadoria, e todavia foi e esteve em Solor, e não

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16 l.á . . . for] et l'havevo fatt'andar a Goa, non so s'arriverà *D* || 23 Malaqua] Malayo *ms., w. corr.* || 26 algum *del. h2* || 27 asás *interl., om. B* || 28 está *ms. blotted, from B*

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[7] Most likely the grammatical subject is not « we Jesuits » (*Rerum a Soc. Iesu*, Coloniae 1574, 60 ; hence also VISSER 281), but « we Portuguese ».

[8] The language of the Solor islands is the Sikka language : ENI III 771.

[9] *Da banda da fora*, that is, sailing N of the Solor and Alor islands ; *da banda de dentro*, sailing over the Sawu Sea. The first route is about twice the distance of the second.

[10] The island of Flores.

[11] There was more than one João Soares in Portuguese Asia about that time. In 1551-1552 a João Soares is Vicar of Malacca (MX II 274 ; DI II 214) ; for some others, in the years 1547-1549, see SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 20, 29, and 206. This one was not a priest (See note 4), but whether he can be identified with the fidalgo of D 102 is doubtful. Cf. also SOUZA II III 1 42 ; TEIXEIRA, *op. cit.*, I 90-91.

[12] This is Lavunama, or, better, Lewonama, situated in E. Flores, a little N of Larantuka (Cf. map in VISSER 292).

[13] The names of both of them are not known to us.

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foi ver os christãos, e não sei se lhe alembrarão. Empregou seus empregos e trouxe seus bares [14] e veyo-se [15]. [465*v*]

4. Esta ilha hé muito grande e tem infinidade de gente, e outras ao redor com muita gente. Os mantimentos destas ilhas são arroz, muitos inhames, grãos, feijõens, muitas galinhas, porcos, cabras, muito mel. Não adora esta gente a nenhuma cousa, nem tem pagodes [16]. Não morão à borda do mar por causa dos ladrõens, habitão por dentro das ilhas. De maneira, Padre meu, que tenho pera mim que hé mais que o Brasil, e mais gente que em Maluquo [17] conforme a enformação que tenho, e muito milhor terra que o Cabo do Comorim. Em algumas destas ilhas há alguns feiticeiros [18], mas tudo hé nada : quantos quiserem fazer christãos, tantos farão e, se lhe não acodirem ou tolherem os cacizes, hão-se de salgar de Mafoma.

5. A este Solor podem vir de Maluco e hir pera Maluquo, vai [ali] ter muita gente da China [19], continuamente estão nelle portugueses. Este ano emvernarão lá duzentos e mais portugueses. Hé este Solor muito sadio.

6. Eu, Padre meu, ando apercebendo cousas pera lá, pera os Padres e Irmãos que pera lá hão-de hir, conforme a minha possibilidade, scilicet, machadinhas pera fazer casas, algumas vestimentas, emfim faço conta que hei-de ter pera o anno muitos hospedes pera lá. Aqui se faz agora huma embarquação prestes pera huma terra que se chama o Maquaçar [20], terra muito grosa, tudo gentios e gente de bons

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48 farão *ms. blotted, from B* || 52 lá] cá *B* || 59 o Maquaçar] Amaquaça *B* | tudo] e tudo *rep. B* | e gente *om. B*

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[14] The *bahar* was a measure of weight of changing value, used in larger trading transactions. See YULE 47 ; *Treatise*, Glossary 368.

[15] « Como aquella terra [Malaca] seja viciosa e os outros, asi ecclesiasticos como saeculares, tenhão pouco zelo das almas e muito das fazemdas, . . » (DI IV 515).

[16] « This obscure and remarkable word » means both an idol temple and the idol itself (YULE 652-657) ; here it stands for idol ; cf. the parallel expression for Timor in no. 2.

[17] A surely exaggerated view of the geographic and demographic situation of the Flores Island.

[18] Religious magicians or conjurers of spirits. Cf. ENI III 508, s.v. *Priesters*.

[19] « But the greatest attraction of all was the island of Timor where sandalwood grew in great abundance. It seems to have been known to the Chinese at very early times and their ships periodically made their way there to load the valuable cargoes (MEILINK-ROELOFSZ, *Asian Trade*, 87).

[20] See JACOBS, *Celebes*.

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entendimentos. Foi ahi ter hum Padre que aqui mora, por nome Vicente Viegas [21], e fez quatro reis christãos com outra gente, e todos se querião fazer christãos. Veyo-se o Padre e nunca lá mais foi ninguem. Agora determino de tomar grandes enformaçõens desta terra que tem grande nome por estas partes; hé terra muito grosa, os bazares [22] e a mercadoria hé ouro. Emfim, Padre meu, pera o anno hirão desta terra informaçõens, entretanto V.R. anime esses Irmãos e tome gente, porque pera quá hé o mundo e lá hé hum canto.

7. Indo de Malaqua pera Solor e Timor vão ter a hum reino, por nome Panaruqua, terra jaoa e tudo gentios. Nunqua quiserão consentir a lei de Mafamede [23] e por iso lhe fizerão muitas guerras: não querem, são muito nosos amigos e dizem, segundo me diserão, que não avião de tomar outra lei senão a dos portugueses. Segundo me informarão estão dispostos pera tudo. Hé esta Panaruqua a mais farta terra que há na Jaoa, de carnes, aroz e outros legumes. Estes tem pagodes e são idolatras.

8. O reino de Camboja, aonde foi hum Padre de São Domingos [24], continuamente estão pedindo que se querem fazer christãos. Hé reino

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60 hum . . . nome *corr. to* ho Padre *h2* || 62 Veyo . . . ninguem] Venne in quà alcuni giorni di poi il Padre detto et dal'hora in quà non gle hà predicato nisuno, et restano con dimandare a Dio N.S. di et notte misericordia *D w. several corr.* | foi] tornou *B* || 67 o] hum *B* | canto] quarto *B* || 69 Panaruqua *add. interl.* alem da *B* | terra *add. interl.* da *B*

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[21] See SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 38 notes 1-2.

[22] *Bazar* (Persian), which in Malay became *pasar*, means a more or less permanent market (BAUSANI, *Note* 17 no. 129).

[23] Not before the end of the sixteenth century did the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Panarukan in E Java surrender to Islam, yielding to the power of the rulers of Surabaya (SCHRIEKE, *Indonesian Social Studies* II 236).

[24] Fr. Gaspar da Cruz OP, who had arrived in Goa in 1548, and who founded the Dominican convent of Malacca about 1554, made a missionary hike to Cambodia in 1555-1556; but, not succeeding in founding a mission there, continued his journey to China, where he managed to stay a few weeks in Canton and no more than a few months on the China coast, whence he returned to Malacca (BOXER, *South China*, LIX). STREIT (*Bibliotheca Missionum* IV no. 1924), and, after him, WICKI (DI III 685 note 2) make him return to Portugal already in the next year 1557; BOXER (*loc. cit.*) states that almost nothing is recorded of his movements during the next twelve years, but that he certainly spent some time in Ormuz, and that he apparently returned to Portugal in 1569 (LX). At any rate, after his stay on the Chinese coast, he met Fr. Baltasar Dias in Malacca (DI III 685). He wrote a report of his Chinese experiences: *Tractado em que se contam . . . as cousas da China.*



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grande e de muita gente e muito farta. E por estas partes dise Christo : Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci [25]. Alembro a V.R. que já este anno tive por enformação en Cantão, terra da China, aver pasante de seis mil mouros feitos chins ; tanto que se fazem mouros fiquão logo sogeito[s] pera as armadas [26].

9. Esta hé a breve informação que a V.R. mando. Não seja V.R. avarento de gente, mande porque terra há pera isso, e não curemos de portugueses, vamo-nos ao que hé noso e acudamos a tantas almas perdidas que se perdem à mingoa e quasi que avemos de ter escrupulo. Eu, Padre meu, este anno escrevo a Solor a este rei e a sua gente que lhe dou grandes esperanças de lá os hirem a visitar e morar com elles [27]. V.R. comece de os nomear, digo aos Padres e Irmãos, não atente emfirmidades nem dores de cabeças, porque o son das campainhas lhes faz dor de cabeça ; como são no campo, com a vista das almas e com as verem hir pera Deos, sarão [28].

De Malaqua, 3 de Dezembro 1559. [466*r*]

10. Depois de aver escrito o valete, soube grandes emformaçõens do Maquaçar, e soube não aver nelle ainda entrado Mafoma por causa do porco, por não comerem outra cousa e isto sem nenhuma duvida, e ser terra muito grande e serviren-se com muitos cavalos polla terra dentro [29], e serem ainda vivos alguns reis que se fizerão christãos [30]. E a estes fiz com o capitão daqui de Malaqua [31] que lhe escrevesse por esta embarquação que pera lá foi [32], e ser a mais desposta terra

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80-81 aver . . . chins] saranno più di sei milia Cinesi fatti mori *D* || 81 fazem mouros] faz mouro *B* | fiquão] fica *B* || 82 armadas *del. illeg. word* || 86 perdem à mingoa *blot, from B* || 87 Solor a *blot, from B* || 89 comece *om. B* || 93 De . . . 1559 *del. h2* | 1559 *corr. to* 1560, *corr. del.* || 94-102 Depois . . . Reverentia *om. B* || 94 o valete *underl. C*

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[25] Mt 9 37.

[26] On Muslims in China, cf. Gaspar da Cruz, *Tractado*, Portuguese text (Lisboa 1829) 169-173 ; English, Boxer, *South China* 219-222.

[27] Lost letter. See D 88*b*.

[28] It is not the Jesuits, but the Dominicans who, in 1562, began missionary activity in the Solor field.

[29] The Makasar or Selebes horse is one of the well-known horse breeds of Indonesia. Cf. ENI III 227.

[30] See no. 6.

[31] João de Mendonça, 1557-1561 (Teixeira, *Malacca and Singapore* II 410). He had sailed to India as a capitão-mor of three ships in 1548 ; and, in 1564, from February to August, he was a governor of India (Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. portugais 8*, ff. 221*r* ; 224*r*).

[32] Lost letter. See D 88*c*.

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que há nestas partes. Isto soube despois da mais emformação que tenho escrita a V. Reverentia.

Pobre de virtude,

Baltesar Diaz.

*Lost Letters*

88*a*. — *Br. Paulo Gomes, by order of Fr. Baltasar Dias, Malacca, to Fr. Provincial, António de Quadros, Goa ; December 1559.*

Dias to Quadros, December 3, 1559 : « O mais escrevo pello Irmão Paulos Gomez » (D 88, 1).

88*b*. — *Fr. Baltasar Dias, Malacca, to the Christian king and the people of Solor ; December 1559.*

Dias to Quadros, December 3, 1559 : « Eu . . . este anno escrevo a Solor a este rei e a sua gente que lhe dou grandes esperanças de lá os hirem a visitar e morar com elles » (D 88, 9).

88*c*. — *João de Mendonça, Captain of Maluku, to the Christian kings of the country of Makasar ; December 1559.*

Dias to Quadros, after December 3, 1559 : « Depois de aver escrito o valete soube grandes emformações do Maquaçar . . . e serem ainda vivos alguns reis que se fizerão christãos. E a estes fiz com o capitão daqui de Malaqua que lhe escrevesse por esta embarquação que pera lá foi » (D 88, 10). In no. 6 Dias wrote : « Aqui se faz agora huma embarquação prestes pera huma terra que se chama o Maquaçar » ; the words quoted first were written in a post-script after December 3, 1559, and after the ship for Makasar had sailed. As the scheduled time for sailing from Malacca to the East was about January 1, we may guess that the captain wrote his letter before this date.

## 89

## FR. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Cochin, January 15, 1560

TEXT : DI IV 499-523 [506, 513-514]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 26*r*-34*v*. Autograph. Portuguese.

### *Text*

[*Asked by Fr. General he gives his statement on the human and religious character of*] 1. *Fr. António Vaz*, — 2. *Fr. Vieira*, — 3. *Frs. Nunes and Fernan-*

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102 Reverentia *add.* De Malaca a 3 de Desembro 1559 *h2*

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*des, — 4. Br. Araújo, — 5. Br. Osório. — 6. The Maluku Jesuits suffer many troubles, perhaps they are no longer even alive. If before the sailing of the ships to Portugal those from Maluku arrive, he will forward any letters to Rome. — 7.* [Added at a later moment] *He received news from Malacca that in that year no tidings from Maluku came in.*

[...]

1. O P.e Antonio Vaaz hé devoto, edificativo, facilmente tem lagrimas. De Malaqua o mandei pera Maluco á 6 annos [1], e por certa desobedientia foi laa despedido do P.e Afonso de Crasto. E falecendo o vigairo de Maluquo o fez o povo vigairo dous annos ou tres [2]. Este anno pasado veio à India com negoceos do povo, e por justos respeitos pareceo bem ao Praeposito [3] lançar mão dele. Tornou a ser noviço; hé bem desposto.

[...]

Maluco

2. O P.e Francisco Vieira hé reitor em Maluco, affavel, virtuoso, porem parece huum pouco particular e affeiçoado a cousinhas piquenas como imagens etc.; não tem muita prudentia em suas palavras e processo.

3. Os Padres Nicolao Nunez e Antonio Fernandez são obedientes, perseverantes na vocação, patientes nos trabalhos, principalmente Nicolao Nunez que há muito que anda em Maluquo. Ambos parecem faltar huum pouco na prudentia e no tento de suas palavras, perfiosos e colericos se os apertão.

4. O Irmão Baltasar d'Araujo hé muito virtuoso, manso, sesudo, obediente, charitativo, de boom saber natural, sem letras, bem desposto.

5. Fernão d'Osouro fervente nas cousas da obedientia, diligente, alegre, huum pouco se preza de gratioso, onde quer que está faz rir os outros, nom hé pera estar entre noviços, porem deseja os trabalhos e quando lhos põe a obedientia recebe-os com alegria. Parece-me

---

[1] In April 1554.

[2] From this it seems that Fr. Vaz was made vicar of the fortress of Ternate after having been expelled from the Society. Both events happened in 1555. (See D 60 note 1). We do not know when a new vicar arrived. When, in 1557, the king of Bacan had to be christened, it is Vaz who was sent there. Presumably no other priest was available then in the fortress. This would mean that the fortress remained for four and a half months without a priest.

[3] Fr. Provincial António de Quadros.

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que fará fruito entre os gentios de Maluquo, porque tem charidade pera os edificar e leviandade pera os alegrar.

6. Padecem eles laa muitos trabalhos, e eu nestes descansos de Cochim arrezoo deles. Noso Senhor aja misericordia deles e de mim. Não sei se são vivos, porque estavão de cerco. Se vierem as naos de Maluquo antes que partão estas naos, mandarei as cartas a V.P., e delas saberá mais particularmente as novas deles.

7. Agora chegou aqui nova de Malaqua que nom veio nenhuum recado este anno de Maluco, há roim sospeita de serto modo.

[. . .]

Feita em Cochim, a 15 de Janeiro de 1560 annos, desta casa da Madre de Deus.

Minimo servo de V.P.,

Melchior.

## 90

## BR. FERNÃO DE OSÓRIO SJ TO [SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ], GOA

Ternate [February-May 1560]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL V 1972; STREIT IV 890 no. 5; WESSELS, *Amboina* 180 Osório no. 3.

II AUTHORS: LUCENA 228; Seb. GONÇALVES I 205; SOUZA I III 2 26; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 688.

III TEXT: DI V 284-285. This letter is to be found in an appendix to a long letter of Fróis of December 1, 1561, from Goa (See our D 102), which in its Portuguese original has been preserved in *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 130*r*-136*v*; our letter on f. 134*v*. Consequently, this is a first-hand copy of the original sent from Ternate. The heading runs « Copia de huma do Irmão Fernão d'Osouro, de Maluquo ». For other MSS texts, see DI V 270-271.

IV DATE: The copied letter is not dated. But Fróis says (DI V 281 no. 20) that he adds to his letter « copias de alguns capitulos que das fortalezas e partes remotas nosos Padres e Irmãos escreverão a este collegio este anno de 1561 ». As it is imp ossible that a letter, written in Ternate in 1561, at the end of the same year would have reached Goa, the meaning of these words must be that it was received in Goa in 1561. Therefore the latest possible date of dispatch from Ternate is February (or from Ambon, May) 1560. On the other hand it cannot be of an earlier date because in 1559 no ship from Maluku arrived in Malacca (DD 89 and 92). When Fr. Quadros, in his letter of November 28, 1561 (D 100), asserts « De Malluquo não há cartas », it must be observed that, writing as a Provincial to Fr. General, he is speaking of official letters only. The Maluku ships of 1560 (arrival in India in 1561)

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brought Fr. António Fernandes (D 95), this letter from Osório, a letter from Nunes (D 91), but presumably no official letter from Fr. Vieira, who appears to have died before the ships left Ternate in 1560 (D 95).

V ADDRESSEE : No addressee is mentioned. We have good reasons to presume that the letter was directed to Fróis. On March 5, 1561, Osório wrote to Fróis in Goa : « De Tarnate lhe escrevy largo, e agora . . . torno a escrever » (D 96). These words demonstrate that more than once he wrote to Fróis. When he added : « Não quero que se passe cousa de que lhe não dê conta », he even revealed a firm resolution to correspond more often with him.

VI NOTE : From the document itself, lacking introduction and conclusion, moreover from the word « largo » in D 96, it may be gathered that our text is only a fragment of a larger letter. There is even no clear division between this copied letter and Fróis' own words immediately following. (See DI V 285, and our D 102), which in the MSS generally are presented as a part of the former, but without reason.

VII PRINTED : in SILVA REGO, *Documentação . . . Índia* VIII 427 : SÁ II 372-373. Both print the text of *Ajuda 49-4-50* f. 353*v*, scarcely different from ours, but they include a part of Fróis' own words (our D 102, 1) ; — Italian version, in *Nuovi avisi, Quarta parte*, Venetia 1565, f. 102*r-v*.

## *Text*

1. *He sailed from Ternate to Ambon. A Christian village had to fight against the whole of Ambon ; it stood a three months siege, and was steadily backed by its village chief Manuel.* — 2. *Manuel in his youth had accompanied Fr. Xavier through Ambon, and had he not learnt his teachings so well, long ago he would have embraced Islam.* — 3. *His courage is based on Xavier's words to him : It is a good thing to die for Jesus Christ.*

1. Vindo eu de Maluquo às terras d'Amboino [1], a hum lugar de christãos que se chama Ative [2], os quaes todos os dias antes da minha chegada peleyavão com todo Anboino e tres meses teverão o lugar de serquo, e isto tudo porque se não queriam fazer mouros. O rregedor do lugar, que sostentava os christãos na fee e era dali mesmo natural, chamava-se Manoel [3].

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[1] Probably before May 1559, in order to sail to Malacca (D 79, 26). This, however, did not materialize, since no ship from Maluku arrived there in that year (D 92, 2). See D 79 note 68.

[2] Hatiwi in Hitu (Ambon), on the N shore of the Ambon Bay, at the site of the modern Lata (also Hatiwi-besar, that is, Great Hatiwi, in opposition to the later Hatiwi-kecil, that is, Little Hatiwi, situated on the S shore of the bay in Leitimor). Cf. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 668 note 159.

[3] On Manuel of Hatiwi, see SCHURHAMMER, *op. cit.* 688, and note 284 there.

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2. A doutrina, que alguma sabia, era do Padre Mestre Francisco [4], e, segundo me dizia muitas vezes este christão, semdo minino andava com huma sobrepiliza e berviairo [5] do Padre Mestre Francisco acompanhando-o por aqueles desertos de Ambonho, e que as istorias e doutrina que o Padre lhe dizia se lhe emprimirão tanto no coração, que muitas vezes, se aquilo não fora, se tivera feito mouro, segundo a grande persecusão e trabalhos em que se via com elles.

3. E dizendo-me mais: « Eu sou hum anbonho do mato que não sei que cousa hé christão nem que couza hé Deos, somente isto que o Padre Mestre Francisco me dise: que era bom morrer por amor de Nosso Senhor Jesu Christo », e que isto só lhe dava animo e vontade pera peleyar até morrer.

## 91

## [FR. NICOLAU NUNES SJ TO THE JESUITS IN GOA]

Ternate, [February-May, 1560]

I TEXT: DI V 352-353. It is inserted in a letter of Fr. Fróis to Fr. Bento Toscano SJ in Portugal, from Goa, of December 15, 1561, preserved in Lisboa, *Academia das Ciencias, 12 azul* f. 302*r-v*: copy in Portuguese, made in Portugal after the copy made by Fróis in Goa. According to the heading in the codex just mentioned, the letter was received by Fr. Toscano in August of 1562. Fróis introduces the inserted letter with these words: « De huma carta que hum Padre nosso escreveo este ano pasado de Maluquo tirey hum capitolo pera lho mandar nesta ».

II WRITER: Who is this « Padre nosso »? From the context it can be gathered that he was certainly one who, in the autumn of 1557, left Ternate for Moro with Castro, and stayed behind there when the latter sailed back to Ternate on his last fatal journey. But only two Fathers accompanied Castro to Moro: Nicolau Nunes and António Fernandes. The latter has to be excluded since he sailed himself from Ternate to India with the ships that also carried this letter. So only Nunes is left. That he is the author is confirmed by the mentioning of clothes, retables, books, and of a vestment that once belonged to Fr. Xavier, all of which

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As a young man he had accompanied Francis Xavier and had served him as an interpreter. Having become the village chief, he always defended his people strongly against the persecution engineered by the Moors of Hitu and Ternate. See COUTO VII 10 13.

[4] Xavier.

[5] Read *breviário*.

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are likewise remarked upon in Nunes' letter of February 5, 1558 (D 71, 4). So we cannot agree with Sá who ascribed our letter to Fr. Francisco Vieira (II 376). Vieira never resided in Moro and, in his letter of March 9, 1559 (D 79), he had already given a much more lengthy and in some details different record of Castro's death.

III PLACE : Fróis states that the letter was written « de Maluquo ». This means « from Ternate », as long as no other wider sense of this name is demonstrated.

IV DATE : Since Fróis says : « este ano pasado », meaning « este ano de 1561 », we have to apply the same reasoning as in D 90. So February-May 1560 are the limits within which the letter was written.

V ADDRESSEE : The only thing we know is tat Fróis, writing in Goa to Fr. Toscano, had this letter at hand. Nunes may have directed his account either to Fr. Provincial, or to the Goa Jesuits in general, or to Fróis himself.

VI NOTE : The above mentioned words : « De huma carta . . . tirey hum capitolo » show that this document is only a fragment out of Nunes' letter.

VII PRINTED : in SILVA REGO, *Documentação . . . Índia* VIII 441-442 ; SÁ II 376-378.

## *Text*

1. *The martyrdom of Castro according to eyewitnesses. Castro set off from Moro together with some Ternatans. Before they reached Ternate they learned of the imprisonment of the king.* — 2. *The crew tied Castro to a pole, stripped him, beat him, and insisted that he sould embrace Islam. His belongings were confiscated and partly jettisoned.* — 3. *At that time the Portuguese killed a Muslim preacher in war. After twenty days the Moors killed Castro and threw his corpse into the sea. A month later it drifted ashore.* — 4. *Miserable end of the murderers. Of Castro's belongings, nothing was recovered except a chasuble.*

1. Quanto ao martirio do bon Padre Afonso de Crasto — segundo os moços nossos que com ele hião que depois por pazes os ouvemos, e segundo os mesmos mouros confesão — sua morte foy a mais acerrima e terribel que se vio en nossos tenpos, porque estes mouros são tão tiranos que isso e muyto mais se pode crer deles. Ele vinha do Moro na mesma enbarcação com a gente d'el-rey de Ternate, que lá nos avya levado a todos [1], sem o Padre saber da prizão d'el-rey. E parece que, amtes que cheguase a corocora [2] à fortaleza de Maluquo, souberão como seu rey estava preso.

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[1] A clear instance that Hairun did not entirely refuse to provide the Fathers with means of conveyance to other islands.

[2] Native ship.

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2. Tomarão então ao bendito Padre e amararão-no com cordas e puserão-no na mesma enbarcação, dizem que crucificado a hum pao ou à maneyra de coluna ; e neste comenos amararão tanbem os moços ; e o fato e retabolos devotos que trazia e livros dividirão entre sy [3] : os livros forão rotos e os retabolos quebrados [e] deytados no mar [4]. E foy despido nu e posto cinco dias ao sol, con lhe darem muytos asoutes e lhe fazerem muytos oprobrios, perguntando-lhe por seu rey e cometendo-lhe que fose mouro, o qual tudo o bom Padre tomava con muyto sofrimento e con boca chea de rizo. E davão-lhe alguma mizeria a comer, o qual ele não podia fazer por ser já então muy mal desposto.

3. Parece que neste comenos lhes matarão quá os nossos hum cacis na guerra [5]. E avendo obra de vinte dias que o bom Padre estava nestes martirios e dores que diguo, o tomarão então com as prisõis muy fortes en que estava e o levarão a huma praya, e aly en sima de huma pedra se pôs o varão de Deus de jiolhos com as mãos alevantadas pera os ceos, e hum daqueles tiranos de dous golpes o matou ; e foy deitado ao mar. E dizem que dahy a hum mes se tornou asentar sobre a pedra com as feridas ainda frescas, sen feder.

4. E quando os negros o virão, ficarão muy espantados e diserão que eles matarão ao inocemte e que por isso avião de ser muy castiguados de Deus ; o qual loguo virão, que aquele por quem foy morto dahi a tres dias morreo con todos os seus. Estas são as mais certas novas que do bon Padre temos. De tudo o que lhe foy tomado não ouvemos senão huma casula de huma vestimenta que quá tinhamos do nosso Padre Mestre Francisco [6], de samta memoria, a qual o rey de Ternate, mouro, indo a hum luguar seu a ouve e ma deu, que não foy tão pouco pera mouros.

*Lost Letter*

91*a*. — *King D. Sebastião, Portugal, to Fr. António Vaz, Maluku ; March 13, 1560.*

« P^e^ Antonio Vaz . . . escreve a el-rey Dom João, o qual lhe agra-

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[3] Perhaps Nunes is alluding to Ps 22 [21] 19 and to Mt 27 35.

[4] For the things Castro took with him, see D 71, 4.

[5] An important notice furnishing a new viewpoint and suggesting that the brutes, who perhaps at first had no intention of killing Castro, found in the death of this *cacis* an occasion to murder him. So Castro's death would have been a case of retaliation.

[6] Xavier.

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dece muito em huma de treze de Março de 1560 » (Seb. GONÇALVES II 345). As D. João III had died in 1557, it was D. Sebastião who answered. António Vaz had been sent back to India from Maluku in 1558. Cf. Lost letter 68*a*.

## 92

## SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. FRANCISCO RODRIGUES SJ, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Goa, December 1, 1560

I TEXT : DI IV 721-744 [741-742]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 205*r*-213*r*. Copy in Portuguese.
II PRINTED : See DI IV 721. Moreover, our fragment, in SÁ II 349-350.

### *Text*

*1. Br. Paulo Gomes came from Malacca to Goa. Malacca is a fruitful field of activity, as well for the town itself as also for greater and more distant enterprises. He points to a letter of Fr. Dias. — 2. In 1560 no letters from Maluku arrived in India. He refers to the troubles of the Jesuits there from their former letters.*

[. . .]

1. De Malaca veio este anno o Irmão Paulo Gomez [1]. O fruyto que se naquela terra faz, sempre hé muito, especialmente depois que o Padre Baltazar Diaz nella reside [2]. Porque alem do proprio que na mesma terra se faz com os portugeses e gente da terra, hé Malaqua huma porta para as maiores impresas que há nestas partes, como verão claramente por huma carta que este anno escreveo o Padre Baltazar Diaz a este collegio [3] acerqua de muytas partes que totalmente perecem por falta de gente, donde sem nenhuma duvida parece estar a messe madura e colher-sse della o fruyto muyto certo.

2. De Maluco não tivemos o anno passado nenhuma carta nem recado dos Padres e Irmãos que laa andão, por não vir de laa a nao d'El-Rey que vem huma vez no ano. Sabemos somente, polas cartas

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[1] He must have left Malacca about the second half of November 1559. In December 1560 he was at the College of Saint Paul, Goa (DI IV 866, 55).

[2] He arrived on May 23, 1556 (D 63, 2).

[3] This is unoubtedly D 88.

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do outro anno atrás [4], que avião de ter mui grandes trabalhos por estarem de cerquo e carecer muyto a terra de mantimentos e de gente para se defender. E ainda que nam tiverão estes extraordinarios, os que comummente se laa tem por aqueles desertos e antre naçõis tão barbaras e incognitas, bastavão para se conhecer e crer que padecem muyto. Quererá Nosso Senhor que, antes da partida das naos para esse reyno, nos virão grandes novas de el-rey de Bachão, o qual já hé christão, e das mais partes do Moro, Maluco e Amboyno.

[. . .]

Deste collegio de São Paulo de Goa, ao 1º de Dezembro de 1560 annos.

Por comissão do Padre Francisco Rodriguez.

Servo inutil de todos,

Luis Frois.

## 93

## SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ TO FR. MARCOS NUNES SJ, PORTUGAL

Goa, December 12 [?], 1560

I TEXT: DI IV 833-839 [835]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 312*d*-313*r*. Copy in Portuguese.

II PRINTED: in SÁ II 351-352 (fragment).

### *Text*

[*In a paragraph on the poignant scarcity of workers, Fróis enumerates all places where Christians run short of priests; among them*] *Bacan, Ambon, Makasar, Timor, and Moro.*

[. . .]

El-rey de Bachão com Fernão d'Osouro, que escassamente sabe rezar as ladainhas [1].

A christandade d'Amboino sem ninguem.

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[4] In 1559 the ships from Maluku either did not sail or were forced to return before arriving at Malacca (D 89, 7); consequently Vieira's letter of March 9, 1559 (D 79) had not yet arrived in Goa. Fróis had at his disposal only DD 69-73, and Dias' letters from Malacca, DD 87 and 88.

[1] Taken from DD 69 and 70.

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A christandade do Macasar, onde há dous reis christãos, sem ninguem.

El-rey de Timor[2] christão, que está suspirando por Padres da Companhia e os pede para fazer seu reyno christão, sem ninguem.

O Moro, onde há cinquoenta mil christãos, com dous Padres doentes[3]. [...]

Deste Collegio de Guoa, a 12 de Dezembro de 1560 annos.

Frater et servus tuus in Domino,

Luis Frois.

*Lost Letter*

93*a*. — *Scholastic Luís Fróis, Goa, to the Jesuits in Maluku ; December 1560.*

Fróis to Fr. Gaspar Tavares, Coimbra, December 4, 1560 : « Estou cercado de sete vias para fazer, scilicet, quatro para esse reyno, e huma para a Cafraria, e outra para Malaca e Maluquo, e outra para Japão » (DI IV 759).

## 94

## CATALOGUE OF THE JESUIT PROVINCE OF INDIA

Goa, December, 1560

I TEXT : DI IV 862-869 [868]. Taken from *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 330*v*-332*r*. Coeval copy. Portuguese.

II DATE : See *op. cit.* 862-863.

III PRINTED : in SÁ II 353 (fragment).

### *Text*

*Names of five Jesuits in Maluku.*

LISTA DE TODOS OS PADRES E IRMÃOS QUE HÁ NESTAS PARTES DA INDIA ATÉ JANEYRO DE 1561

[...]

LISTA DE PADRES E IRMÃOS QUE ANDÃO DISPERSSOS EN DIVERSSAS PROVINCIAS E REYNOS NAS PARTES DA YNDIA

[...]

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[2] Fróis would have done better to write Solor (D 88).

[3] Nicolau Nunes and António Fernandes. That they were ill is stated by Vieira (D 73, 1).

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Em Maluquo

26 O Pe Francisco Vieyra [1]
27 O Pe Nicolao Nunez
28 O Pe Antonio Fernandez
29 O Ir. Fernam d'Osouro
30 O Irmam Baltasar d'Araujo

[...]

*Lost Letter*

94*a*. — *Fr. António Fernandes, India* [?] *to Fr. António de Quadros, India ; 1560.*

Quadros to Laínez, January 14, 1561 : « De Maluquo sabemos agora por cartas de hum Padre noso que de lá vem, e creio que mal aviado ou meio saido, que moreo lá Francisco Vieira que era superior que lá estava » (D 95, 2).

## 95

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA, TO FR. GENERAL, DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Cochin, January 14, 1561

TEXT : DI V 6 -70 [69]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 I* ff. 230*r*-231*r*. Portuguese original, written by an amanuensis, save for the autographic signature.

*Text*

1. *Disproportion between needs and number of workers.* — 2. *Of the Maluku Fathers one returned to India and another, Francisco Vieira, died. There remain only one Father and two Brothers.*

[...]

1. De mim sei dizer a V.P., quando vejo as muitas necessidades da India e a pouqua gente que há pera lhes socorer, fico mais pusila-

[1] Vieira had already died, and Fernandes had left Maluku (D 95, 2), but the composer of this catalogue was writing just before this notice arrived.

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nime do que sou. E ainda que em Guoa aja muita gente, hé toda nova e que agora se colhera ainda muito em verde.

2. De Maluquo sabemos agora por cartas de hum Padre noso que de lá vem [1], e creio que mal aviado ou meio saido, que moreo lá Francisco Vieira [2] que era superior que lá estava. E asi não ficão agora lá mais que hum Padre e dous Irmãos [3], avendo lá tanto e tantas partes a que acudir [4].

[...]

De Cochim, oje 14 de Janeiro de 1561 annos.

[*Autographic*] Indino filho em o Senhor,

Antonio de Quadros.

## 95 A

## BR. BALTASAR DE ARAÚJO SJ TO FR. PROVINCIAL, GOA

Ternate, February 1561

This letter has not been preserved, but an abstract of it was sent to Portugal by Br. Francisco Jorge in his letter from Cochin of February 3, 1562. See D 107.

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[1] Fr. António Fernandes; cf. D 104, 1. Obviously, he sent ahead a letter with an earlier ship to announce his arrival. See D 94*a*.

[2] He must have died in he first half of 1560, at the latest in April. Cf. also the letter of Fr. Francisco Lopes of January 16, 1561, from Cochin: « Hos Padres que agora estamos ao prezemte neste collegio são ho Padre Provimciall Antonio de Quadros, e o Pe Mestre Mellchior, e o Pe Mesquita que veo de Jafanapatão, e o Pe Arbolleda e eu. Esperamos agora aqui por ho Pe Balltezar Dias, que ho Pe Provimciall mamdou vir de Mallaqua. Tãobem temos por novas que vem houtro padre de Malluquo, que trás novas que ho Pe Fframcisquo Vieira, que llá estava por soprior, que hé morto » (DI V 73-74).

[3] See D 94.

[4] This letter was answered by D 113.

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**96**

# BR. FERNÃO DE OSÓRIO SJ TO SCHOLASTIC LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, GOA

Bacan, May 5, 1561

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : BARBOSA MACHADO II 44 ; MILLIES 54 : SOMMERVOGEL V 1972 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 180 Osório no. 6.

II AUTHORS : Cf. VALIGNANO, *Historia* 439-440.

III TEXTS : No original is left.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* f. 401*r-v*, formerly 402. Coeval copy in Portuguese. « Copia de huma que escreve ho Yrmão Fernão d'Osouro ao Yrmão Luis Froess de Maluco a 5 de Mayo de 1561 ». In the left margin « † Ja », that is, it has been copied (presumably for the Jesuits of Coimbra, text C).

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* f. 276*r-v*. Coeval Portuguese copy. « Copia de huma que o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro escreveo do Maluquo ao Irmão Luis Frois à India a 5 de Maio de 1561 ». It contains so many variants from text A, though not in substantial matters, that it must have been copied from another *via*. Some less edifying passages and some informal expressions have either been struck off or changed into more harmless and inoffensive ones (See apparatus).

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* f. 289*r-v*. Copy, evidently transcribed from text A. Same heading, same wording. At the top in the right margin « Pase-se », that is, to be omitted (at reading in the refectory).

IV PLACE : The headings say « De Maluco ». Here, this may not stand strictly for Ternate, but for the entire area of the mission. In the text itself (no. 4), Osório appears to have the return voyage to Bacan still before, but his pell-mell manner of writing does not seem to permit always precise deductions. All three MSS, in the conclusion, give unmistakably Bacan as the place of dispatch.

V PRINTED : in SÁ II 354-357 ; he prints text A, unfortunately with not a few misreadings.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A, and, in the apparatus, we give the more important variants, especially of text B.

## *Text*

1. *He is surprised at seeing himself passing through so many troubles of war.* — 2. *His distressing experiences on Ambon.* — 3. *He was wounded in his hand at Tidore. On Ambon, where he went with the king of Bacan, he had a narrow escape after a naval battle and received a gun-shot wound in his arm.* — 4. *Other dangers are to be expected on his way back from Ambon to Bacan. He recommends himself to his fellow-brothers in Goa.*

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A graça de Nosso Senhor, etc. Charissymo Irmão Luis Froes [1].

1. De Tarnate lhe escrevy largo, e agora, pollo que me socedeo, lhe torno a escrever, porque não quero que se passe cousa de que lhe não dê conta. Bendyto seya Deus que, despois que eu sou nesta terra, sempre andey muy yuguado [2] aos dados, e crede que pasey bem pello poo do gato. Não sey que quer isto ser, e eu a mym mesmo me não entendo, porque trabalhos de huma banda e a guerra da outra, crede que continoadamente quá andey em bem de danças.

2. E eu em Amboyno acolhy-me por pés até me esconder debaixo de hum ramalho. Crede que tão afrontado, que as ceroulas me fazião noyo, porque erão brancas e a noite escura, e era porque reluzião. Arranquey dellas e pu-llas ao pescoço. E tantas quedas dey aquella noite, e tão afrontado e cançado cheguey a casa, que tres dias megei sangue. Porque zombais vós a eu fogir a mais de mil homens d'espadas e solavaquos [3], e ficarem dous portugueses no terreyro? Crede que a vontade era correr como a ventuinha, mas ho mato e as cerras erão tamanhas que eu não podia correr, e hum meu negro que detrás de mym vinha dizia: « Yrmão, nós a guera, nós agora, nós mais morer! » Parece-vos que erão estes boons conceytos?

3. E em Tidore tambem me vi asaz com bem de trabalhos com huma mão passada de hum callavay [4]. E agora quando parti da fortalleza pera Bachão, estiverão cynquo caroquoras de tidores esperando por huma de Bachão, mas quis Deus que viemos tarde e não as achamos. E despois que chegey a Bachão detriminou el-rey de vir caminho

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1 etc.] seja sempre em nossas almas. Amen. *B* || 3 quero que *om. B* || 4-5 que[1] . . . dados *om. B* || 5 bem *om. B* | pello . . . gato *corr. to* muito trabalho *B* || 6 poo do gato *underl., corr. to* pola ficira *h2* | ser] dizer *B* || 8 que *add.* os a *B* | quá . . . danças *corr. and del. B* || 9 por pés *corr. and del. B* || 10-12 que as . . . pescoço. E *del. B* || 12 pescoço] percoço *ms.* || 13 megei *corr. to* ourinei *h2*; ourinei sangue *corr. to* me achei muito mal *B* || 14 Porque . . . fogir a *corr. to* os imigos herão *B* || 15-16 Crede . . . ventuinha *del. B* || 16 ventuinho *ms.* | erão *corr. fr.* era || 17-20 e hum . . . Tidore *del. B* || 17 meu *underl., om. B* || 20 em Tidore *add. interl. B* || 21 de hum] com a *B* || 22 Bachão] paichão *ms.* || 23 de Bachão *corr. fr.* da paichão | as] nos *B* || 24 Bachão *corr. fr.* paichão | caminho d'] a *B*

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[1] This being one of the rare letters not addressed to a superior or any official personage, Osório did not refrain from writing in a realistic way and from using unadulteratedly popular expressions.

[2] Read *jogado*.

[3] *Salawaku*, buckler, shield, in the language of some islands of E Indonesia (DALGADO II 312; CLERCQ, *Lijst* 50; FORTGENS 72; ENI IV 691, *salawako* for Buru; *Treatise*, Glossary 370 s.v. *çolovaquo*).

[4] *Kalawai*, javelin, dart with iron barb (CLERCQ 293; *Treatise*, Glossary 369 s.v. *calaba*).

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d'Amboino asentar a terra e favorecer os christãos e eu vim com elle, e demos em hum lugar que tinha morto hum portugues e destroido muitos lugares de christãos. E ao tempo que demos no lugar, tinhão peitado a huns criados d'el-rey de Ternate, porque tanto que desembarquassemos desem sobre nós por mar. E assy ho fizerão. E nós embarquamos tão depresa que nem vagar pera tirar os cotungos [5] tivemos. Elles vinhão com perto de corenta corocoras e nós eramos seis as que pellejamos, porque as mais nossas erão tres, e apertarão ho pangaio [6] a fogir, de maneyra que nos demos com ellas; que na embarquação em que eu hia, que era a d'el-rey, nos matarão sete homens e ferirão muitos. E eu sai do yoguo com huma espingardada por hum braço, e quasi que não fuy de todo malltratado porque me tomava pellas ylhargas, mas quis Deus que me tomou o braço torto.

4. Estes são os exercicios em que andey toda a mais parte do tempo despois que estou nesta terra. Ysto vos digo eu, Yrmão, que hé fervor e fervor arrezoado. Peso-lhe muito por charidade que tenha sempre lembrança de me encomendar ao Senhor, e assy o pesa por mym aos Yrmãos, aquelles que mais me amão, que sempre [401*v*] se lembrem de mym.

Eu estou de camynho deste Amboino pera Baixhão com as novas que me derão que estavão esperando por nós corenta corocoras, a que não há mais que fazer que encomendarem-me todos a Deus, e eu, se vir que elles vem pera nós, não ey-de deixar de os santiguar com algumas espingardadas, porque na outra escaramuça passada .... [7]. E isto n[ã]o mais senão por defender meu habito, porque elles a mym não

---

25 a sentar *B* | e[1] *add.* a *B* || 26 e demos ... lugar] a lugares *B* | tinha] tinhão *B* | destroido] destroindo *AB*, destruido *C* || 27 tinhão] tinha *B* || 28 a huns criados] hum criado *B* | desembarquassemos] desbaratasemos que *B* || 29 sobre] en *B* | embarcarmo-nos *B* || 30 cotungos *AC*, tutanguos *B* || 33 de maneyra] en fim *B* | ellas *add.* de maneyra *B* || 34 em que] omde *B* || 36 e *add.* a *B* || 37 torto] direito *B* || 39 eu *add.* charisimo *B* || 41 o *om.* *B* || 42 aquelles ... amão *om.* *B* || 44 Eu] E eu *B* || 45 nós *add.* con *B* || 46-48 e eu ... passada *del.* *B* || 49 n[ã]o] não *C* | senão] que *B*

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[5] *Cotungos*, so to be read in texts A and C, whereas text B reads *tutanguos*. Both give the impression of being Malay words, but are not easy to identify. SÁ (II 356 note 7) suggests that it had to be *cotumba*, « basco pequeno do Guzarate » (DALGADO I 318); this, however, does not seem very likely. We suppose that *kotong* is meant, being the abbreviation of *baju kotong*, « a jacket with short sleeves » (POERWADARMINTA 162), with a Portuguese plural ending. Or could perhaps the Portuguese word *coturnos* be intended?

[6] *Pangaio*, « embarcação de dois mastros com velas latinas » (DALGADO II 157).

[7] The sentence seems to be unfinished.



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dizem : tir-te [8] nem tirai-vos. Quê tenho mais que escrever, senão que me dê muytas encomendas a todos eses Yrmãos ? Nosso Senhor nos dê sua graça pera verdadeiramente ho servirmos e amemos.

Feyta em Baixão, a sinquo de Mayo de 1561 annos.

Deste que muito os ama, pobre de virtudes,

Fernão d'Osouro.

## 97

## REPORT ON THE MISSION WORK OF THE JESUITS IN THE EAST

[Évora, September 1561]

I Text : DI V 160-188 [177-178]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 46 I* ff. 329*r*-343*v*. Spanish. The report has been written in two different hands ; it is partly autographic by Fr. Francisco Henriques, partly written in another hand, perhaps of Fr. André de Carvalho.

II Note : On authors, date, and place, see DI V 160-161. The report was destined for the Spaniard, Fr. Jerónimo Nadal, who in 1561 was an official Visitor of the Portuguese Province (Rodrigues, *História* II/I 280-286).

### *Text*

1. *Francisco Xavier and after him other Jesuits converted many people in Maluku ; their actual number is 40,000. These Christians should be helped apace as Islam is making great inroads there.* — 2. *Remarks on country and people. With their fortress and about 120 soldiers, the Portuguese dominate Ternate and its king.* — 3. *The king of Bacan is a Christian ; he remains loyal to the Portuguese.* — 4. *Cloves come from Ternate and nutmeg from Banda. For the passage from Goa to Maluku one needs a year.* — 5. *Which Jesuits are living in Maluku ; their subsistence is provided by the king of Portugal. They have a house and chapel in Ternate.* — 6. *The common language there is Malay.*

[...]

### Maluco

1. Andando el Pe Maestro Francisco en el Cabo de Comorín, y oyendo que los molucos era gente dispuesta y fácil para recibir nuestra sancta

50 Quê] Não *B* || 52 amemos *add.* Amen. *B* || 54-55 Deste ... Osouro *om. B*

[8] Shortened form of *tira-te*, be off with you ! (Roquete 1150).

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fe, y que algunos avían tomado la secta mahomética por medio de ciertos moros que fueron allá solo a predicarla, determinó ir a aquellas partes; y vesitando aquellas islas se convertieron fácilmente muchas gentes dellas. Después dio orden como fuessen allá más algunos de la Compañía [1] para sustentar los convertidos y augmentar el número de los fieles. Y desde entonces siempre uvo allí tres, quatro, hasta seis nuestros, por los quales nuestro Señor convertió muchas almas. Y las que parece que agora avrá christianas, serán ariba de quarenta mil [2]. Oviera muchas más, o toda aquella tiera fuera ya convertida, si no faltaran instrumentos para ello. Y parece que es muy importante acudirle con brevedad, porque allende de la necessidad ordinaria de su salvación, los moros van gañando muchos y apoderándosse de la tierra, y después que toman su secta es difícil el dissuadírsela.

2. La mayor parte destas islas son muy sanas, frescas, de muchos arboledos, fructas y mantenimentos de la tierra en grande abundancia. La gente no es muy belicosa, aunque tienen armas y navíos de que se sirven por la mar. Los portugueses tienen una fortaleza en Ternate, una de las islas en que está el principal rey dellas [3], en la qual avrá poco más de ciento y viente hombres de pelea, y estes tienen subiecto el reyno y el rey, y le prenden quando les parece que conviene [4].

3. Ay otro rey de una isla de las cinquo del cravo, la qual se llama Bachão, y es pariente deste principal, que se hizo christiano [5] con mucha gente de su reyno por ministerio de hun Hermano de la Compañía [6], y persevera tan fielmente que estando la fortaleza de los portugueses cercada y llevantada la tierra por parte del rey su pariente, él vino en persona con ciertas embarcaciones a ayudar los nuestros con mantenimentos y otras cosas.

4. Viene desta tierra el cravo, y de otra cerca della, que se dize Banda, viene la noz y maça.

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[1] In D 4, 2.

[2] D 63, 23 gave the number of 20,000 Christians for Moro, and, in no. 48, 50,000 for the whole of Maluku. D 67, 2 estimated the Ambon Christians at 15,000 to 20,000, and, in no. 3, the Moro Christians at 20,000 in 47 villages. In a letter of November 16, 1558, from Goa, Luís Fróis attributed «corenta mil» Christians to Maluku (DI IV 369).

[3] Sultan Hairun of Ternate.

[4] Hairun himself had been imprisoned at the beginning of 1545 (REBELO 213), and again in December 1557 (D 69, 1).

[5] The king of Bacan was baptized by Fr. António Vaz on July 1, 1557 (D 82, 1-3).

[6] Fernão de Osório, who, however, arrived only after the king had been baptized.

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Para ir de Goa a estas islas será menester casi un año, por la variación de los tiempos, y tómasse Malaca.

5. Ay agora allí de la Compañía quatro personas, dos sacerdotes y dos laycos, scilicet el Pe Nicolao Nunez, el Pe Antonio Fernandez, y los Hermanos Fernão d'Osouro e Araújo [7]. Susténtanse de la hazienda del Rey por provisión de S.A.[8] Tienen su principal habitación en Ternate adó está el rey de la tierra y la fortaleza del Rey de Portugal. Ay de la Compañía casa y capilla, cerca, y todas las officinas necessarias [9], y allí vienen a refusilarse de los trabajos los que van a otras islas. Y en casi todas ellas ay casillas nuestras adó habitan y se recogen los de la Compañía.

6. La lengua más común desta tierra es malaya, y la gente por la mayor parte son moros que se hizieron de gentíos.

[...]

## 98

## SURVEY OF THE FAR EAST JESUIT MISSIONS PRESENTED TO FR. JERÓNIMO NADAL, VISITOR OF THE PORTUGUESE PROVINCE

[Portugal, June-October 1561]

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 46 I* ff. 344*r*-345*v*, formerly 145, still earlier 103. Original in Portuguese. A folio sheet folded lengthwise so as to number four narrow pages. Text on ff. 344*r* and *v* and upper f. 345*r*, which besides nos. 19-21 contains also no. 14, which points to the dividing line between nos. 13 and 15, and which evidently was added afterwards. All the paragraphs are clearly separated by level lines. F. 345*v* bears only the word « India » in Nadal's handwriting. The text has been written in two hands. That it is only a fragment out of a larger writing appears from the very first words on top of f. 344*r*, immediately preceding our text: « [...] terras de Japão onde facilmente receberão a fee chatolica se ouver quem os instruya nela ». Also the abrupt beginning

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[7] From this it appears that the notice of Vieira's death in early 1560 had arrived in Portugal rather quickly, but that the news of the departure of Fr. Fernandes had not been forwarded to the Évora Fathers, or rather, he was reckoned still to belong to Maluku, where he soon returned.

[8] Cf. D 87 note 2: rule of the royal padroado.

[9] This information is not contained in any document from Maluku known to us, and it is obviously quoted from one of the lost letters. The Jesuits had still no church of their own in Ternate (D 107, 2).

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« Diz que . . . », without mentioning *who* says it and *where* he says so, points to it.

II AUTHOR: The first hand is that of Fr. Francisco Henriques SJ as is evident from a comparison with his many letters in *ARSI, Lus. 61.* At that time he was a « procurator », that is, a manager or economist, for the Jesuits in Portugal, Brasil, Africa, and India, and a secretary to the Provincial. The identity of the second hand could not be established with certainty.

III ADDRESSEE: In *ARSI, Goa 46 I* our document follows immediately on the report on India from which our D 97 was taken and which was written for Fr. Nadal. As it differs from this preceding one in style, method, and tendency, and was written in another language and on paper of a quite different size, we think that it can only be said to be a second part (pars posterior) in so far as it was also presented to Nadal, perhaps together with the other (See DI V 160-161). Two facts point to this addressee: the word « India » written by Nadal himself on f. 345*v*; the note in Spanish (our present no. 14), added to a Portuguese text and explaining the sources of the preceding and following paragraphs.

IV DATE: D 97 was purposely written for Nadal and therefore in Spanish. The present document is in Portuguese, and only the note in Spanish (no. 14) shows that it has been presented to a Spanish reader. For this reason it could, theoretically, have been written much before the time of Nadal's visitation of Portugal. For the first part, containing abstracts from a letter of 1556, this may be true. As to the second part (nos. 15-21), it contains abstracts from D 88. Sailing prosperously this letter would arrive in Goa in February-March 1560, and in Lisbon in July-August 1561. That it did so indeed we know almost certainly from the fact that, according to a letter from Lisbon of June 17, 1561, at that very date a letter of Fróis from Goa, of November 13, 1560, and consequently at least one *via* of the Indian mail, had been delivered in Portugal (See DI V 151). On the other hand, Nadal did not end his visit in Portugal until October 1561. Therefore the second part has been composed between June and October of 1561.

V NOTE: Properly speaking this survey is only a collection of abstracts from other documents, especially from D 63 (nos. 1-13) and D 88 (nos. 15-21), all of them referring only to regions beyond Malacca. It has been composed, however, with the special tendency of pointing most emphatically at the shortage of workers and at its deplorable results. Like the theme of a song, at nearly every paragraph the lamentation recurs: they would become Christians if only they had someone to instruct and baptize them. From this we learn the sympathy and the sense of responsibility, but also the deep distress of the Portuguese Jesuits as regards their SE Asian mission field. It is this that justifies the insertion of this document as a distinct number into our collection.

## *Text*

1-2. *Notice on Papua,* — 3. *On peoples living between Ternate and Papua.* — 4. *Notice on Moro.* — 5. *On Selebes and Manado.* — 6. *On Makasar.* — 7. *On*

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*Mindanao.* — 8. *On the Sula Islands.* — 9. *On Buru.* — 10. *On Ambon.* — 11. *Shortage of workers in Ambon and Moro.* — 12. *Notice on Vararura (Seram).* — 13. *On Banda and other regions.* — [14. *Note added in order to point to the sources of the preceding and following numbers.*] — 15. *Notice on Solor.* — 16. *On Timor.* — 17. *On another island.* — 18. *On Makasar.* — 19. *On Panarukan,* — 20. *On Tanor* [*sic*]. — 21. *On Canton in China.*

1. Diz que, alem da ilha de Morotaim, para a parte de oriente está a terra dos papuas, huma das grandes terras que há ; dizem que tem setecentas legoas de costa e que chega muy perto da Nova España. Hé gente muy negra quasi como cafres, todos gentios, tem muytos reys. Dizem que há em esta terra muito ouro. Hé gente viva de engenho e facilmente tomarião a fee se ouvesse obreiros della, e que estão clamando por quem os bautize [1].

2. E que não são mais de Maluco àquella terra que 6 ou 7 dias de caminho, tudo por antre ilhas até chegar laa ; gente que folga muito de ver os portugueses e hé muy domestica [2].

3. Que há entre esta terra dos papuas e a fortaleza d'El-Rey de Portugal outras ilhas innumeraveis, de diversas gentes e varias nações, e que não sabe o Irmão [3] que de laa veo o nome dellas, mas que estes sabia e que tinha visto alguma gente delles, os quais se chamão sumas, gabes, guarceas ; e que muy facilmente tomarião a fee se ouvesse quem lha fosse denunciar [4].

4. Que en toda a terra do Moro há 46 lugares de christãos entre pequenos e grandes, e alguns delles de setecentos ou oytocentos vezinhos, e que muitos mais se augmentarião cada dia se não tivessem 2 inconvenientes : hum delles, o medo dos reys mouros que lhes poem se se fizerem christãos, o outro a falta de quem lhes mostre o caminho dos thesouros da gloria [5].

5. Diz que há humas terras onde há grande numero de almas perdidas sem conhecimento de seu Criador, entre as quais há huma gente chamada celebes, aonde há hum rey christão que se chama el-rey do

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4 negra *corr. fr.* negras || 13 o[1] . . . veo *interl.* || 18 de *rep.* || 20 o medo *interl.*

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[1] D 63, 20. The situation depicted in nos. 1-13 of this survey is that of 1556.
[2] D 63, 21.
[3] Nicolau Nunes.
[4] D 63, 22.
[5] D 63, 23.

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Manado. Hé gente bem desposta e bem acondicionada, mas que nenhuma pesoa tem que lhes diga : fazê-vos christãos [6].

6. Alem destas terras há outras chamadas os macasares, onde há 3 reis christãos. Estes diz que estão sem quem os ensine e baptize, e instruya em a fee, e por falta de obreyros se perdem [7].

7. Há tambem outras terras junto destas chamadas Mindanao, Tapina. Tem muita canela e ouro, e muytas almas perdidas que facilmente receberião a fee [8].

8. Há tambem outros chamados xulas, os quaes no[m] menos facilmente receberião a fee [9].

9. Que há em Ambueno huma ilha chamada o Burro, a qual teraa 50 legoas ao rededor. Há em ella muitos lugares de christãos e toda ella se converteria se ouvesse quem os doutrinasse [10]. [344*v*]

10. Dez legoas desta ilha, chamada o Burro, estão as terras de Ambueno, aonde há muitos lugares de christãos, e muitos mais se farião, mas não há gente que os faça [11].

11. Que há por muitos lugares de Ambueno muitos que pedem que os fação christãos e que os baptizem, e que por falta de obreyros perecem. Porque, com a christandade de Ambueno e do Moro ser tanta, que poderá aver em estas duas partes cincoenta mil almas christãas ou mais, não andão agora em o Moro mais que dous Irmãos, e outro Padre, chamado Afonso de Castro, que está com outro companheyro em a fortaleza de Ambueno [12].

12. Diz que há ali outra ilha, chamada Vararura, que será de cento e cincoenta legoas ao rededor, aonde muitos lugares pedem baptismo ; e que seria cousa facil multiplicar-sse todas estas gentes baptizando-sse, mas a dificuldade hé não aver obreyros que hos instruyão e conservem [13].

13. Junto desta ilha está Banda, aonde há nozes noscadas e massa. Há tambem outras muitas terras e reynos, as quaes parece que estão esperando por quem lhe vaa dar a alegre nova de sua redemção :

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[6] D 63, 44.

[7] D 63, 45.

[8] D 63, 46.

[9] D 63, 46.

[10] D 63, 47.

[11] D 63, 48.

[12] Here the composer of this abstract did not read D 63, 48 well. There was no fortress at Ambon.

[13] D 63, 51. Vararura, more often Veranula, is W Ceram.

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alguns destes com tanta instancia pedem e desejão o bautismo, que mandavão recados à nao, que estava pera partir, que os fossem bautizar [14].

[14. Hasta esta linea me parece que es summa de una carta, que avrá dos o tres años que embió el P.e Antonio de Quadros de la India [15], y lo demás summa de otra que en esta última armada vino de Malaca, del Padre Baltesar Díaz de la Compañía que allí reside [16].]

15. Alem de Malaca 300 legoas está a ilha de Solor onde há muitos christãos que os Portugueses fazem que aly invernão; está disposta toda pera receber a fee se ouvese quem nos fosse baptizar [17].

16. Alem desta ilha 40 legoas estaa a ilha de Timor. Não tem idolos nem adora cousa alguma. Fazem os moradores quanto lhes dizem os portugueses. Perden-se por falta de quem os insine e baptize [18].

17. De fronte de Solor está huma ilha muito grande [19]. Averá nella 200 christãos com el-rei que o hé. Não adora esta gente a cousa alguma, nem tem pagodes. Pedem todos que os vão baptizar. Cedo toda esta ilha se faria christam polla disposição que há, mas perde-se por falta de obreiros [20].

18. Perto de Malaca está huma terra muito grande chamada Macaça, toda de gentios. Há nella quatro reis christãos e não tem quem nos conserve nem instruya na fee. Nesta terra há [n]os bazares muito ouro e outras muitas riquezas. Pedem com muita instancia o baptismo [21]. [345*r*]

19. Panaruca hé huma provincia muito grande perto de Malaca. Nunqua quis aceitar a lei de Mafamede, pollo que lhe puserão muitas guerras. Dizem os moradores que não han-de receber outra lei senão a dos portugueses. Hé terra sadia e fresca como Europa e mui fertil de mantimentos. Pedem muitas vezes o baptismo; não há quem os soccorra [22].

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68 perden-se *corr. fr.* pede-se

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[14] D 63, 51.

[15] D 63 was written from Malacca by Luís Fróis by order of Fr. Baltasar Dias. It may have been forwarded to Portugal by Fr. António de Quadros.

[16] D 88.

[17] D 88, 1.

[18] D 88, 2.

[19] Flores.

[20] D 88, 3.

[21] D 88, 6.

[22] D 88, 7.

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20. No reino de Tanor, cujo rei hé christão, não está mais que hum Irmão. Perde-se muito ou quasi tudo por falta de obreiros [23].

21. Diz tãobem que já em Canthão, cidade mui principal da China, recebem a secta de Mafamede e que averá seis mil mouros feitos, e como se fazem ficão sogeitos pera as armadas [24]. Se estes com tão miseravel jugo recebem tão maa lei, com quanta milhor vontade receberião a nossa fee, se ouvesse quem lhes fosse denunciar a palavra da vida?

## 99

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE HERÉDIA SJ TO SOME WEIGHTY JESUIT AUTHORITY

[Lisbon, Autumn 1561?]

I TEXT: DI V 192-202 [201]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 II* ff. 348*r*-353*v*. Autograph in Portuguese.

II ADDRESSEE and DATE: See DI V 193.

III NOTE: Fr. de Herédia had not satisfied his superiors in India and had, in January 1561, been sent back to Portugal, where, in October or November 1562, he left the Society. This letter, full of bitter complaints, nevertheless contains some useful new information about the Jesuit mission work in Asia.

### *Text*

1. *Some Jesuits who were « New Christians » have been sent to India. He stigmatizes this as an occasion of scandal. Instance of Fr. Henriques.* — 2. *Instance of Maluku: such a Father constituted himself a superior by means of a spurious letter.*

---

[23] Cf. DI V 160 note 1: Tanur is a small kingdom in India. Its mention does not fit in here because it lies outside the series of geographic names quoted here from D 88, because it is not true that, at that time, a Brother was working there, and because its Christian king had apostatized many years ago. In Dias' letter, between Panarukan and Canton, there is a mention of Cambodia, which is omitted in this survey. Wicki's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that *Tanor* is an error for *Bachão* (Bacan) may be true, since its king had been baptized, and since one Brother, Fernão de Osório, was a missionary there (DD 69 and 70).

[24] D 88, 8.

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[...]

1. Alguns christãos-novos [1] mandão na Companhia na India. Não se edificão algumas pessoas diso, antes se escandalizão por correrem os tempos como correm. O Padre Anrique [2] Anriques tem a obedientia aos Padres no Cabo do Comorym e de alguns que são profesos.

2. Em Maluquo se alevantou hum [3] com a obedientia, fazendo hum scripto falso polo qual se fez obedientia [4]. Não fora scandalo tanto como foy por se saber ser christão-novo e por despois ficar outro [5] em seu lugar, sendo o outro [6] tirado, posto que era hum sancto.

[...]

## 100

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA, TO FR. GENERAL, DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Bassein, November 28, 1561

TEXT: DI V 238-246 [239; 243; 244-245]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 II* ff. 263*r*-264*v*. Original. Portuguese. Text written by amanuensis; autographic signature.

### *Text*

1. *No letters came from Maluku, though the siege of Ternate has been much alleviated. Fr. Vieira died. In September [1561] Fr. Marcos Prancudo was sent there with five companions. Hopes and expectations.* — 2. *Fr. Ignatius [de Loyola] did not want the provincial to leave Goa and to visit far off regions. As Fr. Lainez now does want this, he decided to visit Japan or Maluku this coming year, but he doubts*

---

[1] *Cristãos-novos* was the common name indicating Christians of Jewish origin, especially those forcibly converted in 1497 and their descendents. As the conversion of many of them was only simulated, they generally aroused suspicion and were often neither esteemed nor trusted (See ALMEIDA, *História de Portugal* II 244).

[2] Herédia erroneously wrote Francisco. Henrique Henriques was a New Christian (DI I 46*); of Francisco Henriques this is never said (ibid. 47*). Henrique worked in the Fishery Coast and became a superior there.

[3] This was Fr. António Vaz: «Dizem que hé christão-novo ao menos duma parte» (D 85, 6).

[4] Cf. D 60 note 1.

[5] Fr. Francisco Vieira.

[6] Fr. Afonso de Castro. He was a New Christian too (DI I 438-439).

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*if this will be possible. — 3. He proposes a difficulty of canon law : if some cases are reserved to higher authorities, how can subjects who live far away, as in Maluku, go to confession ?*

[...]

1. De Malluquo não há cartas [1] por estar aimda a fortaleza de cerquo, aymda que muito mais desalliviada [2]; esperamos em o Senhor que esteye yá de todo pacyfiqua. Este Setembro, por ser morto o Padre Francisco Vieira que lá era superior, se há mamdado pera llá ter o carreguo o Padre Marcos Pramcudo com cymquo companheiros [3] de muita vertude e zello das allmas. Esperamos em o Senhor que com tam boa ayuda se á-de fazer muito fruito naquela terra, por ser mui aparelhada a gemte dela pera receber nosa fee. E se Ell-Rey de Portuguall tivera mais poder nela, não bastaria muito numero de operarios pera colher o fruito que della se pudera tirar.

[...]

2. Residir o provimciall em Guoa ou não visitar partes remotas foy emcomemdado polo Padre Mestre Ygnacio de gloriosa memoria [4], creio que por ymformaçõis de allguns Padres de quá por allguns ymcomvenyemtes que virão acomtecer pola ausemcia dos provimciais polla ynsuficiemcia dos que fiquavão em seu luguar [5]. Todavia, como V.P. apomta parecer-lhe necessaria a visitação nestas partes [6] — fiquamdo todavia bem ordenadas as cousas em Guoa e nesta costa, que propriamemte se chama quá Ymdya, porque, como quá hé a cabeça, quallquer fallta nella hé mayor que nas outras partes — e eu este ano

---

[1] That is to say, in early 1561 Fr. António Fernandes had arrived from Maluku, but obviously without official letters, which is understandable, as the superior Fr. Vieira had died in early 1560.

[2] Read *aliviada*. The siege of Ternate was lifted in December 1558, but hostile actions against the Portuguese and Christians continued.

[3] Seventh sending of Jesuits to Maluku. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 20-25.

[4] Polanco, by order of Ignatius Loyola, had written on November 21, 1555, to the provincial of Portugal : « Quienquiera que se ynbíe por provintial a la India quédese en ella, y no la dexe, aunque su devotión mucho le mueva. Para otros reynos podrá ynbiar gente, si la tubiere para hazerlo, mas él quede en la India » (MI *Epp.* X 173).

[5] When, in 1554, Vice-provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto left India for a journey to Japan, he appointed as his substitute Baltasar Dias, against whom complaints were lodged (MI *Epp.* X 24).

[6] A letter of Fr. Laínez with these contents does not seem to have been known to the editor of the DI.

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se pudera tinha detreminado de fazer huma sayda comprida pera o Japão ou Malluquo, mas não creio que por aguora será posyvel [7].
[. . .]

3. Acerqua dos casos reservados tenho eu huma duvida, a quall folguaria que V.P. declarase, e hé se eo ipso que se reserva huma cousa, como escrever cartas sem licemça, se a emtemção da Companhia hé ao riguor naquilo a pecado mortall, porque, semdo aquilo peccado veniall, parece que se não pode neguar a absolvição quamdo hum de todo em todo ha pydir — aymda que em os simples não aja ysto, em os que presumem de saber o pode aver, aymda que por bomdade do Senhor não creio que o averá quá — por aguora tambem se comthem debaixo desta duvida. Os furtos ou retemções etc. in materia levi, que a muito chegua a pecado veniall, tambem são reservados. E asy nas terras distamtes como Maluquo duvidamos quamdo será comodo vir-se comfesar o supremo della ao provimcyall, ou os superiores, que estão lomgue, ao supremo superior de Malluquo ou Japão. Ymaginava eu seria comveniemte escrever-lhe huma carta que se quer comfesar com elle, e asy segiria o que elle lhe ordenase [8].
[. . .]

Deste Baçaim, oje 28 de Novembro de 1561.

[*Autographic*] Indino filho de V.P. en o Senhor,

Antonio de Quadros.

*Lost Letter*

100*a*. — *Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, Malacca, to Fr. António de Quadros, Goa ; November-December 1561.*

Mascarenhas to Quadros, April 16, 1562 : « Escrevi de Malaqa a Vossa Reverencia o bom tempo que N.S. nos deu com que em poucos dias nos pôs em Malaqua » (D 109, 1).

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[7] In actual fact, no provincial ever visited Maluku.

[8] On some reserved cases in the Society of Jesus, see *Epp. Nadal* IV 454-455, especially nos. 2 and 7. For an answer, see D 113.

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## 101

# FR. LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PROVINCIAL ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Goa, December 1, 1561

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : See DI V 250, and add BARBOSA MACHADO III 97.

II TEXT : DI V 250-265 [259]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 II* ff. 277*r*-281*v*, only the last words « Por comissão . . . Frois » being borrowed from a coeval copy in the *Ajuda* archives. Autograph in Portuguese.

III NOTE : As Luís Fróis was ordained a priest in 1561, from now on he is called Father (DI V 258-259).

IV : PRINTED : in SÁ II 360-361 ; he prints our fragment, borrowed from *Ajuda 49-4-50*.

### *Text*

1. *Before winter some Fathers and Brothers departed from Goa to Malacca, Maluku, and Japan. A heavy storm forced them to return and to wait until September.* — 2. *Then they sailed off again : Fr. Marcos Prancudo with two Fathers and three Brothers to Maluku ; others, together with the bishop who urgently requested them, to Malacca.*

[. . .]

1. Quanto aas missões pera as partes remotas, antes do inverno [1] partirão daqui em diversas naos alguns Padres e Irmãos pera Maluquo [2], outros pera Malaqua, pera onde tambem hia o Padre Bispo Melchior Carneiro [3] a ver se podia convalecer de sua asma, por naquella terra se acharem bem os doentes desta emfermidade ; o Padre Arboleda com outro Irmão hião pera Japão. Deu-lhe huma tempestade tão grande com vemtos contrairos que todos arribarão sem nenhuma nao de Goa nem de Cochim poder passar a Malaqua. Tornarão-se pera este collegio, aonde estiverão esperando sinco ou seis meses pola monção de Setembro.

---

[1] That is, at the scheduled time, in April 1561.

[2] « Dous ou tres Padres e Irmãos » (D 104, 3).

[3] He had been appointed an auxiliary bishop for Ethiopia, but could not reach that country. Not before 1568 did he actually manage to sail to the Far East (VALIGNANO, *Historia* 303 note 36).

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2. E nella se partirão pera Maluquo e Amboino os Padres Marcos Prancudo, Pedro Mascarenhas e Francisco Vieira que o anno passado desse regno veo [4], e os Irmãos Fernãod'Alv[ar]ez, Manoel Gomez e Diogo de Magalhães. Pera Malaqua foi o Padre Christovão da Costa, que era ministro deste collegio, com os Irmãos João Fernandez e Gonçalo Fernandez, pollo Bispo de Malaqua [5] ir então pera lá, ho qual tinha com instancia pedido alguns cooperadores da Companhia pera o ajudarem naquelle seu bispado.

[...]

Deste collegio de São Paulo de Goa, ao primeiro de Dezembro de 1561 annos.

[Por comissão do Padre Provincial,
servo inutil de todos,

Luis Frois].

## 102

## FR. LUÍS FRÓIS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PROVINCIAL ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL AND EUROPE

Goa, December 1, 1561

I AUTHOR: MAFFEI, *Historiarum* 330 (on nos. 2-3).

II TEXT: DI V 270-288 [285; 287-288]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 130*r*-136*v*. Original in Portuguese. Fifth *via*.

III NOTE: It is this letter that contains our D 90. No. 1 follows immediately on it, and the very first sentence could perhaps still belong to it, no clear division being visible in the MS.

### *Text*

1. [*Manuel, chief of Hatiwi*] *always likes to regale the passing Jesuits well. Last year he sent two sons to the college of Goa. Fr. Provincial provided him with some needful things.* — 2. *The king of Solor wrote to Fr. Dias in Malacca in order to obtain some Jesuits.* — 3. *His request not being granted, he sent a nephew to Malacca to be instructed in the faith and to return to Solor as a catechizer.*

---

[4] See WICKI, *Liste* no. 74.

[5] First bishop of Malacca, D. Jorge de Santa Luzia OP, 1558-1576, but who only arrived in Malacca in 1561. On him see WICKI, *D. Jorge de Santa Luzia O.P., 1. Bischof von Malakka (1558-1576)*.

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[. . .]
[*text of* D 90]

1. Quando ali vão os Irmãos [1] rrecebe-os com grande alegria e agasalhado, ministrando-lhe o necesario desa pobreza que tem. Este anno pasado mandou dous filhos seus e hum criado a este colegio [2] pera aqui aprenderem a doutrina christam e se emsinarem a ler e escrever. Quando agora forão nossos Padres pera Maluquo [3] lhe mandou o Padre Provincial [4] algumas cousas que lhe lá eram necessarias, por ser tão bom homen que sem nenhum adjutorio humano á tantos annos persevera com tanta constantia na fee que tomou.

[. . .]

2. Agora fas dous annos lhes escrevemos como em humas ylhas — donde ven o sandolo, longe de Malaqua — fizera hum fidalgo, que ali foi negociar sua fazenda, o rei de Solor christão, com sua molher e a gente principal de seu reino [5], e lá foi huma copia de huma carta que elle escreveo a Malaqua ao Padre Baltazar Dias [6], em que lhe pedia muito fose ô fizese lá ir alguns Padres da Companhia pera o instruirem nas cousas da fee e pera se bauptizar a mais gente que ainda não hera feita christãa.

3. Porque o fidalgo que o bauptizou morreo e ficou elle desemparado, esperando depois algum tempo que fosem lá e não indo, polo deseyo que tinha da sua salvação, não tendo filho nenhum, tomou hum principe do reino, filho de hum seu irmão, e mãodô-o a Malaqua ao Padre Baltezar Dias com hum rrecado que dizia que, pois ahi avia falta de Padres pera o irem ensinar, que llá lhe mãodava aquele sobrinho seu por não ter outro filho que mãodar; que lhe pedia muito o tivese ay en casa e lhe fizese aprender a doutrina pera, como fose instruido nas cousas da fee e doutrina christam, tornase o mesmo menino a ensiná-los. E ay fica na casa de Malaqua aprendendo as orações; tem bom natural e abilidade pera em breve tenpo aprender todas; chama-se Lourenço. Quererá Nosso Senhor prover-nos dessas partes d'Europa, pera que estas e outras muitas necesidades seyão rremediadas.

---

[1] I.e., the Jesuits. The grammatical subject of *recebe* is Manuel of Hatiwi; cf. D 90.

[2] Saint Paul's College in Goa.

[3] The group of Fr. Prancudo; see D 101, 2.

[4] Fr. António de Quadros.

[5] Cf. D 88, 1 and note 4.

[6] Lost letter. See D 79*e*.

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[*Autograph*] Deus Nosso Senhor a todos nos tenha de sua poderosa mão e nos dê a sentir sua santa vontade e essa comprir.

Deste collegio de São Paulo de Goa, ao primeiro de Dezembro de 1561 annos.

Por comissão do Padre Amtonio de Quadros, provincial na India.

Servo inutil de todos,

Luis Frois.

[*Autographic Address*] Aos charissimos em Christo Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus em os collegios de Portugal e a todos os mais d'Europa.

Do collegio de Goa da conversão dos infieis, deste anno de 1561. 5ª via, da India.

## 103

## FR. CHRISTOVÃO DA COSTA SJ TO BR. GIL BARRETO SJ, PORTUGAL

Malacca, December 1, 1561

I TEXT: DI V 306-307 [307]. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* f. 361*v*. Coeval shortened Portuguese copy.

II NOTE: Christovão da Costa arrived in India in 1551 (DI II 6*; WICKI, *Liste* no. 37). He wrote also DD 166, 186, and 193.

### *Text*

*1. Some of the six missionaries appointed to Maluku were ordained priests in Malacca. — 2. The ordination was performed by Bishop de Santa Luzia, who is much devoted to the Society.*

1. Alguns dos companheiros do Padre Marcos Prancudo se ordenarão aqui de missa [1], que são por todos seis os que vão pera Maluco.

2. O bispo Dom Jorge de Santa Lusia os ordenou, o qual hé tão amigo e devoto da Companhia, que lho não sei dizer, e está tão sugeito e obediente a qualquer de nós, que não ousa negar e contradizer cousa que lhe digamos [2].

[...]

[1] They were Fr. Fernando Álvares and Fr. Diogo de Magalhães (D 115, 3 and 11).

[2] That the bishop did not persist in this submissive mood can be seen from D 191, 6 and 8.

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## 104

## FR. MANUEL TEIXEIRA SJ TO FR. MARCOS NUNES SJ, PORTUGAL

Bassein, December 4, 1561

TEXT : DI V 315-318 [316]. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* f. 276*v*. Coeval shortened copy in Portuguese.

### *Text*

1. *Fr. Francisco Vieira died from fever.* — 2. *Maluku and its Christian church are constantly in trouble after the king of Ternate was imprisoned and freed again ; now he is on the side of the Portuguese, but with what loyalty ?* — 3. *In April some Jesuits sailed for Ternate, but they had to return ; in September another group sailed with Fr. Prancudo as superior.*

1. De Maluco tivemos este anno passado, polo Padre Antonio Fernandez que de lá veo [1], novas como o Padre Vieira era falecido de febres [2]; de que aquelle povo diz que ficou muito sentido e falto, polo muito que nelle tinha feito e fazia.

2. Anda aquella terra e christandade toda envolta com os alevantamentos, que lá ouve dos reis comarcãos com a prisam do rei de Tarnate, que já hé solto e anda agora peleijando por nós com os nossos [3], mas não sei com quanta lealdade, porque sempre teve pouca.

3. Pera lá hiam na mouçam d'Abril dous ou tres Padres e Irmãos, mas, porque arribarão, forão nesta de Setembro alguns cinco sacerdotes e hum Irmão [4]. Foi o Padre Prancudo por superior, e de tudo aquella terra tem necessidade.

[...]

Manoel Teixeira.

---

[1] According to scheduled navigation time he arrived in India in January 1561 ; consequently he left Maluku in February-May 1560. Another witness in a letter from Cochin of January 16, 1561 : « Tãobem temos por novas que vem houtro Padre de Malluquo, que trás novas que ho Padre Fframcisquo Vieira, que llá estava por soprior, que hé morto » (DI V 74).

[2] One may infer that Fr. Francisco Vieira died in early 1560, if not in late 1559.

[3] That is, as an ally of the Portuguese.

[4] When leaving India, they were three Fathers and three Brothers, but on the way two of the latter, who appear to have been scholastics, were ordained priests in Malacca (D 101, 2 ; D 103 note 1).



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## 105

## FR. MARCOS PRANCUDO SJ TO FR. MAURÍCIO SERPE SJ, PORTUGAL

Malacca, December 10, 1561

TEXT: DI V 320-321. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* f. 267*v*. Shortened, coeval copy in Portuguese.

### *Text*

*He stopped in Malacca on his way to Ternate, where he will go with five companions. Remarks on Maluku's foodstuffs.*

[...]

Estou ao presente em Malaca, onde achei o Padre Manoel Alvarez destruido com seu naufragio [1], ecc. Vou de caminho pera Maluco com cinco companheiros onde temos bem que trabalhar por aquella cristandade estar distruida com guerras passadas. Hé terra onde não há pão nem vinho nem carne, e sempre comem peixe; e o pão hé como de cinza misturada com vidro, porque reluz muito [2], e quem pode comer aroz hé rei, ecc.

## 106

## CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

Goa, [December] 1561

I TEXT: DI V 265-270 [269]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24* ff. 35*r*-36*v*. Original. Portuguese. Fourth *via*.

II DATE: See DI V 265. For Maluku the document includes the names of the six Jesuits who with Fr. Prancudo sailed for Ternate in September 1561. Two of them, Álvares and Magalhães, are listed among the *irmãos*. But they had been ordained to the priesthood in Malacca

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[1] See the very extensive and interesting report on the shipwreck and other adventures, written by Fr. Manuel Álvares himself, of January 5, 1562, in DI V 433-478.

[2] The *sagu*.

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before December 1 of that year (D 103). The news of this occurrence could not reach India before January 1562. So the Catalogue was drawn up between September 1561 and January 1562. The ships for Lisbon generally left Goa in December.

*Text*

*The names of nine Jesuits residing in Maluku.*

LISTA DOS PADRES E IRMÃO QUE ESTÃO NESTE COLLEGIO DE S. PAULO DE GOA E DOS MAIS QUE ESTÃO POR OUTRAS PARTES DIVERSAS.

[...]

Maluquo

45 O Pe. Marquos Pranqudo
46 O Pe. Pedro Mascarenhas
47 O Pe. Niculao Nunez
48 O Pe. Francisco Vieira, que este anno ordenarão [1]
49 O Ir. Fernão d'Osouro
50 O Ir. Baltezar d'Araujo
51 O Ir. Fernãod'Alveres [2]
52 O Ir. Manoel Guomez
53 O Ir. Dioguo de Magalhãis [3]

[...]

[*By another hand*] Lista dos Padres e Irmãos desta Provimcia da India deste anno de 1561. — 4ª via.

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[1] A namesake of the former superior. After his arrival in Maluku he was called Francisco Rodrigues (D 115, 36). See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 22.

[2] He had been ordained a priest in Malacca before December 1, 1561 (D 103, 1).

[3] He also had been ordained in Malacca (ibid.).

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## 107

## BR. FRANCISCO JORGE SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Cochin, February 3, 1562

## [BR. BALTASAR DE ARAÚJO SJ TO FR. PROVINCIAL, GOA]

[Ternate, February 1561]

I AUTHOR: SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc. Lainius* IV 167.

II TEXTS: No original is known.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 400*v*-401*r*, *corr. fr.* 401*v*-402*r*. Heading: « Copia de huma do Pe. Frco Yorge pera os Padres e Yrmãos da Compª de 3 de Fevereyro de 1562 ». In the left margin « 1ª », probably *via*; and « Ja », that is, copied. Coeval copy in Portuguese.

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* f. 275*v*. A fuller title: « Copia do Irmão Francisco Jorge das novas de Maluquo en summa pera os Irmãos da Companhia de Portugal escrita em Cochim a 3 de Fivireiro de 1562 ». Copy in Portuguese. In many small details it deviates from text A: more than once it transposes words or replaces them by other ones; it avoids mentioning Dom Duarte [de Eça], and contains many smaller omissions. See apparatus. It is perhaps a different *via*.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* f. 289*r*. In Portuguese; copied from text A without any variant, but for another hand adding to the title « de Cochim ».

D. Madrid, *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Jesuitas, legajo 270 no. 61*. Contemporary Portuguese copy, headed: « Copia de huma de Francisco Jorge das novas de Maluquo en suma pera os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus, a 3 de Fevereyro de 1562. 5ª via ». Two ff.; the text only on f. 1*r*; f. 2*v* has the note « Maluco - 1561 ». Text very similar to A and C.

III PLACE: In the conclusion no place-name is mentioned. From no. 1, from the heading of text B, and from the added words to that of text C, it can be gathered that the letter was written in Cochin. Br. Jorge, who in the summer of 1561 still lived in Malacca (DI V 475), but in December of 1562 was already in Goa (ibid. 618), had stopped in Cochin on his way. Fr. Paio Correia, mentioned in no. 4, was in charge of the church in Cochin (ibid. 403).

IV NOTE: The main contents of this letter consist of another one written by Br. Baltasar de Araújo from Ternate (See D 95 A). Most probably Araújo addressed his letter, a *carta geral*, to Fr. Provincial in Goa, but Fr. Melchior Nunes wanted to forward it also to the Jesuits in Portugal. Therefore he charged his guest, Br. Jorge, to make a hasty abstract of Araújo's missive before the ships sailed for Portugal. Araújo must have composed it in February 1561, before the ships sailed from Ternate. As Jorge is speaking of Araújo in the third person (no. 2), it is likely that he does not always quote the latter exactly, but gives a paraphrase or shortened abstract.

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V PRINTED: in SÁ II 430-432; he prints text A with some unannounced corrections, taken from text B.

VI OUR EDITION: We edit text A, pointing in the apparatus to the more important variants of text B.

## *Text*

1. *He is writing a summary of a «general letter» of Br. Araújo from Maluku.* — 2. *One Father and two Brothers are living in the fortress. Pastoral work of the Father. The Jesuits have no church of their own.* — 3. *The Father and one Brother sailed with the captain to Tolo, where the people are on the side of Ternate, but nothing was achieved. On account of the war it is impossible to visit the Christians of Moro and Ambon. The man to be blamed for this war was Dom Duarte [de Eça].* — 4. *Cut off from their flock, the Jesuits try to excel in an edifying life, duly keeping their religious rules. This is a copy to be included in a letter of Fr. Paio Correia.*

A graça de Nosso Senhor seya sempre em nossas allmas. Amem.

1. Mandou-me, charissymos em Christo Yrmãos, ho Padre Mestre Melchior [1], nosso reytor do collegio da Madre de Deus de Cochym, que sumaryamente vos desse conta dos Yrmãos e Padres que estão em Malluquo, e isto tirado de huma carta geral que de llá escreveo ho Yrmão Balltesar d'Arauyo [2].

2. Estão, charissymos Yrmãos, na fortalleza ho P.e Nicollao Nunez e os Yrmãos Baltesar d'Arauyo e Fernão d'Osouro, e ocupa-sse o Padre em confissões que, por ser são, tem tantos trabalhos. Tem feyto muito fruyto com toda a gente, assy da terra como casados, e hé tanta a devação que se confessão muitos, que dantes se confessavão muy raramente, cada oito dias; e vai-lhes ho Padre ministrar os sacramentos à Mysericordia assy da eucharistia como da confissão, por não teremos ygreya [3]. E assy mais ho Padre faz aos domyngos e dias santos sua doutrina aos christãos com muito fervor, assy delle como dos ouvyntes.

3. Foi ho Padre com ho Yrmão Fernão d'Osouro, em companhia do capitão [4], ao Tolo, se chama, que são tarnates, a dar nelles por fa-

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1 A graça ... Amen *om. B* || 5 geral *om. B* || 9 são]soo *B*, são *C* | tantos] tantó *ms.*, muitos *B* || 15 christãos *del.* assy || 18 ao] a hum luguar por nome *B* | se chama *om. B*

---

[1] Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto.

[2] Lost letter. See 95A.

[3] They had only a small chapel (D 97, 5).

[4] The Captain of Maluku, Manuel de Vasconcelos, who had arrived in October 1560, had already died in early 1561, shortly after having dispatched the *nau*

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zerem muyto mal aos nossos. Lá deu ho capitão nelles, e levava ho Padre hum crucifixo; matarão allguns portugueses e tornou ho capitão sem fazer nada. Esta hé a causa, charissymos, (digo da guerra) por onde vay em tres anos que os portugueses lá padecem muytos trabalhos, assy da guerra como da fome, cede e outras desaventuras; e tambem de nossos Yrmãos não poderem visitar os christãos do Moro [5] e Amboino [6], e de todos os mais lugares [7], e o que hé muito pera sentir, ver perder aquellas allmas, que são muitas, e estão yá feytas membros de Yesu Christo, e não tão somente os coutados christãos, mas aynda muitos outros que puderão nossos Yrmãos ter encorporados pollo baptismo na Igreya Catholica, e outros por seu meio estarem no ceo. Bem podereis conjeyturar que cruz tão grande será a nossos Yrmãos estarem tanto à porta sem poderem entrar. Nosso Senhor por sua mysericordia lhes metigue sua dor e lhes queyra dar fim àquella guerra, cuyo princypio foi hum Dom Duarte [8], do qual todo ho mundo se aqueixa.

4. E o Padre e os Yrmãos, yá que elles não possuem a grey, tem co[n]sigo muita conta: guardão as regras muito bem, e fazem-no de

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20 tornou-se *B* || 24 de *m.* || 27 coutados] coitados dos *B* || 33 hum . . . do] huma certa pesoa da *B* || 36 guardão *corr. fr.* guardamdo *B* | fazem-no *corr. fr.* fazendo *B*

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*da carreira* to India (Couto VII 9 15). He was succeeded *ad interim* by Bastião Machado (ibid.; Rebelo 499), who handed this function over to the next Captain of Maluku, Henrique de Sá, in March 1562 (Cf. D 116, 2). From early 1560 (death of Vieira, departure of Fernandes) to March 1562 (arrival of Prancudo) Nicolau Nunes was the only Jesuit priest, and, from sheer necessity, the superior (Couto, ibid., calls him «Reitor daquelle Seminario»). The frustrated expedition to Tolo may have taken place about October-December 1560, which is the only possible time during the short captainship of Manuel de Vasconcelos. However, no other historian ascribes such an undertaking to him; whereas the enterprise described by Rebelo (495-496) seems to be quite dissimilar from the one mentioned here by Br. Araújo.

[5] From the day that Baltasar de Araújo picked up the fifty Portuguese and the two Fathers, Nunes and Fernandes, from Moro in the summer of 1558 (D 79, 26), until June 1562 (D 116, 5) no Jesuit was in Moro (except Nunes in the ineffectual undertaking against Tolo; see preceding note).

[6] The last Jesuit who had worked in Ambon was Br. Fernão de Osório, who, being destined to sail to Malacca (D 79, 26), took care of the Christians there while waiting out the monsoon, ca. February-May 1559 (D 90).

[7] Some months after Araújo wrote this letter, about May 1561, Br. Osório got the opportunity to work in Bacan and even to visit Ambon (D 96, 2-3).

[8] D. Duarte de Eça, Captain of Maluku, 1555-1558, who imprisoned Hairun.

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maneyra que hé edificação naquella terra, com ser tão pessyma como sabem. Tem necessydade de serem encomendados em vossas orações, assy elles como os que agora vão [9]. Isto hé, asaz [401*r*] breve, o que se vos pode dizer. Nosso Senhor seya com todos. Amen.

Escrita a tres de Fevereyro de mill e quynhentos e sesenta e dous anos, tresladada pola do Padre Payo Correa [10].

Deste que em Christo muito vos ama,

Francisco Jorge.

## 108

## KING D. SEBASTIÃO TO THE VICEROY OF INDIA, D. FRANCISCO COUTINHO, CONDE DE REDONDO

Lisbon, [March 11], 1562

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV 902.

II TEXT: Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-54* ff. 86*v*-87*r*. Copy; Portuguese. This codex contains the MS of the first part of the *História do Japão* by Fr. Luís Fróis SJ, and it is there that we find this letter under the title: «Carta d'El-Rey D. Sebastião, primeiro deste nome, para o Conde do Redondo V.Rey da India, sobre o Rey de Bungo, do anno de 1562». In its first part D. Sebastião recommends the king of Bungo (Japan), to whom, moreover, he directs another, subsequent letter (f. 87*r*). (On Fróis' *História do Japão*, see SCHURHAMMER, *Gesammelte Studien* II 581-604).

III DATE: This letter is not to be confused with another of D. Sebastião to his viceroy, dispatched from Lisbon on March 11, 1562 (edited in DI V 512-513). Since at least three letters for India were signed on March 11 (DI V documents 72 A, B, and C), and since only a few days later, on March 15, the India fleet set sail from Lisbon (DI V 19*-20*), we may guess that this letter was also signed on the eleventh.

IV NOTE: King D. Sebastião, in 1562, was a boy of eight years; his grandmother, Queen D. Catarina, ruled for him. D. Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, was viceroy of India, 1561-1564.

V PRINTED: in *Cartas ... de Iapão*, Coimbra 1570, ff. 279-280; *Cartas ... de Iapão e China*, Évora 1598, I f. 94. Spanish translation, in *Cartas que ... de Iapon escrivieron*, Alcalá 1575, f. 114*r-v*. German version, in FROIS, *Die Geschichte Japans*, 114-115.

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37 hé edificação] edificão muyto *B* || 40 Amen *om. B* || 41 Escrita *om. B* | mill ... anos] 1562 *B* || 42 tresladada ... Correa *om. B* || 43 vos] os *B*

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[9] Fr. Prancudo and his companions.

[10] He included it in Palo Correia's letter, which is DI V 478-481.

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*Text*

1. *He recommended earlier, and recommends now again the Jesuits, especially those working in Japan, Maluku, Sofala, and Mozambique. All of them suffer great hardships.* — 2. *Meeting their needs has to be considered important, and generally, making conversions should be given priority over making other profits.*

[...]

1. E posto cazo que em outras vos tenha encomendado os Padres da Companhia que andão nessas partes, agora em particular vos encomendo os que andão em as partes de Japão e Maluco, e nas partes de Sofala e Moçambique, trabalhando naquella nova conversão, porque padecem mui graves trabalhos e andão em mui grandes perigos.

2. E pois elles com tanto animo e amor de Nosso Senhor se offerecem a elles, convem que se faça muito cabedal disso, animando-os [87*r*] e provendo-os de todo o necessario, como cuido que o fareis, pois tendes bem entendido quanto mais cabedal faço da conversão daquellas partes que dos outros proveitos que dellas me podem vir.

## 109

## FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ TO FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL, GOA

Ternate, April 16, 1562

I Bibliography: Barbosa Machado III 587; Sommervogel V 665; Wessels, *Amboina* 182 no. 2; Schurhammer, *Quellen* 6155.

II Authors: *Rerum a Societate*, Coloniae 1574, 64-65; Lucena 227; Seb. Gonçalves I 204-206; Sacchini, *Hist. Soc.*, *Lainius* VI 169-171; Souza I III 2 25-27.

III Texts: The original has not been preserved.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 573*r*-574*v*. Copy in Portuguese. Heading: «Copia de huma de Maluquo do P.e Pedro Mascarenhas pera o P.e Provincial da India de anno do 1562». In the left margin a cross. The text seems to have been shortened at the end.

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 12 azul* ff. 75*r*-77*v*. Portuguese copy written in four hands. Different title: «Copia de huma do P.e Pero Mascarenhas de Maluco pera o P.e Antonio de Quadros, Provincial da

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2-3 encomendos *ms.* || 10 que²] de *ms.*

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India, a 16 d'Abril 1562 ». From many variants, from a considerable omission (no. 15), and from an item added at no. 19, it can be induced that this text is a different *via*.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 370*r*-371*v*. Copy, congruous with text A. To the heading, another hand added « 16 d'Abril ».

IV PRINTED : in SÁ II 435-444. He prints text A, unconcernedly borrowing corrections from text B. Though noting (444 note 4) that April 16 is given as a date, he presents the letter unspecifiedly as being of « ano de 1562 » (435) and pays no attention the to end of text B, our no. 19.

V OUR EDITION : We print text A, introducing some improvements from text B, always mentioning them in the apparatus, and adding no. 19 likewise from text B.

## *Text*

1. *Prosperous navigation from India to Malacca and to Java, where they called at the port of Gresik ; products ; instance of religious ignorance.* — 2. *By way of Panarukan they reached Ambon, cordially welcomed by Manuel and other Christians.* — 3. *For four years a (native) captain, creature of the king of Ternate, is playing havoc among the Ambon Christians ; nearly all villages apostatized. They are not to be blamed too severely, for even Portuguese renegades supported the Muslim action, especially an Augustinian friar and his brother ; both were killed.* — 4. *Instances of cruelty of these two brothers.* — 5. *Stern resistance of the Oma Christians against Islam ; equally of those of Kilang, emboldened by the example of Manuel of Hatiwi.* — 6. *Instance of unflinching loyalty to the faith of an Oma woman.* — 7. *Manuel, sought to be killed, embraced a cross and evoked words of Francis Xavier.* — 8. *Leliato's methods of making Buru Christians apostatize : dissolving their marriages and marrying them to Muslims. Fidelity of some of these Christians.* — 9. *Raging of the Moors, especially of Ratiputi of Nusaniwi, against the Christians.* — 10. *The captain, Henrique de Sá, took three ringleaders prisoners ; they will be sent to India.* — 11. *The blame for these evils will recoil on the Portuguese captains, who always showed themselves open to bribery.* — 12. *Henrique de Sá's proceedings against Ratiputi ; he enforced restitution of robbed goods upon him.* — 13. *Hearing that he would be hanged, Ratiputi offered himself to become a Christian ; 1500 people of Nusaniwi did the same. For a week pretending not to hear their demand, the Father finally determined to baptize them. Advantage of this decision.* — 14. *Over 1500 people baptized at Nusaniwi ; many remain to be baptized by Fr. Vieira, who with Fr. Magalhães will be stationed on Ambon. Two mosques and a pagan « pagode » destroyed at Nusaniwi ; erection of a cross ; joy and loyalty of newly converted.* — 15. *The captain spared Ratiputi's life by sending him to India. After baptism the latter's name is António de Abreu. Hopes that he may become a good Christian.* — 16. *Pleading for more workers to be sent, since caring for over thirty villages goes beyond the power of two Fathers. Importance of the Maluku mission ; readiness of the people to receive Christianity. More than six hundred baptisms by Fr. Vieira.* — 17. *Manuel should be favoured and supported.* — 18. *There are over thirty Christian villages on Ambon, mostly situated in the mountains.* — 19. *Conclusion.*

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A paz de N.S. seja sempre com V.P. Amen.

1. Padre. Escrevi de Malaqa a Vossa Reverencia [1] o bom tempo que N.S. nos deu com que em poucos dias nos pôs em Malaqua, e dahi pera a Jaoa no-lo deu tambem muito bom, louvado seja elle pera sempre.

O primeiro porto da Jaoa que tomamos se chama Gaçaim [2] onde há muito mamtimemto e barato, scilicet arroz, galinhas e vacas, e outros muitos mamtimentos, e fruitas da mesma terra boas. Ahi esteve a nao alguns dias tomando arroz e o mais necessario pera Maluco porque a gemte que há nesta terra são mouros e taes que nenhuma noticia tem de Deus, porque preguntei eu a alguns para que Deus os criara, e a reposta foi que não sabião nem conhecião mais criador que a seus pais. Veja V.R. quam poucas letras são necessarias pera alumiar gemte tão cegua!

2. Dahi nos partimos pera outro luguar que está na mesma costa, que se chama Panaruca [3], e estes são gentios e mais comversaveis com os portuguezes que os outros. Estivemos ahi seis ou sete dias e no cabo delles nos partimos pera Amboino com vento a popa até à vista do Burro, que está dez legoas de Amboino. E fomos recebidos com muita alegria dos christãos, primcipalmente de Manoel [4] e de outros dous ou tres luguares que não apostatarão; e parece que depois de Deus Manoel foi causa disso. Destes contarey duas ou tres cousas não esperadas de gente que tem tão pouca doutrina.

3. Depois de começada a guerra comtra os christãos por hum capitão d'el-rey de Ternate que há quatro annos que amda por esta terra, e este fez com os mouros desta terra que avexassem os christãos [5],

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1 V.P.] V.R. *B* || 4 seja . . . sempre *om. B* || 9 a gemte] ho *B* || 15 Panaluca *B* || 20 apostatarão *corr. fr.* arrenegarão || 25 avexassem os *corr. fr.* avexassemos

---

[1] Lost letter. See D 100*a*.

[2] This is Gresik (Garsik, Grissee), a port a little N of Surabaya in Java, at present of little importance, but at that time far more significant. The name is variously spelled by the Portuguese authors: Gaçaim, Agaçaim, Agacim, Agaci, Agasai, Agraci Grece (Lagôa, *Glossário* I 11 s.v. Agacim; II 61 s.v. Gaçaim).

[3] Panarukan, a port in E Java that, in order not to be forced to islamize, always maintained friendship with the Portuguese.

[4] Manuel, chief of the village of Hatiwi. The Jesuits had sailed from Goa with the Banda ship in September 1561, and may have arrived in Ambon (according to the scheduled time) about mid February 1562. In March, the captain Henrique de Sá and four out of the six Jesuits continued their voyage to Ternate (D 115, 2; D 116, 2).

[5] In no. 6 he is called Leliato. Cf. Couto VII 10 13. So this persecution

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e avexarão-nos tanto que os fizerão tornar atrás ameaçando-os com a morte se o não fizessem. Tornarão-se quasi todos os luguares dos christãos, mouros. E não lhe ponho muita culpa comprarem a vida pol-la fee, porque alem de não terem doutrina, depois que são christãos nesta terra, senão per accidens, huns desaventurados portuguezes que aqui ficarão, alguns delles favorecerão aos mouros comtra os christãos; e dous delles ouverão loguo a pagua que merecião, scilicet Antonio Hercules, que hé o frade de Santo Augustinho [6] que por estas partes andava, e o irmão, os quaes forão mortos por outros portuguezes a quem elles querião matar, e derão a cada hum sua espingardada e dellas morrerão sem falarem palavra, mas ficarão tão negros e feos que fazião medo aos que os vião.

4. Estes erão mui cruus em grande maneira. Esta crueza usavão com os christãos, porque chegados a hum lugar que se chama Homa [7], tomarão hum christão e lhe cortarão os pés e as mãos, diante dos outros do mesmo luguar. E mandarão atar os pés e as mãos a 12 christãos deste mesmo luguar que hião em huma embarcação, em que hião outros dous portuguezes, e mandarão que, assi como estavão atados, lhes pusesem pedras aos pees e os deitasem em o mar. E padescerão os pobres christãos, se os portuguezes que hião na embarcação os não defemderão às espingardadas. Estes desavemturados dous irmãos tomavão os christãos e vendia[m]-nos aos mouros de Banda. E portanto diguo que não ponho culpa aos christãos deixarem a fee, pois os mesmos portuguezes os tratavão tão mal.

5. Este luguar de Homa com todas estas vexa-[573*v*]ções nunqua se quis tornar mouro, pelejando os mais dos dias com huns christãos arrenegados que se chamão os atuaas [8], que são os que mais trabalho

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26 tornar atras *corr. fr.* arrenegar || 33 o *om. B* || 36 e feos *m.* || 39 Homa *interl., u. corr.* || 41 12 *add. interl.* doze || 45 embarcaçã̃o] caracora *B* || 47 de] da *ms.*, de *B* || 48 deixarem *del.* de || 51 dos] 2 [*sic*] *B*

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started in 1558 and was led by Leliato, or Liliato; VALENTYN (II b 17) and CLERCQ (153) call him Laulata. His action resulted in most Christian villages turning renegade except Hatiwi and two or three neighbour kampongs.

[6] This Augustinian friar, in this place and at this time, seems to drop from the sky. There was no convent of the Augustinians yet in the whole area of SE Asia since these friars did not set sail from Portugal to India before 1572 (SILVA REGO, *India* XII 101; Paris, *Biblioth. Nation., MS portugais 8*, f. 226*r*; HARTMANN 5). He may have been a free-lance ship's chaplain.

[7] The kampong Oma on the S coast of Haruku, one of the Uliaser islands, E of Ambon.

[8] People of Hatuhaha, which is the name of the N part of Haruku, but

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dão agora em Amboyno aos christãos e ao capitão, porque todos os demais estão de paz.

A este luguar de Homa foi o capitão d'el-rei de Ternate que arriba diguo [9] pera ver se podia fazê-llos mouros. Elles se defenderão mui bem quanto puderão e, depois que virão que não podião resistir, fizerão comcerto que os não fizesem mouros e que por isso lhe darião trezentas patolas [10], que são mais de mil pardaos [11].

Quilão [12], que tãobem hé christão, semdo muito perseguido dos mouros e tendo-o emcerrado em hum monte, dizendo-lhe os mouros que se emtreguase porque já não avia portuguez nem christão que não arreneguasse, respondeo que, emquanto Manoel de Ative fosse vivo, elles se não avião de emtregar, mas depois que o tomassem pode ser que lhes farião algum partido.

6. Está huma molherzinha christã em Homa da qual parece que depende todo o luguar e parecia-lhe aos mouros que, tirada esta do luguar, não averia muito que fazer pera os tornar mouros, por ser ella filha do regedor de Homa à qual elles obedescem. E mandou-a buscar o Leliato, que hé o capitão d'el-rey de Ternate, com afagos, dizendo que casaria com ella e que não avia já portuguezes. Respondeu que bem pode ser que iria a seu chamado, mas não viva, e que portugueses, emquanto ouvesse mar, não avião de desemparar Maluco.

7. Manoel fez tãobem huma cousa muito notavel. Hé elle regedor e ajudava-o hum seu cunhado por nome Antonio, que lá agora manda

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56 se os podia fazer *B* || 60 Chilão *B* || 62 entregassem *B* | porque] que *B*

---

at that time still a kampong there, the present-day Ruhomoni on the W coast. At present Ruhomoni is a Muslim kampong, and Oma is a Christian village (Cf. VALENTYN II a 94-95). The *Relação Vasconcelos* calls this Hatuhaha *Athua grande* (246-247), in opposition to *Athua pequeno*, which is the kampong Tuhaha in Saparua (231-233). The towns now lying on the coast were in those days pitched on heights more inland.

[9] Leliato.

[10] *Patola*, «panos d'alguodão e seda muy pimtados» (*Treatise* 142); fine silk cloth (YULE 686); cloth of red linen with special pattern (HOËVELL, *Vocabularium*, s.v.).

[11] *Pardau*, name of a gold coin in Portuguese Asia, afterwards attached to one of silver (YULE 672-673). SCHURHAMMER values the first at 360 reis, the latter at 300 reis (*Franz Xaver* II/II 561). The gold pardau equalled, more or less, the Portuguese cruzado.

[12] The village Kilang in S Leitimor. Cf. COUTO VII 10 13.

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Anrrique de Sá [13] presso. Este se alevantou comtra Manoel pera o matar, e ajudavão-no dous portuguezes [14] os quaes puserão as espimgardas no rostro pera tirarem a Manoel e matarem-no, segundo dizem (porque andavão tão desemcaminhados que não achavão a quem era christão pera o ajudarem, senão a quem lhe dava mais dinheiro). Quando Manoel vio que assi o querião matar, aremeteo a huma cruz e abraçou-se com ella e disse que avia de morrer na cruz, porque assi lho insinara o P.e Mestre Francisco [15].

8. A grande christandade do Burro, que em grande maneira venerava a cruz [16], hé toda destruida por este capitão d'el-rey de Ternate que arriba diguo, e teve hum modo diabolico pera os apagar. Descasou-os e as molheres dav'as aos mouros, e a elles cas[ou]-os com as mouras; e não comtente com isto, os pôs de dez em dez por luguares de mouros, pera que de todo se esquecesem de christãos. Mas não basta tudo isto pera perderem o amor da cruz, e quando vem algum portuguez ou christão, chorão pergumtando-lhe se se hão-de lembrar delles em algum tempo os portuguezes. Isto nos comtou hum portuguez que agora passou pollo Burro e diz que lhe comtou isto hum christão, e lhe disse que não avia mais que elle e outro em aquelle luguar que dantes era dos christãos. E cantão estes christãos do Burro, quando remão, huma cantigua muy triste que fizerão, e as palavras são estas: « Ó mundo, mundo falso, quantas voltas dás ! Quem cuidou que aviamos de padescer tantos trabalhos por sermos christãos? » Finalmente os mouros do Burro queibrarão e queimarão as cruzes. Veja V.R. se são cousas estas pera cortarem o coração de quem as ouve de tão perto sem lhe poder acudir. Nosso Senhor se lembre delles por sua misericordia.

9. Forão os christãos deste Amboyno muito mal tratados pollos mouros, em espicial por hum mouro por nome Ratiputi, regedor de hum luguar

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81 cruz] .+. *ms.* || 82 cruz] .+. *ms.* || 84 A] Na *B*

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[13] Henrique de Sá, Captain of Maluku, 1562-1564. He was provided with the captaincy of Maluku on January 15, 1558 (RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 515; *Cadaval 819* 120). Next year he sailed in the fleet to India (*Título dos Capitães* 153). From this information, and from no. 10, it can be inferred that Henrique de Sá, having scarcely arrived, made war against the persecuting Moors of Ambon.

[14] Two of the renegades of no. 3.

[15] Xavier.

[16] On the Buru Christians, see D 49, 2 and D 50, 3; the latter mentions the erection of a cross. The Christian villages were situated on the N coast.

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grande que se chama Roçanive [17], que está huma legoa e meia ou duas do luguar onde estão as naos dos portuguezes [18], e mete-sse hum braço de mar amtre as naos e este luguar, e hé esta enceada de duas legoas [19]. Este Ratiputi tem feitos muitos males aos christãos, queimado e arrastado as cruzes. Fez arrenegar a muitos e hia-se fazendo tão poderoso, que se nomeava já por rey e lhe fazião a sumbaya [20]. E era tão timido dos luguares que lhe obedecião, que mandou Anrrique de Sá fazer algumas cousas que lhe não erão necessarias por estes [574*r*] luguares, e dizião os dos luguares que não avião de fazer nada sem que Ratiputi o mandasse.

10. Prendeo então Anrrique de Sá ao Ratiputi, a requerimento dos christãos que se queixavão dos males e roubos que lhe tinha feito. Prendeo tãobem a Bauta que foi christão e arrenegou duas ou tres vezes. Este têm quá por mao homem e dizem que matou hum ou dous portuguezes, e era regedor juntamente com o Ratiputi em Rosanive e, com a ajuda que os portuguezes derão ao Ratiputi, o deitarão fora. Ficou então o Ratiputi primcipal no luguar e o Bauta acolheu-se com sua gemte, que serião oitemta pessoas, pera Manoel que estava com elle foguo e sangue, e diz Manoel que o recebeo e lhe perdoou, porque se lhe deitou aos pees pidindo-lhe perdão. Prendeo tãobem a Antonio,

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107 enceada *corr. fr.* emsayada || 124 aos *add.* seus *B*

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[17] Nusaniwi in Leitimor, on the SW point of the peninsula. VALENTYN calls it Noessanivel, asserting that the seafaring men generally name it Rosenive (II a 121). It contained several kampongs on both coasts, of which those of Eri, Silali, and Latuhalat still occur on modern maps. The old fortified residence of the raja of Nusaniwi was situated in the mountains between Eri and Cape Hatiari. In later times the people of Nusaniwi were transferred to the Dutch town of Ambon where they lived in their own quarter, still called Nusaniwi. See VALENTYN II a 121-122; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 674. Already in 1538 the pagan Nusaniwi had been converted to Christianity (CASTANHEDA VIII 200, who spells it Nunciuvel). Nevertheless, Ratiputi does not ever seem to have been a Christian.

[18] From the anchorage of the Portuguese ships on the N shore of the bay to Nunasiwi (Eri) on the S shore, the distance is about 6 to 8 km or nearly one and a half league.

[19] That is, the entry of the bay, between Alang and Cape Nunasiwi, measures about two leagues.

[20] From of old the chiefs of Nusaniwi bore the title of *raja*, «king». *Sumbaya* (Ternatan), *sembahyang* (Malay), was a special gesture of adoration and of submissive greeting and obeisance (*Treatise*, Glossary 376).

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cunhado de Manoel, por se alevantar comtra elle (como arriba tenho dito) [21]. Estes tres vão à India [22].

11. A culpa das ladroices e males do Ratiputi se dilatarem tanto hé dos capitães d'El-Rey de Portugal que por aquy passão ; e mais se dilatarão com perda de muitas almas, se N. Senhor não trouxera pera aqui a Anrrique de Sá que o estrovou. Diguo hé dos capitães d'El-Rey, porque dizia Ratiputi que não tinha comta com os portuguezes e que não avia de deixar de ser rico furtando e fazendo o que quisese, porque pera comtemtar os capitães d'El-Rey tinha duas jarras d'ouro.

12. Antes que Anrrique de Sá o prendesse, nos tinha dito Manoel e os outros christãos os males que este homem lhe tinha feito. Mandou emtão Anrrique de Sá chamar ao Ratiputi e aos christãos e dise-lhe que se queixavão delle e lhe tornasse o que lhe tinha tomado. Respondeo o Ratiputi que não tinha tomado nada e que, se ouvese alguem que se queixasse delle, que tudo o que dissesem lhes daria. Não ouve nenhum que o accusase, e isto de medo que tinhão que, ido o capitão, paguassem dobrado, porque assi o costumão nesta terra que, quando ou por peita ou por concerto dão alguma cousa ao capitão, paguão por hum dez ; e estes, por lhe não acontecer outro tanto, não ousavão a falar. Mas tanto que virão a Anrrique de Sá fazer huma cousa tão desacostumada em Amboyno, que foi prendê-llo e fazer justiça, detreminarão-se então a acusá-lo e juntarão-se todos os luguares que elle tinha agravado e pidirão a Anrrique de Sá que lhe mandasse paguar o seu que lhe tinha tomado. Tem já pago a alguns luguares e parece que paguará a todos, antes que se vá.

13. Deu o capitão a entender que o Ratiputi avia de morrer enforcado, antes que elle se partisse de Amboino pera Maluco, e isto pelos muitos males que tinha feito. Isto lhe pôs muito temor, e pidio que o fizesem christão [23]. Ajuntarão-se tãobem os primcipais do luguar de Rosanive e pidirão ao Padre [24] que os fizesse christãos a elles e a toda a gente de seu luguar, que são mais de mil e quinhemtas almas. Dissimulou o Padre com elles sete ou oito dias, e nunqua dei-

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130 Diguo *add.* que *B* || 140 que[s] *del.* lhe || 150 enforcado] e forçado *ms.*, enforcado *B*

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[21] No 7.

[22] Probably with the *nau da carreira* that had to set sail from Ambon about May 15.

[23] Souza (I III 2 27) comments : « Ou fosse verdadeiramente movido por Deus, ou esperasse escapar com vida ».

[24] Perhaps Prancudo, or Vieira-Rodrigues. See note 26.

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xarão de o pidir. Detreminou-se então bautizá-los, visto que por todas as vias se ganhava nisso; e ganhou-se não somente as almas deste luguar, mas tãobem as dos outros à roda que lhe obedescião, porque tãobem se comverterão. Alem disto os males que, sendo mouros, ouverão de fazer aos christãos, cessarão com se comverterem, e jumtamente com isto não receberão em seus luguares a este capitão d'el-rey de Ternate, que anda neste Amboyno [25], e ajudarão aos christãos.

14. Partio-se o Padre pera os ir doutrinar e bautizar segunda-feira da Somana Santa [26]. Veo ter onde estão os portuguezes dominguo da Resurreição e bautizou mais de mil e quinhentas pessoas. Neste tempo ficão ainda muitas pera bautizar [a]o Pe. Framcisco Vieyra que fiqua em Amboino, e com elle [574*v*] o Pe. Dioguo de Magualhãis [27], pera doutrinarem os christãos. A primeira cousa que o Padre fez em Rosanive foi queimar-lhe huma misquita e derribar-lhe outra mui grande que tinhão começada, e desmanchou hum pagode dos gentios que estavão na mesma terra, e asi lhe derribou as sepulturas. E depois da mayor parte delles ser bautizada, que foi em dia de Nossa Senhora da Anunciação, lhe levamtamos [28] huma cruz que elles fizerão, muito

160 os males *corr. fr.* as almas || 167 bautizar *add.* bautizara *B*

[25] Leliato.

[26] In this no. 14 three dates are clearly mentioned: The Father departed on Monday of Holy Week (which, in 1562, was March 23); he visited the Portuguese anchorage on Easter Sunday (March 29); the greater part of the population was baptized on Annunciation day (which feast, in that year, was transferred to April 6). Mascarenhas, writing in Ternate on April 16, could not know what had happened in Nunasiwi only ten days earlier. If the first person plural (*levantamos ... Nós e elles ... adoramos*) would mean that Mascarenhas was personally present in Nunasiwi, the situation becomes still more impossible. Adding to this that the leading idea of no. 13 (reprieve for Ratiputi) is resumed smoothly in no. 15, we incline to the supposition that no. 14 has been interpolated into this letter by the Fathers residing in Ambon before the departure of the ships, and that consequently « O Padre » here is not Prancudo but Vieira, alias Rodrigues. Otherwise we ought to presume that Fr. Prancudo and his three companions, and likewise the captain Henrique de Sá, did not leave Ambon before mid April, for we know that they all sailed together. But this clashes with the clear statements that they arrived in Ternate in March during Lent and stayed there together for four months until June (DD 115, 2; 116, 2), which also seems to be more logical and agrees with the other narrated facts.

[27] These two Fathers were left behind in Ambon when the others sailed to Ternate.

[28] On this first person plural, see note 26.

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fermosa. Nós e elles juntamente a adoramos com muita alegria nossa, e elles a festejavão saltando e bailando, fazendo jogos e festas e mostrando muito comtemtamento com a ley de Deus que tomavão, e dizendo que antes avião de morrer que deixar a ley dos christãos, e que isto tivesemos por mui certo. São comversaveis. Os mininos não fogem de nós. Dous meses á-de gastar o P.e Francisco Vieira neste luguar, que hé até a partida das naos [29], e o Padre Dioguo de Magalhãis em Ative. Praza a Nosso Senhor que os alumie e a nós esforce em seu serviço.

15. Respeitando o capitão fazer-se Ratiputi christão com toda a sua gemte, lhe deu a vida, porque tãobem lha pidirão os primcipais do luguar que lha desse de qualquer maneira que quissese. Elle lha deu com o mandar pera a India. Seu nome hé Antonio d'Abreu, que hé o nome de seu padrinho, que quá hé capitão do mar. Posto que este homem tantos males tenha feito, como mouro os podia fazer sem muita culpa, pois até agora viveo em ley tão cegua, mas se se viesse a ser bom christão, bem se lhe podião perdoar; não hé nada. Pode ser que, depois que vir os muitos portuguezes que há na India e nossos costumes, se mudará. O bom hé todavia estar lá dous ou tres annos. N.S. lhe escolha o milhor.

16. Por amor de N.S. que V.R. se lembre muito particularmente da christandade destas partes, porque, se são tão brutos, hé por não terem quem os imsine. E veja V.R. bem como dous Padres, que agora ficão em Amboino, podem insinar a doutrina a trinta e tantos luguares de christãos [30]. A mim me parece em verdade, sem nenhuma affeição, que huma das milhores cousas, que a Companhia tem em a India, hé Maluco, porque hé gemte mui facil em a comversão: tomão aquillo que lhe insinão, seus filhos trazem-nos de muito boa vontade pera lhos bautizarem, e não somente os dão, mas vem buscar quem lhos faça christãos. Foi-se o Padre Francisco Vieyra bautizar por esses luguares os filhos dos christãos; tem já bautizado mais de seiscentos. Quem quer V.R. que não folgue mais de morrer insinando esta gente, posto que tão longe do exemplo e doutrina de nossos Padres, que estar no collegio em Goa? Eu o quero, porque Deus mo deu, e de verdade que o não troquarei por nenhum do collegio.

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188-194 Posto ... milhor *om.* *B* || 201 comversão] conversação *B*

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[29] From mid March to mid May.

[30] See D 58, 2.



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17. Lembre-se V.R. dos filhos de Manoel que aprendão a ler e escrever [31], e por amor de Deus que olhem por elles, porque Manoel tãobem nos ajuda muito, e o que tem, temo-lo mui certo pera o que nos for necessario. Muito folgou com as peças que o P.e Provincial lhe mandou. Bem lhe podia o Viso-Rrey dar hum ou dous berços pera se defender, e não hé muito. O P.e Marcos Prancudo lhe escreve [32] e na carta lhe pede que lhe dê hum ou dous, e seria bom dar-lhos pois hé tão fiel.

18. As lavouras da gente de Amboino são ortas e a fruita hé figuos e inhames e grãos. Estas ortas estão no mato. As molheres as grangeão e os maridos ficão em casa pera as defenderem dos ladrõis que são muitos. Há neste Amboino, como tenho dito, mais de trinta luguares de christãos, e há de huns a outros huma legoa e duas, e o mais longe quatro e cimquo, e aos mais destes se vai por mar, ainda que comummente todos estão postos no mais alto dos montes, isto por estarem mais fortes; estes montes são mui altos e imgremes.

19. Muito tinha que contar destes sitios, mas por agora me não quero mais alargar nesta. Nosso Senhor ajude a V.R. en tudo.

De Ternate, a 16 de Abril de 1562 annos.

Servo indino,

Pero Mascarenhas.

*Lost Letters*

109*a*. — *Fr. Marcos Prancudo, Ternate, to the viceroy D. Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, Goa; April 1562.*

Mascarenhas to Quadros, April 16, 1562: « Bem lhe [Manuel of Hatiwi] podia o Viso-Rey dar hum ou dous berços pera se defender, não hé muito. O Padre Marcos Prancudo lhe escreve e na carta lhe pede que lhe dê hum ou dous, e seria bom dar-lhos pois hé tão fiel » (D 109, 17).

109*b*. — *King Hairun of Ternate to the Moors of Ambon; before the middle of 1562.*

Br. Fernão de Osório to the Jesuits in Lisbon, February 15, 1563: « Dous ladrões d'el-rey de Ternate . . . queimarão hum luguar de christãos em huma ilha que se chama Rosolão . . . Causou isto algum temor nos Christãos todos, por verem tão pouco avia que mandara el-rey huma carta aos mouros que não pelejassem com os christãos, e o capitão da for-

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214 Bem] Tambem *B* | podia *del.* dar || 218 lavouras *del.* desta terra || 226-230 Muito . . . Mascarenhas *B*] Anno de 1562. De V.R. em Christo servo, Pedro Mascarenhas *A*

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[31] See D 102, 1.

[32] Lost letter. See D 109*a*.

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taleza Amrrique de Sá outra aos christãos que não pelejassem com os mouros » (D 115, 12).

109*c*. — *Henrique de Sá, Captain of Maluku, to the Christians of Ambon ; before the middle of 1562.*

Same text from D 115, 12 as in the preceding number 109*b*.

## 110

## FR. BALTASAR DA COSTA SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Goa, December 4, 1562

I TEXT : DI V 585-616 [613], taken from *ARSI, Goa 31,* ff. 174*r*--183*v*. Original. Portuguese.

II NOTE : On the author, see DI IV 288 note 55 (where 1563 has to be 1562).

### *Text*

1. *The Provincial sent Fr. António Fernandes, who knows Malay and Ternatan, with a Brother to Ambon. They accompany a captain sent there by the viceroy at the instance of the Jesuits.* — 2. *The devil tried to hinder this enterprise, but the Jesuits zealously and successfully advocated it.*

[. . .]

1. Tambem mandou o Pe. Provincial hum Padre que se chama Antonio Fernandez, o qual sabia a lingoa malaya e tarnati [1], com hum Yrmão pera Amboino [2], em companhia de hum capitão que ho Viso-Rey lá manda com gente [3], a instancia dos Padres, pera favorecer os christãos daquela terra e pera ayudar a muytos outros que tambem deseyão de se converter.

2. Temos esperança que, da maneira que agora vão, se servirá muito N.S. desta yda ; a qual ho demonio muito trabalhou de empe-

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[1] He had arrived in Ternate the first time with Fr. Francisco Vieira in October 1557, and had left Maluku, after Vieira's death, in early 1560.

[2] Br. António Gonçalves (D 111).

[3] This was António Pais. On him, see BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI nos. 29-31 ; SOUZA II III 1 4-8. He was entrusted with the building of a fortress in Ambon (D 114, 5). His entire expedition, and likewise the two Jesuits, who accompanied him, were destined « pera Amboino », and not for Ternate.

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dir, fazendo que ho Viso-Rey [4] não mandase laa este capitão, por ver ho muito que com sua yda naquela terra se podia fazer, por causa dos mouros que nela haa, que sam grande empedimento pera se fazer christandade, e teve tudo quasy entornado. Mas quis N.S. que, com ho trabalho e deligencia que hos Padres niso puserão, se affectuou. Prazerá a N.S. que será pera muito serviço seu.

[...]

Deste colegio de Goa, aos 4 de Dezembro de 1562.

Inutil servo dos da Companhia de Jesu,

Balthasar da Costa.

## 111

## CATALOGUE OF THE JESUIT PROVINCE OF INDIA

Goa, [December] 1562

TEXT: DI V 616-621 [620], taken from *ARSI, Goa 24* f. 38*r-v*. Original. Latin.

### *Text*

*Nine names of Jesuits for Maluku, and two more for Ambon.*

CATHALOGUS COLLEGIALIUM SOCIETATIS IESU IN URBE GOA OMNIUMQUE FRATRUM IN DIVERSIS LOCIS HABITANTIUM IN INDIA

[...]

Qui sunt Maluquo

P.[1] Marcus Parancudo, superior
P. Nicolaus Nunez
P. Petrus Mascarenhas
P. Ferdinandus Alvarez
P. Franciscus Vieyra

---

[4] Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo.

[1] Note that the abbreviations in Latin are quite different from those in English: P. stands for Pater, that is, Father; Fr. stands for Frater, which, in ecclesiastical language, means a non-priest, either a scholastic or a lay brother. In this catalogue the four « Fratres » are lay brothers.

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P. Iacobus de Magalhãis
Fr. Balthasar Araujo
Fr. Ferdinandus Osorius
Fr. Emanuel Gonçalvez [2]

Qui sunt Amboino sub dicto superiori [3]

P. Antonius Fernandez
Fr. Antonius Gonçalvez

[...]

## 112

## FR. GONZALO RODRÍGUEZ SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR CHRISTOVÃO DA COSTA, TO THE JESUITS IN EUROPE

Malacca, [December] 1562

I TEXT: DI V 665-673 [667-668]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 I* ff. 132*r*-133*v*. Autograph. Spanish, not without some Portugalisms. According to a note on the MS this letter was received in Portugal in 1563.
II NOTE: On the Spanish writer of this letter, see DI V 17*.

### *Text*

1. *The Jesuits in Malacca charitably welcome their fellow-Jesuits passing through to Japan and Maluku, help them settle their affairs, and see that they get what they need for their livelihood.* — 2. *Difficulties in actually receiving the money provided for by the king. But charity makes all troubles light.*

[...]

1. Exercítasse mucho en esta casa la charidad con los Padres y Hermanos que para estas partes vienen, scilicet, para el Japóm, para Maluco, Amboyno, agasallándolos en esta casa con la charidad sólita a los de la Compañía, y ayudándoles a negociar y despachar sus negocio, y repartiendo con ellos desa provesa que ay en casa, y después teniendo

[2] An error for Manuel Gomes, a lay brother, writer of DD 117, 130, and 135.
[3] Having sailed from Goa in the fleet of António Pais in September 1562, they had not yet arrived in Ambon at the time this catalogue was written.

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cuydado de les negociar lo necessario allá donde van para su sustentación, porque si de aqui no les va, no lo tienen allá.

2. Y cierto que no es pequeña occupación y trabajo andar solicitando los tesoreros y officiales para les sacar de entre las manos el dinero que Su Alteza les manda dar, y andar de una parte a otra echos tractantes comprándoles todo lo necessario assí para su bestir y comer, como para sus yglesias, hasta se lo embarcar todo. Pero la charidad, que todas las cosas por dificultosas y trabajosas que sean haze fáciles y leves, da lugar y tiempo para todo y haze que se haga esto con grande gozo y alegría spiritual. El Señor nos la ynfunda en nuestras almas. Amén [1].

[...]

Por comissión del Padre Rector.

Indigno siervo suyo en Christo,

Gonçalo Rodriguez.

*Lost Letter*

112*a*. — *Fr. Marcos Prancudo, Maluku, to Fr. General Diego Laínez (1562?).*

« Navegando de Ternate a Lest Suest viagem de oito dias, tudo sam ilhas de varias nações de idolatras. Das quais escrevia o P. Marcos Prancudo que nenhuma deixaria de aceitar nossa santa ley, se ouvesse quem lha pregasse » (LUCENA 284). « Sí che veggendol co' proprj occhi [that the number of Jesuits in Maluku was too small] il Rettore [Prancudo] scrisse con verità al P. Diego Lainez Generale, ch'erano come i medici in tempo di pestilenza, pochi ad innumerabili, e tutti in estremità » (BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 19; Cf. SOUZA II III 2 13).

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[1] WICKI (DI V 666 II) ascribes this letter to December. However, considering that the writer, though explicitly mentioning the Maluku Fathers, is absolutely silent about the fleet of António Pais and about the two Jesuits bound for Ambon, who must have stopped at Malacca in November-December (Cf. D 118, 2-3), we are inclined to think that it may have been written a good month earlier.

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## 113

# FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ TO FR. PROVINCIAL ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, GOA

Trent, January 1-2, 1563

I TEXT: DI V 693-699 [695; 696-697]. Taken from *ARSI, Epp. NN. 36* ff. 93*r*-94*r*. Coeval copy in Spanish.

II NOTE: This missive is an answer to two letters of Quadros: of January 14, 1561 (D 95), and of November 28, 1561 (D 100). In the copied MSS it is not signed at the end.

### *Text*

1. *Quadros did right to send a new superior and new workers to Maluku after the death of Fr. Francisco Vieira.* — 2. *About the visitation of the province: Fr. Provincial should not leave India; he may «visit» the more remote regions, as Malacca, Maluku, and Japan, by a delegate.* — 3. *As regards the reservation of cases: for the members of the Society living in those remote regions no case should be reserved to the provincial.*

[...]

1. Haviendo dispuesto Dios N.S. del Padre Francisco Viera en Maluco, ha sido bien ymbiar socor[ro] de nuevo superior, y nueva gente y probada, como V.R. dize [1], qual se requiere particularmente en aquellas islas. Déles su gracia muy copiosa el mesmo Señor para que travaje[n] con mucho fructo en aquella su viña.

[...]

2. Quanto a la visitación de la Provincia, ella es muy propria dell officio del Provincial, mas por ser su residentia tan importante y tan necessaria en la India, ha sido ordenado, sobre la informatión de los de allá, que no saliesse della el Provincial. Con esto V.R. podrá por sí mesmo visitar los lugares más vezinos, y de los quales se puede presto tornar para Goa. Los otros más remotos, como Malaca, Maluco y el Japón, los podrá visitar por algún otro, ya que el partir la Provincia de la India no parece espediente [2].

[...]

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[1] D 100, 1.

[2] Not until 1601 was India divided into the Provinces of Goa and Malabar, though Japan had been separated from it as a vice-province in 1581. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 2.

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3. Quanto a los casos reservados, no es mi intentión de obligar a pecado mortal en ninguno dellos, si de suyo la materia no obligasse. Aquí ymbío una breve declaratión que el Padre Nadal dexó en las provincias de España [3]. Con los que están en partes muy remotas de la India, como en Maluco o Japón, parece espediente no se use reservatión alguna al Provincial, pues tan tarde podría venir el remedio. Mas el que fuere en aquellas partes el supremo, o al visitador que se embiasse, se podrían confessar si alguna cosa huviesse que al confessor ordinario pareciesse se quería reservar a los tales.

[...]

De Trento, primero de Enero 1563.

[...]

De Trento, 2 de Enero 1563.

## 114

## FR. PROVINCIAL ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Cochin, January 18, 1563

I AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 36-37 (on no. 5).

II TEXT: DI V 737-747 [744; 746-747]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 II* ff. 377*r*-379*v*. Original in Portuguese with autographical signature. Second *via*.

III NOTE: This letter had a prosperous journey to Europe; in December of the same year it was answered by Polanco from Trent (D 120).

### *Text*

1. *In Maluku seven Fathers and three Brothers are working, divided over four districts.* — 2. *Some live in Ternate.* — 3. *Others are in Bacan.* — 4. *Others live in Moro.* — 5. *The fourth district is Ambon: eleven islands with people well disposed to conversion. A Portuguese captain went there with soldiers to support the Christians against the Muslims.* — 6. *An Ambon chief was in Goa; he is expected to work well among his countrymen.* — 7. *Quadros' counsellors are of the opinion that he should visit Japan and Maluku. In Malacca war was expected, which would close the fairway.*

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[3] *Epp. Nadal* IV 455-462.

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[...]

1. Em as partes de Maluco á sete Padres e tres Irmãos [1]. Estes estão laa divididos em quatro partes:

2. Alguns estão na fortaleza d'El-Rei de Portugal, aonde se prega aos portugueses e se tem conta com os christãos daquela ilha, por nome Tarnate.

3. Estão outros em a ilha de Bachão, cujo rei com a mor parte de sua gente há pouco que são convertidos.

4. E outros em o Moro, aonde há muitos mil christãos já feitos, mas não crecem em numero polas tiranias e perseguições dos reis mouros. Doutrinão-se os já feitos, que hé a cousa de mais serviço de Deus e de mor trabalho que quá há nesta terra, por se averem de hir tirando costumes tão antigos, plantando outros mais novos pera elles.

5. A quarta parte hé Amboino, que são onze ilhas grandes [2], aonde há milhor gente e muita mais disposição pera se fazerem christãos e serem milhores christãos, principalmente se se efeituar o que este anno se começou a pôr por obra, scilicet, estar naquela terra capitão portugues com gente [3], o qual serve de favorecer os christãos contra alguns imiguos mouros que elles ali tem e de castigar os que não forem bons christãos.

6. Em Goa tivemos hum anno hum regedor ou senhor dos principaes d'Amboino e muito bom homem naturalmente, e depois de feito christão bom christão e de primor [4]. Foi pera laa este Setembro passado com o capitão que novamente se lá mandou [5]; parece que fará lá muito nos seus subditos que ainda são mouros.

[...]

7. A alguns pareceo que eu divia hir à China [...], os mais forão

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[1] Consult D 111, where *four* lay brothers are listed.

[2] Why eleven? It is not clear where this number comes from. Under «ilhas de Amboino» were comprised all the islands S of Bacan between Selebes and the Papuan islands, including, for instance, Buru and Seram.

[3] A fact of the greatest importance! From now on, Ambon, which had always had to be succoured by the fortress of Ternate, will have a fortress of its own with its own captain and garrison. At least, this was the viceroy's, and certainly also the Jesuits' beautiful design. In actual fact, the building of the Ambon fortress knew many delays and many troubles, as can be seen from *Relação Vasconcelos* 164-454.

[4] Perhaps the D. Diogo of Nusatelo of D 179, 26, or a certain D. João, «filho de hum regulo de Amboino» who was in Goa in 1559 (Seb. GONÇALVES II 376-377).

[5] António Pais.

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de contrairo parecer [. . .]. Mas quasi todos forão de parecer que eu fosse visitar a Provincia às partes remotas, scilicet, Japão e Maluquo, pollo muito que inporta serem visitados, assi aos Padres e Irmãos que lá estão como hà christandade daquellas partes. Mas porque isto depende, alem doutras cousas, das novas que vierão de Malaqua, porque se espera que aja laa guerra [6] e com ella o caminho impedido, não estou de todo detriminado niso.

[. . .]

De Cochim, oje 18 de Janeiro de 1563.

[*Autograph*] Indino filho em o Senhor de V.P.,

Antonio de Quadros.

## 115

## BR. FERNÃO DE OSÓRIO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PRANCUDO SJ, TO THE JESUITS OF THE COLLEGE OF SANTO ANTÃO IN LISBON

Ternate, February 15, 1563

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO II 44; SOMMERVOGEL V 1972; WESSELS, *Amboina* 180 Osório no. 7.

II AUTHORS: SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc.*, *Lainius* VI 171-172; 175-178; VII 118-120; SOUZA I III 2 28 (on nos. 14-18), 35-36 (on nos. 19-22 and 25-28).

III TEXTS: No original is left.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 569*r*-572*v*. Coeval copy in Portuguese. Title: « Copia de huma de Maluco do Irmão Fernão d'Osouro pera os Charissimos Irmãos da Companhia de Jhesus em Lisboa no Collegio de Santo Antão, de 15 de Fevereiro de 1563 ». The copyist often corrected his ortography or had to be corrected by a later hand. He made no difference between *nao* and *não*, writing both *não*. He divided the lengthy letter in only seven paragraphs, five of which are on the first three pages.

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 21*v*-26*r*. Portuguese copy, written in four hands, diverging from text A by many small variants and numerous omissions. In the title the mention of the College of St. Anthony in Lisbon is omitted.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 460*v*-465*r*. Portuguese copy, calligraphically written and following faithfully text A.

IV NOTE: This document and the two following to a great extent report the same occurrences and supplement each other. Though signed by different writers on different dates, DD 115 and 116 are too similar

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[6] Cf. COUTO VIII 21: the threat of war came, as so often, from Aceh.

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in sequence and wording not to show a profound interdependence. Presumably Osório and Araújo were charged to work out the same notes. This may be the « general letter » to which D 117 (no. 11) refers.

V PRINTED : in SÁ III 6-26 ; he gives text A.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A, giving the more important variants and omissions of text B in the apparatus. To facilitate the reading we separated the material into a number of additional paragraphs.

## *Text*

1. *Joy at arrival of new Fathers. Welcome at Bacan.* — 2. *They remained in a body for four months at Ternate, doing pastoral work.* — 3. *On Whit Sunday Fr. Álvares celebrated his first mass ; on Whit Tuesday they all renewed their vows.* — 4. *In June they dispersed : Prancudo, Nunes, and Gomes to Moro, Álvares and Osório to Bacan. In Moro people showed more confidence in the Fathers than in the Portuguese captain.* — 5. *The Fathers visited the Moro villages and baptized 900 children, and in September returned to Ternate. In November they dispersed again : Prancudo with Osório to Moro, Nunes to Bacan, Mascarenhas stayed on in Ternate.* — 6. *Prancudo's visit to Tolo and his illness.* — 7. *Álvares' work in Bacan.* — 8. *He dishartened the Muslim divines, baptized 300 men in five months, and turned a king's burial place into a church. People's devotion.* — 9. *The Frs. Rodrigues and Magalhães were busy on Ambon among both Portuguese and natives. Illness of Fr. Rodrigues.* — 10. *The Fathers took up residence at Hatiwi where they built a church. Many Christians from elsewhere came to live there ; 400 converts made.* — 11. *First mass of Fr. Magalhães at Hatiwi. Manuel's exhortative speech to Christian chiefs.* — 12. *Violent and treasonous proceedings of Ternatan tools against Christians of Nusalaut, Lisabata, and Nusaniwi.* — 13. *Nusaniwi has 4000 inhabitants, 1000 of whom are fighting men. They put their town into a state of defence. Magalhães went there to assist them.* — 14. *Grandiose feast of Christian reconcilement between Hatiwi and Nusaniwi.* — 15. *Zeal of Hatiwi women. Help given by an Ambonese who studied at the Jesuit college in Goa.* — 16. *Offensive and defensive alliance of all the Christian villages of Ambon.* — 17. *Magalhães returned to Nusaniwi, Rodrigues went visiting the villages.* — 18. *Magalhães made 800 converts in Oma and in a neighbouring place ; his presence there deterred some Moors from attacking. He returned to Hatiwi.* — 19. *After Christmas they again went visiting the Christian villages. People of a village in Moorish territory asked to be baptized ; they were rebuked by a suspicious Manuel.* — 20. *They tried to shift this suspicion from themselves.* — 21. *Manuel, still distrustful, asked a great supply of goods from them.* — 22. *However, seeing their sincerity, Fr. Rodrigues withdrew this injunction, and, going with them himself, baptized 80 children. Reerection of a cross hidden a long time.* — 23. *Zeal and spirit of sacrifice of Ambon Christians.* — 24. *Sorrow at deficiency of workers for neighbouring islands which request Fathers : Seram, Papua, Lisabata, Buru, Butung, and Selebes.* — 25-27. *Shipwreck of the two Fathers off a formerly Christian village.* — 28. *The villagers declared they want to return to the faith.* — 29. *Joy and thankfulness of Manuel at seeing the Fathers saved. Sixty children baptized in that village.* — 30. *Peo-*

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*ple of Hitu, always fiercely opposed to Portuguese and Christians, prepared vessels to assail villages of Christians and to make them apostatize, and also to tow the ships of their own Javanese allies. — 31. Vain endeavours of a Muslim divine to make the people of Nusaniwi apostatize. — 32. While the Fathers were visiting villages of Christians, fifteen to twenty ships from Java turned up. — 33. But they were becalmed and then, overtaken by storm, they drifted off to Banda. — 34. Only three or four of them could anchor, but soon sailed off to Banda. — 35. Soon after, Portuguese ships arrived, bringing a captain for Ambon to the greatest pleasure and encouragement of the Christians. — 36. The Father called here Rodrigues was formerly named Vieira.*

A graça e amor de Christo N.S. faça comtinua morada em nossas almas. Amen.

1. Ho Padre me mandou que escrevesse esta carta ; se nella acharem algumas cousas que lhes não pareção bem, atribuya[m]-no a minhas imperfeições.

Primeiramente lhe direy, charissimos, a grande alegria que tivemos com a vinda dos Padres, e foi mais pella descomfiamça que tinhamos de poderem vir emtão, porque nos tomarão de sobresalto e, como sabem, a cousa muito desejada, alcamçada desta maneira, dobra o comtemtamento. E diguo de sobresalto porque, quando chegou o capitão com as caraquoras [1] a Baquão [2], estava eu ahi aparelhado pera hir em huma caraquora a Luçabata [3] a emsinar a doutrina aos christãos, que o P.e Nicolao Nunez tinha feitos [4]. E tanto que soube que chegarão à barra de Bachão, fiz loguo hum paró prestes e com os mininos da doutrina fuy a receber os Padres, levando o paró emramado e os mininos camtando o Credo [5] pollo rio abaixo, o que alegrou muito a gemte da armada por verem que em partes tão remotas se sabia o nome ao Padre, Filho e Spiritu Santo.

2. O mesmo dia nos partimos pera Ternate [6], onde estivemos jum-

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**13 soube que *om.* *B* || 19 o mesmo dia] e day *B***

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[1] Henrique de Sá. He had arrived from India with the Banda ship that visited Ambon and Banda, but not Ternate. So he had to take other ships to sail to the fortress.

[2] Read *Bachão*, Bacan.

[3] Lisabata on the NW coast of Seram.

[4] See no. 2 ; Couto VII 9 15.

[5] Profession of faith recited or sung in Holy Mass.

[6] He appears to have given up his design to sail to Lisabata.

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tos até Junho, que forão quatro meses [7]. Este tempo gastarão os Padres comfessando a muita gente que estava ainda por comfessar, porque o P.e Nicolao Nunez gastou muita parte da Quaresma [8] em Luçabata e avia poucos dias que chegara e, como era só, ficou-lhe muita gemte por comfessar. E deu-se tãobem emtão o jubileu [9] em que se comfessou toda a gemte e tomou o sacramento, comfessando sempre na cadeira o P.e Marcos Prancudo e pregando todos os domingos, fazendo muito fruito com suas pregações, tanto que pasmava a gemte de sua graça no pulpito e muitas vezes sayão da pregação deitando-lhe muitas bemções. Comfessa-se muita gemte todas as festas de Nossa Senhora e dos Apostolos e domimgos do sacramento, e cada oito dias e quaise todos os dias da somana há comfissões. Tudo isto obra N.S. nesta terra por meo de seus servos.

3. Da festa que fizerão ao Padre nosso por nome Fernãod'Alvarez à sua missa nova lhes comtarey. Comfessou-se muyta gemte por ser em dia do Spiritu Santo [10]. Disse-a na igreja grande [11] por ser a primeira que se disse nesta terra ; foy assi toda a gemte a ella assi grandes como piquenos. Teve por padrinhos ao Padre vigairo e ao Padre [12] Antonio Fernandez que foi vigairo, e por asistemtes ao P.e Nicolao Nunez e ao P.e Pero Mascarenhas que pregou emtão, e foi a primeira pregação que fez, da qual a gente ficou muito comtemte e satisfeita. E nella se comverteo hum gramde pecador à penitemcia, e tanto que loguo ao outro dia foi buscar o P.e Mascarenhas e lhe pidio que o comfessasse, e comfesou-ho chorando muitas lagrimas e com grandes sa-

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23 e[1] *rep.* || 24 por comfessar *om. B* || 28 de sua ... pulpito *om. B* || 29 Nosso Senhor *B* || 33 nosso por nome *om. B* || 38 foi] fora *B*

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[7] Four months more or less, from March until June.

[8] In 1562 Lent was from February 11 (Ash-Wednesday) to March 29 (Easter Sunday).

[9] *Jubilee* here plainly means a plenary indulgence. On November 15, 1560, Pius IV, by the bull *Spiritus omnipotentis Dei*, had granted one for the good success of the Tridentine Council. For its text, see EHSES, *Concilium Tridentinum* VIII, 100-102.

[10] May 17.

[11] The church of Saint John in the fortress ; *grande*, in opposition to the smaller one of the Misericordia (see, for instance, *Relação Vasconcelos* 220), and the chapel of the Jesuits (D 97, 5).

[12] The immediately following words « Antonio ... Nicolao » have been omitted by SÁ (III 8), for no intelligible reason. This António Fernandes was not a Jesuit but a secular priest.

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luços, que o ouvião os que estavão na igreija, e de-[569*v*]pois se comfessou cada oito dias. E dahi por diamte ficou pregando o P.e Marcos Prancudo hum domimguo e o Padre Masquarenhas outro. A segumda oitava do Spirito Sancto comfessamo-nos todos geralmente os Padres e Irmãos e fyzemos os votos [13].

4. Chegou-se o tempo de nos espalharemos. Detreminou o P.e Marcos Prancudo de hir visitar a christandade do Moro, e levou por seus companheiros ao Padre Nicolao Nunez e ao Irmão Manoel Gomez, e pera Bachão mandou ao Padre Fernãod'Alvarez e a mim por seu companheiro. Neste tempo mandou o capitão huma armada ao Moro que o fosse comcertar por alguns luguares estarem descomcertados por causa da guerra. Foi o Padre em companhia desta armada em huma caraquora sobre si, que lhe deu el-rey de Ternate, e sempre andava diamte da armada hum dia ou dous pera milhor poder fazer os bautismos. Grande foi o comtemtamento dos christãos verem lá os Padres, que cimquo annos avia que não virão [14]. No primeiro lugar que chegarão, vierão-nos a receber à praya, dizendo que pera que era lá a armada que o que os Padres não fizessem não faria o capitão-mor, porque já se não comfiavão em nimguem senão nas palavras dos Padres. E na verdade se os Padres lá não forão, fizera-se mui pouco acerca de comcertar os christãos e po-llos em sua liberdade, porque alguns erão avexados dos mouros. Em alguns lugares de mouros pidirão que não fosse lá a armada, mas que somente fossem os Padres e que farião o que elles quisesem pera com os christãos, que era po-llos em sua liberdade, os quaes elles tinhão reteudos por causa da guerra, e assi se fez como os Padres quiserão.

5. Depois forão visitar os outros lugares [15], onde os receberão todos com muita alegria, e bautizarão perto de novecemtos mininos de tres annos pera baixo, e amtre estes se fizerão alguns mouros homens christãos. E tinhão tanto desejo que os filhos fossem bautizados, que vinhão de huma legoa polla terra demtro a dormir à praya esperando pollos Padres pera os fazerem christãos. E disse hum christão que N.S. lhe levara hum filho, que o atribuya a seus pecados que erão grandes; pedio emtão que o ouvissem de comfissão. Gastarão os Padres

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46 outro *del.* Quo || 50 do Moro *interl.*

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[13] That is, on Tuesday, May 19, they renewed their vows according to the custom of the Society.

[14] It was *four* years earlier that the Fathers had left Moro. Cf. D 107 note 5.

[15] The Moro region numbered 46 villages with 20,000 Christians (D 63, 23).

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em visitar todos os lugares do Moro perto de mes e meo, e depois de visitados se vierão pera esta fortaleza de Ternate a dez de Setembro. E esteve [16] até o fim de Outubro comfessando e pregando, e em Novembro se tornou pera o Moro, e eu fui por seu companheiro, e mandou ao Padre Nicolao Nunez a Bachão pera ajudar ao Padre Fernãod'Alvarez, e o Padre Masquarenhas ficou em Ternate pregando e comfessando.

6. Foi-se daquy o Padre a hum luguar do Moro chamado o Tolo e ahi dizia sua missa cada dia, bautizava e tirava-lhe as mamcebas e casava-os, doutrinando-os. Eu fazia a doutrina aos meninos e ajumtava cada dia perto de duzemtos moços, mas ao domimgo e dias sanctos era muita gemte, porque emtão vinhão todos, grandes e piquenos. Na emtrada de Dezembro derão humas febres ao Padre mui grandes. Eu fuy o sangrador, e primeiro que tirasse samgue dei-lhe duas ou tres lamcetadas. Depois veyo outro moço, tão ruim samgrador como eu, e tirou-lhe hum pouco de samgue com lhe dar outras poucas de lamcetadas. As febres não mimgoarão mas erão cada vez mayores. Pidi ao Padre se quisese vir pera esta fortaleza de Ternate e negoceei-lhe hum paró que o trouxesse, e veyo tal que, se a viagem durara mais hum dia, parece-me que correra grande risco, porque des que partio até chegar a Ternate não comeo quasi nada nem podia. Em Ternate foi sangrado cimquo vezes he esteve tal que nos pareceo nos deixasse [17], porem N.S. por sua misericordia lhe deu saude pera nossa comsolação e desta terra que tem bem necessidade delle.

7. O Padre Fernãod'Alvarez em Bachão fez muito serviço a N.S. Seu exercicio era dizer cada dia sua missa, bautizando a muitos, cassando e doutrinando-os. E há christãos destes que pedem comfissão, dizendo que seu coração não se pode quietar até se não comfessarem e que pera sua salvação lhe hé muito necessaria, e tanto o desejão que pidirão ao Padre que, yá que elle não sabia a limgoa, os comfessasse por imterprete. [570*r*]

8. Não passarei sem comtar algumas cousas em particular que acomtecerão. O Padre Fernãod'Alvarez hé muito zelloso e fervoremto, tem-lhe os mouros grande medo, tamto que huns cacizes, que a mãy

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80 pregando *w. corr.* || 91-92 dei-lhe . . . Depois *om. B* || 103 cassando *w. corr.* || 107 yá *interl.* || 110-119 Fernão . . . o Padre *om. B* || 111 tem-lhe . . . medo *interl.*

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[16] I.e., Father Prancudo.

[17] According to D 117, 5, Prancudo left Osório back in Moro. Having become ill too, he soon followed him to Ternate.

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d'el-rey (que hé moura) hahi tinha [18], tanto que emtenderão que[m] elle era, dessempararão a mãy d'el-rey e acolherão-se. Em cimquo messes que o Padre ahi esteve no luguar grande bautizaria perto de trezemtas almas, e tirou os ossos do pay d'el-rey de hum jaziguo em que estavão [19] e fez da cassa huma igreja de Nossa Senhora da Assumpção: ysto tudo com o aver el-rey assi por bem, e dizia que agora lhe parecia que começava a ser christão. Dous filhos machos lhe bautizou o Padre. Neste tempo estavão duas velhas mouras pera morrer e pidirão que as bautizase, que querião morrer christãs, e com ho bautismo receberão a saude corporal e spiritual. Tem esta gemte muita fé na agoa bemta e recebem saude de algumas emfirmidades bebemdo-a, primcipalmente de febres. O que lhes direy, Irmãos meus, hé tanta a devação nesta gente, que todos os domingos e sanctos vem carregados de ramos he de froles cheirosas pera emramarem a ygreija, e muyto azeite pera que arça [20] a lampada. Louvores ao Senhor pois em terras tão remotas se faz tamta veneração às cousas da Igreija.

9. Tãobem lhe darey nesta algumas novas de Amboino. Deixou o P.e Reytor ao P.e Francisco Rodriguez e ao Padre Magalhãis, como ho yá lá saberão, pera ahi fazerem o officio da Companhia. Aly acabarão de comfessar alguma gemte que da Quaresma ficou por comfessar das naos que ahi ficarão da imvernada, casando tãobem alguns amancebados e fazendo algumas amizades. Estando ahi as naos, forão visitar alguns luguares, scilicet dous de christãos e dous de gemtyos, os quaes luguares se fizerão christãos, que serião por todos duzemtos. Em este comenos adoeceo o Padre Framcisco Rodriguez de huma grande emfirmidade, de que esteve sangrado seis vezes e mui propinco à morte. Quis N.S. por sua imfinita misericordia dar-lhe saude.

10. Depois das naos partidas, scilicet huma pera a India [21] e duas

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112 elle *w. corr.* || 113 dessempararão *w. corr.* || 125 ygreija *w. corr.* || 130 ahi *corr. fr.* assi || 134 gemtyos *corr. fr.* duzemtos || 137 seis *w. corr.*

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[18] The abdicated king of Bacan had remained a Muslim (D 72, 2). So obviously had his wife, the mother of the young King D. João.

[19] A seemingly irreverent action, but since tombs of their kings were venerated by the Muslims, they constituted centres of superstition and were an obstacle to Christian thinking and living. The action was not only irreverent, it was also offensive to King Hairun of Ternate, who had taken care of the interment of the ancient king (See D 72, 2; also D 109, 14).

[20] *Arça* or *arsa*, obsolete form for *arda*.

[21] About May 15.

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pera Maluco [22], ambos os Padres se vierão pousar em hum lugar chamado Ative. Ordenarão huma igreja à maneira da terra [23] pera dizerem missa aos christãos e bautizar. Foi loguo ao primcipio grande frequencia dos que se bautizavão, assi do mesmo lugar de Ative como de outros lugares propincos, mouros e gemtios, que fogião dos seus luguares e vinhão viver a Ative fazendo-se christãos, que serião mais de duzemtos. Depois forão a visitar os lugares, cada hum por sua costa, bautiza[n]do e imsinando-lhes a doutrina. O P.e Francisco Rodriguez faria trezemtos em espaço de tres somanas que lá andou, o Padre Dioguo de Magalhãis fez alguns cemto.

11. Depois se ajuntarão em Ative, onde o P.e Dioguo de Magalhãis disse sua missa nova dia de São Pedro e São Paulo [24]. Chamarão pera ella os mais homrrados destes luguares propincos a Ative, o qual dia fizerão os christãos gramde festa à sua maneira, dando Manoel hum bamquete a todos, aonde lhes fez huma fala: que já que huma vez deixarão a verdadeira ley, que bem sabia que o fizerão mais por medo dos ternates que por via de vomtade, e milhor lhes fora morrerem todos que neguarem a seu Criador que hé o altissimo Deus a quem os christãos adorão; e agora a tornarão outra vez a tomar, não fosse pera mais sua perda e comdenação assi dos corpos como das almas, e os que novamente erão comvertidos não tornassem atrás. Foi isto grande firmeza pera todos e forão muito comtemtes prometendo de morrerem todos christãos.

12. E em este comenos dous ladrões del-rey de Ternate que aquy andão alevamtados, a falar verdade mandados, queimarão hum luguar de christãos em huma ilha que se chama Rosolão [25], que está obra de oito legoas de Ative. Causou isto algum temor nos christãos todos, por verem tão pouco avia que mandara el-rey huma carta aos mouros que não pelejassem com os christãos, e o capitão da fortaleza Amrrique de Sá outra aos christãos que não pelejassem com os mouros [26], e o mesmo ternate que trouxe as cartas ajudou a queimar o lugar. Ajumtarão

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140 ambos] e ambos *ms.*, ambo *B* || 164 a . . . mandados *om. B* || 170 que . . . cartas *om. B*

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[22] Probably the coracoras of no. 1.

[23] After the native manner, that is: built on poles a little above the earth with walls and floors of split bamboo fastened with rattan, and roofs thatched with palm leaves.

[24] June 29. He and Álvares had been ordained priests in Malacca (D 103).

[25] Nusalaut, the smallest of the three Uliaser islands.

[26] Lost letters. See D 109*b* and D 109*c*.



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loguo êstes mouros ternates grande armada e forão a Luçabata, antes que se acabassem [570*v*] de fazer christãos, a cometê-los se quisesem fazer mouros, os quaes não comsemtirão chegar à praya. E dahy se dizia que vinhão sobre Roçanive pera que se tornassem mouros, se não que os avião de destroir e queimar, dizendo que vinhão com victoria de Luçabata e que os mesmos luçabatas vinhão com elles pera os ajudarem comtra os christãos.

13. Este luguar de Roçanive hé hum luguar grande dos mayores que há em Amboino; terá quatro mil almas, em que emtrão mil home[n]s de peleja. Começarão a fazer suas tranqueiras e porem estrepes por muitas partes, e fazendo outras armas pera se poderem defemder, pidindo que fosse pera lá hum Padre; e os que ainda não erão christãos, que se fizessem; e os que não quisesem ser, se fossem fora do luguar; onde se fez christão hum filho d'Amtonio d'Abreu [27] com outros muitos que serião cemto e vimte. Depois foy pera lá o Padre Dioguo de Magalhãis pera os animar e esforçar, e emsinar a doutrina, donde nenhum domimguo deixava de vir dizer missa ao luguar de Ative; e todos mui constantes na fé de Christo.

14. Ho Padre Framcisco Rodriguez tornou a visitar os luguares animando-os a todos e preparando-os pera se defenderem dos mouros. E mandou emtão Manoel d'Ative hum seu irmão, com outros homens honrrados do seu luguar, a chamar todos os luguares, que se ajumtassem em huma feira que se faz da outra banda de Ative [28]. Ho dia da feira se embarcou Manoel em huma embarcação gramde e outras embarcações e foi diamte. O Padre Framciscuo Rodriguez se embarcou em hum paró [29] com os mininos camtando a doutrina, com huma bamdeira e huma cruz e alguns instrumentos que achara da terra, e se forão pôr detrás de huma ponta donde se fazia a feira pera aly esperar pollo P.e Magalhãis que avia de vir com a gemte de Roçanive. Daly mandou a visitar Manoel que já podia hir, não sabendo nimguem que ally estavão. Vendo vir o paró os que na feira estavão, cuidarão que era de enemiguos, e o mesmo Manoel por dissimular dizia que não, que não sabia. Começarão os mininos a doutrina, achegando em direito

184 Amtonio] Christovão *B* || 190 preparandôs *ms.* || 195 Rodriguez *add.* que *B* || 197 que *ins.* || 202-203 e o mesmo . . . sabia *om. B*

[27] Alias Ratiputi (D 109, 15).

[28] That is, across the bay, in Leitimor. The place where the fair was held is not given.

[29] *Perahu*, native boat.

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da feira, dispararão algumas espinguardas que hião em o paró, e forão a receber o Padre Dioguo de Magalhãis que vinha de Roçanive, e elles fizerão o mesmo e assi tãobem o fizerão os que estavão em cima na feira despararão as espimgardas, e se forão ambos pera a feira comtinuando sempre os mininos a doutrina. Toda a gemte d'armas que estava na feira se escomdeo a modo de cilada ; em os parós, querendo chegar a terra, remeterão como se fossem a enemigos e tomarão os parós no ar com toda a gemte que trazião demtro e com muita alegria os puserão em sequo, desembarcando ambos os Padres e, comtinoando os meninos a doutrina, se forão até o luguar onde se fazia a feira, aonde as molheres de Ative tinhão mandado fazer hum altar. Chegarão os meninos em procisão com ramos nas mãos, e puserão a cruz que trazião em o altar fazendo todos oração, e nisto se levamtarão [30].

15. Mandarão as molheres de Ative pidir licemça aos Padres pera se virem emcomendar a Deus ao altar, pera que os outros christãos vissem e apremdessem dellas e lhes não parecesse difficultoso saberem a doutrina, pois erão amboinas como ellas. Não sabendo os Padres a maneyra que avião de ter lá, buscarão hum amboino, que esteve em o collegio de Goa [31], que lhes vinha dizendo as ladainhas e ellas todas respondendo. Foi cousa de muita admiração, não tão somente pera os christãos da terra, mas aimda pera os portugueses que ahi se acharão. Outras molheres de outros luguares se vinhão às de Ative pedir-lhes que as insinassem que, quando os Padres no seu luguar fizessem igreja, quisesem ellas lá ir a insiná-las pera que ellas tãobem aprendessem.

16. Acabado isto se ajumtarão todos os homens honrrados de todos os lugares christãos ; e todos em geral, de cada luguar hum particular, fazião huma fala a todos em que prometião morrer christãos e pelejarem todos jumtamente com quaesquer mouros, que com os christãos quisesem pelejar, e que todos acudissem a hum luguar aonde os mouros pelejassem. Foi esta huma cousa de grande comtemtamento e consolação pera os Padres, vendo tão firme proposito nas almas, que tão pouco avia que tinhão comvertidas a nossa sancta fé, e deu tãobem

221 doutrina *del.* como ellas || 223 ladainhas] doutrina *B*

[30] This feast of fraternization and brotherhood between Hatiwi and Nusaniwi may be considered a great success of Christianity. VALENTYN, when speaking of the latter village, says that from the times before the coming of the Portuguese on, its people were always at war with those of Hatiwi (II a 122).

[31] Perhaps D. Diogo of Nusatelo or D. João (Cf. D 114 note 4).

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grande animo a Manoel, vendo que todos aquelles [que] os annos passados da guerra erão comtra elle, agora estavão prestes pera o ajudar no que fosse neces-[571*r*]sario, e dizia que nunqua em Amboino vira outra semelhante cousa; porque de primeiro não tam somente pelejavão, mas ainda os do mesmo luguar huns com os outros, porque hé esta gemte muito belicosa, por valia de pouco mais de nada pelejão huns com os outros. Nisto tãobem fizerão os Padres este anno muito serviço a Deus, estorvando-lhes muitas pelejas e discordias, que sempre antre elles há, fazendo-os amiguos.

17. O P.e Dioguo de Magalhãis se tornou pera Roçanive e o Padre Framcisco Rodriguez tornou a visitar os luguares de christãos.

18. Em este tempo vierão dous portuguezes em hum luguar que se chama Homa [32], da outra banda, a chamar algum dos Padres que fosse lá por estarem os christãos muito desejosos de verem Padres, que já avia tres messes que os não tinhão vistos, e isto por se não poder naveguar por ser imverno. Foi o P.e Dioguo de Magualhãis com elles, ao qual receberão com muita alegria e comtentamento. Loguo ao outro dia o vierão chamar de hum luguar, que de primeiro tivera algum primcipio de christamdade e por christãos se tinhão, dizendo que outro luguar de mouros tinha peitado aquelles dous ladrões ternates, acima ditos, pera os virem destruir, pedindo ao Padre que os quisese fazer christãos a todos, porque amtes querião serem destroidos e morrerem na fee de Christo que ficarem em salvo com serem mouros. Foi lá o Padre e levou comsiguo alguns portuguezes. Estaria lá dous meses; faria christãos passante de oitocemtas almas, emsinando-lhes a doutrina. Estando o Padre neste luguar, chegarão os ternates que vinhão ver o fato de que do luguar dos mouros erão peitados e, sabendo que o Padre estava em o luguar sobre quem elles avião de vir, temendo que por sua causa lhes não acomtecesse algum desastre, e mais por o luguar ser muito forte, davão por escusa à gemte do luguar dos mouros, pollos não terem por covardos, que o fato que lhes davão era pouco e, por mais que lhes dessem, sempre dizião que era pouco. Quis-lhe N.S. quebrar os corações para que os novamente christãos ficas-

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238 estavão *del.* prestes || 244 estorvando-lhes *del.* muitas || 250 muito *interl.* || 258 morrerem *corr. fr.* morrem, *del.* christãos || 260 Estaria *w. corr.* || 265 causa *del.* não

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[32] Oma in Haruku. Cf. D 109, 4-6. From mid May until September the S coast of the Uliaser islands is unapproachable on account of the strong S monsoon winds. The other two villages, mentioned in this no., may be Ulat and Sirisori in Saparua; consult D 179, 12-16.

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sem em salvo e tãobem pera que conhecessem que, loguo em primcipio de sua conversão, N.S. tinha cuidado de lhes fazer mercês. Em isto se veo o Padre Magalhãis pera Ative.

19. Passado o Natal tornarão os Padres a visitar os luguares, estando em alguns dias, insinando polla manhã e à noite a doutrina até que a sabião. Desta vez fizerão mais de cem almas christãs. Foi mais o P.e Framcisco Rodriguez a hum luguar que está perto de hum luguar de mouros chamado Yto [33], que comtinoamente tem guerra com os christãos, e antre outros muitos luguares de mouros, pollo virem chamar e pidirem christamdade. Não estando os Padres em cassa falarão com Manoel, e Manoel, cuidando que não vinhão direitamente e que querião armar alguma cilada, tomando no caminho os Padres e aos atives que fossem com elles, ou debaixo de quererem ser christãos viessem amostral o caminho aos outros enemiguos, lhes disse donde lhes vinha agora quererem ser christãos, pois os outros seus vezinhos dizião que se aparelhavão pera virem queimar os luguares dos christãos, e que aquillo lhe parecia mais falsidade que vomtade de serem christãos, que se fossem embora.

20. Responderão os que pidião christamdade que elles já de primeiro os fizera christãos hum capitão, e elles que por causa da guerra, por salvarem suas vidas, tornarão atrás, não sabendo o muito que nisso perdião, por em aquele tempo não terem quem os animasse, e mais que, depois que se fizerão christãos, não tinha lá ido Padre algum mais que aquelle capitão os bautizar [34]. E tãobem por verem outros luguares tornarem atrás e agora novamente se tornavão a recomciliar com Christo, que elles o mesmo querião fazer e os querião acompanhar, viver e morrer com elles, posto que sabião que elles avião de ser dos primeiros que dos mouros avião de ser commetidos, por estarem mais perto dos mouros.

21. Manoel comtudo não se comfiando delles pera prova lhes pidio muito fato e que, se não dessem este fato primeiro, que não [571*v*] avia lá de ir nenhum Padre pera os recomciliar. Elles, como o seu prepósito era bom sem mais nada, ametade forão a buscar o fato pera que

277 Hito *B* || 278 e *add.* está *B* || 280 não *om.* *B* || 283 enemiguos *add.* e *ms.* || 293 bautizara *B* || 300 dessem *del.* muito

[33] Hitu, on the N coast of Ambon island, the modern Hitulama and Hitumeseng. The name of the neighbour village is not given.

[34] Another instance, after S Selebes, Solor, and Buru, of Christianity established by a layman.

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ficasse em penhor e ametade fiquarão em Ative esperando que viesem os Padres, que em outros luguares andavão ensinando a doutrina.

22. Em este comenos veo o P.e Francisco Rodriguez e, falando com elles, vemdo sua boa determinação, lhes disse que elle iria lá, que não era necessario [o] fato que Manoel lhes tinha pedido. Elles se forão diamte fazer prestes e dizer em como o Padre hia. E loguo ao outro dia foi o Padre, como acima está dito, com dous portugueses e farião oitemta almas christãs que ainda não erão bautizadas, estes meninos de cimquo anos pera baixo. E arvorarão huma cruz com muita festa rezando as ladainhas depois de arvorada, a qual elles tinhão escondida no mato por amor dos mouros lhe não fazerem alguma offemsa, o que seria pera elles grande dor e tristeza, e dizião que era verdade que elles tornarão atrás mas não com o coração, e que agora prometião de nenhuma maneira se averem de tornar atrás.

23. Grande comsolação, Padres e Irmãos em Christo, hé ver esta gente, tão pouco há comvertida a nossa sancta fé, ter tão grande zelo de christandade, vendo que os mouros são aquelles que mais podem, comtudo não temendo trabalhos corporais nem perda de fazenda, se chegão e abração com a cruz de Christo, donde alguns, e não poucos, christãos que moravão em luguares de mouros vendo-se avexados delles e cometidos que se tornassem mouros, deixavão suas ortas e suas casas e se vierão com seus filhos a viver a Ative e a outros luguares de christãos.

24. E tãobem causa grande dor tão grande messe e tão poucos obreiros, porque lhes sei dizer que esta terra de Maluco hé huma das grandes empressas que a Companhia tem, por ter muitas terras propinquas que dizem folgarião de ver os Padres e fazerem-se christãos, como hé hum reino que se chama Seyrão [35], terra muito grande; outro que se chama o Papua, tãobem muito grande; Luçabata pollo comseguimte; o Burro, Butom [36], os Selebes [37]; que hé imfinidade de gemte, todos com desejos de christandade, e por falta de obreiros se não começa quaise nenhuma.

25. Tornando ao nosso preposito dos trabalhos que os Padres passarão no visitar da christandade e os favorecer e animar em os tra-

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318 fé *add.* e *ms.* || 320 perda *corr. fr.* peda || 323 tornassem *del.* christãos || 330 Ceitão *B* || 331 Pupua *B* | Luçavata *B* || 332 Selebes *corr. fr.* Salebes; Aleves *B* || 335 proposito *B*

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[35] E Seram.

[36] Butung Island, off SE Selebes.

[37] The N arm of Selebes.

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balhos, socedeo virem duas embarcações de mouros a furtar aos luguares dos christãos. Pareceo bem aos portuguezes e a Manoel que se embarcassem os Padres com elles e que hirião a visitar os christãos, pera que vissem aos portuguezes e, vendo-os, não temessem os christãos aos mouros. Indo em tres embarquações, chegando a em que hião os portuguezes e os Padres a huma ponta, lhes deu hum tempo mui rijo e foi tão gramde que os alagou. E era de maneira aonde se alagarão que, ainda que alguns nadavão pera terra, não podião sair por ser hum grande rochedo mui alto e os mares serem grandes e baterem no rochedo. E o primeiro remeyro que sayo, estribando-se em seu bom nadar, deu o mar com elle na rocha e o matou, E assi sairão tãobem dous ou tres portugueses pera buscarem algum remedio aos que fiquavão na embarcação e tãobem o mar deu com elles em estas fragoas e os ferio. Depois de estarem em esta rocha não podião dar passada que se não firisem, por causa das pedras serem tão agudas que parecião estrepes feitos ao martello e não aver quem pudesse andar por ellas.

26. A este tempo os Padres fiquarão apegados na embarcação alagada. Esta embarcação, ainda que se alague, não se vai ao fundo sem primeiro se fazer em pedaços[38], rema-se com setemta remos, e algumas cento e vinte[39]. E os Padres diserão a todos que, se lhes parecesse, que se não saisem da embarcação, porque, ainda que se alagasse, se não avia de hir ao fundo; que se apegasem bem, ainda que algumas vezes vinha o mar por cima de todos; que era milhor andar na embarquação que sair em terra, por causa do mar andar muito bravo e as ondas quebrarem naquellas fragoas, e que, se saissem, os afogarião as ondas; que se lembrasem do periguo em que estavão e que, se algum se simtisse agravado de sua conciemcia, se achegasse pera apar de algum dos Padres, animando-os a todos que não [572*r*] temesem, porque nos grandes trabalhos acostumava Deus acudir com sua misericordia.

27. E a alguns dos que sairão em terra saio gente da mesma terra com armas pera os matar aos que da embarquação sairão. Os Pa-

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342 a huma ponta *interl.* || 346 remeyro *tr. corr.* || 356 fazer *corr. fr.* fazerem || 357 algumas *add.* com *B* || 369 aos . . . sairão *om. B*

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[38] Cf. REBELO 384: « [As coracoras] atravessão grandes mares sem numqua se perderem, salvo dando em seco, nem se virão, nem vão ao fundo ».

[39] The *Treatise* (160) describes some types of large boats carrying two hundred or a hundred-and-fifty rowers.

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dres, vendo-os, lhes começarão a acenar com a mão que lhe não fizessem mal, dizendo que erão os Padres e portugueses, não pelejassem; e vendo aos Padres estiverão quedos. Pedindo os Padres os socorresem com alguns parós, elles fizerão humas jamgadas de paos e os forão tomar à embarquação. Foi defronte de hum luguar que dantes fora christão; do tempo da guerra tornarão atrás polla causa acima dita. E dizião elles que aquella perdição dos Padres fora causa da salvação da gente daquelle luguar, levantando as mãos pera o ceo, dando graças ao Senhor polla lembrança e bom cuidado que deles tivera, e causa e meo que elle tivera pera elles serem vistos dos Padres: que bemaventurada perdição e bem empregada, pois fora pera bem de tamtas almas.

28. E vendo aos portugueses e Padres dispidos e perdido o fato, por socorrerem aos christãos e os defenderem dos mouros, parece que os moveo à compaixão, e pidirão aos Padres que fossem para o seu luguar pera os recomciliar e lhe fazerem seus filhos christãos, e se até qui os não forão chamar, era porque o capitão de Ternate [40] lhes tinha preso o primcipal homem do seu luguar e que por isto a gente do luguar estava agravada, mas que elles sabião que os Padres não fazyão mal a nimguem e o homem, que lhes o capitão tinha preso, que, se tinha feito alguma ruindade (a que elles chamão sala) [41], que a paguase, que elles todos querião ser christãos; e pidindo aos Padres que se quissesem hir pera o seu luguar pera se emxuguarem e que lhes darião de comer a todos, e que o fato que se perdera que elles a mergulho o buscarião todo e o tornarião a dar. Sairão emtão em terra em camissa todos e alguns nus e começarão a caminhar ao longo da praya, e chegando aonde se tomava hum caminho pera o luguar, diserão os christãos que com elles hião, que lhes parecia milhor que fossem a hum luguar de christãos que ahi estava perto a que os Padres tinhão ido muitas vezes, e deles forão recebidos com muito gasalhado.

29. Ao outro dia seguimte veo Manoel com as outras duas embarcações que pasara o dia damtes que se elles perderão, e chegando ò luguar aonde os Padres estavão, se lhes lançarão aos pés, assi Manoel como toda a sua gemte, chorando muitas lagrimas de alegria dizendo que, ainda que se perdera a embarcação, nada o semtia e que davão muitas graças ao Senhor por lhes guardar as vidas dos Padres e aos

371 portugueses *add.* que *B* || 375 tornarão atrás *om. B* || 376 dos Padres *om. B* || 380 pera *del.* salva . . . || 387 fazyão *w. corr.* || 389 sala] salla *B* || 392 buscararião *ms.*

[40] Henrique de Sá.

[41] *Salah* (Malay), mistake, error, fault.

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portuguezes, e que no caminho lhe derão novas em como os Padres erão mortos e toda a mais gemte que com elles hião e a embarquação em que hião, e que pera mais tristeza e descomsolação sua, de ser verdade o que lhe tinhão dito, quiserão seus pecados que fosem dar com a madeira da embarquação que andava pollo mar, e que mais simtiria a morte dos Padres, que sendo caso (como dizião) que acomtecera, mais que de lhe morrer molher e filhos e toda sua gemte, que grande mercê era a que tinha recebido de Deus, pois os achavão vivos. Dahi a dous ou tres dias foi o P.e Francisco Rodriguez a este luguar, que pidio que o recomciliassem e bautizassem seus filhos, os quaes serião sesemta mininos.

30. De hum luguar chamado Yto, dahi perto de Ative adonde os Padres pousavão, este luguar chamado Yto, como acima tenho dito, como foi sempre nosso contrairo, começarão a lamçar ao mar algumas embarcações e se vierão a cometer alguns luguares dos christãos que se fizessem mouros, que elles tinhão emtregue esta terra a hum rei que se chama da Jaoam [42], que hé gemte de outra nação. Vem ter ahi embarcações fazer fazemda de algumas duzemtas legoas e que esperavão nesta monção por muitos navios do mesmo rey da Yaoam, os quaes elles andavão esperando com aquellas embarcações pera os levarem à toa ao seu luguar, porque algumas vezes lhes dão calmarias e as corremtes das agoas os desgarrão pera outra terra longe da sua.

31. Estes mesmos ytos forão a hum luguar de christãos chamado Roçanive, a os cometer se fizessem mouros. Este Roçanive hé hum luguar que se fez christão ao tempo que os Padres aqui chegarão, que foi na era de 562, e averá nella quatro mil almas. Em estas duas embarcações de Yto vinha hum cacis mouro que hé seu Padre delles, he este [572*v*] cacis era filho de hum homem primcipal dos desta terra, amoestando a todos e pregando a má seita de Mafamede, parecendo-lhe que, por serem novamente christãos e estivesem mal areigados na nossa sancta fé, que com poucas palavras os demovesem e tornasem, metendo-lhes medo que esperavão por grande armada del-rey da Jaoa e que avião de destroir e queimar todos os luguares dos chris-

406 e a] na *B* || 407-408 de ser . . . dito *om. B* || 416 Ito *B* || 421 Gaoa *B* || 422 embarcações *add.* a *B* || 423 Gaoa *B* || 426 desgarrão *corr. fr.* descarrão || 430 duas *corr. fr.* dous || 435-436 demoverião e tornarião *B*

[42] Repeatedly Hitu had offered vassalage to the rulers of Japara, that is, of Demak, in Java. See, for instance, COUTO VIII 25 (ed. 1786, p. 196). SCHRIEKE, *Indonesian Sociological Studies* I 47, plainly speaks of «the Javanese Mohammedan centre Hitu on Ambon». Cf. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 664-665 notes 132-140.

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tãos, e tornando-se mouros lhes não veria nenhum mal. Elles lhe responderão como bons christãos que nem por medo de morte nem perda de fazenda e de luguar não avião de deixar a verdadeira lei de Christo N.S., que antes elles nesta vida querião padecer trabalhos e avexações que na outra penas eternas. E loguo se forão aos Padres darlhes comta destes cometimentos que estes mouros lhes fazião.

32. Os Padres andavão visitando os luguares de christãos hum por huma banda da costa e outro polla outra banda, bautizando-os e doutrinando-os e animando-os a todos os christãos, porque estavão mui temorizados. E andando assi, chegarão quimze ou vinte navios d'el-rey de Jaoa (como acima tenho dito) que esperavão estas ilhas de Amboino, donde creceo mayor temor aos christãos pollo[s] verem andar todos ao longuo da terra. Os yaos e mouros o que dizião era pera sua perdição dos christãos, e os Padres por cada sua banda esforçando os christãos com palavras de amor e charidade não ouvessem medo, que N. Senhor socorreria com sua misericordia, como sempre costuma nos taes e semelhantes trabalhos.

33. E andando assi os navios anhotos sem vento, andarão quatro dias ao longo da terra da banda dos luguares dos christãos, aonde os Padres andavão, sem a poderem afferrar, e acudio N. Senhor com sua acostumada misericordia e foi com lhes dar hum vemto rijo por cima da terra, com que não poderão tomar o luguar dos mouros pera donde vinhão. Desgarrarão todos pera humas ilhas chamadas Banda aonde os portuguezes tãobem fazem fazenda, e vão dentro nelles alguns mouros deste luguar de Yto, os quaes se não quiserão desembarquar podendo-o fazer, e dizem que hão-de vir com a momção com que se daqui partem os portuguezes pera a India [43], porque então tem o vento a popa pera aqui e que emtão acharão a terra despejada dos portuguezes, que os poderião tomar sem lhes custar nada ou muito pouco, porque emtão não há portuguezes nestas ilhas [44].

34. Tres ou quatro destes navios sorgirão nas prayas dos christãos e falarão os Padres com elles. Diserão que elles vinhão a fazer cravo e tãobem o que lhes os mouros roguassem que fizessem por sua ley. Este

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450 jaos *B* || 452 charidade *add.* que *B* || 455 anhotos *om. B*

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[43] That is, the next May [1563], when the SE monsoon begins blowing.

[44] A very interesting observation: after the ships had made their exit, on about May 15, the number of Portuguese, and consequently the protection of the Christians in Ambon, was much less. This is certainly one of the principal reasons why a fortress was requested.

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cravo há-o em estes luguares de mouros, ainda que hé pouco, porque a força delle há-o em Maluquo [45] cem legoas destas ilhas. E amtre estes navios emtrava hum d'el-rei da Yaoa, muito grande, dizendo que trazia cartas d'el-rei da Yaoa pera el-rey de Maluquo [46] e que, se agora lhas não podia dar nesta monção, que seria na outra que era dahi a dous meses. Estes navios, quando virão não serem mais de quatro que sorgirão e não poderem tomar os luguares dos mouros, e o pouco gasalhado que lhes os christãos fazião por serem mouros, derão todos às vellas e se forão a Banda.

35. E na despidida mandarão dizer aos mouros que na Yaoa fiquavão tres ou quatro navios de portuguezes, onde vinha hum capitão pera este Amboino por tres annos [47] e que se vigiasem. Despois os christãos o souberão dos mesmos mouros, e dahi a oito ou dez diaz chegarão os navios dos portuguezes, que foy asaz de grande alegria pera os christãos e pera nós grande consolação por N. Senhor socorrer a tão grande necessidade em como esta tera estava de socorro. Não deixou N.S. de socorrer com sua misericordia, e deu-lhes N.S. tão bom tempo pera emtrarem polla barra dentro que, onde os navios dos yaos acima ditos andarão cimquo dias em calmarias, tiverão os nossos vento a popa. Com esta emtrada foi mui grande o alvoroço nos Padres e christãos, porque, se dantes era grande o temor dos christãos, redundou em mayor alegria e esforço comtra os enemiguos. N.S. nos tenha a todos de sua mão. Amen.

36. Ho Padre que nesta nomeo Francisco Rodriguez, chamava-sse Francisco Vieira ao tempo que dessa terra veo e mudou o nome [48].

De Maluquo, ao[s] 15 de Fevereiro de 1563 annos.

Do seu indigno Irmão,

Fernão d'Osouro.

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471 cravo *del.* a || 475 podia dar] desem *B* | que seria] lhas daria *B* || 476 quando . . . serem] que vierão não crão *B* || 481 tres ou quatro *corr. fr.* quatro ou cimquo || 488 gnos *B* || 494-495 Ho . . . nome *om. B*

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[45] Stands here for Ternate and neighbour islands.

[46] Hairun.

[47] This is the fleet of António Pais (D 116, 27) which, according to D 118, 3 consisted of two small ships only.

[48] « Para evitar confusões » (Souza I III 2 27).

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## 116

## BR. BALTASAR DE ARAÚJO S.J., BY ORDER OF FR. PRANCUDO S.J., TO THE JESUITS IN EUROPE

Ternate, February 24, 1563

I AUTHORS: See at D 115; for no. 27, SOUZA II III 1 4.

II TEXTS: There is no original.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 574*v*-578*r*. Coeval copy in Portuguese. Title: « Copia de huma de Maluquo do Padre Baltasar d'Araujo pera os Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de vimte e quatro de Fevereyro de 1563 ». Clear writing.

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4531* ff. 465*r*-468*r*. Portuguese coeval copy, identical with text A but for a few unimportant variants. In the title, « Padre » has been corrected into « Irmão ». An added note says « Esta carta hé quasi semelhante a que fica acima », evidently referring to D 115. In the margin it is said « Passe-sse », that is, this letter need not be read in the refectory.

III ADDRESSEE: From the words « as cousas que N.S. obra nessa Europa » (no. 1), it follows that Araújo wrote to his fellow Jesuits in Europe.

IV NOTE: See NOTE at D 115.

V PRINTED: in SÁ III 27-42; he prints text A.

VI OUR EDITION: We print text A, paying attention, in the apparatus, to only a few variants of text B. For the notes to this letter, see mainly D 115.

### *Text*

1. *He writes by order.* — 2. *In March 1562, Frs. Prancudo, Álvares, Mascarenhas, and Br. Gomes arrived with Captain Henrique de Sá, while Frs. Rodrigues and Magalhães had been left back on Ambon. Welcome in Bacan.* — 3. *Their four month pastoral work in Ternate.* — 4. *First Mass of Fr. Álvares. Renewal of vows.* — 5. *After Whitsunday Prancudo, Nunes, and Gomes sailed to Moro, Álvares and Osório to Bacan.* — 6. *The Moro people had more confidence in the Fathers than in the Portuguese captain.* — 7. *Successful visiting of the Moro villages during one and a half months.* — 8. *Having returned to Ternate they moved out again; Prancudo's work in Moro and his illness.* — 9. *Álvares' work in Bacan; he baptized 300 persons and arranged for a church.* — 10. *Instances of popular devoutness in Bacan.* — 11. *Pastoral work of Rodrigues and Magalhães among Portuguese and natives on Ambon.* — 12. *Residence and church of Hatiwi; from elsewhere over 200 came to live there. Visiting villages Rodrigues made 200 converts, Magalhães 100.* — 13. *First Mass of Fr. Magalhães in Hatiwi; speech by its chief, Manuel.* — 14. *Magalhães acted the part of a captain by fortifying Christian villages, especially Nusaniwi.* —

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*15. Meeting of the prominent Christians of all villages on a shore near Hatiwi ; gay feast of brotherhood. — 16. Zeal of Hatiwi women. A young Ambonese, who was educated in Goa, led the prayer. — 17. Offensive and defensive alliance of all the Christian villages of Ambon. — 18. Fr. Magalhães sailed to Oma and a neighbouring village ; in less than two months over 800 were baptized. — 19. After Christmas new excursions : 100 baptisms in a village formerly converted by a captain but never visited by a priest. Manuel's distrust of them. — 20. Fr. Rodrigues visited them and baptized 80 children. Later on, these Christians, in spite of persecution, remained true to the faith. — 21. Shipwreck of the Fathers. — 22. Turned into spiritual salvation of a village. — 23. Manuel's joy at seeing the Fathers saved. — 24. Conversion of the village mentioned ; 90 baptisms. — 25. Hitu Moors prepared vessels to attack Christian villages, notably Nusaniwi, while waiting for Javanese assistance. — 26. The Javanese indeed came popping up with thirteen junks ; these were overtaken by a stiff land-wind and drifted off to Banda. Three of them anchoring in Ambon Bay brought news of Portuguese ships coming along. — 27. After a week these ships arrived indeed, bringing Captain António Pais and two new Jesuits, Fr. António Fernandes and Br. António Gonçalves. — 28. Conclusion. Call for help in the mission work.*

A graça e amor de Christo N.S. faça continua morada em nossas almas. Amen.

1. Mandou-me a sancta obediencia que lhes escrevese das cousas que N.S. obra por esta sua minima Companhia nestas partes tão remotas de Maluquo e Amboyno, pera que assi como nos incitamos com as cousas que N.S. obra nessa Europa a desejar de servir a N.S. com mayor fervor, assi do bem que de quá escrevemos lhe dem graças, e pollas faltas que de nossa parte há roguem ao mesmo Deus que no-las perdoe e nos dê emenda dellas.

2. No Março de 562 estando nós, os Irmãos que estavamos em Maluquo [1], desconfiados de virem Padres da India por ser já o tempo passado em que avião de vir, chegarão com o capitão Anrrique de Sá os P.es Marcos Prancudo e Fernãod'Alvarez e Pero de Mascarenhas e o Irmão Manoel Gomez. Os P.es Francisco Rodriguez, que lá chamão Francisco Vieyra, e Dioguo de Magualhãis fiquarão em Amboino, que serão sesenta legoas de Maluco, por ahi os mandar ficar o P.e Marcos Prancudo com aquella christandade. E quanto menos os esperavamos, tanto foi mais dobrado o prazer que com sua vinda em o Senhor tive-

13 Mascarenhas *w. corr.*

[1] Fr. Nicolau Nunes, Br. Fernão de Osório, and Br. Araújo himself.

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mos. E tanto que chegarão à barra de Bachão, que são dezoito legoas da fortaleza, estava ahi o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro, o qual loguo em huma embarquação muito bem emrramada com os mininos, christãos da terra, os foi receber pello rio abaixo cantando a doutrina christã, o que causou grande alegria em os portuguezes que vinhão da India e em os nossos Padres vendo que em terras tão remotas se sabia o nome do Padre, Filho, Spiritu Sancto. E loguo se partirão pera Ternate, que hé a fortaleza d'El-Rey, onde estiverão jumtos quatro messes, que foi até todo Junho.

3. Neste tempo fez o Senhor nas almas dos portuguezes e christãos da terra muito fruito por via das pregações e comfisões, porque como em Maluquo não estivesse emtão mais que hum sacerdote da Companhia, o qual ainda andava visitando os luguares dos christãos [2], muita parte da gente estava por comfessar e com a chegada dos Padres se comfessarão todos por ser tempo de Coresma quando chegarão. E depois acrecentou-se mais a devação com os Padres pregarem o sancto jubileu que levavão, porque se tornarão a comfessar todos e tomarão o Sancto Sacramento. E dahi avante ouve sempre muita frequencia nas confissões, confessando-se muita gente nas vesporas de N. Senhora e dos Apostolos, e no domingo do Santo Sacramento de sua comfraria [3]. O fruito que por via destas comfissões se fez por ser cousa tão secreta não o escrevo, abasta saberdes, charissimos Irmãos, que muitas pessoas se puserão em estado de graça, tendo-a perdida, e muitas se conservarão nella por meo das comfissões e do Santo Sacramento.

4. Dia do Spirito Sancto disse missa nova o P.e Fernão d'Alvarez, e dise-a na igreja grande por ser a primeira que se disse nesta terra. Comcorreo a ella todo o povo e pregou a ella o P.e Pedro Mascarenhas com satisfação dos ouvimtes, e nella se comverteo hum grande pecador à penitemcia, e foy buscar ao P.e Mascarenhas loguo ao outro dia e comfessou a elle seus pecados com tantas lagrimas e saluços

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[2] Nunes, who had gone to visit Lisabata (D 115, 2).

[3] In order to favour a frequent and regular use of Holy Communion the Fathers introduced the so-called Blessed Sacrament Sunday, celebrated either every third week (DI V 669), or on the last Sunday of every month (*Mon. Bras.* IV 86 ; 439 ; 557 [Índice]). This is the first mention in our documents of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in Ternate. In 1546, on February 20, the citizens of the Portuguese town of Ternate wrote a letter to King D. João III, in which, describing their way of life, they stated, «servimos de mordomos, mynystradores das santas confraryas» (SÁ I 479). That one of these confraternities was that of the Blessed Sacrament, is testified by VALIGNANO, *História* 98-99.

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que se ouvia em toda a igreja. Na 2ª oytava do Spiritu Santo fizemos todos os votos com muito favor divino.

5. Despois disto paresceo já tempo ao P.e Reitor repartir os obreiros desta vinha pellas partes de Maluquo honde erão mais necessarios. E partio o P.e Marcos Prancudo a visitar a christandade das ilhas do Moro e pera isto lhe deu o rey de Ternate, posto que era mouro, huma embarcação que elles chamão corocora, e levou por companheiros o P.e Nicolau Nunez e o Irmão Manoel Gomez.

E pera o reino de Bachão mandou o P.e Fernãod'Alvarez e o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro.

6. Grande foi o comtemtamento dos christãos do Moro quando lá virão os Padres que avia cimquo annos que não virão. E porque aquellas ilhas des o tempo da guerra estavão alevantadas, ho capitão Anrrique de Sá mandava huma armada para as tornar a pacifiquar. Vio-se o muito credito que os [575*v*] christãos tinhão aos Padres da Companhia, porque no primeiro luguar que cheguarão, que hião sempre hum dia diante da armada, vierão-nos a receber à praya dizendo que pera que era lá armada, que o que os Padres não fizessem não faria o capitão-mor, porque não achavão quem lhes tratasse verdade senão os Padres. E sem duvida, se os Padres lá não forão, pouco ou nada se fizera acerca de comcertar a christandade e libertá-los dos mouros que os tiranizavão, porque os mesmos mouros pidião que não fosse lá a armada, que somente fossem os Padres e que farião tudo o que os Padres quisesem acerca dos christãos, e po-llos em sua liberdade que elles des o tempo da guerra lhe tinhão tirada. E por bondade de Deus tudo se comcertou como os Padres quiserão.

7. Forão os Padres visitando todos aquelles luguares, os quais os recebião com muita alegria e bautizarão perto de novecemtos mininos de tres annos pera baixo. Vede, Irmãos, que comtemtamento seria ver tantas almas lavadas com o sangue de Jesu Christo com o santo bautismo, e quantos destes morrendo em estado de graça estão em gloria. E emtre estes se fizerão alguns mouros já homens christãos. E corrião ao santo bautismo com seus filhos com tanto desejo que vinhão de mais de huma legoa pela terra dentro a dormir à praya com seus filhos pera que os Padres os fizessem christãos, e vai Nosso Senhor dando a estes christãos grande fé na comfissão. Hum christão morrendo-lhe hum filho que tinha dizia que por seus pecados lho matara Nosso

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55 *corr. fr.* corocoras || 59 dos *corr. fr.* grande foi || 61 ho *w. corr.* || 73 guerra *del.* de || 81 filhos *del.* à praya

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Senhor e pidio com muita devação a comfissão. Gastarião os Padres nesta visitação do Moro hum mes e meo.

8. E vindo-sse outra vez pera Ternate, tornarão a renovar o fruito passado com as pregações e comfissões. E tendo já o P.e Reitor mais experiemcia da terra, deixou a Pedro Mascarenhas em Ternate e elle com o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro tornou-se às ilhas do Moro, e mandou ao P.e Nicolau Nunez pera Bachão a ser companheiro do P.e Fernãod'Alvarez. E indo o P.e Marcos Prancudo à ilha do Tolo consolava muito aquelles christãos dizendo-lhe missa cada dia, bautizando--lhe os filhos e a outros novamente comvertidos, a muitos tirava as mancebas e casava apartando-os, e cada dia se fazia a doutrina aos mininos que erão mais de duzentos, e aos dominguos era muita mais gente. Ahi adoeceo o P.e Reitor e pera saberdes quam poucos remedios humanos por quá há socorrendo-nos todavia os divinos, o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro foi o sangrador e lhe deu algumas lancetadas sem lhe tirar sangue, e dipois hum moço lhe deu outras tantas e não lhe tirou senão hum pouco de sangue. E creceo tanto a doença que foi necessario vir-se a Ternate sem quasi todo o caminho poder comer nem beber com muito periguo de morte, e chegando foi sangrado cimquo vezes. Mas deu-lhe N.S. saude para muito seu serviço.

9. O P.e Fernãod'Alvarez tãobem em Bachão fez muito fruito nos christãos, bautizando e cassando as pessoas que disso tinhão necessidade, e doutrinando a todos. Há muitos christãos no Bachão que pedem aos Padres que os comfessem, dizendo-lhe que seu coração se não pode quietar até se comfessarem, e muitos pedem ao Padre com grande desejo della que os comfesse per interpretem. E tal espanto causa a vida do P.e Fernãod'Alvarez em os mouros no Bachão, que huns cacizes que a mãy d'el-rei de Bachão — que ainda hé moura — ahi tinha, tanto que virão quam claro e detreminado hé o Padre no que releva ao serviço de Deus, desempararão a mãi d'el-rei. Em cimquo messes que o Padre ahi esteve bautizaria trezentas pessoas, e mais tirou os ossos do pay d'el-rey, que foi mouro, de hum jazigo em que estavão e fez da cassa huma igreja de Nossa Senhora da Comceição [4]. Ysto tudo com o el-rey aver assi por bem, e dizia que agora lhe parecia que começava a ser christão.

10. Neste tempo que o Padre ahy estava bautizou dous filhos do rey. Estavão duas velhas mouras para morrer e pidirão que as bauti-

111 que os comfesse *interl. B* | por interpretes *B* || 115 releva] toca *B*

[4] *Assumpção* in D 115, 8; *Comceição* in D 117, 8.

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zassem que querião morrer christãs e com o bautismo receberão a saude corporal e spiritual. Tem esta gemte muita devação na agoa benta e recebem saude de algumas emfirmidades bebendo-a, primcipalmente de febres. O que lhe direy, Irmãos meus, hé tanta a devação [576*r*] desta gemte que todos os dominguos e festas vem carregados de ramos e de flores cheirosas pera enramarem a igreja, e muito azeite pera a lampada. Louvores ao Senhor pois em terras de gente tão barbara se faz tanta veneração às igrejas e imagens que os christãos d'Alemanha e Inglaterra desprezão. Estas são as cousas que me occorrerão escrever-vos, charissimos Irmãos, do que N.S. obrou nas partes de Maluquo.

11. E vindo a Amboyno, o P.e Francisco Rodriguez e o P.e Dioguo de Magalhãis, que ahi fiquarão por mandado do P.e Reitor para fazerem o officio da Companhia, ahi comfessarão os portuguezes que ficarão ahi d'emvernada, casarão muitos amancebados tirando-os de pecado mortal. Alguns que estavão em odio fizerão amigos, e dous messes que ahi estiverão as naos dos portuguezes fizerão antre elles não piqueno fruito. Depois forão visitar dous luguares de christãos e dous de gentios, os quaes luguares se fizerão christãos, que serião por todos duzentos.

12. E, como partirão as naos, se forão os Padres apousentar em Ative, que hé terra de Amboino que nos hé mais fiel, onde está hum christão primcipal por nome Manoel, e ahi ordenarão huma igreja pera dizerem missa e ministrarem o bautismo e outros sacramentos. Como virão a igreja feita, acodirão de todos as partes propinquas a receber o sancto bautismo e mouros e gentios, que fogião dos seus luguares e vinhão a fazer-se christãos e a morar em Ative, os quaes serião mais de duzentos. Dahi se apartarão os Padres, cada hum por sua parte, visitar os luguares de Amboino, na qual romaria o P.e Francisco Rodriguez fez à sua parte duzentos christãos e Dioguo de Magalhães cemto.

13. E tornando-se pera Ative disse Dioguo de Magalhãis missa nova dia de São Pedro e de são Paulo. Forão chamados pera o novo sacrificio os christãos primcipais dos lugares propincos e fizerão os christãos aquelle dia grande festa a seu modo, dando-lhes Manoel hum banquete a todos e, comfirmando-os na fee, lhes fez huma pratica: que já que huma vez se esfriarão na fé pellas presecuções dos mouros, mais com medos delles que com vomtade, que milhor lhes fora morrerem todos que neguarem a seu Criador que hé o Altissimo Deus a quem os christãos adorão, e agora que a tornavão outra vez a tomar, não fosse pera mais sua perda e comdenação, assi dos corpos co-

156 pratica *del.* que já



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mo das almas se não perseverassem firmemente, e os que novamente erão comvertidos que não tornassem atrás. Foi muito aceito a todos e mostrarão fiquar muito comtentes prometendo de morrerem todos christãos e por nenhum temor do mundo tornar atrás.

14. E porque a charidade a todos se faz tudo pera trazer as almas a Christo, o Padre Dioguo de Magalhãis vendo que o demonio, pesando-lhe do crecimento da christandade, incitava aos mouros a perseguirem os christãos ameaçando-os e queimando-lhes alguns luguares pera que não perseverassem na fé e não corresem ao bautismo, entre estas perseguições tomou o Padre vezes de capitão fazendo fortalecer os luguares dos christãos pera milhor resistir aos mouros. E em hum luguar dos mayores de toda a provimcia d'Amboino por nome Roçanive, no qual averá passante de quatro mil almas e destes mil homens de peleja, e alem de se fortificarem por indrustia do P.e Dioguo de Magalhãis o luguar alevantando os muros, pomdo por diversas partes strepes, fazendo outros muitos modos de defensão, ordenarão os mesmos christãos que todos os que ainda não erão christãos se fizesem ou se fossem fora do luguar por estarem misturados com infieis. E emtre estes recebeo o bautismo hum filho de Amtonio d'Abreu, homem primcipal da terra, o qual por estar absente ao tempo que o pay se fez christão não era ainda bautizado. Fez com elles o Padre muito fruito doutrinando-os nas cousas da fé. Averá ali duzentos mininos e quasi todos sabem a doutrina.

15. E pera a christandade de Amboino tornar a vir a mayor quentura spiritual, pello muito zello que nisto tem Manoel ordenou com o Padre Francisco Rodriguez que em huma feira que se faz perto de Ative [576*v*] fossem chamados de todos os luguares os primcipaes christãos, pera que todos juntos se animassem huns com os outros a mayor zelo e fervor da fé, e pera os chamar mandou Manoel hum seu irmão com alguns primcipaes de Ative por todas as partes pera que se ajuntassem em hum certo dia na feira. No qual dia se embarcou Manoel com os christãos de Ative em muitas embarcações pera aquelle luguar da feira e se foy diante. O P.e Francisco Rodriguez se embarcou em hum paró com os mininos cantando todos a doutrina, a qual elles sabem todos mui bem, com huma bandeira e huma cruz e alguns instromentos musicos ao modo da terra e se forão pôr detrás de huma ponta, o Padre com os mininos, pera ahi esperar pollo Padre Dioguo de Magalhãis que avia de vir com os christãos de Roçanive, e dahi mandou a visitar Manoel que já poderia hir porque os

173 no qual *interl.* || 174 quantro *ms.* || 190 mayor *w. corr.* || 198 o Padre] os Padres *B*

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christãos que estavão na feira não sabião que ahi estavão os Padres. E pera se alegrarem mais todos em o Senhor quiserão os tomar de sobresalto. Vendo os christãos vir a embarcação dos Padres cuidavão que era de enemigos. Começarão os meninos a doutrina e chegando em direito da feira despararão algumas espingardas que hião no parao e forão receber o P.e Dioguo de Magualhães que vinha de Roçanive tãobem com os mininos cantando a doutrina, e tãobem despararão as espingardas. E por mandado de Manoel toda a sua gente que estava na feira se escondeo a modo de cilada e, em os paraos querendo chegar a terra, arremeterão a elles com as armas como se forão enemigos e com muita alegria tomarão os paraos às mãos e os puserão em seco. Desembarcando os Padres e comtinuando os mininos a doutrina se forão ajuntar com os outros christãos. Tinhão ali as molheres de Ative mandado fazer hum altar. Chegarão os meninos em procisão com ramos nas mãos e puserão a cruz que trazião no altar fazendo todos oração.

16. E nisto se alevantarão as molheres de Ative e mandarão pidir ao Padre lhes desse licemça pera se virem emcomendar a Deus ao altar pera que os outros christãos novamente feitos aprendessem dellas e lhes não parecesse cousa difficultosa saberem a doutrina, pois erão amboinos como elles. E buscarão hum moço amboyno que se criou no collegio de S. Paulo de Goa que lhes dizia as ladainhas e ellas todas respondião. Foi cousa de muita admiração e devação, não tão somente pera os christãos da terra, mas ainda pera os Padres e portuguezes que ahi se acharão. Outras molheres de outros luguares se vynhão às de Ative por serem mais instruidas na devação e modo com que avião de estar na igreja e pidião-lhes que as insinasem a estar devotas na igreja.

17. E depois disto se ajuntarão todos os homens onrados de todos os luguares christãos, os quaes fizerão a todos christãos de todos os luguares huma falla e entre si comcertarão e prometerão morrerem christãos e pelejarem todos juntamente em hum spirito e vomtade com quaesquer mouros que com os christãos quisesem pelejar e fazerem todos hum corpo e que todos acudisem ao luguar onde os mouros pelejassem. Foi esta huma cousa de grande comtemtamento e consolação pera os Padres vendo tão firme proposito nas almas de tão pouco tempo comvertidas a nossa sancta fé, e dizia Manoel que numqua tão grande comformidade vira nos christãos de Amboino, e alguns christãos que estavão differentes o Padre os tornou a recomciliar e fiquarão todos amigos.

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228 onrados *m*.

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18. Neste tempo vierão dous portuguezes de hum luguar que se chama Homa a chamar alguns dos Padres que fossem lá por estarem os christãos muito desejosos de ver os Padres. Foi com elles o P.e Dioguo de Magalhãis ao qual receberão com grande alegria. Loguo ao outro dia o vierão chamar ao mesmo Padre de hum luguar que primeiro avia tido algum primcipio de christandade, dizendo os daquelle luguar que os mouros os querião vir a destruir, porque querião ser christãos e pidião ao Padre que os bautizasse, porque antes querião morrer na fé de Christo que fiquarem salvos com serem mouros. Esteve alli o P.e Dioguo de Magalhães perto de dous messes e fez mais de oitocemtos christãos, doutrinando-os na fé. Dahi se tornou o Padre pera Ative pera terem ahi a festa do Natal juntos.

19. A qual passada tornarão os Padres a visitarem os luguares dos christãos, emsinando-os polla menhã e à tarde a doutrina e detendo-se nos luguares até [577*r*] que a sabião. Desta vez fizerão cem christãos de hum luguar (omde hum capitão, sem ali aver ido Padre nenhum, avia bautizado os annos passados aquelle povo e com as guerras e perseguições dos mouros estavão prevertidos da fé). Vierão os primcipaes do luguar em busca dos Padres a Ative e não os achando falarão com Manoel, que elles se querião outra vez tornar à obediemcia da santa fé catolica, e que, posto que sabião que elles por estarem mais perto dos mouros avião de ser mais avexados delles que os outros christãos, todavia que querião antes padescer por a fé de Christo N.S. e salvar suas almas que ho favor dos mouros com sua comdenação. E com quanto Manoel, com ho zelo da fé e com a pouqua comfiança que delles tinha, lhe pidio muita fazenda como em penhor e arefens de perseverarem na fee ao diante, toda lhe offrecião.

20. Mas vimdo o P.e Francisco Rodriguez e vendo a firmeza de coração com que dizião que antes morrerião que tornar atrás, não quis delles penhor, mas se foi com elles ao seu luguar e fez ahi oitemta christãos de cimquo annos pera bayxo que inda não erão bautizados. E porque tinhão com o medo dos mouros huma cruz escondida no mato, a arvorarão com muita festa adorando-a, rezando as ladainhas. E dizião os christãos ao Padre que, posto que os mouros lhes tomassem os filhos e lhos escoartejasem e tomassem suas fazendas, avião sempre de estar constantes, porque em que elles e os filhos perdesem a vida do corpo por certo tinhão que alcamçarião com isso a salvação da alma, a qual não hé piquena prova de terem fé verdadeira que se

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269 oitemta *add.* meninos *B*

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prova nas tribulações como o ouro na forja [5]. E muitos christãos deste mesmo luguar semdo por amor da fé depois muito perseguidos dos mouros e cometidos delles que se tornassem mouros, deixarão antes perder suas ortas, chãos e cassas e se vierão morar em Ative. Vede, charissimos Irmãos, quanto hé pera simtir aver tão poucos obreiros e tão grande messe! Parece que hé huma das mayores empressas que a Companhia tem. E de muitas partes pedem Padres e não os há.

21. E tornando à visitação dos luguares que os Padres fizerão, andando ocupados nisso vierão dous navios de mouros ladrões pera fazer roubos nos luguares dos christãos. E porque fazião muito dano, pareceo bem a Manoel e a alguns portuguezes que se acharão em Amboyno hirem com os Padres pera darem mais animo aos christãos e lhes tirarem o medo que dos mouros tinhão. Hião em tres embarcações que elles chamão caracoras, as quaes remão com sesemta remos e algumas cento e cemto e vimte. Hião os Padres em o seu navio hum dia diamte dos outros e em huma ponta grande que deitava a terra com hum grande rochedo alevantou-se tão grande tempestade que se alagou o seu navio. Alguns se lançarão ao mar e as ondas lançava[m]--nos em a rocha, de tal maneira que hum homem morreo e alguns portuguezes saindo à rocha se firirão nas pedras que erão tão agudas como strepes. E porque esta embarcação ainda que se alague não vay ao fundo, os Padres se deixarão estar nella animando os portuguezes e aos christãos, que se alguma offensa tinhão feita a Deus se comfessassem.

22. A isto acodio a gente da terra e vinhão pera matar aos dous portuguezes que sairão pella rocha, mas acenando os Padres com as mãos lhes não fizerão mal. Emtão fizerão huma jamgada e forão recolher os Padres e a mais gente do navio, e alevantarão as mãos aos ceos dando graças a Deus e dizendo que a perdição dos Padres fora sua salvação. Sairão todos meos nus e levarão-nos a gasalhar ao luguar dos christãos offrecendo-lhe o comer e o necessario.

23. Nisto vinha Manoel [577*v*] e seus companheiros nas outras duas embarcações com muita descomsolação e tristeza por lhes dizerem que os Padres erão mortos no mar, e achando as taboas da caracora afirmarão mais ser asim. E quando chegarão àquelle luguar dos christãos, que virão os Padres vivos, era tão grande a alegria de Manoel que se deitava aos seus pés chorando com alegria e dizia que

296 a rocha *corr. fr.* as rochas

[5] Cf. Wis 3 6.

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não lhe dava nada perder a caracora e quanto nella vinha e que em que perdera molher e filhos nada era em comparação do que sintira se algum Padre morrera e dava com muita devação graças ao Senhor porque livrou aos Padres de tão grande periguo.

24. E aqueles mouros que acodirão aos Padres livrando-os do mar, com todo o seu luguar se comverterão a nossa sancta fé, tomando por misterio virem ali ter os Padres daquella maneira, e alguns delles que já dantes erão christãos e com as guerras estavão esfriados se tornarão a reconciliar na nossa santa fé e derão seus filhos pera serem bautizados, os quaes forão sesemta, e depois se bautizarão mais trimta pesoas no mesmo luguar, entre as quaes foi a molher do regedor da mesma terra.

25. Mas como o inimigo da geração humana não folgasse com se comverter tamta gemte vendo que todos corrião ao sancto bautismo, queria-se neguociar pellos membros de Satanás, os mouros, pera impedirem a graça da comversão e fazer tornar atrás os comvertidos. E asi tomarão os mouros de Ito, que hé hum luguar que mais nos faz a guerra, embarcações e correrão os luguares dos christãos pera os perverter, e assi forão ao luguar de Roçanive que hé todo de christãos, mais de quatro mil, dizendo-lhes que elles esperavão pellos mouros da Jaoa que avião de vir em muitos jumcos, que são as naos daquella terra, e que avião de vir a destruir, desolar e queimar todos os christãos ; que não quisesem morrer má morte, que se tornassem a fazer mouros, estribando-se no pouco tempo que avia que erão feitos christãos. Mas elles, posto que erão novas plantas na fé, não forão bons de arranquar de seus propositos, mas respondião aos mouros, posto que os vião mais poderosos que elles, que estavão aparelhados para não somente as fazendas mas as vidas pòr polla fé de N.S. Jesu Christo.

26. Dali a poucos dias virão vir treze jumcos cheos de jaos, que são huns mouros muito emperrados na ley de Mafamede, e que andavão pera afferrar a terra, mas como Deus N.S. provê aos que nelle crem nas mayores presas, veio hum tempo rijo de sobre a terra que os desguarou por esse mar de maneira que forão lá parar na terra de Banda. E tres que se meterão na baya de Amboino vierão à falla com o P.e Francisco Rodriguez, o qual pergumtando-lhe a que vinhão, lhe dysserão que vinhão com toda aquella armada a carregar de cravo e a fazer pella ley de Mafamede tudo o que lhes os mouros daquelles lu-

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329 membros *u'. corr.* || 338 que$^{s}$ *rep.* || 348 parar *del.* por esse || 352-353 tudo . . . Mafamede *om. B*

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guares requeresem que relevasse à ley de Mafamede. E vendo que os outros erão desguarrados não ousarão a desembarcar, mas diserão aos mouros da terra que, já que não podião ajudá-los, que estivessem aparelhados, porque vinhão lá atrás tres navios de portuguezes pera residir em Amboyno que lhes avião de fazer mal.

27. Assi que por misericordia divina não somente os mouros não poderão empecer aos christãos e pôr por obra a malicia que trazião em seus corações, mas servirão de trazer nova de tanta alegria como foi pera todos os christãos saberem que vinhão os portuguezes pera Amboino; os quaes chegarão dali a oito dias vindo por capitão Antonio Paez e com elle o Padre Amtonio Fernandez e o Irmão Amtonio Gonçalvez [6]. E donde os jaos andarão cimquo dias com calmaria sem poder lamçar ancora até vir o tempo de terra que os espalhou por ese mar, os nossos loguo em chegando entrarão vemto a popa pella barra. Aqui vereis, charissimos Irmãos, a grande consolação que receberão os Padres e os christãos vendo o cuidado que Nosso Senhor tem dos seus, porque fiquarão tão fortificados os christãos com este effeito da providencia divina que mayor foy [578*r*] o esforço e alegria que tomarão que o temor que dantes tinhão.

28. Isto hé, Irmãos em Jesu Christo, o que me ocorreo escrever este anno das obras que Deus Nosso Senhor nelle obrou por esta minima Companhia nestas partes de Maluquo e Amboino. Day graças a N.S. que hé fonte e autor de todos os bens, as faltas atribuy a nós, porque de nossa parte vem; e roguay a Deus N.S. em vosos sanctos sacrificios e orações que acrecemte sempre os fruitos desta parte de sua vinha e nos faça taes instromentos e destribuidores dos merecimentos do seu preciossisimo sangue, que de nossa parte não impidamos os effeitos de sua graça que sua divina Magestade quer communicar às almas com o seu preciosisimo sangue remidas. E pois vedes, Irmãos, que por falta de obreiros se deixão muitos de comverter pera se aproveytarem dos effeitos da paixão de N.S., pedi-lhe com muita efficacia que dê a simtir aos superiores mandar-vos quá a obrar e tãobem cavar na vinha, porque se por nós que pera nada aproveitamos estas cousas faz Nosso Senhor, que fará se de Portugal e doutras partes de Europa vierem Padres da Companhia que sejão taes quaes semelhantes empressas requerem? Entretanto com vossas orações faremos o que pudermos, em as quais todos humilmemte nos emcomendamos.

374 e Amboino *interl.* || 377 os *corr. fr.* o || 378 dos merecimentos *interl.*

[6] Eighth arrival of Jesuit missionaries in Maluku; *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 26.

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390 De Maluquo, a vimte e quatro de Fevereiro de mil e quinhentos e sesenta e tres annos.

Servo indigno de todos da Companhia,

Baltasar d'Araujo.

*Lost Letters*

116*a*. — *Fr. Marcos Prancudo, rector of Maluku, to Fr. General, Diego Lainez, Rome ; March 7, 1563.*

Polanco to the rector of Maluku, January 10, 1566 : « Recibió N. Padre las de V.R. de 7 Março de 1563 a los primeros días deste año del 1566 » (D 143, 1). As to the contents of this letter, see the entire D 143, and D 158, 1.

116*b*. — *Fr. Francisco Rodrigues, Goa, to Henrique de Sá, Captain of Maluku ; about April 1563.*

Fr. Pero Mascarenhas to Fr. Francisco Rodrigues, December 1563 - February 1564 : « Proconsul, cum post acceptas tuas literas satis nobis inflexum sese ac propensum significet, rem omnem ad nos detulit . . . » (D 128, 6).

## 117

## BR. MANUEL GOMES SJ, BY ORDER, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL AND EUROPE

Ambon, May 20, 1563

I Bibliography : Barbosa Machado III 273 ; Millies 55 ; Sommervogel III 1550 ; Streit IV in a note to no. 876 ;Wessels, *Amboina* 183 Gomes no. 3 ; they all give March 20 as the date.

II Authors : *Rerum a Societate* 62-63 (on nos. 15-16) ; Lucena 288-289 (on nos. 15-16)) ; Seb. Gonçalves III 151 (on no. 17) ; Sacchini, *Hist. Soc., Lainius* VI 171 173 175, VII 120 ; Bartoli, *L'Asia* VI 20 ; Souza I III 2 28 29 31.

III Texts : No original has been preserved.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 566*v*-568*r*. Coeval copy in Portuguese. Heading : « Copia de huma de Amboyno do P.e [*sic*] Manoel Gomez pera os Padres e Irmãos da Compa de Jesus de Portugal e Europa ». A second hand added « De 20 de Maio de 63 ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 19*r*-21*v*. Portuguese copy with many variants and some additions. Maybe a second *via*. Heading : « Carta do Irmão Manoel Gomez de Amboino para os Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal e Europa de 20 de Maio de 1563 ». The handwriting alternates four times.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 458*r*-460*r*. Copy

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exhibiting exactly the wording and heading of text A with very small variants, and written in two hands.

IV PRINTED: in SÁ III 45-55; he prints text A.

V OUR EDITION: We print text A, giving in the apparatus, besides the variants, also those sentences of text B which are lacking in text A.

## *Text*

*1. He writes in obedience. Fr. Prancudo was sent to Maluku (Ambon) in 1561 with five Jesuits; in May 1562 he sailed to Ternate, in June to Moro. — 2. Dismay and joy of the Moro people; in first village 115 children baptized. — 3. Moorish oarsmen invited to christening feast and forced to compare their selfish cacizes with the disinterested Fathers. — 4. In 35 villages nearly 1000 baptisms administered to children. A Portuguese fleet liberated a number of Christians detained by Moors. — 5. In November [1562] Prancudo went visiting Moro again, baptized 200 to 300 children and fell ill, soon followed in this by Br. Osório. — 6. Moors impressed by devoutness of the Father at christening. Instances of pious converts. — 7. Conversion of Teolica, chief of Galela, and his people. — 8. Work of Fr. Álvares in Bacan: 300 baptisms; a mosque turned into a church. — 9. Despair and flight of some cacizes. — 10. Bacan people's devotion to holy water remunerated by extraordinary happenings. — 11. Illness of nearly all the Jesuits: better ill in Maluku than healthy in Goa or Portugal! — 12. On February 12, 1563, Fr. Álvares and Br. Gomes were ordered to sail to Ambon; their illness and its consequences. — 13. More workers are required. — 14. Praise of the Ambon people: simple, well-natured, quick-witted, and devout. — 15. In a drought Christian women implored rain from an idol; severely reprimanded by a better-grounded Christian woman. — 16. While they prayed at the foot af a cross it suddenly started to pour. The idol was thrown into a river. — 17. During the past year the Jesuits christened 10,000 people in the whole of the Maluku area. In June Fr. Vieira will go to baptize Lisabata and another village. Fr. Vieira changed his name to Rodrigues.*

A graça e amor de Christo N.S. faça comtinua morada em nossas almas. Amen.

1. A sancta obediencia me mandou lhes escrevesse esta, charissimos em Christo Irmãos, pera lhes dar novas do muito que N. Senhor obra nestas partes de Maluco por estes seus fracos instrumentos que quá andamos.

Já terão sabido, Irmãos charissimos, como no anno de 61 mandou o Padre Provimcial ao P.e Marcos Pramcudo a estas partes de Maluco e ilhas de Amboino com mais cimco companheiros, emtre os quais emtrou o Padre Framcisco Vyeira ao qual coube ficar nestas ilhas de Amboino com outro Padre [1] pera ambos fazerem o officio da

[1] Fr. Diogo de Magalhães.

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Companhia. O P.e Marcos Prancudo se foi pera Maluco, noventa legoas destas ilhas, com os mais companheiros, e foi em o mes de Mayo [2] de 62. E logo no mes de Junho do mesmo anno lhe pareceo bem hir visitar huns lugares de cristãos chamados o Moro, 60 legoas da fortaleza, dando-lhe pera isto el-rey de Maluco [3] huma embarcação com quorenta remeiros; e forão por seus companheiros o P.e Nicolao Nunez e o Irmão Manoel Gomez.

2. E como ouvesse cimquo annos que estes lugares dos christãos não fossem visitados dos Padres por causa das guerras, estavão elles algum tanto descomfiados de lá poderem ver Padres. E chegando nós ao primeiro luguar de christãos, os quaes nos vierão receber à praya com muita alegria e comtentamento, levantando todos as mãos aos ceos, dando graças ao Senhor pois fora servido que os Padres fossem aos seus lugares; e tamto que disse hum christão homrrado, por nome Dom Jorge [4], que forão elles todo aquelle tempo que estiverão apartados da comversação dos Padres semelhamtes aos padres do limbo. E loguo ao outro dia seguimte trouxerão todos os filhos que tinhão por bautizar, que serião alguns 115, e alguns mouros que novamente se vinhão comverter a nossa santa fee, dizendo que aquele era o presemte que nos offrecião, porque bem sabião que aquelles inocemtes nos agradavão mais que todas as riquezas do mundo, pois por amor delles passavamos nesta vida tantos trabalhos.

3. Neste mesmo dia em que se fez o bautismo fizerão elles muita festa à sua maneira, comvidando aos remeiros da nossa embarcação por serem mouros, e dizião-nos pera que vissem as cerimonias que se fazião no bautizar dos filhos e pera que tãobem vissem a alegria com que todos trazião seus filhos ao fazer de christãos. E lhe preguntavão se os seus cacizes, a quem elles chamão Padres, se usavão do seu Alcorão com aquella solemnidade e reverencia como os Padres usão nas cousas de Deus. E que tudo aquilo que vião fazer os Padres tudo era sem imteresse algum, que somente o fazião por amor de Deus, e que nisto se via claro o que os Padres pregavão e amoestavão tudo

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14 Junho] Julho *B*, Julho *corr. to* Junho *C* || 16 lhe *corr. fr.* lhes || 22 os quaes *om. B* || 26 que[1] *add.* bem se podera dizer por elles os padres sanctos que estavão no limbo esperando polla vinda do Filho de Deus que assi o *B* || 27 semelhamtes . . . limbo *om. B* || 32 por *del.* elles | passavamos *w. corr.* || 36 dizião-nos *add.* que tudo era *B* | se fazião] fazia *B* || 38 ao] aos *B* | de *om. B* || 39 se[2] *om. B*

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[2] An error for Março. See D 109 note 26.

[3] Hairun.

[4] Otherwise unknown. See app. crit.

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ser verdade e não aver outro somente aquelle a quem os Padres e christãos adorão. E que os seus cacizes nada fazem sem interesse algum, donde se via claro: aonde não avia charidade e amor nas cousas de Deus, nem fazer nada por amor delle, somente por seu interesse, era por não ter conhecimento do mesmo Deus nem nenhum lume, que olhassem elles comforme a rezão.

4. Isto acabado nos fomos a outros luguares de christãos, dos quaes fomos recebidos com a mesma alegria e gasalhado, fazemdo o mesmo que em o outro lugar acima dito. Finalmente, Irmãos charissimos, em todos estes lugares do Moro — que seria alguns trimta e seis — fizemos perto de mil almas christãs, tudo meninos e alguns mouros que novamente se vinhão a fazer christãos, afora alguns que ainda ficarão por bautizar por causa dos pais e mãis não estarem nos luguares e andarem em suas erdades e trazerem os filhos comsigo, [567*r*] e o Padre Marcos Prancudo não estar em hum luguar mais que hum dia quando muito, por causa de huma nossa armada que detrás nós vinha pera em favor dos christãos os animar e favorecer, e fazer pôr em sua liberdade alguns christãos que estavão reteudos em alguns lugares de mouros que ficarão do tempo da guerra, os quaes os mouros não querião deixar vir pera seus luguares. Tudo se fez bem, aimda que pera tudo isto foi boa a ida dos Padres pelo grande credito que elles antre os mouros tem, e de nimguem se comfião senão delles.

5. E depois de nós tornados à fortaleza, que foy dahi a hum mes e meo, se tornou o Padre Marcos Prancudo outra vez a vimte de Novembro a estes lugares do Moro, levando por companheiro ao Irmão Fernão d'Osouro, pera os aver de visitar com mais vagar e pera aver de bautizar aos que fiquarão; em que bautizaria alguns dozemtos ou trezemtos mininos; porque loguo neste comenos cayo em huma grave emfermidade de febres e se tornou pera a fortaleza pera se aver de curar, deixando ao Irmão Fernão d'Osouro nos mesmos luguares, o qual não tardou muitos dias que não viesse doente de febres, porque este [é] ho fruito com que esta tera a todos comvida aos que a ella vão.

6. Não pasarey sem lhe contar nesta algumas cousas. Ouve alguns mouros que poucos dias avia os nós bautizaramos e, vemdo depois bem as cerimonias do bautismo e veneração que se tinha nas cousas da igreja, dizião que Padres que tinhão tanta reveremcia e acatamento às cousas de Deus não podia ser senão que o tinhão visto. E hum destes

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44 somente] Deus senão *B* || 45 fazem] fazião *B* || 46 aonde] que onde *B* || 47 Deus *add.* que *B* | delle *add.* senão *B* || 48 era . . . ter] não avia *B* || 52 charissimos *add.* que *B* || 53 seria] serião *B* || 59 nós *interl.*; *om.* *B* || 60 pera *om.* *B* || 61 christãos *add.* e *ms.* || 64 boa *add.* ayuda *B* | dos] aos *B* || 70 bautizaria] bautizarião *B* || 71 mininos *interl.* | cayo em] adoeceo de *B* || 74 este *add.* hé *BC* || 75 a todos *om.* *B* || 77 avia *interl.*; *add.* que *B*

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que isto disse se foy à igreja e a varreo, depois se assemtou de gioelhos fazendo oração [5]. Tãobem ouve outro christão homrrado que fez queixume ao Padre, dizendo que N.S. lhe levara hum filho não tendo elle outro; que o atribuya a seus pecados, portanto lhe pidia o quisese ouvir de comfissão, ainda que fosse por interprete, porque não sabia o que N.S. faria delle que de hum dia pera outro não era nada, portanto queria estar aparelhado pera todo o tempo que o N.S. quisese levar pera si.

7. Ouve tãobem em estes luguares do Moro hum lugar chamado as Galelas [6]; como fosse ametade christãos ametade mouros, por causa das guerras e serem os christãos avexados e tiranizados dos mouros tornarão atrás. E querendo os da nossa armada pô-llos em sua liberdade, hum mouro chamado Teolica [7], primcipal dos do lugar, a quem elles todos obedescem por ser muito temido de todos, vemdo a detreminação do capitão-mor acerca do pôr dos christãos em sua liberdade, por assi os christãos o pidirem e querendo-o fazer, se veo este mouro chamado Teolica ao capitão, que pera que era andar com os christãos à caça para huma parte e pera outra, que elle com toda a gemte se queria fazer christão, que emtão vivirião todos comformes. E chamando elle a todos os seus da sua banda, os quaes elle tinha já avisado da inspiração que de Deus era tocado, dizendo-lhes que a elle lhe parecia bem a ley dos christãos, que pera salvação de suas almas era necessario tomarem, que todo aquelle que o quisese siguir se apartasse pera huma bamda, o que todos fizerão. E lhes fez huma pratica, dizendo que nimguem os forçava a se fazerem christãos, somente em elle ver que Deus por sua imfinita misericordia lhe dera a conhecer que a ley dos christãos era a verdadeira e que em outra nenhuma se podião salvar senão nella e que olhassem primeiro todos o que fazião, porque se despois ouvesse algum que por medo de morte ou perda de fazenda tornasse atrás, lhes avia de cortar as cabeças. Todos forão comtemtes de seu parecer. Graças e louvores sejão dadas ao Senhor, pois os trouxe a conhecimento da verdade.

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82 oração *add.* O Padre Marcos Prancudo lhe perguntou que era o que pedia a Deus. Respondeo-lhe que elle tinha semeado hum pouco d'aroz, que pedia lho guardasse que lho não comessem os porcos, por quanto era christão. *B* || 84 que o] o que *B* || 86 não *interl.* || 91 dos *del.* do lugar || 93 chamado *om. B* | Tioliça *B* | do lugar] lugares *B* || 96 assi] mesmo *B* | querendô *ms.* || 97 Theolica *B*, Tolica *C* || 99 emtão] entonces *B* || 105 em elle *om. B* || 106 que] e *B* | lhe dera] lhes dar *B* || 109 perda *vb. corr.*

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[5] See app. crit.

[6] Galela in N Halmahera.

[7] Perhaps his name was Tiulisa; cf. app. crit.

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8. Na emtrada de Junho de 62 mandou o P.e Marcos Pramcudo a hum nosso Padre chamado Fernãod'Alvarez e ao Irmão Fernão d'Osouro por seu companheiro ao reyno de Bachão, vimte legoas da fortaleza, aonde nesse pouco de tempo que nelle esteve fez muito serviço a Nosso Senhor em comservar a christandade. O exercitio seu era dizer todos os dias sua missa e bautizar; o Irmão emsinava a doutrina. Bautizaria o Padre alguas trezemtas almas, em que emtravão dous filhos deste rey de Bachão. E como neste lugar aonde el-rey está d'asemto estivesse a mãy do mesmo rey, a qual não hé ainda christã, de cuja gemte se vem muita com-[567*v*]verter a nossa sancta fee pollas comtinuas amoestações de nossos Padres, tinha ella comsiguo alguns cacizes, que são seus Padres, em sua misquita. E este P.e Fernãod'Alvarez, como seja claro e detreminado nas cousas que pertemcem à honrra de Deus e a gemte da terra o conhecer por tal, mamdou loguo derribar a mesquita e tirar os ossos do pay d'el-rey que jazião demtro; e da mesquita fez huma igreja de Nossa Senhora da Comceição, e tudo isto avendo el-rey assi por bem.

9. Os cacizes vendo a detreminação do Padre e temendo desse nelles de sobresalto, o que elle já lhes amdava no alcamce, e perdemdo elles todas as esperamças de mais na terra serem ouvidos, detreminarão de desempararem a mãy d'el-rey e se acolherem, o que loguo fizerão. E como andassem fora e longe do luguar pollos matos feitos montezinhos, que se não sabião dar a comselho, perguntarão-lhe alguns mouros que ainda não sabião parte do desbarate espamtando-se muito de como andavão tão remotos da casa da mãy d'el-rey sendo elles tão acreditados della, lhe pregumtarão se tiverão algum desgosto com ella ou com el-rey. Elles lhe responderão como homens que simtião muito seu mal, que, se o desgosto fora com algum delles, que loguo seu mal tivera remedio, mas que era com hum Padre que da Companhia se chamava, o qual fora causa de sua perdição e os desacreditara de todo, o qual credito elles tarde ou numqua esperavão alcamçar. Algumas vezes os mandava chamar a mãy d'el-rey secretamente, mas mandavam-lhe elles dizer que, emquanto ahi estivesse o Padre, elles não se atrevião ir a seu chamado, e isto porque temião que tivese o Padre posto espias pera os apanhar e que, se os elle ouvesse à mão, que palavras nem dadivas o avião de comvemcer.

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115 Bachão *corr. fr.* Bação || 121-122 do . . . muita] muita de sua gente se vem *B* || 122 comtinuas *om. B* || 123 do] que lhe os *B* | Padres *add.* continuamente dam. Finalmente, Irmãos charissimos, *B* | ella] esta mãy del-rey *B* || 127 demtro] em hum jazigo *B* || 129 avendo-o *B* || 146 se atrevião *interl., corr. fr.* podião || 148 dadivas] davidas [*sic*] *B* | comvemcer] vencer *B*

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10. Neste reyno de Bachão obra Nosso Senhor cousas certo muito pera louvar ao mesmo Senhor. Toda a pessoa que adoece, primcipalmente de febres, tanto que bebem huma pouca d'agoa bemta loguo sarão. E diguo-lhe, Irmãos charissimos, que não há muitos dias que neste mesmo Bachão ouve hum christão honrrado que tinha dous filhos, os quaes não erão feitos christãos, e trazendo-os ao Padre que os bautizasse e depois de bautizados loguo no mesmo dia adoecerão ambos de humas febres muito grandes. O pay e a mãy vierão fazer queixume ao Padre da emfirmidade dos filhos. O Padre emtendendo a malicia do demonio pergumtou-lhes se por que seus filhos se fizerão christãos se por isso adoecerão? Disserão que si. Mandou-lhes o Padre que desse a cada hum huma pouca d'agoa bemta a beber que loguo serião sãos. Quis N.S. que como lha dessem, naquelle mesmo instante se lhe fossem as febres e ficarão sãos, o que foi grande alegria pera o pay e mãy, e pera o Padre grande comsolação.

11. Outras cousas muitas sucedem comtinuamente em este Bachão; de todo o mais me remeto à carta geral [8]. As novas que lhes posso dar dos Padres e Irmãos são, louvores a Nosso Senhor, estarem bem do corporal e milhor do spiritual, ainda que os dias passados estivemos quasi todos mui propimcos à morte em huma comjumção, primcipalmente o Padre Marcos Prancudo e o Padre Fernãod'Alvarez; estavão com a candea na mão. Quis N.S. por sua misericordia dar-lhe saude, porque nesta terra Deus N.S. hé o fisico, porque aquy não há outro, e comer por onde achar. E comfesso-lhes, charissimos, que muito mayor comsolação hé viver emtre estes christãos com a febre, que estar em Goa ou nessa terra muito são.

12. A doze de Fevereiro de 563 mandou o Padre Marcos Pramcudo ao Padre Fernãod'Alvarez e a mim com elle a estas ilhas de Amboino, 90 legoas da fortaleza, pera ajudar ao Padre Francisco Vieyra [9] a levar os trabalhos da Companhia. E viemos algum tamto desfalecidos das forças corporais, e tanto que foi necessario na Quoresma comermos carne e jazer em cama. Por aquy poderão emtender a grande necessidade que se nestas partes de Maluco tem de obreiros pera andarem e trabalharem nesta vinha do Senhor: que avendo tão pouco

159 desse] desem *B* || 162 sãos *interl.* || 167 estivemos *del.* todos || 171 terra *add.* somente *B* || 177 90 *add. interl.* noventa || 178 da Companhia] que padecia *B* || 181 tem] há *B*

[8] As such Gomes probably considered D 115.

[9] Magalhães is not mentioned because at that same time he was recalled to Ternate, where he arrived about March-April (Cf. D 125, 2).

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que hum Padre estava mais julgado de todos pera a morte que pera a vida, tanto que se foi achamdo algum tamto bem, se foi logo ao trabalho não tendo luguar pera comvalecer, e isto por se mais não poder fazer. E o mesmo fez o Padre Marcos Prancudo que à nossa partida se ficava fazendo prestes pera se hir outra vez ao Moro a pelejar com as febres, que hé a terra donde elle trouxe a emfirmidade de que esteve mal, e hé tão [568*r*] amiguo de trabalhos que aonde os há grandes pera hy se vay.

13. Portanto, charissimos, peção muito a Nosso Senhor os faça participamtes destes tão grandes trabalhos, como hé socorrer a tamta necessidade como por quá há, assi pera emcaminhar os que já estão no caminho do Senhor como pera aqueles que vão errados e fora dele, os quaes pedem com muita eficacia os queirão emcaminhar e por falta de obreyros perecem tamtas almas, o que hé huma grande lastima de ver. E os que tão grande necessidade vem, sem lhe poderem acudir, não deixam de padescer grandissima compaixão em ver o grande numero de gemte que pede lume pera conhecer a seu Criador não tendo quem lho dê nem amostre.

14. A mayor comsolação, Irmãos charissimos, que todos nesta terra recebemos, a qual nos faz esquecer de todos os trabalhos que se nella passa, asi no corporal como no spiritual, hé ver que em terras tão remotas se louva ao Senhor e hé comtinuamente louvado de gemte tão rustica como hé a desta terra de Amboino ; mas com tudo tem huma cousa que hé gente simplez e bem inclinada e imprime-se-lhe bem a doutrina, primcipalmente os meninos que em dous meses a aprendem. Hé gemte muito devota da cruz e todas as noites lhe acendem muitas camdeas e se asentão de giolhos camtando a doutrina, ao qual depois de acabada pedem ao Senhor lhes dê saude e lhe perdoe seus pecados e outras cousas semelhamtes a estas.

15. Tãobem acomteceo em hum lugar neste Amboino, que pouco avia era feito christão, tendo necessidade de agoa pera suas ortas, se forão algumas christãs a hum lugar aonde sabião que estava hum pagode [10], que em tempo de gemtios lhe tinhão grande veneração. E indo por tres ou quatro vezes a elle fazendo-lhe suas cerimonias gemti-

183 estava *corr. fr.* está || 184 algum tanto] alguma cousa *B* | se foi] o mandão *B* || 185 tendo] lhe dando *B* || 186 E] porque *B* || 197 E os . . . necessidade *m. and del. B* | vem *om. B* | lhe poderem] a tantas necessidades se poder *B* || 198 deixam] deixar *ms.*, deixamos *B* | compaixão *corr. fr.* paixão || 204 louva *w. corr.* || 205 hé] ho *ms.* || 206 gente *om. B* || 207 os] nos *B* || 209 asentão] poem *B* || 209-210 ao . . . de[1]] a qual *B* || 210 perdoe *w. corr.*

[10] Here, a kind of idol.

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licas lhe pidião que lhe desse agoa. E sabendo-o huma christã casada com hum portuguez que já sabia as cousas da nossa santa fé, as ameaçou com os Padres e pelejando com ellas, porque fazião aquelas cerimonias gemtilicas ao demonio, lhes dizia que, se elle não podia fazer bem a ssi, como o faria a ellas? Que somente Deus o podia fazer, pois era criador e dador de todas as cousas e que tudo estava na sua mão; que, se ellas o pidissem a Deus, elle lha daria, porque nada nega a nimguem quando a pitição hé justa. Ellas emtomces lhe pidirão as quisese emsinar como avião de venerar ao Senhor, que ellas avia pouco tempo erão feita[s] christãs e que lhes não pussese culpa ao que tinhão feito.

16. Forão-se todas a huma cruz que o Padre mestre Francisco [11] tinha posto em a praya e varrerão-lhe o terreyro e emramarão-na e se asemtarão de giolhos dizendo: « Senhor, vós que conheceis as necessidades de vosas criaturas, polas quaes padecestes morte e paixão, nos day agoa, que somos christãs ». Em aquelle instante choveo tanta agoa, que foi cousa de muita admiração por estar o tempo claro e chover supitamente, a qual cousa em muito tempo se não falava senão no grande poder de Deus. E dizião que tudo o que lhes o Padre disese lhe avião de dar todos grande credito. Finalmente estas christãs com outras muitas se forão ao pagode e o arastarão, chamando-lhe muitos nomes, e por derradeiro o lamçarão por hum rio abaixo. Outras cousas avia que lhes escrever destas christãs dinas de muito louvor, mas pellos não emfadar o não faço, e tãobem porque pera escrever esta perdi muitos pedaços de noites que me cabião pera repousar.

17. Quanto à christandade que se tem feita: da nossa chegada a esta terra, que ao escrever desta faz hum anno, se fizerão perto de dez mil almas christãs, afora muitos que, como já digo, pedem christandade. Agora no mes de Julho me parece, se o tempo der lugar, á-de ir o Padre Francisco Vieira fazer hum lugar christão ou dous, nos quaes averá algumas quoremta mil almas. Hum deles, chamado Lucebata [12], tem já primcipio da christandade que, pellos asegurar, no anno que nós a esta terra chegamos lhes bautizamos os primcipaes. Este luguar terá quimze mil almas e todos quererem ser christãos. Parece que por estas partes quer Nosso Senhor recuperar os males que

218 sabia as] estava instruida nas *B* || 220 gemtilicas *om. B* | demonio] diabo *B* || 223 o] a *B* || 235 Finalmente *add.* que *B* || 236 arastrarão *ms.* || 246 quoremta *corr. to* 4 *C* || 249 quererem] querem *B* || 250 recuperar *del.* o que

[11] Xavier.

[12] Cf. D 50 note 1. Part of the population of Lisabata had been christened by Fr. Nicolau Nunes in early 1562 (D 115, 1 and 12).

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por nossos pecados há pellas de Espanha. N.S. por sua misericordia nos acabe em seu sancto serviço e nos dê graça pera fazermos sua santa vomtade.

Ainda que em cima digo que o Padre Francisco Vieyra, chama-sse agora Francisco Rodriguez pollo aver assi por bem a obediemcia. 255

Deste Amboino, aos 20 de Mayo de 1563 annos.

Servo de todos em o Senhor,

Manoel Gomez.

## 118

## FR. ANTÓNIO FERNANDES SJ TO THE JESUITS OF THE ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE, GOA

Ambon, June 19, 1563

I TEXTS: The original did not come down to us.

A. Lisbon, *Ajuda 49-4-50* ff. 568*v*-569*r*. Portuguese coeval copy. Heading: « Copia de huma de Amboino do Padre Amtonio Fernandez pera os Irmãos do Collegio de S. Paulo de Goa, 19 de Junho de 1563 ».

B. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* f. 29*r-v*. Copy in Portuguese, showing, compared with text A, some omissions and variants.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* f. 460*r-v*. Text similar to text A with only a few variants of no importance.

II PRINTED: in SÁ III 56-60. He prints text A, in a few notes pointing to some variants of text B. In the first paragraph (top of p. 57) *se irem* has to be corrected to *Seirão* or *Seiram*.

III OUR EDITION: We print text A, giving in the apparatus the more important variants of text B, and pointing at text C only when it confirms or clarifies text A.

### *Text*

*1. Not having written from Malacca, he is writing this letter at present on the eve of his departure to Seram. — 2. In Malacca the whole voyage seemed to become a failure : thwarting plans of António Pais ; help from the treasurer António Pires. — 3. While sailing from Malacca to Ambon, they had a violent storm and heavy distress near Java and Madura. — 4. Meeting with Frs. Rodrigues (Vieira) and Magalhães. He had to accompany a punitive expedition, in which they braved an attack from a privateering fleet. Conversions in Lisabata ; help from Hatue. — 5. He has to sail for Seram to a village close to Banda and the Papuans ; he hopes for many conversions.*

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254 Vieyra *add.* etc. *C*



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Pax Christi.

1. Quisera eu por certo e quisera escrever a todos em particular, pois a todos os amo imtemsamemte em Jesu, mas não o podendo ao presemte fazer como minha alma deseja, por algumas ocupações que polla santa obidiemcia se offereceram e esta noite ser a vespora da partida pera Seirão, não podendo comigo acabar não lhes escrever, pois já o não fiz de Malaca, determiney fazer esta pera todos jumtamente e pera cada hum em particular, asim que iungat epistola quos Christi nectit amor, e certo que pera isto pidi licemça esta noite pera o fazer.

2. Lá saberão já, charissimos, dos socessos que tivemos de Goa até Malaca [1] e de como esta nossa viagem esteve em Malaqua quasi desfeita por muitos impedimemtos que pera isto sobrevierão e pelo pouco provimemto que nos davão, mas como as obras de Deus tenhão isto tão anexo, numqua disistimos buscando sempre todos os meyos pera nosso fim, comfiamdo em ho Senhor que sempre em semelhamtes tempos sabe visitar aos que nelle esperão, mudando as difficuldades em grandes facilidades. Finalmente que, quando em Malaca chegamos, era já quasi de todo tarde e o capitão Amtonio Pais mudava a derota caminho da China. Emtrou a desora Amtonio Pirez [2] por tizoureiro e nos negociou com grande amor e charidade, mas não pode fazer quanto desejava, de modo que partimos com a metade de todo o provimento e gemte que de Goa traziamos. E parece aprouve asim a Deus N.S. que, assim como em as cousas naturaes, como vemos em as plantas e anymais e outras criaturas, de piquenos primcipios faz por sua virtude grandes e fermosos efeitos, assim para mais sua gloria será agora e deste piqueno primcipio fumdará huma populosa Igreja, como esperamos, pera que assim com verdade se diga: Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam [3].

3. Partimos de Malaqua pera Amboino com huma piquena caravela e com huma fusta e com trinta portuguezes, mas nunqua (Deus seja muito louvado) nos desacompanhou até Amboino a cruz, porque

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2 e quisera *om. B* || 4 como *del. B* | minha . . . deseja *om. B* || 6 Seirão *corr. fr.* Seiram, Seilão *d. r. B* || 6-7 não podendo . . . Malacca *om. B* || 8-10 asim . . . fazer *om. B* || 8 quos *interl.* || 27 huma *corr. fr.* sua: huma *BC*

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[1] In the fleet of António Pais that set sail from Goa in September 1562. (D 110, 1; D 114, 6).

[2] Otherwise not known. Perhaps the same « António Pires, constable of the ship », who, in 1575, was killed in Aceh (TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 133).

[3] Ps 115 (113*b*) 1.

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à vista da Jaoa nos deu tão grande tromemta de vemto e chuiva e sarraçam [4], qual segundo os jaos diziam numqua acomtecer. Foi de modo que não pudemos tomar a costa da Jaoa e fomos por fora da ilha da Madura [5], porque nos comia o mar visivelmente, e durou esta tromenta oyto ou nove dias. Neste tempo lhes certifico que espicialmemte duas noites me emcomendei a Deus como homem que não cria humanamente poder chegar a menhã, e assim esta noite alguns se chegarão à comfissão e eu os comfessei e outros, por não terem tempo, se comfessarão com Deus e quasi toda a noite pasavamos em ladainhas e gritos pidindo a Deus misericordia. Outros se ocupavão em alejar ao mar quanto podião, asim que já não hiamos senão a varar em terra, posto que sabiamos ser de enemigos e que não tinhamos salvação, tão grande era a tormenta. E finalmente (quem à noite, quem polla menhã, todos esperavamos a morte) nos achamos pegados com humas ilhas aonde numqua foi nao e nellas amcoramos e com grande alegria e prazer todos louvamos a Deus N.S. por cousa tão supita e não esperada. Já hiamos sem agoa e, feita a agoada, dahi a alguns dias demos à vella dia dos Reis [6] e fomos dar em humas pedras de todo perdidos, e por merito dos Santos [7] por quem todos bradavamos, [nos salvamos;][8] depois todavia tornamos à Jaoa por grande mercê de Deos N.S.

4. Chegados a Amboino achamos ahi o Padre Francisco Vieyra, que agora se chama Francisco Rodriguez, com o charissimo Padre Magalhães. Eu dey a obediemcia ao Padre Francisco Rodriguez, reitor, e certo que nos edifica muito com seu exemplo e charidade, e com capellos [9] e penitemcias pollas culpas, que hé fruita nova de Amboino. Logo o capitão [10] ajumtou sete caraquoras, que assim se chamão as embarcações nestas partes, pera hir queimar hum luguar que fazia mal aos christãos, e o Padre me mandou com elle, e no caminho nos

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37 oyto *w. corr.* || 38 duas *del.* vezes || 45-46 *brackets from C* || 51 nos salvamos *from B* || 52 tornamos *corr. to* tomamos; tomamos *B*; tornamos *C* || 57 pollas culpas] que por nossas culpas nos daa *B*

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[4] Stands for *cerração*.

[5] That is, along the N coast of Madura, the usual route being along the S coast (*Cf.* PIRES, *Suma Oriental* I p. LXXX Plate VI).

[6] January 6 [1563].

[7] Probably the three Magi or «Kings» of Epiphany.

[8] The proposition remained anacoluthic; we completed it from text B.

[9] *Cappello*, word adopted from the Italian, meaning, in characteristic Jesuit jargon, a public reprimand.

[10] António Pais.

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emcomtramos com hum cossayro e trazia nove caraquoras. E travada a briga lhe matamos muita gente e dous dos seus mais honrrados; a nós nos firio tres portuguezes e matou nove ou dez christãos da terra, e a mim me derão huma espi[n]gardada na rodela [11], mas quis Deus que resvalou: seja pera seu serviço. Despois fomos ao Lucebata aonde [569*r*] fiz muitos christãos, e tãobem dos atues [12] loguo vierão com sete coroquoras a ajudar-nos.

5. Estes atues estão perto do Serão aonde agora me manda o Padre com duas coroquoras, e vão comigo cimquo portuguezes ou seis, e levamos hum seu embaixador que elles de llá mandarão pera comfirmar nossa amizade. Hé viagem domde se espera muito serviço de Deus N.S., porque este lugar dos seirões está muito perto de Banda e dos papuas, e se elle toma a fé todo o mais se comverterá facilmente. Roguem todos, charissimos, por esta empresa e pera que Deus N.S. prospere nossa viagem para sua gloria. E se isto se faz, pouco hé esse collegio [13] pera o que quá hé necessario. Deus N.S. nos ajumte a todos no seu reyno, amen, e nos dê nesta vida a cruz dos trabalhos por seu amor.

De Amboino, a 19 de Junho de 1563.

Servo inutil de todos,

O P.e Amtonio Fernandez.

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64 na rodela *del. and interl. corr. to* num emparo || 65 resvalou *w. corr.* || 68 Serão sertão *B* || 72 Seiroces *B* || 75 para . . . gloria *interl.* || 76 esse *corr. fr.* este; esse *BC* || 77] no *corr. fr.* por | vida *add.* nos comceda *ms.* || 78 por . . . amor *interl.* || 79 Junho] Julho *B* || 81 O P.e *om. B*

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[11] In order to avoid the more or less scandalous image of an armed priest, the copyist, in view of refectory reading, changed *rodela* into *emparo* (*amparo*), See app. crit.

[12] This is Hatue (Hatuwe), kampong on the N coast of Seram. VALENTYN (II a 53) mentions a New Hatuwe, situated at the Bay of Sawai (also Bay of Seleman or of Hatuwe), and an Old Hatuwe, more E near the modern Wahai. The map in RIEDEL, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen* 85, gives the name Hatuwe still in the latter site. MARTIN, *Reisen in den Molukken* 227, mentions two Moslim villages W of Wahai: Hatue and Hatiling. Cf. D 130, 21.

[13] Saint Paul's College in Goa; see the addressees!

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## 119

### FR. DIOGO DE MAGALHÃES SJ TO FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ, TERNATE

Manado, July 28, 1563

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL XII 242; WESSELS, *Amboina* 183 Magelhaes no. 1; STREIT IV 905.

II TEXTS: This letter has been preserved inserted into the letter of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas from Ternate of February 10, 1564, which is our D 125. Consult this document and its introduction for further indications, and see the text in nos. 6-12.

III PRINTED: in SÁ III 67-69. Latin version, in *Epistolae Iapanicae*, pars II, Lovanii 1569, 160-166; *Epistolae Indicae et Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1570, 306-310. German version, in *Die Missiongeschichte* II 280-284, where it is dated August 5, by an erroneous reading of 5 Cal. Aug., which means July 28.

## 120

### FR. JUAN DE POLANCO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. DIEGO LAÍNEZ, GENERAL, TO FR. DIEGO MIRÓN, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

Trent, December 4, 1563

I TEXT: DI VI 62-63 [63]. Taken from *ARSI, Epp. NN. 37* f. 390*r*. Originally registered outgoing letter. Spanish.

II NOTE: This is the answer to the whole letter of our D 114.

*Text*

[The Indian Provincial, Fr. António de Quadros] *proposes visiting remote parts, like Maluku and Japan. Someone will have to replace him as a divinity lecturer. Mirón should send one, even in case of Quadros remaining in India.*

[...]

También scrive que él habrá de yr a visitar las partes remotas de la India, como son las Maluchas y Japón, y que assí serría necessario embiar en su lugar quien leyesse allí la theología.

Y cierto, aunque él estubiesse en la India, parece razón alliviarle de este travayo. V.R. vea si es possible de ayudarle con algún lector de theología.

[...]

De Trento, li 4 de Xbre 1563.

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## 121

## FR. JUAN DE POLANCO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. GENERAL, DIEGO LAÍNEZ, TO FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA

Trent, December 4, 1563

TEXT: DI VI 63-67 [66]. Taken from *ARSI*, *Epp. NN. 37*, ff. 390*v*-391*r*. Originally registered outgoing letter. Spanish.

### *Text*

*Fr. Quadros should not go to China, but send another Father instead. He may, however, visit Maluku and Japan, if he can leave the province government safeguarded.*

[. . .]

Si las letras que de acá se scrivieron llegaran a tiempo, no dexará V.R. de embiar alla China quien bien le parecerá, aunque fuera de los señalados para Ethiopía. Por sí mesmo V.R. non vaya allá para detenerse, aunque podrá visitar los nuestros de las Maluchas y del Japón, si puede dexar recaudo sufficiente para el govierno della Compañía en la India. Y quando no pudiesse V.R. dexarle tal, no le parece a N.P. deva visitar por sí mesmo, sino por otro, aquellas partes tan remotas, mas bien speramos en Dios que puedrá dexar el recaudo que conviene.

[. . .]

De Trento, li 4 de Xbre, 1563.

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## 122

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA, TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

[Goa], December 8, 1563

TEXT: DI VI 69-77 [71]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 I* ff. 168*r*-169*v*. Original with autographic signature. Portuguese. First *via*.

### *Text*

*Since the continual wars of the past years have ceased in Maluku, a Father and a Brother have been appointed to go there.*

[. . .]

A Maluquo se ordenou que fosse hum Padre e hum Irmão [1], porque, como V.P. terá sabido pollas cartas do anno passado [2], está já lá tirado o empedimento da conversão, que forão as continuas guerras dos annos atrás, e agora há muita disposição pera se naquella terra colher muito fruito en as almas.

[. . .]

Hoje 8 de Dezembro de 1563.

[*Autograph*] De V.P. indino filho em o Senhor,

Antonio de Quadros.

---

[1] Fr. Luís de Góis and Br. Vasco Rodrigues (D 123, 2; D 125, 16; *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 28-29). They arrived in Ternate in the first part of December 1563 (consult D 125, note 36).

[2] He is perhaps pointing to D 114, 5, where a prospect of improvement is opened.

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## 123

## FR. LOURENÇO PERES SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PROVINCIAL ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, TO THE JESUITS OF SÃO ROQUE, LISBON

Goa, December 17, 1563

TEXT: DI VI 103-128 [126; 127]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 193*r*-200*v*. Portuguese original.

### *Text*

1. *News came from Japan and Maluku that the vineyard of our Lord is always spreading. Therefore our college sent new workers there.* — 2. *Fr. Luís de Góis and Br. Vasco Rodrigues went to Maluku.*

[...]

1. Quis-nos mais o Senhor consolar este anno com as cartas e boas novas, que de Japão, Maluquo e outras partes tivemos [1]. E porque delas entendemos se ia alargando cada vez mais a vinha do Senhor, como lá polas cartas verão, foi necessario multiplicarem-se obreiros nela. E assim este anno foi servido o Senhor que deste collegio fossem alguns obreiros pera ajudarem os outros que já lá estavão.

[...]

2. As novas que de Japão e Maluquo este anno tivemos não as refiro aqui, porque as saberão mais por estenço pelas cartas que desas partes pera lá vão [2].

[...]

Pera Maluquo foi o Padre Luis de Gois, que da Cafraria [3] veio, com o Irmão Vasco Rodriguez.

[...]

Deste collegio de Goa, aos 17 de Dezembro de 1563.

Por comissão do Pe. Antonio de Quadros, provincial.

Servo de todos em o Senhor,

Lourenço Peres.

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[1] For Maluku this could be only D 109, since D 115 and the later letters could not have arrived yet in Goa.

[2] If the Maluku ship arrived in Cochin in due time, that is, before mid February, the mail to Portugal would include the DD 115-117 (Cf. D 124, 2).

[3] *Cafraria* is a somewhat vague collective name of the whole of the E African coast and was used more especially for the Jesuit mission of Monomotapa, which about this time was taken over by the Dominican Fathers.

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## 124

## FR. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, TRENT

Cochin, January 20, 1564

TEXT: DI VI 159-165 [164]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 II* ff. 441*r*-442*v*. Original with autographic signature. Portuguese. Third *via*.

### *Text*

1. *Fr. Provincial, already at Cochin on his way to visit Malacca, Maluku, and Japan, was dissuaded from doing so by the opinion of most Goa and Cochin Fathers. Instead he sent excellent workers to those parts.* — 2. *People on board ships coming from Malacca reported that this town and Maluku stayed quiet. They say that other ships, still to arrive, carry letters; eventually he will include them.*

[. . .]

1. Elle [i.e., o Padre Provincial] quisera hir este Abril passado a visitar as casas de Malaca e Maluco e Japão, e pera iso veio de Goa aqui a Cochim, mas tomando nisso o parecer dos Padres e Irmãos, assi de Goa como de Cochim, o parecer dos mais, principalmente dos prophesos e dos mais antigos em a Companhia, foi que não compria deixar por tres anos Goa e Cochim e Baçaim e Manar, honde está o maior pesso da Companhia, por hir àquelas partes tam remotas gastando o mais do tempo em andar por mar, que pera a sua maa disposição podia prejudicar muito. Em lugar da visitação lhes mãodou mui boa gente, Padres de mui boa doutrina e edifficação, principalmente os de Japão.

2. Despois desta escrita chegarão naos de Malaca, das quaes soubemos que, assi os Irmãos que estão em Malaca como os que andão em as partes de Maluco, todos estão bem e fazem muito fructo, e aquelas terras em paz e quietas. Em outras naos que vem atrás me dizem que vem cartas; se vierem a tempo mandarei as copias com estas.

[. . .]

Deste collegio da Madre de Deus de Cochim, a 20 de Janeiro de 1564.

[*Autograph*] De V.P. servo em o Senhor,

Melchior Nunez.

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## 125

# FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PRANCUDO SJ, TO THE JESUITS OF SÃO ROQUE, LISBON

Ternate, February 10, 1564

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO III 587 (mentioning it vaguely under « Tres cartas . . . ») ; MILLIES 53 ; SOMMERVOGEL V 664 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 no. 5 ; STREIT IV 907. They all date it wrongly November 13 after the printed Latin versions.

II AUTHORS: *Rerum a Societate* (Coloniae 1574) 55 ; LUCENA 283-284 ; GUZMÁN I 2 54 ; Seb. GONÇALVES III 152 ; SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc., Lainius* VII 122-126 ; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 22 ; SOUZA I III 2 33-34 ; WESSELS, *Noord-Celebes en Sangi* 371-375 ; LACH 618-619.

III TEXTS: There is no original.

A. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 91*r*-93*v*. Portuguese copy, written in four hands. Title: « Copia de huma de Pero Masquarenhas de Ternate a 10 de Fevereiro de 1564 pera os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesu em São Roque ». This letter contains another one under the heading: « Copia de huma do Padre Dioguo de Magualhães dos Celebes pera o Padre Pero Mascarenhas » (See D 11, 9).

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 498*r*-500*r*. Clear one-hand copy in Portuguese with fuller title: « Trelado de huma que o P.e Pero Mascarenhas escreveo de Tarnate [*corr. fr.* Tanate] aos Irmãos da Companhia de São Roque de Lixboa de dez [*corr. fr.* a tres] de Fevereiro de 1564, recebida a dezoyto d'Abril de 1566 ». Appearing more complete than text A, it could be another *via*.

C. This document is mentioned, together with D 130, in *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Miscellanea, Arm. II 67* f. 127*v*. After the text, in Italian translation, of D 126, it says : « Altra de 10 de febraro de Ternate del P.e Pero Mascareñas, et altra de 15 di Aprile 1564 del P.e Manuel Gomez di Amboino. Narrano fra molte cose la conversione di alcune migliara di anime et di alcuni miracoli fatti per mezzo dell'acqua benedetta, etc. ».

IV PRINTED: in SÁ III 64-73 ; he prints text A without any use of text B. Latin version, in *Epistolae Iapanicae* II, Lovanii 1569, 158-167 : a somewhat tendentious, often erroneous translation, omitting nos. 14-20, and mistakenly dated November 13. Proper names are often strongly disfigured, as Zocola for Totole, Rex Chigreguzarate and Chigilgurarates for Quichil Guzarate, Sichaonia for Siau. Also in *Epistolae Indicae et Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1570, 305-311 : it shows the same errors as the preceding imprint. German version, in *Die Missionsgeschichte* II 270-285 : an accurate version of the deficient Latin texts.

V OUR EDITION: We print text B, as being generally more accurate and more complete, referring in the apparatus to some variants and omissions of text A.

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## *Text*

1. *He will tell some things for which God should be praised.* — 2. *After Br. Araújo, in March [1563], left Maluku, the king of Ternate outfitted a fleet in May in order forcibly to islamize the Celebes people who were asking to be baptized. The Portuguese captain twice urged Fr. Rector to send a Father there and to forestall the Ternatans.* — 3. *Fr. Magalhães was appointed to this mission.* — 4. *To impede this the king of Ternate spread the false rumour that Spanish ships had been sighted approaching.* — 5. *As soon as the rumour was shown false, Magalhães was sent to Manado where he baptized the kings of Manado and Siau with many people, as can be seen from the following letter.* — 6. [Letter of Fr. de Magalhães] *He came to Manado and in a fortnight baptized the king and 1,500 souls ; on his way back from Totoli he will baptize the rest. He christened also the king of Siau who reigns over 25,000 souls.* — 7. *In Bolaang the king, having been forcibly islamized, asked to be baptized ; yet Magalhães put him off.* — 8. *In Kaidipan he baptized only the chiefs, putting off the rest for a later time.* — 9. *After five days sailing he reached Totoli. The whole of this coast hates the Muslims. He returned to Kaidipan where in eight days he baptized 2,000 men.* — 10. *Now he is staying in Manado, teaching and waiting till the ship arrives with a Father to whom he could go to confession.* — 11. *After that he will sail for Siau and convert it. He is anxious to teach the faith before baptizing the people. For the whole region two more Fathers and a Brother are required.* — 12. *This Batachina is densely populated. He does not like to baptize more people ; first they should be taught the faith thoroughly. They like singing Christian doctrine.* — 13. [Continuation of Mascarenhas' letter] *Magalhães stopped in Manado, assisted by a native interpreter. Meanwhile the Portuguese crew sailed to Siau where the king promised all kinds of help in case the Father would come there.* — 14. *Building of a new church in Ternate with the help of the Portuguese. Its measures ; its inauguration.* — 15. *Confessions ; personal animosities turned into friendships.* — 16. *All Jesuits assembled when the ship sailed in ; disappointment because Fr. Provincial did not arrive in it ; joy at welcoming two new Jesuits. The king of Manado now stays in Ternate until May.* — 17. *Fr. Rector left again for Moro taking three companions with him ; the others had plenty of work in hearing confessions in Ternate.* — 18. *After some more days Fr. Rector summoned also Magalhães to Moro until May.* — 19. *Conversion of a prominent Tidorese.* — 20. *Urgent appeal for assistance.*

A paz de Jesu Christo Noso Senhor seja senpre em nossas almas. Amen.

1. Nesta, charissimos Irmãos, direi algumas cousas de muitas que podera dizer, em que á muita materia de louvar a Noso Senhor por seu grande amor e misericordia pera comnosquo, e cuidado que 5

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5 por *del.* grão | sou *interl.*

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tem em trazer as almas a seu conhecimento e por meios a noso parecer tão estranhos.

2. E primeiramente direi huma que despois da partida do Irmão Baltesar d'Araujo, que foy em Março [1], loguo ao Mayo seguinte acomteceo: que tendo el-rei de Tarnate feita huma armada grande em que mandava seu filho Babu, que é herdeiro do reino, aos celebes [2], que são gentios, a fazê-llos mouros por força; os quais celebes tinhão mandado muitas vezes a esta fortaleza que se querião fazer christãos, que lhe mandasem quem os bautizase. E o capitão [3] avia dias que tinha pedido ao Padre Reitor [4] que mandase hum Padre aos celebes, e não se affeituou então por não aver pesoa da Conpanhia que lá podese ir. E como neste tenpo que a armada d'el-rei de Tarnate se fazia prestes chegase o Padre Dioguo de Magalhães d'Anboyno, tornou outra vez o capitão a pedir que mandase hum Padre e que elle mandaria duas caracoras, que são as embarquaçõis desta terra, e que mandaria oyto ou dez portugueses nellas. E que desta maneira indo diante d'armada dos mouros, terião já feitos christãos aos celebes e assi se inpediria a não serem mouros, e se guanharião tantas almas quantas estava certo perderem-se se se lhe não acudise.

3. Despois disto ser encomendado a Deus alguns dias pollos que aqui estavamos, coube esta boa e santa misão ao Padre Dioguo de Magalhães. E porque o Padre Reitor se queria ir para o Moro, aonde estava o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro pera imsinar a doutrina aos christãos, deixou concertada a ida do Padre Dioguo de Magalhães e partio-se. Fiquamos aqui ambos e hum Irmão noviço que quá recebeo o Padre Reitor, muito amiguo da oração, obbedientia e regras, e que nos tem muito ajudado [5].

4. Tãoto que el-rey de Tarnate soube que o capitão mandava caracoras he hya Padre, detriminou d'estrovar enquan-[498*v*]to podese. E asi deytou fama que vinhão castelhanos, e que aparecião tres naos; e fez que mandase o capitão hum parao esquipado a busquar as cara-

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11 herdeiro *corr. fr.* regedor *h2* || 13 se *interl.* || 15 pedido *corr. fr.* podido || 15-16 e . . . ir] ao qual respondeo o Padre que não tinha quem mandar *A*

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[1] We do not know why he left Maluku in March 1563. WESSELS, *Catalogus* 241 no. 16 (and DI VI 691 note 39) have to be corrected.

[2] People of the N arm of Selebes.

[3] Henrique de Sá.

[4] Fr. Marcos Prancudo.

[5] His name was Vicente Dias; he became a brother in the Society (no. 14). See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 27.

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coras em que hia o Padre aos celebes, que tinhão partido o dia dantes. E tornarão e aqui estiverão sete ou oyto dias até vir recado do Moro, aonde o capitão tinha mandado saber se avia naos de castelhanos, porque dizia el-rey que pera aquela parte as virão.

5. Mas como Deus cheo de mysericordia a tinha de tantas almas, quantas se perdião nos Celebes por não terem conhecimento de sua bondade, e lhe queria abrir a porta do ceo, ainda que o tempo era muito rijo e os mares e a gente das caracoras dizião que se perdirião se naquele tempo se partisem, mandou o capitão que em toda maneira se partisem loguo ainda que corresem muito risquo, ameaçando os capitães, que, se loguo se não partião, os meteria no tronquo em ferros. Partirão-se e quis Noso Senhor levá-los ao Manado [6], que são daqui dous dias e duas noytes de caminho, aonde o Padre fez christão ao rey do Manado com muita de sua gente e ao rey de Ssiaao [7]; e quasi toda a gente daquela terra lhe pedia que os fizese christãos, como verão nesta carta que abaixo está escrita, que o mesmo Padre escreveo do Manado.

Reverendo em Christo Padre

A graça e amor de Jesu Christo Noso Senhor more sempre em nosas almas. Amen.

6. Cheguamos a este Manado aonde me pedio el-rei com a mais gente que os fizese christãos, e em quinze dias que aqui estive lhes ensinei a doutrina, praticando com elles cousas da fee. Fiz christão a el-rey [8] com até mil e quinhentas almas, determinando de fazer a mais gente christãa da tornada do Totole [9], aonde o capitão mandava estas caracoras [10]. Estes manados são os mais temidos e esforçados nas armas qu'á por esta terra. Pus-lhes

41 tantas *w. corr.* || 43 bondadade *ms.* || 44 os] grandes *A* || 49 fez christão *om. A* || 50 Sião *A* || 52 Padre *add.* me *A* || 60 determinando *w. corr.*

[6] Still capital of the Minahasa, northeasternmost country of Selebes; in those days, of one of the small kingdoms there.

[7] The island Siau in the Sangihe Archipelago, situated between Selebes and Mindanao (VALENTYN I b 57-60; ENI III 765; VIII 1480-1481).

[8] According to D 63, 44 the king of Manado, in 1556, was already a Christian; so this one is perhaps his successor.

[9] Tolitoli, more to the W in the N arm of Selebes; it is called also Tontoli or Kampung Baru. See ENI IV 390 and 395. Cf. D 22, 4.

[10] For what reason, see nos. 9 and 13.

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huma cruz na praya e dei-lhes huma bandeira d'El-Rey e outra ao rey de Siau, que achei neste Manado e o fiz christão por mo pedir muito [11]. É hum homem que guarda muito a justiça na sua terra. Tem seis mil homens de peleja e na ilha pode aver vinte até vinte e cinquo mil almas; é muito abastada de mantimentos e tem muito boas agoas.

7. Despois de fazer esta gente christã nos fomos correndo esta costa dos celebes. E cheguando a hum luguar que se chama Bolão [12], de que hé rey hum filho d'el-rey do Manado que Quichil Guzarate [13] fez mouro, recebeo-nos com muito gasalhado dando-nos todo o mantimento necessario, e me dise que Quichil Guzarate o fizera mouro por força e portanto me pedia que o fizese christão com toda sua gente, e que ele guardaria os costumes de christão e botaria os seus fora. E não me pareceo fazê-lo emtão cristão porquanto fora já mouro, senão despois que tornase do Totole [14]. Este tem sete ou oyto luguares que todos são gentios, nos quais dizem que pode aver doze ou quinze mil almas.

8. Day fomos a Cauripa [15], que hé huma praya que em obra de mea leguoa estão seis luguares. Estes vierão à praya todos e nos trouxerão mantimentos, e me pedião que os fizese christãos. Vierão à praya por tres vezes obra de tres mil homens, e não me deixavão pedindo-me senpre que os fizese christãos, mostrando-se mui escandalizados dos tarnates. Fiz emtão as principais cabeças

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65 Siam *A* || 72 Bolam *A* | Quichil] Cachil *A* || 74 Cachil *A* || 82 estão] tem *A*

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[11] From the entire context, and from no. 13, it is clear that the king of Siau was baptised in Manado, and not in his own island Siau, as is asserted by GUZMAN I 190, and by some others after him. He was christened Jerónimo (SOUZA I III 2 34); his native name was Pasuma (MARTA 115, where « João » is an error; *Relación Dueñas* f. 9*v*).

[12] This is Bolaang, capital of the country Bolaang-Mongondou, SW of the Minahasa. The town, in 1850, was moved eastward (SARASIN, *Reisen in Celebes* I 101); for 1563 we have to situate it at the mouth of the Lombagin river (ibid. Karte III). Consult ENI I 343-344.

[13] Kaicil Guzarate, a half-brother of Hairun on his mother's side, and his chief captain of the fleet (COUTO VI 8 10; REBELO 232). The inference is that the forcible conversion to Islam of the N Selebes populace had already begun.

[14] Surely a wise measure of Fr. Magalhães.

[15] That is, Kaidipan, name of a kampong on the N coast at ca. 123° E, and of a small coastal district belonging to it. See ENI II 248.

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dos luguares pera que, à vinda que tornase de Totole, fazer a mais gente. Posemos-lhe huma cruz na praya defronte dum luguar.

9. Daqui a Totole são cinquo dias de caminho, aonde chegamos e os portugueses não acharão o que buscavão, porque nos diserão que o berço que o tinha levado Quichil Guzarate [16]. Toda esta costa quer muito grande mal a mouros e dizem que em nenhuma maneira o serão, senão christãos. Despois nos tornamos a Cauripa, aonde tãobem vierão à pra-[499*r*]ya pedindo-me que fose ao luguar fazer suas molheres e filhos christãos. Fuy a dous luguares e pus em cada hum huma cruz. Parece-me que faria dous mil christãos pouco mais ou menos, e nisto gastei oyto dias.

10. Despois nos viemos ao Manado [17] ahonde agora fico pera os ensinar, porque esta hé a principal cabeça de todo o Celebe e deste se á-de fazer muita conta pera se ganharem todos os outros. A este rei dei o bajuu [18] que mandou o capitão, e aqui detremino d'estar até à vinda da nao, a qual ey-de esperar aqui pera que, se nela vier algum Padre, me ir confesar [19]. E porque Vosa Reverencia sabe quanta desconsolação é estar soo sen ter com quem se confese, por amor de Nosso Senhor alembre ao Padre que me mande companheiro. Eu, bemdito seja Deus, fico quieto de minha comciemtia.

11. Depois de chegar a nao e me comfessar, se achar com quem, detremino de hir a Syau, que são deste Manado dous dias de caminho, para fazer a gente dele christão. Dizem-me que hé muy boa gente, e eu não os vou aguora fazer christãos porque tãobem quero emsinar a doutrina a estes que já tenho feitos; e depois detremino de hir a Syao e estar lá tres ou quoatro messes e emsinar-lhes primeiro a doutrina que os faça christãos. Pera esta

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91 Cachil *A* || 92 que *w. corr.* || 104 dosconsolação . . . soo *interl.* | ter *add.* homem *A* || 106-109 Eu . . . quem *om. A* || 109 Sião *A* || 113 Siam *A* || 114-115 esta . . . remedio] remedio desta terra *A*

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[16] The so-called loyal vassalage did not keep Hairun from collecting from the Portuguese as many guns as he could get in order to make himself safe against them.

[17] Magalhães does not return here to the subject of Bolaang; the king was not baptised (D 162, 18).

[18] *Baju* (Malay, derived from Persian), upper garment, jacket with narrow sleeves.

[19] From this we learn that Prancudo's planning was to send a second Father to Selebes soon. It did not materialize.

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terra pera remedio são necessarios dous Padres e hum Irmão: hum pera Syau, outro pera o Manado, outro pera Cauripa, que deste Manado são quoatro dias de caminho, onde tenho feito dous mil christãos e os principais: e se não ouverem de sser mais que dous, é bom serem Padres por amor das comfissões.

12. Esta Batachina[20] hé toda povoada e á muitos luguares grandes de quatro e cinquo e seis mil almas, e todos querem ser christãos e são gentios. Eu não ey-de fazer já mais até ver quaa quem os emsine e doutrine, porque me parece que é milhor poucos bem doutrinados que muitos mal doutrina[do]s. Esta gente dos celebres folgua muito de camtar a doutrina, e tãoto que a andão camtando comtinuamente assi nas embarquações como por terra, assi os grandes como pequenos. Não tenho mais ao presemte que posa escrever a Vosa Reverencia.

Do Manado, a 28 de Julho de 1563 anos.

13. Despois que o Padre Dioguo de Magualhães tornou do Totole, onde o capitão desta fortaleza mandava buscar hum berço e hum falcão, deixou-sse fiquar no Manado e com ele ficou hum christão da terra por limguoa. Forão-se então os portuguesses ha Syau pera estarem com el-rey, que o Padre fez christão no Manado, dous messes, que era até o tempo da monção, que ventão os noroestes pera se virem pera quá pera a fortaleza[21]. El-rey de Syau, segundo me disserão os portuguesses, os recebeo com tanto amor e gasalhado como se forão seus amiguos de muito tempo conhecidos, ou irmãos que muito se amasem: e tãoto que dous messes que alli estiverão lhes deu de comer a elles e a toda a gente que levavão consiguo nas embarcações, que polo menos erão mais de cem pesoas. E dizem que vinha dormir às suas caracoras e comer com elles continuamente, e que lhes fez grande festa todo aquele tempo, e lhes dizia que se o Padre quisesse vir pera sua terra que não tinha necessidade de nada, mas que ele lhe faria loguo casas muito

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116 Syau] estar *A* || 122 ver] aver *A* || 125-126 tãota ... embarquações] assi por mar *A* || 126 terra *add.* continuamente *A* || 133 Syam *A* || 135 ventão *corr. fr.* vem então || 143 sua terra] o seu lugar e suas terras *A*

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[20] *Batochina* or *Batuchina* (*Batu Cina*), name given formerly to more than one of the islands in NE Indonesia: especially to Halmahera or Jailolo (*Batuchina do Moro*), and to Seram (*Batuchina de Muar*). Cf. *Treatise* 78 and 333 notes 5-9 (where, in note 8, the date: July 8, is to be corrected to July 28). Here it appears to be used for the N arm of Selebes (Cf. D 162, 17).

[21] The NW monsoon begins in November.

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boas e igreja e lhe daria todo o necessario, e que toda sua gente se faria christãa loguo e guardaria todos os costumes de christãos. Praza a Nosso Senhor que lhe conserve tão bons desejos e lhos aumente.

14. Despois da partida do Padre Reitor pera o Moro e o P.e Di[o]guo de Magalhães pera os celebes [22], fiquamos aqui nesta fortaleza ho Irmão Vicente Dias e eu, e começamos a pôr por obra a fazer huma igreja porque a não tinhamos [23]. Ho mestre do galeão de Pero de Misquita [24] e o piloto e todos os mais officiais dele nos forão busquar toda a madeira necessaria a Batachina [25], que são quoatro ou cinquo legoas daqui, e isto por muitas vezes; e os casados huns nos derão os ferreiros, outros os serradores, outros os moços pera o serviço, e tudo isto de graça. Demos-lhe tanta presa que aa começamos dia de Sant'Ana a vinte seis de Julho e dissemos nela a primeira missa dia da dedicação do templo a nove de Novembro [26]. O corpo da igreja é de oyto braças [27] de comprido e de cinquo de larguo; a capela [499*v*] hé de tres e meya de conprido e de tres de larguo; e o alpendre da igreja de duas de comprido e da largura da igreja; a frontaria e cruzeyro da igreja é toda de taboado e tudo o mais de paguaares [28] cubertos com cacoyas [29] muito alvas, que são à maneira d'esteiras. A primeira missa que dissemos foy cantada e dise-a o Vigario, e pregou a ela o Padre Reitor [30] que avia pouco que viera do Moro doente a esperar a nao, e pregou com muita satisfação de todos por ser muy aceito em todas suas preguações e faz com ellas muito fruito.

15. E asi se confesa muita gente aqui em nosa casa os dominguos do Sacramento [31] e todas as festas de Nosa Senhora e dos Santos e ca-

147 lhe *del.* dê || 149 cellebes *A* || 153 a$^{s}$ *del.* a || 154 e os casados] dos na terra residem *A* | derão *w. corr.* || 162 paguuares *w. corr.*; pagares *A* || 163 cacoias *A* || 165 pouco *corr. fr.* poucos, *del.* dias que avia

[22] In May; cf. no. 2.

[23] First mention of the building of a Jesuit church in Ternate.

[24] In December 1547 Pero de Mesquita sailed from Lisbon to India (Paris, *Biblioth. Nation., MS portugais 8*, f. 220*v*; COUTO X 1 16), and in 1552 he got the *mercê* of three journeys to Maluku (RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 456; on his earlier life: SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 82 note 144; EX II 307 note 37).

[25] Here Halmahera or Jailolo.

[26] Annual commemoration of the Dedication of Saint John Lateran in Rome.

[27] The Portuguese fathom of that time measured 2.18 m.

[28] *Pagar* (Malay), fence.

[29] *Kakoya* or *kokoya* (Ternatan), matting of wicker-work for which the leaves of the pandanus tree are used (*Treatise* 375: quaquoia).

[30] Prancudo.



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da oyto dias. E assi se fazem aqui algumas amizades por meyo dos nossos Padres; especialmente direy de huma: que não á muitos dias que aconteceo andarem huns homens muito omrados pera se matarem com montantes e chuças duma parte e da outra. Metemo-nos a os apaziguoar; aprouve ao Senhor que ficou tudo quieto e elles amiguos. E outro homem omrado tinha injuriado a outro de palavra, e tãoto que o enjuriado andava pera acutilar ou matar ao outro, e a estes fizemos vir aqui a casa e ficarão muito amiguos, e amizades semelhantes se fazem muitas vezes.

16. Nesta conjunção de tenpo cheguou o P.e Nicolao Nunez de Bachão [31], aonde esteve todo este ano doutrinando e bautizando-os e confessando alguns. Chegou tãobem o P.e Dioguo de Magalhães dos celebes com o rei do Manado que fez christão, que veio ver a fortaleza; está aguora aqui e á-d'estar até Mayo. E veio o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro do Moro [33], e asi estavamos todos seis juntos [34] quando chegou a nao, esperando com muitos desejos polo Padre Provimcial, porque os que nos derão as primeiras novas nos diserão que vinha nomeando-o por seu nome, mas achamos-nos sem elle [35]. Mas tambem nos alegramos muito com tão bons dous companheiros como o P.e Luis de Goes e o Irmão Vasquo Rodriguez em tenpo que os celebes tem tanta necessidade de nós [36].

17. Estevemos assi todos oyto juntos cinquo ou seis dias, e no cabo dos quais se partio o Padre Reitor pera o Moro levando consiguo o Irmão Vasquo Rodriguez com o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro, e o

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170 algumas] muytas *A* || 172 huns] dous *A* || 176 fizemos *del.* amiguos || 182 veio *w. corr.* | ver *corr. fr.* pera || 184 asi] ahi *ms.*, assy *A* || 188 companheiros *w. corr.* || 189 celebes *w. corr.*

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[31] D 116 note 3.

[33] He went there in November 1562 (D 115, 5).

[33] He had been sent in November 1562 (ibid.; D 117, 5), had returned to Ternate about one month after (D 117, 5), but had obviously sailed again to Moro where, in February 1563, he wrote D 115, and where he was working in May of that year (no. 3).

[34] Prancudo, Nunes, Mascarenhas, Magalhães, Osório, Dias.

[35] Quadros, already under way, had been dissuaded in Cochin from visiting the far-off regions; cf. D 124, 1.

[36] When did the ship with the two Jesuits arrive in Ternate? The prominent convert from Tidore was baptised on the feast day of Saint Andrew (D 128, 5), which is November 30. This baptism took place a few days before the ship came into port (no. 19). So we have to place the arrival of the Fathers in early December 1563.

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Padre Nicolao Nunez que então podia escusar Bachão por alguns dias, porque el-rey de Bachão era ido a Amboyno e levou quasi todos os homens consiguo a Seirão [37], que mandou chamar pera lhe dar obedientia [38]; este tenpo quis o P.e Reitor que o gastase com os christãos do Moro. E ficamos aqui o Padre Luis de Goes e Dioguo de Magalhães e eu, e todos tres não podiamos satisfazer a muita gente que se confesou a segunda somana do jubileo [39], porque a primeira somana foy tanta que, com estar aqui o Padre Reitor e o Padre Nicolao Nunez e confesarmos todos cinquo, não bastavamos mas senpre se hia gente pera casa por confessar.

18. Não pasarão despois muitos dias que não mandasse o P.e Reitor chamar o P.e Dioguo de Magalhães pera doutrinar os christãos do Moro daqui até Maio, que é o tenpo da monção pera os celebes. E ficamos aqui o P.e Luis de Goes he eu e o Irmão Vicente Dias, e pregua aqui o P.e Luis de Goes aos dominguos muito bem e folgua esta gente muito de o ouvir e de se confessar com ele.

19. Poucos dias antes de chegar a nao se fez christão hum homem principal de Tidore, do milhor conselho e o milhor capitão que el-rei de Tidore tem, e que sostentou toda a guerra com a fortaleza [40]; e fez grande espanto a todos os que o conhecião e, segundo se diz, estão muitos principais assi de Tidore como dest'outras ilhas movidos. Este hé homem muito poderoso e riquo: tem quoatro ou cinquo luguares, e loguo o capitão o meteo de posse de todos elles. Amda senpre muito bem aconpanhado de sua gente e tem dado até aguora mostra de verdadeiro christão. Folgua muito de lhe tratarem de cousas da fee e pergunta muito por ellas, e amtre outras muitas coussas per-[500r]guntava se era obriguado a confessar os peccados passados de quando era mouro [41].

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196 que *add.* o *A* || 197 gastase *corr. fr.* gastasem || 204 pasarão *corr. fr.* pasou | mandaase *ms.* || 214 dest'outras] destroutas *ms.* || 216 o[2] *corr. fr.* os || 219-221 e amtre . . . mouro *om. A*

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[37] Nunes had indeed accompanied Prancudo to Moro, but for some days only; for, according to D 130, 23, he had to leave soon with the king of Bacan.

[38] The king of Bacan laid claim to several villages in the island of Seram, among which was Lisabata (VALENTYN I b 119-120). He sailed out about October 1, 1563, and returned after six months, about April 1, 1564 (D 130, 6-7).

[39] Pius IV, on February 2, 1563, granted a jubilee indulgence to the Christians of the E and W Indies every time they managed to move a pagan or an infidel to embrace the Christian faith. (See DI VI 1-4).

[40] On this war, see D 79, 22-24; REBELO 495-496.

[41] On this conversion, see D 128, 5.

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20. Que fazem, Irmãos charissimos, tão devaguar nese collegio estando nestas partes tantas almas jentias chamando-os e esperando por elles, como é todo este Cellebe e Bengai e o Papua, e outra muita gente que se perde à minguoa pidindo que os fação christãos sem aver quem lhe acuda? Portanto, Charissimos, não aja quem não emportune muito ao Ssuperior pedindo-lhe muy afimquadamente ho mande pera estas partes, pera ajudarem sequer a estes probrezinhos que tão desejosos estão de se salvarem, e não á quem a tãotos como ssão possa socorrer por sermos quá os obreiros tão poucos e a messe tanta que mais se perde do que se recolhe, o que não fora avendo abundamcia dos obreiros que ella requere. E certifiquo-lhes, Charissimos, que por muitos que venhão que vay quaa, louvores ao Senhor, a cousa de maneira que muitos e muitos mais se ão-de aver mister. Portanto não aja nimguem que de sua parte falte pera tamanha empresa e que tãoto importa. Praza ao Senhor que a todos nos dê sua graça pera que em tudo façamos sua santa vontade. Nos sanctos sacrificios e orações de todos os charissimos Padres e Irmãos muito nos emcomendamos.

De Tarnate, oje dez dias de Fevereiro de 1564 anos.

Por comisão do Padre Marcos Prancudo.

Servo em Christo,

Pero Masquarenhas.

## 126

## FR. MARCOS PRANCUDO SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

Maluku [Ternate], February 12, 1564

I TEXTS: There are only copies, presumably translations.

A. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 93*v*-94*r*. Copy in Portuguese, written in two hands. Title: «Copia de huma que escreveo o Pe. Marcos Prancudo de Maluco ao Pe. Diogo Lainez, Geral da Companhia de Jesus, a 12 de Fevereiro de 1564».

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* f. 486*r-v*. Copied text, in Portuguese, but often with Spanish orthography. The title, more Spanish than Portuguese, runs like this: «Carta del Pe. Marcos Prancudo Valenciano, que escrivio de las ilhas de Maluco a Nuestro Pe. General a Roma [12 de Fevereiro *add. h2*] de 1564». At the end it con-

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224 Celebe e Bengay e o Xapua *A* | outra *corr. fr.* outras *A* || 226 Charissimos *add.* por amor de Deus que *A* || 230 sermos ... obreiros] serem cá *A* || 231 do] da *ms.*, do *A* || 234-236 Portanto ... importa *om. A* || 240 Por ... Prancudo *om. A*

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tains a paragraph which is lacking in the other MSS (no. 8) : either it has been omitted in text A as being unsuitable for refectory reading, or it occurred in only one *via* from which this text B has been translated.

C. *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum*, *Miscellanea*, *Arm. II 67* f. 127*r-v*, formerly 229. Italian version, more than once shortened, headed « [Sommario *interl.*] Cavato d'una lettera del Pe. Marco Pranchudo del Malucho, 16 [*sic*] di febraro 1564 ». The conclusion is lacking.

II NOTE : As Prancudo was a Spaniard, and as he was writing to Fr. General who was a Spaniard too, it is more than probable that he wrote in Spanish. Consequently, the Portuguese texts are to be considered as translations, and text B could be called a bad translation.

III PRINTED : in SÁ III 79-82. He prints only text A, so without no. 8.

IV OUR EDITION : We print text A, completing it, where clearness requires such, with variants from text B and adding no. 8 also from the latter.

## *Text*

1. *In Maluku there are eight Fathers and five Brothers. If only they were more numerous, many islands could be christened.* — 2. *Their number is so inadequate that for five years some Christian islands never even saw a priest. The Fathers are not to be blamed for that, they do what they are equal to.* — 3. *Also Fr. Provincial did his utmost to provide this mission with workers.* — 4. *Last May an expedition was sent to Selebes ; a Father accompanied it ; he baptized some kings and chiefs, for others he had to postpone baptism.* — 5. *One of those kings came to the fortress ; another is prevented from coming by adverse wind.* — 6. *The king of Bacan sailed to Ambon and Seram to cement his rule there ; a Father went with him : some people were christened, some Moors punished.* — 7. *A pagan king sent his nephew to the fortress, to be christened and to ask for a Father.* — 8. *Marriages between close blood-relations are common and often inevitable. The Fathers should have the faculty to dispense from this impediment, otherwise many will be repelled from being baptized.* — 9. *Conclusion.*

1. Residimos ao presente nestas partes de Maluco oito Padres e cinco Irmãos [1]. Procedem todos na observancia das regras com animo prompto, spirito alegre. Ocupan-se com muito fervor e devação, assi nosa como da gente de fora, em dilatar os termos da vinha do Senhor

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1 oito] 8 *corr. fr.* seis *B*

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[1] The Fathers : Marcos Prancudo, Pero Mascarenhas, Nicolau Nunes, Francisco Rodrigues, Fernando Álvares, Diogo de Magalhães, António Fernandes, Luís de Góis ; the Brothers : Fernão de Osório, Manuel Gomes, António Gonçalves, Vasco Rodrigues, Vicente Dias.

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nesta mourama e gentio. Hé grande o fruito que se tem feito nesta terra, e se fizera e fora muito mais se ouvesse obreiros, porque não há ilha daqui cem legoas em roda, que são sem numero, que se ouvesse quem os doutrinasse e instruisse nas cousas da fee, que se não apartasse de suas idolatrias e se fizessem christãos: huns movidos por Deos, outros polla reputação em que tem os portugueses, outros por medo e temor que delles tem e por essa via se confederarem com elles.

2. Os que aqui resedimos somos tam poucos e as necessidades tantas que não podemos acudir aos christãos, já de alguns annos, que temos a nosso cargo. E com andaremos como peregrinos, sem ter habitação certa [2], de lugar em lugar a fazer os mininos christãos e casar alguns que se querem casar, não podemos acudir a todos; e assi [há] muitas ilhas de christãos que, quatro e cinco annos, não vem Padre nem pessoa que lhe diga que cousa hé ser christão. Disto crea Vosa Paternidade não teremos nós a culpa, porque creo que de nossa parte fazemos o que se pode fazer, mas a christandade hé tanta e espalhada por tantas ilhas e nós tam poucos que não hé mais possivel.

3. O nosso P.e Provincial tenho entendido ter grandes desejos de prover esta terra de obreiros, como hé rezão e a ne[ce]ssidade o pede; mas tem tantas partes a que acudir e recressem tantas necessidades de novo juntas, com ter pouca gente em Goa pera poder mandar, que creo fazer mais do que pode, e assi em seu tempo foi esta terra provida o milhor do que nunqua foi [3].

4. O Maio passado mandou, o capitão desta fortaleza duas embarcações ligeiras a humas ilhas chamadas os Celebes (de quem tinhamos muito pouca noticia) pera saber a disposiçam da terra e que gente era, e o seu trato e modo de viver. Pareceo conveniente ir nellas hum Padre nosso por teremos novas [94*r*] que erão gentios e temeremos que fosse lá algum cassis a os fazer mouros. Chegados à ilha principal, que será de dozentas legoas em comprido, veio a gente a receber os portuguezes e, sabendo que vinha ali Padre pera os fazer christãos, pedirão todos una voce, e isto em todos os portos da mesma ilha, que os fizessem christãos. Bautizou o Padre hum rei desta ilha com muitos senhores; aos outros dilatou o bautismo dizendo que tornaria com mais

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6 há] sento *B* || 16 há *from B* || 17 que *del.* a | annos *add.* que *B* || 25 juntas] junto *B* || 26 fazer *vd. corr.* || 32 teremos] termos por *B* || 34 veio *vd. corr.* || 38 aos outros] aos quaes *ms., corr. fr.* os quaes; aos outros *B* | mais] muytos *B*

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[2] The only continuously existing Jesuit house in Maluku was the one built in Ternate near the fortress; cf. D 97, 5.

[3] The number of thirteen missionaries had never been attained before.

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Padres e então os bautizariam a todos e doutrinariam. Bautizou tambem outros dous reis de outras duas ilhas comarcans a esta principal, reis mui bellicosos e temidos naquellas partes [4].

5. Hum destes dous reis disse ao Padre que queria vir à fortaleza dos portugueses pera saber os seus custumes e que cousa era ser christão. Está agora aqui [5]. Fas-lhe o capitão muita honrra. Temos esperanças que se sirvirá muito Nosso Senhor naquellas terras. E o outro rei pormeteo tambem de vir; temos por novas que hé partido: com os tempos contrairos não pode chegar [6]. Estas ilhas são muito populosas, assi a principal como todas as outras adjacentes a ella, pello que tenho entendido que, se nellas se repartisse o collegio de Coimbra, teriam todos em que se occupar [7].

6. El-rey de Bachão, que hé christão, foy os dias passados [8] às ilhas de Amboyno e Seyrão, por ser delle chamado pera lhe darem a obediencia, com preposito de destruir algumas ylhas de mouros ladrões, que com seus roubos avexavão os christãos daquellas partes. Foy com elle hum Padre nosso [9] que em seu reyno resedia. Temos por novas que fez muyto fruto e destruyo aos que o mereciam: fez christãos aos princypaes de Seylão [10] e de outras ylhas algumas; e muyto mais fizera, se tivera Padres que puderão acodir ao muyto que se offerecya. He á Vossa Paternidade de saber que nestas partes, feyto christão o princypal do luguar, nenhuma dificuldade há nos outros.

7. Hum sobrinho de hum rey gentio, senhor de huma terra muy grande, populosa, veo a esta fortaleza por mandado do tio a saber que coussa era a nossa ley, e com recado do tyo que, se lhe parecesse bem, se fizese christão e pedisse algum Padre pera o yr bautizar a elle e a todo seu reyno. Chegado aquy se fez logo christão: e espera

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40 duas *interl.* || 43 christão *corr. fr.* christãos || 46 pormeteo *w. corr.* | os] huns *B* || 49 se[1] *interl.* || 59 He *corr. fr.* se; *del. B* | feyto] sendo *B* || 65-66 Chegado . . . reyno *m. B* | e . . . tio] espero aquy *ms.*; e espera o tio *B*

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[4] This paragraph is a summary, not always very accurate, of D 125, 2-12.

[5] The king of Manado.

[6] The king of Siau.

[7] In 1563-1564, the Coimbra college numbered about 180 Jesuits: principals, teachers, and students (*ARSI, Lus. 43*, ff. 189*r*-190*r*).

[8] At any rate, before February 10; see D 125, 17.

[9] According to D 125, 17, this was not Fr. Nicolau Nunes; most probably Fr. Fernando Álvares is meant, who in June 1562 was sent to Bacan (D 116, 5).

[10] Read *Seyrão*, that is, Seram.

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o tio por elle e por algum Padre pera o bautisar com todo seu reyno [11]. Outros reys e senhores muytos pedem o bautismo a quem não podemos acodir por seremos tão poucos como yá disse. Veja V.P. agora quanta necessidade tem esta messe de obreyros, do que não faço muyta lembraça a V.P., porque creo ter V.P. das coussas desta terra especyal cuydado.

8. [Nestas partes é muy comum e geral casarem-se os parentes con as parentas, e tanto que às vezes se hacha hirmão casado con hirmã, ao menos primo com prima, tio con sobrinha, cunhado com cunhada. Nem o tem por estraño. Alen disto estes homes honrrados tem por grande affrenta casaren-se com molleres somenos que elles [12]. E são os reies y senhores tão aparentados e liados huns con [o]s outros, que difficultosamente hachão molher que não seja sua parenta. E huna bulla por donde podiamos dispensar con estos era por diez annos e são yá acabados [13]. Pollo que, se parecer a V.P. e for posivel, nos aya licença para poderemos dispensar con todos estes nisto, como hé isto impidimento a muytos se não fazerem christãos. Porque o mouro e gentio, sabendo que á-de dexar a parenta ô cunhada con que há annos que está casado e ten filhos della, esfria-sse do desejo que tinha de ser christão. E hum christão honrrado que vee que não pode casar à sua vontade, por serem as molleres que erão pera isso suas parentas, esfrião os outro[s] pera se não fazerem christãos. E assi nos hé necessario poderemos dispensar nos impedimentos de petere et reddere debitum [14], por aver muytos nestas partes que nisto são comprehendidos.]

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67 muytos *om. B* || 70 desta terra] deste reino *B* | especyal] particular *B* || 72-89 Nestas . . . comprehendidos *from B* || 75 homes *del.* são

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[11] Probably the king of Banggai is meant ; cf. D 128, 3 and D 144, 7 (son) : D 144, 3 (nephew).

[12] Cf. *Treatise* 86 : « Ho quasar é com toda paremta » ; 88 : « Cada hum casa com seu semelhante, que ho cavaleiro nom á-de ter molher ffidalgua », (etc.).

[13] Consult DI III 65 no. 3. The text of the papal document of 1554 seems to be unknown (ibid. 60-61 no. 18*a*). Prancudo obviously did not know that Pius IV had renewed the faculties required, with the bull *In Supereminenti* of January 28, 1561 (NAZARETH, *Mitras lusitanas* 49). Cf. likewise DI VI 727 no. 5, and *Compendium Indicum*, s.v. Dispensatio V, p. XX.

[14] In later years such a faculty was granted for cases in which one or both marriage partners had made a vow of chastity. We read in the *Compendium Indicum*, ff. XVIII*v*-XIX : « Possunt nostri in India dispensare in petitione debiti quando ratione voti castitatis, vel alia ex causa, prohiberetur alter coniugum de iure debitum petere ». Cf. DI VII 548.

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9. Em a benção de Vossa Paternidade me encomendo. O mesmo 90
fazem todos os que nestas partes residem.

Oje 12 de Fevireiro de 1564.

Indignus filius in Domino,

Marcos Prancudo.

*Lost Letter*

126*a*. — *Fr. Marcos Prancudo SJ, Ternate, to Fr. General, Rome, February 1564.*

Fr. Leão Henriques SJ, Provincial of Portugal, to Fr. General, March 18, 1566 : « A 6 del presente recebí en esta ciudad de Coymbra las de V.P. . . . , con la del P^e^ António Pires del Brasil, y la del P^e^ Marco Prancudo de Maluco. Ambos estos Padres tenemos acá en muy buena cuenta, empero Prancudo pensamos que se podría engañar en la información que escrive de los que an ydo desta provincia a quellas partes ; a lo menos acaa no se tenían por tales quales él los representa . . . » (*Mon. Bras.* IV 338). Obviously, in this lost letter, Prancudo had been passing a criticism on the quality of the Jesuits who were sent to India from Portugal. See also D 158.

## 127

## SUMMARY OF JESUIT LETTERS FROM MALUKU TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAÍNEZ, ROME

[Ternate], February 16, 1564

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : STREIT IV p. 306.

II TEXTS : A. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 94*r*-96*r*. Latin version, every page written in another hand and not without errors. Heading : « Summa eorum quae ex Mallucis insulis Patres Societatis Iesu ad Patrem Generalem scripserunt iis literis quae, missae 16 Februarii 1564, Romam sunt perlatae 8 Octobris 1566 ». At the end, the date and conclusion are lacking.

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 527*r*-528*r*. Latin. Same heading, same text, but copied more correctly. In the right margin « Passe-sse », that is, it should be dropped in refectory reading in Coimbra college.

C. Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Cod. Guelf. 36.24 Aug. 2°*, ff. 177*r*-178*r*. Same text under same title.

D. Munich, *Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuiten 607* (formerly 293). Contemporary German version, titled : « Inhalt aines Schreibens, so die von der der [*sic*] Societet Jesu aus den Inseln Mallucae genant, an bemelter Societet Generaln vom 16. februarii 1564 gethon und den 8. octobris 1566 zu Rhom ankhomen ist ». (While consulting file 607 in September 1968,

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we found it very disarranged, this MS being the only one in a wrapper titled « No. 20 - Litterae missionariorum ex Malabaria et variis aliis regionibus »).

III NOTE : As the heading tells us, this is a summary made of several letters addressed by the Jesuits in Maluku to Fr. General in Rome, and received there on October 8, 1566. A week after this date, Fr. Polanco wrote from Rome to Fr. Nadal in Augsburg, Bavaria, « Veda V.R. un sumario de certe lettere delle Molucche, questi dí ricevute . . » (Letter of October 15, 1566, in *Epp. Nadal* III 254). This proves that the secretariate of Fr. General, immediately after receiving the Maluku letters, made a Latin summary of them and sent it to other houses. None of the letters this summary was made from seems to have been preserved except D 126, from which nos. 1-3 of our document were taken. Though the rest of it contains partly the same tidings as are to be found in other letters of the same period (Compare no. 4 with D 125, 2-5 ; no. 5 with D 125, 7-12 ; no. 6 with D 130, 24 ; nos. 9-12 with other passages of D 130), some other notices are rather original and new, especially in nos. 6-10. What this summary clearly distinguishes from DD 119, 125, and 128-130, is the destination of the letters to Fr. General, as the heading expressly indicates. Presumably the General's secretariate dated the summary from the last-dated letter : Prancudo's is of February 12 (D 126), the last one may have been of February 16 ; this was moreover the scheduled time for the ships to sail from Ternate.

IV PRINTED : in SÁ III 118-123. He prints text B, unfortunately with some misleading errors.

V OUR EDITION : We print text B, as being the better one, with only a few corrections from text A ; of the latter's many variants we give only the most important in the apparatus.

## *Text*

1. *Thirteen Jesuits are living in Maluku ; eight of them are priests. Not being able to meet the work to be done, they request supplement of manpower.* — 2. *Any of the innumerable islands would embrace Christianity at once, if only it had a preacher.* — 3. *Various apostolic tasks ; the few Fathers are not equal to them ; sometimes the neophytes are neglected for years.* — 4. *The king of Ternate prepares to islamize the N Selebes people by force. Therefore Fr. Magalhães was sent there ; he made many Christians, e.g., the kings of Manado and Siau.* — 5. *He postponed the baptism of the Muslim king of Bolaang ; in Kaidipan he baptized 2,000 people ; in Manado he strengthened the Christians in their faith. For lack of priests the Fathers do not want to baptize more people.* — 6. *In the island of Bacan two Fathers received more than 3,000 into the Church, but to more than 50,000 they had to deny baptism ; they are very distressed about this.* — 7. *Every Jesuit who is not, or not yet, a priest, is responsible for a district in which he prepares the work of the passing Fathers and carries it on.* — 8. *The labours of Br. Manuel Gomes.* — 9. *The Jesuits are often in risk of life on account of the hostility of the Muslims, always bent on attacking the Christians.* — 10. *God comforts his apostles.* — 11. *Some miraculous events.* — 12. *Unexpected benefits of the law of monogamy.*

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1. In Mallucis insulis, quae et plurimae sunt et idololatriae pene omnes serviunt, 13 tantum ex Societate Iesu reperiuntur, ex quibus octo sunt sacerdotes ad praedicandum evangelium, catechizandum rudes, baptizandum catechizatos, in fide conservandum baptizatos. Hos Patres alacri esse animo scribunt ad capessendos innumeros labores periculaque obeunda quae quotidie terra marique tollerantur; caeterum illos paucitate sua exanimari et affligi. Flagitant igitur ut operarii ex Aeuropa ad messem quae iamdudum matura est colligendam mittantur, alioqui innumeras perituras animas sola ministrorum verbi Dei penuria.

2. Pro comperto se habere aiunt nullam esse in vasto illius pelagi tractu [insulam] (esse autem innumeras) quae, si praedicatores habeat zelo divini honoris accensos a quibus rite in fide erudiatur, non sit statim idola antiqua reiectura et Christum amplexatura.

3. Sese aliquot iam annos inter illos ethnicos vagari dispersosque huc illuc perigrinari dum hos instruunt, illos sacro fonte abluunt, alios matrimonii iure Ecclesiae sanctae ritu copulant caeteraque praestant animarum saluti necessaria; sed nulla ratione sufficere posse integris nationibus reducendis ad Christi caulas. Unde, quod misserimum est, insulas esse integras baptizatorum indorum quae sex totis annis, ex quo fidem receperunt, neminem viderunt a quo doceantur quid sit christiane vivere aut pie mori.

4. Mense maio anni Domini 1563 intellexere Patres Soci[et]atis Regem Tarnatis mahumetanum, classe instructa, filium suum mittere ad insulam Cebelles, longam sexcenta passuum millia, ut incolas, qui omnes ethnici erant et iamdiu nostrorum operam ad babtismum suscipiendum flagitabant, ad mahumetanam impietatem avocaret. Quo metu perculsi Patres Didacum Magallanium, unum ex ipsis, miserunt ut sarracenorum astum praeverteret. Qui conscenso navigio media hyeme saeviente mari (maio etenim mense hyemem regio illa tota habet) ad insullam Cellebes decem comitatus lusitanis secularibus applicuit et in portu Manado quindecim dierum spatio — neque enim diutius manere quia erat alibi evangelizaturus licebat — doctrinae christianae elementa explicuit et regem cum mille quingentis aliis ex populo selectis sacris lymphis abluit, reliquam multitudinem spe maturi reditus lactans. Regem etiam simoneum [1], principem inter omnes in-

12 insulam *from A* || 23 Patris *ms.* || 24 Ternatis *A* || 27 advocaret *A* || 28 Didicum *A* || 29 perverteret *A* || 30 hyemen *ms.* || 31 Celebes *A* | lusitaniis *A* || 34 explicuit *corr. fr.* applicuit *A* | quingnentis *ms.* || 36 *corr. fr.* simioneum *A*

[1] The Roman translators also tried to latinize geographical names, rendering them sometimes nearly unrecognizable. Here the meaning is: of the isle of Siau.

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sulanos iustissimum, baptizavit; hunc etenim cum rege cellebensi eodem in portu forte repererat.

5. Inde idem Pater Magallanius alium eiusdem insulae portum adnavigans, Bolanium [2] nomine, a regulo civitatis sarraceno humanissime est exceptus plurimumque rogatus ut ipsum principem cum tota familia christianum faceret; se etenim coactum olim a mahumetanis eorum sectam amplexum causabatur, constanter affirmans christianae legis institutum se exacte observaturum. Horum tamen baptismum Pater differendum iudicavit, neque enim unius diei opus esse animadvertebat imbibitos impios Mahumeti ritus ex mentibus convellere eorumque loco virentia divinae legis arbusta plantare. Plenos igitur spe futurae praedicationis pertransiens alia littora, Aquae ripae [3] dicta, tenuit inibique omnes regionis eius magnates in fide erudiens salutaribus baptismi aquis intinxit ut illi reliquam multitudinem benevolam ad nostrorum adventum expectandum facerent; nec secus quam optaverat evenit. [527*v*] In reditu enim eiusdem navigationis post dies aliquot duo circiter hominum millia, quae idonea Spiritus Sancti vasa iudicavit, ex ea gente Ecclesiae sanctae sociavit. Et tandem ad Manadum portum, qui totius insulae quasi emporium est et regi quem primum baptizatum fuisse diximus subiacebat, remeavit, ut quos in Christo genuerat infantes lacte uberioris doctrinae pasceret in fideque coroboraret. Conversorum vero tantus dicitur esse divinae legis amor ut publice privatimque, sive navigent sive terra iter faciant, christianam doctrinam cantitent et priscarum cantilenarum obliti hanc dulcem melodiam resonent. Patres autem ibillic plures se nolle baptizare asseverant, donec operarios videant qui initiatos divino lavacro doctrina et exemplo in suscepta religione et pietate contineant.

6. Alii duo Patres, Antonius Ferdinandus et Nicolaus Nuneus, eodem pene tempore cum in regis Bachami [4] insulam (quae christianae ditionis nuper erat facta) navigarent, indeque regem ipsum ad arcem suam deducerent, supra tria capitum millia ad gremium Ecclesiae communicato baptismate introduxerunt. Ad hos Patres populi integri et

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37 cellembensi *A* || 40 nominis *A* || 44 instituta *A* | servaturum *A* | tamen *om. A* || 49 ibique *A* || 51 adventum *A*, eventum *ms.* | secus *corr. fr.* sexus | optaverat *corr. fr.* optaverant *A* || 54 Ecclesia sancta *A* | Et *om. A* || 56 subiaicebat *ms.* || 58 roboraret *A* || 61 melodiem *A* | resonant *A* | ibillic] illi *A* || 64 Ferdinandes *A* || 65 Bachaini *A* || 67 commutato *A*

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[2] Bolaang.

[3] Curious latinization of Cauripa, that is, Kaidipan.

[4] Bacan.

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numerosi ethnicorum undique confluebant; nullum erat sexus, nullum aetatis discrimen, uno omnes ore fidem baptismumque orabant, supra quinquaginta millia hoc postulantia visa esse eo in itinere narrant; sed si quosdam paucos excipias, omnium votum in auras evanuit. Patres enim non sine acerbo animi sui dolore id negare cogebantur quod cum propriae vitae dispendio offerre aliis solent. Spem igitur citius quam manus dabant, illud cum propheta rursus lamentantes crebroque cum lacrymis repetentes: Parvuli petierunt panem etc [5].

7. Fratres Societatis qui necdum sacris initiati ordinibus coadiutores sacerdotibus dati fuerunt, populosas regiones et oppida singuli sortiuntur [6]: ecclesias venturis Patribus erigunt, catechismum interpretantur, parvulos pariter et adultos baptizant et continuis adhortationibus ad christiana opera accendunt.

8. Uni Manueli Gomezio, qui adhuc laicorum in numero est, decem sunt oppida a Patribus commissa [7]; huic Fratri multi, christiani iam facti, sunt in fide conservandi, multo plures ad fidem suscipiendam sunt persuadendi plaerique iam persuasi sunt erudiendi, et perpetuis disputationibus cum ethnicis mahumetanisque confligendum, nec per integrum unius diei spatium uno in loco commorari licet, sed variae in singulas horas mutandae sedes prout comissae oves videntur exigere.

9. Neque vero sine periculo ingentique vitae discrimine huiusmodi labores suscipiuntur, nam cum mahumetani (qui plurimi circumiacentes insulas incolunt) aegerrime sustineant suam legem conculcari et Christi Iesu fidem propagari, nullum non movent lapidem ut conatus catholicorum enerventur et suscepta cum baptismo fides ab evangelicis tyronibus repudietur. Instructis igitur classibus christianorum novorum littora depraedantur, oppida noctu incendunt, rapinas agunt, captos homines abducunt et nulli neque sexui neque aetati parcentes trucidant. Patres ergo et Fratres, ne tot calamitatibus pro sua gloria inflictis novi milites frangantur animo[s]que despondeant, Dominum Iesum praecantur, insulanos ipsos circuma[m]biunt, alios constantiae

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71 supra] super *A* | in *om. A* || 75-76 crebroque ... repetentes *m.* || 77 Fratres] tres *A* || 79 Patribus] presbiteris *m., corr. to* patribus, *both underl. ms.*; patribus *A* || 82 Gomecio *A* || 83 Frati *A* || 87 espacium *A* | commorari *corr. fr.* commemorari *A* || 88 exiguere *ms.* || 94 repudietur *corr. fr.* repudientur ||

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[5] Lam 4 4: «Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis».

[6] This distribution of regions among several of the Brothers does not appear from the preceding documents.

[7] Br. Manuel Gomes, after his arrival in early 1562, had been sent to Moro in June (D 116, 5), and to Ambon in February 1563 (D 117, 12).

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admonent, alios consolantur, omnibus dominicae crucis acerbaeque mortis memoria[m] refricant, martirum exempla narrant, aeterni praemii immarcessibiles coronas pollicentur et, dum insulani noctibus totis somno indulgent (neque enim excubias agere ulla ratione aut periculo sustinent), ipsi Fratres iuxta littora invigilant ut si hostium adventum praesentiscant, somno sopitos excitent.

10. Sed in mediis laboribus consolatur illos qui novit de tentatione eripere Deus et secundum numerum dolorum cordis consolationes divinae ipsorum animas laetificant. Incredibilem enim ostendunt in mediis tri-[528*r*]bulationibus et aerumnis cum constantia hilaritatem, ut saepe animos Patrum subeat memoria primogenitorum nascentis Ecclesiae martirum, cum illa eadem in gentibus barbaris et incultis Spiritus Sancti virtus modo operetur quae olim in electis illis columnis efficiebat cum totius orbis stupore.

11. Nec miracula harum gentium conversioni necessaria divina providencia desiderari passa est, nam aquae benedictae aspersione inveteratae febres ab humanis corporibus depulsae sunt et, eadem aqua lustrali ingenti fiducia divinae virtutis gustata, mulier rocanivitana [8] spiritum extremum moribunda trahens incolumitati subito est restituta. Illa enim cum sese deficere et animam membra deserere sentiret, Patrem Ferdinandum Alvarez [9], cuius erat in Christo filia, oratum misit ut ad se cum salutari illa aqua veniret. Venit ille, gustavit mulier aquam et sana sur[r]exit. Quae cum late iam per regionem essent vulgata, factum est ut non a pharmacopola aegroti sed ab Ecclesia morborum omnium remedia et quaerant et inveniant. Daemones etiam qui loca quaedam infestabant, crucis praesentia et aquae lustralis conspersione multis praesentibus expulsi sunt.

12. Nec illud sub silentio videtur relinquendum, evangelicae legis iugum aethnicis vissum esse (ut vere est) leve atque iucundum. Unum tantum carnalium quorundam corda mordebat quod uxores (quas plures habebant) repudiare iubebantur, una dumtaxat matrimonii faedere assumpta. Verum hoc quod verebantur Patres Societatis, ne populi universi animos alienaret a negotio evangelico, per Dei gratiam repererunt esse populo quam gratissimum. Cum enim de more habeant

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104 iusta *ms.* || 105 persentiscant *A* || 114 conversioni *A*, conversationi *ms.* || 120 Fernandum *A* || 131 ne *corr. fr.* ut

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[8] (*Sic*) From Nusaniwi.

[9] Fr. Fernando Álvares first had worked in Bacan, then, on February 12, 1563, he was sent to Ambon (D 117, 12).

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insulani ut viri uxores a parentibus emant et ante futuras nuptias dotem ipsis numerent, pauci qui facultatibus abundabant omnes virgines quae ullius essent momenti sibi mercabantur, unde necesse erat inopes (quorum est infinita multitudo) caelibem vitam agere aut eas ducere uxores quae a divitibus contemptae nulla dote dignae visae fuerant. Nunc igitur gratia divinae legis promulgata, fit ut omnibus uxores suppetant et naturae lex ex aequo hac etiam in parte observetur, gaudente et gratias agente populo Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui laus sit et gloria in aeternum. Amen [10].

*Lost Letter*

127*a*. — *The Maluku Jesuits to Fr. General, Rome ; February 16, 1564.* See D 127, Introduction, Note.

## 128

## FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ TO FR. FRANCISCO RODRIGUES SJ, GOA

Ternate, [December 1563 to February 1564]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : BARBOSA MACHADO III 587 ; MILLIES 53 ; SOMMERVOGEL V 664-665 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 under 5 ; STREIT IV 908.

II AUTHORS : LUCENA 284 ; Seb. GONÇALVES III 152-153 ; SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc., Lainius* VIII 179 ; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 21 ; SOUZA I III 2 32-33.

III TEXTS : There is no Portuguese original ; only Latin translations are extant.

A. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 96*r*-97*r*. Latin version. Heading : « Exemplum alterius epistolae quam Petrus Mascharenas ad Patrem Franciscum Rodriguez ex iisdem Molucis insulis misit ». One-hand, narrowly but clearly written text without date or signature.

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 525*r*-526*r*. Latin. Same heading, except for « alterius » deleted, and an « idem » deleted after « quam ». In the right margin « Passe-sse », that is, to be omitted in refectory reading. Nicely written text with only small variants from text A.

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135 numerent *add. interl.* sponsae || 139 legis *add.* illis *A* || 140 et] ut *A* | observetur *corr. fr.* conservetur

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[10] For this paragraph, cf. D 65, 2.

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C. *Epistolae Iapanicae* II, Lovanii 1569, 167-173. A very interesting, quite different Latin version : evidently made on the same underlying, original or copied, Portuguese text ; in the wording sometimes converging with, but mostly strongly diverging from the MS texts, and not always retaining exactly the same sense. Proper names are often distorted : *Cibao* for Sihão, *Paxuarum* (no. 1), and even *Appicari* (no. 4) for Papuarum, *Ravendus* for Prancudo.

IV Language : As Fr. Mascarenhas was a Portuguese, usually wrote in Portuguese (See DD 109, 125, 162, 164, 179), and in this case addressed himself to a Portuguese Father, we may take it for granted that the original letter was written in that language. Had he himself written in Latin, the two different Latin versions would remain inexplicable.

V Date : The codex containing text A presents it under the common title : « Cartas do anno de 1564 ». The prominent military personage from Tidore, whom Mascarenhas mentioned already on February 10, 1564 (D 125, 19), is here (no. 5) reported to have been baptized on or about St. Andrew's day, November 30 [1563], which date is « proximis elapsis diebus », shortly before he wrote this (part of the) letter, which consequently would have been written in the first half of December 1563. But no. 7 obviously has been written when the ships were already on the verge of departure from Ternate : about February 15, 1564. So we have to presume that Mascarenhas wrote this letter interruptedly between December 1, 1563 and February 15, 1564.

VI Printed : Text B in SÁ III 109-114. Text C in *Epistolae Iapanicae* II 167-173 (see at Texts, C) ; and in *Epistolae Indicae et Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1570, 311-314 (mistakenly 74). German version after text C in *Die Missionsgeschichte* II 285-288.

VII Our Edition : We print text A, correcting it, if need be, from text B, and giving the latter's variants in the apparatus.

## *Text*

*1. Scarcity of pastoral workers. They are not only by no means sufficient for the peoples requesting to be christened, but not even for those already baptized. — 2. What makes things worse still is the fiercely hostile attitude of the king of Ternate. — 3. The king of Banggai sent his son to examine both the Christian and Muslim creed, and to choose the best one ; he decided in favour of Christianity. The king of Ternate machinated against it by proposing a marriage of his son with a daughter of the Banggai king. The latter, however, took the advice of the Christian king of Bacan. — 4. The Papuans asked to be baptized, but the Fathers are insufficient for such a demand. — 5. On St. Andrew's day a nephew of the king of Tidore was christened. Hopes that spring from this occurrence. — 6. Constant endeavours of the king of Ternate to send this convert to India in order to get rid of him. — 7. Fr. Prancudo sends a son of Guzarate, half brother of the king, to Goa. The boy has been educated in the Jesuits' house from childhood. If he is treated well, the king and Guzarate might cause less trouble to the Christians. — 8. Conclusion.*

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Pax et gratia Iesu Christi tuo animo perpetuo adsit. Amen.

1. Non possum R.P. non te commonere de paucitate et penuria sociorum, qua in tanta albente iam messe vehementer excruciamur, tum ne a te munus mihi assignatum difugisse videar [1], tum etiam quoniam ipsa necessitate, ut rem tibi ante oculos ponam, etiam atque etiam astringor et premor. Est enim iam prope infinita et immodica eorum multitudo quos in Christi ovile misimus, quibus etiam multo plures intromitti vehementer cupiunt, quorum tamen optatis ob operariorum paucitatem fieri satis nullo modo poterit, cum nec eorum institutioni quos iam baptizavimus sufficere valeamus. Sacris aquis abstergi non remisse cupiunt imprimis universus populus Caelebium, regnum Sihão, miserae plebes Papuarum, atque ut semel finiam (citra omnem sane hyperbolis suspicionem) totus hic orbis Molucus (si paucissimos eos excipias qui mahumetana pervicacia insaniunt).

2. Quam certe inopiam aequiori animo ferre posses, nisi apertissimum discrimen ante oculos haberes in quo horum salus perpetuo versatur. Rex enim Ternate [2], mahometicae factionis ardens et obsequentissimus cultor, nervis omnibus totoque conatu eos, qui suapte sponte baptismum percupiunt et exposcunt, invitos etiam mahometanis praestigiis in insaniam deturbare nititur atque ob hanc causam non nunquam illi piguit maximas aedificare ornareque classes (ut aliis iam literis accipisti). Ad extremum ut rem omnem verbo uno complectar: id molitur, id pugnat ut christianum nomen extinguat et funditus deleat.

3. Christianae familiae ascribi vehementer exoptat imperium Bemgay, atque ob hanc causam bengaricus rex [3] ad hanc urbem [4] principem filium misit, ut sarracenorum atque fidelium visis moribus et institutis commodissimum ex iis eligeret, ut quod tunc filius approbasset, ipse postea sectaretur. Perplacuit iuveni (ut quod recte iudicanti displicere non poterat) christianum institutum et vivendi ratio; quod certe acer-

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1 Pax *preceded by* Reverende in Christo Pater *B* | adsint *B* || 4 tum[1]] tamen *AB, but awkwardly* || 7 quibus *corr. fr.* quos || 11 Celebium *B* | Sihão *w. corr.* || 13 *corr. fr.* Malucus || 21 aliis *B*, illis *ms.* || 25 Bengay *B* || 29 iudicanti *B*, iudicante *ms.* | displicere *interl. w. corr.*

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[1] Fr. Francisco Rodrigues, rector of the Goa college, probably had charged Fr. Mascarenhas to report regularly on his Maluku experiences.

[2] Hairun.

[3] The king of Banggai, archipelago off the E coast of Selebes. SOUZA (I III 2 33) improperly makes a Papuan of him. Possibly the mention of a «reino de bangay» in W New Guinea in MOHIT (Tafel XXX) goes back to this error of Souza.

[4] The native and Portuguese Ternate.



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bissimo dolore affecit regem Ternatae, qui tum muneribus, pollicitationibus, tum minis atque omni animi ratione rem prope iam explicatam perturbare ac impedire conatus est. Sed gravi ex huius salute accepto vulnere non conquievit, ut qui omni attentione animi, cogitatione, vigilantia ac labore nefariam sectam propagare studiosissime curat. Quamobrem statim missis literis postulavit a rege Bemgay filiam quam princeps filius suus [5] in matrimonium duceret, cui tamen rescripsit bemgaricus rex se regem bachonicum [6] ea de re consulturum atque eius sententiam fidelissime secuturum (alter enim alterum admirando quodam amore prosequitur et observat). At in hac re nulla dubitatio esse potest, quin potius in manibus habetur, nullo unquam modo bachonici regis consilio huiuscemodi nuptias [96*v*] coniunctum iri (est enim is, ut iam accepisti, nostrae fidei cultor integerrimus).

4. Ad haec Papuarum populi impense baptizari efflagitant [7], quorum tamen saluti ob nostram paucitatem hucusque consultum non fuit; quem certe dolorem fortiori animo pateremur, ni assiduus labor atque extrema cura huius Ternatae regis acerbissimum interitum et excidium populis omnibus minitaretur.

5. Proximis elapsis diebus in feriis Andreae apostoli [8] baptizavimus strenuum atque optimi consilli virum, consobrinum regis Tidorae, quo duce superioribus annis adversus nos tidoricum bellum gestum fuit, qui pariter cum animi integritate, quam multis iam argumentis in eo exploratam habemus, opibus non exiguis abundat; ad haec habet ad septem vel 8 oppida [9] certe non tenuissima. Hoc viro nostrae ascripto familiae satis multum spei affulsit de tidorici regni salute, de qua nobis iam omnia pollicemur.

6. Vix dixerim, Reverende Pater, quanta solicitudine ac cura hunc curavit rex Ternatae hinc ad Indiam depellendum, quod etiam atque etiam a Proconsule [10] postulavit asserens hunc hominem scele-

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31 Ternatem *ms.* || 35 vigilia *B* || 36 curat *B*, curet *ms.* | Bengay *B* || 38 benganicus *B* | bachonicum *add.* christianum *B* || 45 hucusque] horumque *B*

---

[5] Babu or Baab Ullah; see D 20 note 8.

[6] The king of Bacan.

[7] It does not seem easy to localize this Papuan people. Perhaps this is an allusion to the Kei population that wanted to be christened (D 130, 24). Or otherwise it points more indistinctly to inhabitants of E Seram and of some adjacent islands, whose allegiance was claimed by the Christian king of Bacan.

[8] The feast day of Saint Andrew, Apostle, on November 30.

[9] D 125, 19: «Tem quoatro ou cinquo lugares».

[10] Stands for the captain Henrique de Sá.

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stissimum, huius orbis unicam perniciem ac pestem, perturbationibus ac flagitiis omnibus esse propensissimum ac paratissimum. Proconsul, cum post acceptas tuas literas [11] satis nobis inflexum sese ac propensum significet, rem omnem ad nos detulit, cui respondimus si Ternatae regis precibus concederet, quae nihil nisi fidei invident, causae fidei sine dubio minus faveri; quod ubi Proconsul intellexit, statuit regis precibus obsurdescere. Neophytum istum ac christianae militiae tyronem superioribus annis in bello tidorico captivum ceperat rex Ternatae, atque id modo precibus adhibebat quasi inde roboris quicquam acciperent. Quod ut Dominus Andreas [12] accepit (sic enim voluit appellari), actutum grandi pecunia redemptionem obtulit Ternatae regi, ad quae rex Ternatae respondit satis sibi pro redemptione fieri si ille in Indiam mitteretur; quod ipsum exoptasse tantopere fama est, quoniam Dominus Andreas suarum nefariarum machinationum non est nescius, quocirca rex sibi timet ne per illum, si quando contigerint, detegantur.

7. Reverendus P. Marcus Prancudo hinc ad te mittit Franciscum puerum, sobrinum Ternatae regis, eius uterini fratris Chigil Guzaratae [13] filium (cui fraterni imperii cura tota ac guvernatio incumbit). Pater illum habet charissimum utpote unicum. Hunc ab ipso vitae limine domi educavimus. Cum vero Chigil Guzarata turbo unicus ac pestilens huius imperii sit, speramus hinc ad te misso filio nullum publicis tempestatibus ac perturbationibus fore locum; atque sane in spe firmiori erimus quae, si quid iudico, non nos frustrabitur, si pater filium isthinc, ut suam decet dignitatem, non modo liberaliter sed ornate et cumulate etiam tractari sciverit; illum enim amat effusissime, oculisque atque animo fert. Cum eum iam iam discedentem ad regiam mitteremus ut regi ac patri valediceret, vix credi potest quibus lacrymis ac lamentis ipsum planxerunt, perinde enim ac vita iam defuncto iusta solvi [97*r*] iudicares.

8. Quod scribam amplius nil est; si quid novi acciderit, ut tibi significetur quam diligentissime curabo. Mi Pater, mei semper memor etiam atque etiam valeas.

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69 sic . . . appellari *brackets from B* || 74 quocirca] quod cir [*sic*] *B* || 76 Chigilguzaretae *B* || 78 unicum] unum *B* || 85 eum *del.* tantum || 87 ipsum] illum *B* | vitae *B* || 91 vale *B*

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[11] Lost letter of Fr. Francisco Rodrigues to Henrique de Sá, April 1563. See D 116*b*.

[12] In this way the Roman latinizers rendered Dom André, as the man was obviously called by the Portuguese.

[13] Cf. D 125 note 13.

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## 129

## FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ TO FR. FRANCISCO RODRIGUES SJ, GOA

Ternate, [March-April 1564]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO III 587; MILLIES 53; SOMMERVOGEL V 664-665; WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 under 5; STREIT IV 909 (all of them very vaguely).

II AUTHORS: SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc., Lainius* VIII 179; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 21; SOUZA I III 2 32.

III TEXTS: The Portuguese text is not extant.

A. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* f. 97*r-v*. Latin version. Heading: « Exemplum alterius epistolae, quae post superiorem ab eodem Petro Mascarenhas missa fuit ». The spelling is not always correct.

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* f. 526*r-v*. Same Latin version with same heading. In the margin « Passe-sse ».

C. *Epistolae Iapanicae* II, Lovanii 1569, 173-176. Printed Latin version. The remarks made at text C of D 128 apply also to this one. The first lines were translated misleadingly « Cum e portu solvissemus . . . », as if Mascarenhas himself sailed off to Ambon. « Proconsul » is rendered by « praefectus » in no. 1, by « prorex » in no. 4.

IV LANGUAGE: See at D 128.

V DATE: In the codex of the *Academia das Ciências* (text A) the letter is given under the general title « Cartas do anno 1564 ». The ships left Ternate about February 15 and sailed to India from Ambon about May 15. In the meantime it was possible to forward letters with native vessels (coracoras) to the waiting fleet; one had to estimate two weeks for this journey. Mascarenhas describes an occurrence on the second Sunday of Lent, which was in 1564 on February 27, and another « paucis interpositis diebus », which brings us to early March (nos. 3-4). So the letter was written in March or April 1564.

VI PRINTED: Text B in SÁ III 115-117. Text C in *Epistolae Iapanicae* II, Lovanii 1569, 173-176 (see TEXTS, C), and *Epistolae Indicae et Iapanicae*, Lovanii 1570, 314-316 (mistakenly 74, 75, and 361). German version in *Die Missionsgeschichte* II 288-290.

VII OUR EDITION: We print text A with some corrections from text B, once from text C. See apparatus.

### *Text*

1. *After the ship had sailed off to Ambon, six prominent men of Tidore asked for baptism. Two regents of the underage king tried to dissuade them from doing so. The Father exhorted them to follow their example, to which they answered with a polite request for respite.* — 2. *The seventeen-year-old king of Tidore is favourably disposed towards Christianity; two of his brothers have recently been baptized.* —

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*3. On the second Sunday of Lent the six were baptized ; the loud merrymaking of the Portuguese caused the king of Ternate to stand in fear. — 4. Shortly after, Mascarenhas visited the king and asked permission to preach the Gospel to his subjects. Receiving him with unusual kindness, the king promised to be himself an assiduous listener, but the Father saw through his shrewd dissimulation. Hopes connected with all this.*

1. Post solutam iam navim ab hoc portu, cum in insula Amboyno navigandi opportunitatem, ut solet, expectaret, primarii viri sex regni Tidorae, optime suae saluti consulentes, omnibus precibus a nobis sacrosanctum baptismum efflagitarunt ; quam ut isti in sententiam concesserunt, perparum abfuit quin regnorum Ternatae ac Tidorae greges universos in eandem traherent ac perducerent. Ut enim de eorum consilio fama caepit increbrescere, statim ex aula tidorici regis principes duo viri, quibus ob regis infirmam adhuc aetatem [1] regni negotia sunt commissa, huc pervenerunt ut, si quo modo possent, eos a sententia deiicerent ; quos etiam, cum ad nos misisset proconsul [2], vehementer hortati sumus ut et ipsi priorum vestigia sectarentur atque, ut idem efficeret, suae gubernationi commissum populum inducerent, multa satis quae ad hanc pertinebant sententiam illis ob oculos proponentes. Ad quae ipsi responderunt excellentium illorum hominum consilium et virtutem imitatione dignam esse eandemque ad sese imprimis pertinere, ut qui priores in magistratu collegas sanguine propinquos amicitia coniunctissimos semper habuerant. Interim tamen rei moram interponi postulant, dum eorum respublica a quibusdam perturbationum fluctibus conquiescat, quod ubi acciderit, actutum sese cum tota populi multitudine Christi militiae daturos nomina fuere polliciti.

2. Regem ipsum tidoricum, annos adhuc natum 17, accepimus iam iam in Christi fidem inflexum esse ; eiusdem duos fratres propediem baptizavimus. Atque iam nunc de totius regni salute nec certior spes ostendi nec ad maiorem erigi quisquam poterit. Quam certe sa-

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1 Post *preceded by* Pax Christi *B* || 2 spectaret *B* || 8-9 quibus . . . commissa *in brackets B* || 15 *corr. fr.* imitationem || 16 magistratu *B*, magistratus *ms.* | amitia *ms.* || 23 tutius *ms.*

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[1] He was seventeen years old (no. 2). From this it results that King Mir (Amir-udin) who succeeded his father Almansur in 1526, and is still found reigning in 1551 (*Treatise* 17 and 354), had either died or abdicated. If at least the names given by CLERCQ (151-153) are correct (his dates admittedly are not), this new king was called Kie Mansur.

[2] The captain Henrique de Sá.

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lutem longe omnes percupimus; ex ea enim tranquillum otium in toto hoc orbe publicis rebus obveniet singulareque erit praesidium ad caeteras omnes respublicas, quae Christi nomen susceperunt, si quando ab hostium armis infestentur.

3. Secunda quadragessimae dominica[8] sex illos, quos paulo ante meminimus, multa cum solennitate et populi frequentia baptizavimus. Quam etiam solennitatem proconsul ornare et augere studuit, tum musicis concentibus, tum etiam quam multis bonbardarum ictibus; quod certe non parum animos infregit tum omnibus sarracenis tum etiam Ternatae huius regi; atque idcirco suae dignitati et honori timere satis non desinit.

4. Post haec paucis interpositis diebus Ternatae regem (ut moris est) invisi, at ille praeter morem quadam insolita observatione et reverencia me suscepit. Et cum ab eo facultatem ut suis Evangelium promulgarem postulassem, respondit me quae velle[m] libere posse efficere, se vero una cum filiis Evangelii praedicationis assiduum fore auditorem; quem modo certe animi candorem et spem simulare mihi videtur homo callidissimus ut tempori serviat. Si enim tidoricus rex fidem suscipiat, se eandem renuente, nihil sibi iam favoris a proconsule poterit esperare indeque miserandam regni ac suarum rerum cladem pertimescit. Non enim est nescius in proconsulis voluntate [97*v*] tum opes omnes tum imperium ipsum situm esse. Quocirca sperəmus (si quidem et proconsul id maxime in votis habet) eum quamprimum fidei obtemperaturum, praesertim si rem tuis precibus optimo Deo commendatam esse curabis.

Vale, mi Pater. Mei semper fac mimineris. Iterum vale.

Tuus in Christo,

Petrus Mascarenhas

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28 hostium *B*, hostibus *w. corr., ms.* || 29 illos *corr. fr.* illorum || 31 tum] tamen *B* || 41 certe *C*, certi *AB*, *but wrongly* || 42 enim] etiam *B* || 43 renuentem *AB*, *but wrongly* | *corr. fr.* proconsulis || 45 voluntate *B*, voluntatem *ms.* || 46 *corr. fr.* esperamus

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[8] February 27.

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## 130

## BR. MANUEL GOMES SJ TO THE JESUITS IN INDIA

Hatiwi, April 15, 1564

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : BARBOSA MACHADO III 273 ; MILLIES 55 ; SOMMERVOGEL III 1550 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 183 Gomes nos. 2 and 4 ; STREIT IV 910, taking his notice from SOUZA (see AUTHORS), but adding « sobre a morte do P. Fernão Alvares », whose death, however, is neither mentioned in this document nor in SOUZA.

II AUTHORS : *Rerum a Societate* 63-64 (nos. 25-26 ; 28-29) ; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 30-31 ; SOUZA II III 1 5-7 and 10.

III TEXTS : The original has not been preserved.

A. Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 86*v*-91*r*. Contemporary copy in Portuguese. The handwriting changes six times. Heading : « Copia de huma carta do Irmão Manoel Gomez que escreveo das partes de Maluco e Amboino aos Irmãos da Companhia de Jesu da India, a 15 de Abril de 1564 ».

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4534* ff. 493*v*-498*r*. Another copy in Portuguese, written in two hands. Same heading (« Treslado » instead of « Copia », and date added by a second hand). Contains, twice, a fuller account than text A, which suggests another *via*.

C. Madrid, *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Jesuitas, legajo 270 no. 63*. Spanish translation ; six unnumbered folios. Heading : « Jesus. Treslado de una carta del Hermano M$^{el}$ [*w. corr.*] Gomez, que screvió de las partes de Maluco y Anboino a los Hermanos de la Compañía de la India ». On last page some notes in different hands : « Copia de una de Maluco y Amboino » ; « Para la provincia de Aragon » ; « Vista en Gandía » ; « Vista en Valencia ». The Spanish translator misread the Portuguese abbreviation M$^{l}$, which means Manuel, and signed the letter : Migel Gomez.

D. This document is moreover mentioned, together with D 125 (see there), in *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Miscellanea, Arm. II 67* f. 127*v*.

IV PRINTED : in SI III 83-102 ; he prints text A, not taking into account text B. The fragments printed in SOUZA II III 1 5 (nos. 11-12) and 10 (nos. 2-5), are not quotations from the letter itself, but translations of the inflated-style recording by BARTOLI (see AUTHORS).

V. OUR EDITION : We print text A, supplementing it twice with a passage from text B, and mentioning the latter's most important variants in the apparatus.

### *Text*

1. *He writes by obedience.* — 2. *Since April 1563 the Fathers and Brothers [of Ambon] live in great pains ; they comforted the Christians in their resistance against the Moors who wanted to extirpate them.* — 3. *In some villages the Fa hers had to keep watch during the night. The Moors burnt down a Christian village near the fortress [of Ambon].* — 4. *After the captain had set sail, none remained in the for-*

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*tress except three Jesuits and some native people. — 5. After one and a half months, the Fathers returned to their villages. The persecution on Ambon recalls the persecutions of the primitive church. If there only were a zealous captain ! The Fathers enjoy more authority than the captain. — 6. After carnival season the Christian king of Bacan arrived ; this put the Moors in a fright and comforted the Christians. — 7. When Captain António Pais fell ill, the Bacan king left without having done anything for the Christians. — 8. Death of António Pais dismayed the Christians. Destruction of some Moorish towns would make for conversion of the whole of Ambon. — 9. Now he will give an account of the work of the Jesuits. Virtue more important than learning. — 10. Francisco Rodrigues is superior ; lives at Hatiwi ; converted three villages with 900 souls ; built a wooden church at Hatiwi. — 11. Fernando Álvares resides at Nusaniwi ; succeeded in abolishing polygamy. — 12. With people showing good Christian manners and singing the Christian doctrine at night, Nusaniwi resembles Goa. — 13-19. Remarkable and miraculous occurrences among the Nusaniwi people. — 20. António Fernandes stayed for some months at Lisabata, waiting for the king of Bacan to come there, and baptizing 500 men. — 21. Conversions at Hatuwe and Tolomata. — 22. Disappointing attitude of the Portuguese. — 23. When the king [of Bacan], accompanied by Fernandes and Nunes, sailed to Seram to accept the people's obedience, many wanted to be baptized, but could not be admitted for scarcity of workers. — 24. A chief of the Kei islands visited the Bacan king and requested baptism and Fathers. For want of priests nobody could go there. Kei people desiring to be converted is estimated at about 50,000. — 25-26. Work of António Gonçalves at Liliboi and Ulat. — 27. Francisco Rodrigues given shelter by Ulat chief during the night. — 28. Manuel Gomes himself did not succeed in building a church at Kilang. Then he worked at Oma, which continually is at war with the Moorish Hatuhaha. — 29. In Oma he built a church ; the Moors threatened to burn it down, but the Christians defended it with moving application. — 30. Conclusion.*

A graça e amor do Espirito Santo faça continua morada em nossas almas. Amen.

1. Sam tantas as ocasiões e motivos, charissimos em Christo Irmãos, pera todos assi lá como cá louvarmos o santo nome de Jesu, per cima da muita obrigaçam que, alem disto, todos temos de o fazer, das cousas que elle por sua bondade se há por servido de obrar por meo destes seus minimos servos, que cá andamos nestas ylhas e terras de Amboino, acerca do augmento da christandade, que pera se averem de contar como ellas requerem, folgara que vo-las escrevera outrem por minha capacidade me nam ajudar a fazê-lo como os sucessos o requerem. Mas conforme ao fraco engenho e milhor que possivel me for, yá que a obediencia me manda, lhes darei conta de algumas, se nam for de todas, como eu o desejava fazer.

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**4 louvarmos** *add.* **de contino** *B* || **9-10 por . . . requerem** *om. B* | **capacidade** *corr. fr.* **ocupação**

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2. Desd'o mes de Abril do anno de sesenta e tres até o escrever desta, que foi aos quinze do mesmo mes de Abril do ano de sesenta e quatro, passaram os Padres e Irmãos nesta terra de Amboino grandissimos trabalhos, assi corporais como espirituais. Porque atrevendo-sse os mouros a se desmandar a cometerem e queimarem qualquer lugar de christãos, e como em algum delles acontecesse algum desastre, a ninguem doesse tanto como aos Padres, polla tal causa [87*r*] foi necessario tomarem a carrega dos trabalhos e usarem do officio dos da Companhia, e com elle repairarem a christandade assi por orações, como em os animar e esforçar pera com os imigos, trazendo-lhes muitas vezes aa memoria a morte e paixão de Christo N. Senhor, e quantos trabalhos nesta vida pasara por salvação de nossas almas. [He que todos os trabalhos, que elles nesta vida passavão, erão como nevoeiro que logo passa. E que os homens nesta vida não nacião senão pera padecerem trabalhos. E os que nesta vida maiores trabalhos passavão, sofrendo-os por amor de Deus, maior gloria alcançavão de Deus Nosso Senhor. E que portanto lhes pedião, estivessem senpre ynteiros e fixos na fee de Jesu Christo, a qual tinhão já recebida ; se não apartasem dela ; que nos mayores trabalhos acudia o Senhor com sua acustumada misericordia, portanto se não agastasem.] Com estas palavras e outras semelhantes se alegravão muito os christãos e os movia pera sofrerem qualquer perseguição que dos mouros recebessem por amor de Deos, pedindo ao P.e Francisco Rodriguez [1] mandasse algum Padre ou Irmão a cada hum a seus lugares pera os consolarem em seus trabalhos.

3. Finalmente, Irmãos meus, que se puserão os Padres e Irmãos em os lugares dos christãos mais fronteiros dos mouros pera os vigiarem, porque a gente desta terra por nenhuma cousa perde seu sono. Os Padres e Irmãos gastavão ho dia em oração e a noite em vigiar, com o qual exercicio se alegravão muito em o Senhor, e com semelhantes trabalhos edificavão muito aos portugeses [2] e lhes da[v]a animo pera pasarem qualquer trabalho por amor dos christãos. Porque lhes digo de

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19 christãos *del.* que || 25-33 He que . . . agastasem *from B* || 28 padecerem *interl.* || 41 perde *B*, perdem *ms.* | seu *interl., corr. fr.* o || 42 ho *corr. fr.* hum

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[1] Superior of the Jesuits in Ambon ; cf. no. 10.

[2] Those having arrived with António Pais, and perhaps some resident Portuguese living in Hatiwi and Tawiri, of whom it is said : « Ficavão os portugueses naquelles lugares, imvernamdo dous a tres annos, e se cazavão com as molheres naturais » (*Relação Vasconcelos* 196).

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verdade que em tanto aperto nos puserão os mouros, que nos vigiavamos todos muito bem, e tam sobejos andavão ao redor dos lugares dos christãos, como tambem da nossa fortaleza [3], tomando os christãos e cortando a muitos as cabeças. E apegado com a fortaleza queimarão hum lugar nosso e cativarão a muita gente sem lhes os portugeses poderem valer, porque não fazião tam pouco em se guardarem a si e sua pousada. Finalmente, Irmãos meus, como digo, que tam temerosos estavamos todos, que por muitas vezes se entolhava aos que vigiavão, por huns bichos que luzem di noite, dando rebate que erão mouros que vinhão por o mato com candeas a queimar as casas. E não sem causa porque quasi cada dia nos vinhão recado[s] dos christãos que se achavão mortos e lugares que nos queimavão sem lhes podermos dar algum remedio.

4. E de se fazerem tantos males era causa não se acabar de lançar a armada ao mar porque, com os mouros saberem que andava ella fora, cada hum pretendera de vigiar seu lugar, atee que o capitão, areceoso de queimarem os mais lugares que estavão por as outras ilhas, acabou de fazer lançar a armada fora e os foi correndo todos, e nós ficamos vigiando a fortaleza, com termos cada dia rebate que vinhão mil e trezentos mouros pera queimarem a fortaleza, os quaes nos punhão em grande agonia por não estarmos na fortaleza mais que o P.e Fernão Alvarez e o Irmão Antonio Gonçalvez e eu, e alguma gente da terra, mas era tal que não olhava senão se via lugar por onde fugisse; e nas nossas casas, que estão desta fortaleza hum tiro de falcão, estava em guarda dellas o P.e Francisco Rodriguez tambem com alguns christãos da terra, e o que tinha por tranqueira huns banbus fendidos pollo meio: e isto por alguma maneira d'estorvo por a cousa andar tam travada que ninguem ousava a sair fora dos lugares.

5. E acabado hum mes e meio que o capitão andou fora, nos tornamos a pôr cada [87*v*] hum em seu lugar [4] pera fazermos o que dantes faziamos, como era ensinar a doutrina aos meninos e aos grandes fazê-llos usar da religião christãa, o qual elles folgavão muito de lhes ensinarmos o bom costume dos christãos e louvavão muito, dando graças ao Senhor com lhes darmos semelhantes avisos e fazerem-nos apartar

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71 banbus *B*, bangus *ms*. || 76 como era] e usando de *B*

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[3] This was not a fortress like that of Ternate, but a more simple wooden fortification, situated near Hatiwi.

[4] Fr. Francisco Rodrigues in Hatiwi (no. 10), and Fr. Fernando Álvares in Nusaniwi (no. 11).

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daquellas cousas em que errão. E digo-lhes que esta christandade de Amboino hé tam perseguida e tyrannizada dos mouros, que muitas vezes nos faz lembrar a perseguição antigamente da primitiva Igreja. E em tudo são tam constantes que por nenhum trabalho nem perseguição que dos mouros recebão querem perder a fee de Jesu Christo Nosso Senhor que tem recebida, e em tudo se mostrão alegres e parece que não passa nenhum trabalho por elles, bendito seja o Senhor. E se fora cousa que se esta terra pudesse sustentar com aver nella capitão zeloso, que per cima de se fazerem muitos lugares christãos, serão tãobem os melhores que quá há por todas estas partes, por ser gente muito sojeita e chegada aa rezão he mui medrosa dos Padres, e hão maior medo delles que do proprio capitão, e isto dizem pollas boas obras que lhes vem fazer, e que não pretendem interesse algum [5] e que são como deoses.

6. Passado o entrudo [6] chegou el-rrei de Bachão, que hé christão elle a sua gente, que tantos meses avia que por elle esperavamos, e com sua chegada se deu fim por alguns dias aos trabalhos, que tanta desconsolação em este tempo atrás passado nos tinha dado, porque em chegando el-rrei a esta terra correu a nova por todos os lugares assi de mouros como de christãos. Temerão-se os mouros em tanta maneira que, donde dantes andavão por donde querião à redea solta fazendo todo o mal que podião aos christãos por mar e por terra que nem respirar os deixavão, com a vinda d'el-rrei se recolherão de tal maneira que não viessem ermitães do ermo que melhor recolhimento tivessem assi na vida solitaria como em abstinencia e vigilias, porque lhes digo de verdade que em tanto aperto estavão que perecião todos à fome, e alguns delles se vinha[m] jaa lançar com os christãos por lhes parecer que nem no mato adonde estavão podião salvar suas vidas, e os christãos começavão a respirar e lançar sua frol.

7. Mas não tardou muitos dias que não tornassem aos seus primeiros cuidados, porque estando o capitão Antonio Paiz prestes com a armada junta e el-rei com elle pera irem dar nos lugares dos mouros, aconteceo por nossos peccados que adoecesse o capitão de huma grave

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100 à . . . solta] ausoluto *B* || 112 aconteceo por] quis a fortuna ou *B*

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[5] On this point people certainly saw a violent contrast between the Jesuits and, on the other side, both the Portuguese merchants and officials and the Muslim preachers.

[6] Ash-Wednesday, in 1564, was on February 16.

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enfermidade de prioris [7]. E como el-rrei visse que a armada se desfazia e o capitão ia pera cada vez pior, pedio licença pera se ir pera sua terra, dando por rezão que avia seis meses que andava fora de sua casa [8], o qual tempo gastou em ir aos lugares de Seirão tomar obediencia que lhe os seirões derão. [88*r*] O capitão lhe entregava a armada com os portugueses, e como el-rey yá tivesse tomada experiencia aos portugueses que em semelhantes cousas erão revoltosos, por escusar briguas com os seus no repartir ou tomar das presas, deu por escusa que se em Seyrão não podia com quatro portugueses, como regeria cyncoenta que naquella armada hião que cada hum queria tirar por sua cabeça? Finalmente que o capitão o deixou em seu querer: fizese o que lhe bem parecesse. Elle se foy deixando-nos sem fazer nada nesta terra.

8. E o capitão não durou muytos dias que não desse a alma a Deus [9], que não foy pequena dor e desconsolação pera nós e pera os christãos: e os mesmos christãos andavão como homens fora de seu sizo chorando, onde yrião buscar capitão que lhes vegiasse seus luguares dos mouros que lhos não queimasem! Tambem alguns luguares de mouros nossos amiguos [10] mostrarão sentirem muyto sua morte vestindo-se de dó, o que causava em nós maior tristeza. Portanto, Irmãos meus em Christo, encomendem esta terra muyto a Nosso Senhor, porque lhes digo de verdade, se a ella não vem alguma maneyra de socorro, que corre muyto risco perder-se. E vindo coussa que possão destruir estes luguares de mouros, far-ce-á todo este Amboino christão, porque muytos luguares de mouros e gentios não aguardão outra cousa, senão que se destruão estes dous lugares que fazem toda a guerra [11], os quaes se destruirão com muyto pouco poder vindo capitão que cometa sem medo.

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119 em *corr. fr.* a || 120 das *rep.* || 127 dor e *interl.* || 132 o *ins.*

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[7] Read *pleuris*, pleurisy.

[8] So he must have left Bacan about October 1, 1563.

[9] Thus António Pais's death fell before the date of this letter, that is, before April 15, 1564. Correct WESSELS, *Amboina* 39. It is very remarkable that Manuel Gomes, an eye- and ear-witness, ascribes the death of Pais to pleurisy and not to poisoning as SOUZA (II 3 1 8) does.

[10] It is interesting to learn that there were also Muslim villages that befriended the Portuguese and the Christians. One of them was Baguala; see D 135, 11.

[11] Probably either the double village of Hitu (D 115, 19 and note 33), or Hitu and Hatuhaha (D 109, 5) are meant as they were the leading villages in the war against the Portuguese and their friends. According to *Relação Vasconcelos*

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9. Aguora [12] lhes darey, Irmãos meus em Christo, relação do fruto que cada hum dos Padres e Yrmãos tem feyto nesta terra de Amboino pera que com elle se alegrem muyto em o Senhor, e desejarem de serem particypantes em semelhantes empresas como quá estão oferecydas e se oferecem cada ora nesta terra. E sei-lhes dizer que pera ella serve mays ter muyta virtude que saber muitas letras: a mays alta siencia que pera quá serve hé fazer bem o que lhe mandão com verdadeira obediencya e sofrer os trabalhos com pacyencia por amor de Deus, das quaes cousas me eu acho muyto falto. Queira o Senhor por sua misericordia ter-me de sua mão pera que viva e morra nesta santa Companhia de Jesus, e elles, Carissimos, me encomendem muyto a Nosso Senhor [e] em suas devotas orações alcancem de Deus a tal graça.

10. O Padre Francisco Rodryguez está aynda em este Amboino por nosso superior. Em suas obras de humildade mostra mays ser subdito que superior. Reside em este luguar de Ative e delle provê os outros luguares assy de Padres como de Yrmãos, e das coussas necessarias pera os mesmos Padres, e por algumas vezes vesita todos os luguares, com a qual vesitação alegra muyto aos christãos, porque hé muyto aceyto a elles. Seu exercycio hé dizer cada dia sua missa e confessar os portuguesses e a muyta gente da terra pollo malayo, e todos os domynguos faz huma pratica à gente da terra e com elles faz muyto fruto e se movem muytos a se chegarem à confissão, tanto que hé muito pera louvar ao Senhor, princypalmente com este jubileu que veo este anno de 64 [13], porque muytos se forão da ygreja sem se confessarem [88*v*] por o Padre não poder. Em suas obras de charidade pera com o proximo em suas enfermidades tem dado muita edificação asi aos portugueses como à gente da terra, em os consolar em seus trabalhos e perseguições, e com semelhantes exercicios a nós tem dado grande exemplo. Tem feito nesta terra muita christandade. Fez este anno de sesenta e 3 em o mes de Novembro tres lugares christãos, em que serião por todos novecentas almas, afora outra muita gente que bapti-

146 mays[1] . . . que] muy pouco *B* || 166 suas *del.* necessidades

196-199, the Hitu chiefs formerly were obeyed by all the villages of Ambon, but after some of them became allies of the Portuguese and were christened, they were no longer willing to pay vassalage to Hitu, a stronghold of Mohammedanism. From this point of view the war had deeper political roots, and not only in Ternatan soil.

[12] Br. Gomes is quite systematic in writing his letter. After a chronological presentation of events, he now starts a more personal and local one.

[13] Cf. D 125 note 39.

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zava polos lugares de christãos por donde passava. A estes tres lugares que acima digo fê-los christãos com primeiro lhe fazer derribar e queimar infinidade de paguodes, e o que mais tinha se avia por ma[i]s santo e mais honrado, e todos lhos destruyo avendo-o elles por bem. Fez em este Ative huma igreija muito fermosa de madeira lavrada à maneira de molduras: o corpo della hé de doze braças e de largura oyto; a capela hé de quatro braças. Dia de Ramos [14] se fez procissão ao redor dela, e depois a paixão com solennidade [15], e ouve ahi muito boas vozes, e assi ouve trevas [16] e dia de Pasco[a] resurreição com se fazer muyta festa e muito atirar de artelharia. E a igreija muito bem armada comforme a terra de alguns panos da China, e frontal e vestimenta de damasco branco, e o altar com ter feyto huns arcos à maneyra de aboboda e sobreceo de damasquilho. Todas estas coussas pôs en grande admiração aos christãos e grande alegria por ser coussa nova na terra e não terem visto outra tal.

11. O P.e Fernãod'Alvarez resedio em hum luguar chamado Roçanyvi, o qual se fez christão ao tempo que nós aquy chegamos em companhia do capitão Anrique de Saa no anno de 62 [17]. Digo-lhes, Yrmãos meus, que a nynguem podera cair melhor a sorte que a elle pera proveyto e salvação das almas da gente deste luguar: assy pera com os grandes como pera com os menynos. [Como esta gente antes que fosem christãos erão mouros, tinhão delles duas e tres molheres. Ho Padre começando a entender nelles a lhes fazer tirar as mancebas he usarem da religião christãa, ao primcipio mostrarão-se mui duros, avendo a caregua por pesada. E como tomasem bem os pulsos ao Padre Fernãod'Alvarez, facilmente as deitavão fora, o qual não era pequeno serviço que nisto se fazia a Deus Noso Senhor, como tãobem aos de baixa calidade. Porque como nesta terra esteja por custume antiguo compraren-se as molheres por hum certo preço segundo as calidades das pesoas, os pequenos não podião alcançar a conprarem huma, ou por milhor dizer meya, por não terem posebilidade pera tanto. E se alegravão muito, louvando muito ho bom custume dos christãos

182 da *del.* Cinha || 192-206 Como . . . fizerão *from B*, servio-ce Nosso Senhor delle em acabar com elles que deixasem as muytas molheres com que dantes em sua ceyta de mouros vevyão. E sendo entre elles costume comprar as molheres conforme as calidades, cabendo sempre aos ricos mayor numero dellas, por mays duros que nisto se mostrasem, acabou o Padre com elles não terem mays que huma e acabara *ms.* || 195 primcipio *corr. fr.* primeiro

[14] March 26.

[15] The gospel of the Passion of Christ, sung in Mass.

[16] The *Tenebrae*, office of the last days of Holy Week.

[17] D 116, 2; D 109, 13-14.

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e que esta era a ley da verdade. E diguo-lhes que nimguem pudera acabar com elles a fazer o que fizerão, senão o Padre pola fama e noticia que já dele tinhão ouvido, e fizerão] muyto mays se mays lhe mandara, e estão tam obedientes que hum Yrmão, tanto pera pouco eu sam, fará delles o que quiser.

12. Finalmente que nesse tempo que nelle esteve fez muyto fruyto, assy em ensinar a doutrina aos menynos, a qual elles yá sabem toda muyto bem, como em bautisar a muytos menynos, e dezia cada dia sua missa. E aos domynguos vinha muyta gente à ygreja e às vezes tanta, que com a ygreja ser o corpo della de sete braças de comprido e cynco de largo, não cabia. E fez tanto fruto que hé muito pera louvar a Nosso Senhor porque, de sua tam breve conversão, parece que nunca forão mouros senão sempre christãos, assy em seus bons costumes como em doutrina. Assy este luguar como os mays desta terra queren-se parecer no cantar da doutrina pollas cassas à noyte outra segunda Goa, adonde se tyra muyto fruto, porque não há homem, por rude que seya, que não sayba o nome ao Padre, Filho e Spiritu Sancto, o que tudo isto caussa muyta consolação assy pera nós que por quá andamos, como tambem aos portugueses por verem que em tão breve tempo se fez tanto fruto em gente que tão pouco tempo avya estava tão remota e apartada do conhecymento de Deus. Este luguar hé muy afrequentado dos portuguesses por estar perto [89*r*] donde surge a nao que vem de Maluquo que della se provem dalgumas coussas necessarias pera a viagem.

13. Neste luguar de Roçanive acontecerão coussas certo dinas de serem sabidas, de que se deve dar louvores ao Senhor e que se devem ter por milagre de Deus.

Sendo hum christão yá homem velho, tendo muyta devação à cruz, e tanta que por nenhuma vya deixa todos os dias de oferecer huma candea diante da cruz, e sendo dia de grande chuiva esperando que passasse e, como não deixasse de chover, não quis perder o exercitio de offerecer seu sacrificio, e com tanta fee e simplicidade offereceo sua candea, que per cima de chover infinidade de agoa, se foi ao pee da cruz lançando hum pouco d'azeite em huma cova de huma pedra e, sem mais nada, tomou hum tição de fogo e o acendeo. E como alguns portugeses se acharão ao presente em casa com o Padre, zombarão da muita devação do velho. Quis o Senhor mostrar seu divino poder pera grande confusão destes vendo arder a candea. Foi hum dos portu-

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213 comprido *corr. fr.* comprindo || 216 senão sempre] he que de ab-enitio forão *B* || 218 segundo *ms.* || 223 estava *B*, estado *ms.*

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geses ver e, vendo a maravilha de Deos, louvou ao Senhor conhecendo-se a ssi mesmo, e asi com as casas estarem perto da cruz, não deixou de vir todo molhado por cima de ir cuberto com huma capa.

14. Tambem aconteceo outra não menos pera louvar ao Senhor que esta. Fazendo os christãos queixume ao Padre de como em hum valle apegado com o lugar andavão demonios, a quem elles chamão soanges [18], o Pe Fernão Alvarez como foi certificado de muitos determinou de em hum outeiro que cae sobre o mesmo valle de pôr huma cruz. E em a levando e chegando ao valle foi tam grande o terremoto e estrondo que os que levavão a madeira pera a cruz nem por diante nem por detrás podião ir com quantas forças punhão, e nem polla muita gente que ia apegada na madeira da cruz. E assi temorizados como estavão começarão a chamar polo Padre que vinha detraz, e em o Padre chegando com grande zelo da fee nomeando o nome de Jesus, lançando agoa benta por huma parte e por outra, quis o Senhor que passarão avante. Chegando quasi a todo o simo do outeiro foi ainda mayor terremoto, e tam grande que dizião os christãos ao Padre que era cousa impossivel levar-se a madeira da cruz ariba. O Padre fez o que dantes fizera e puserão a cruz onde o Padre quis, a qual hé muito fermosa : hé de cinquo braças d'altura, a qual aparece de muito longe.

15. Tambem lhe aconteceo outra semelhante a esta neste mesmo lugar de Rosanive. Avia em este lugar huma arvore a quem elles, quando erão mouros, tinhão grande veneração e, como a yá tivessem em pouqua estima por causa de sua conversão, cortavão della. E como acontecesse adoecerem alguns homens que della tinhão cortado, alguns simples attribuião sua doença ao cortar da arvore. E como fosse ter aas orelhas do Padre, não tardou muitas horas que não mandasse chamar tres ou quatro homes dos mais honrrados : se foi com elles pera aver de cortar esta arvore, e elles arreceando-se em alguma maneira mas, como jaa soubesem que o Padre a ninguem perdoava, cobrarão animo benzendo-se nomeando a Sanctissima Trindade e sobirão aa arvore. E depois cortando-a, louvarão muito ao Senhor quam bom era sempre em o principio de qualquer obra invocar o nome de Jesus.

16. Ouve tambem hum christão chamado André Varella, que yaa

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248 soamgues *B* || 258 e tam grande *m.* || 271 esta *interl.* | arvore *corr. fr.* arvores || 276 Varela *B*

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[18] *Suanggi*, vampire or devil.

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esteve em esse collegio [19] algum tempo com os meninos, o qual serve de girobassa [20] do P.e Francisco Rodriguez. Achando-se em hum ayuntamento de mouros ouve algum entre elles que com humas palavras que dizem em hum bambu não há seis homens que o alevantasse[m]. Este christão com grande fee nomeando o nome de Jesus alevantou o banbu, o que foi grande espanto pera os mouros e, como estivessem cegos e fora de conhecimento de Deos, não o attribuem senão a suas forças ou a feiticeiro como elles entre si o costumão fazer.

17. Tambem em este lugar acima dito de Rosanive, ao tempo que erão mouros, não amanhecia vez nenhuma que não achassem huma pessoa morta, [89*v*] e assi todos meninos e meninas que adoecião de bixiguas nenhuma vivia. Agora depois de christãos, louvores ao Senhor, nenhum periga desta imfirmidade nem morrem tantos quantos soyão morrer, o que causa grande alegria e consolação pera a gente deste luguar attribuindo-o a sua conversão.

18. Em outra cousa obra o Senhor quá, muito principalmente em este lugar acima dito. Toda a pessoa que adoece, principalmente de febres, bebendo huma pouca de agoa benta, na mesma hora hé sãa; e tem tanta fee nella que, como se achão enfermos, a igreija hé sua botiqua, e continuamente está huma jarra de agoa benta e vem-na buscar como a huma fonte, e levão muito azeite pera a lampada em muita quantidade que gastão na alampada.

19. A este lugar de Ative huma molher do lugar de Roçanive esteve quasi ida deste mundo. O Padre Fernão Alvares [21] lhe mandou huma pouca de agoa benta, e a bebeo com tanta fee de alcançar de Deos saude que logo foy sãa; e ao domingo seguinte lhes fez o Padre huma pratica louvando as maravilhas do Senhor, alegando-lhes a obra que Deos por sua misericordia quisera obrar com aquella molher que tam perto estivera de passar pola hora da morte. Ella se alevantou dizendo em alta voz a grande misericordia que N. Senhor quisera usar com ella em lhe dar saude em tam breve espaço por meyo de seu servo o Padre, e quanto lhe dezia tudo era verdade e que a tudo lhes dessem credito, porque Padres por quem N. Senhor obrava tam grandes maravilhas se avião de ter em grande reputação, e bem era que

285 Rosanive *w. corr. m.* || 286-287 huma . . . morta *w. corr. m.* || 298 gastão *del.* huma || 301 a *interl.* || 302 ao *corr. fr.* a || 308 lhe] lhes *B* | lhes] lhe *corr. to* lhes *B*

[19] Saint Paul's College in Goa.

[20] *Juru bahasa* (Malay), interpreter, expert in language.

[21] Though stationed in Nusaniwi, he may sometimes have stayed in Hatiwi.



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vião por suas obras em o que N. Senhor obrava nelles e em seus filhos e filhas em suas enfermidades.

20. O P.e Antonio Fernandes esteve alguns meses em Licibata esperando por el-rei de Bacham [22], que avia de vir pera ir com elle aos lugares de Seyrão, porque a gente desta terra desejava muito de ver el-rei e de lhe dar a obediencia, como lha derão. Em este Licibata fez muita gente christãa : serião quinhentas almas e ficão muitos mais sem comparação por bautizar, porque não ouve tempo pera mais, e tambem não se quis alargar muito por ver que faltavão obreiros pera quá andarem em esta vinha do Senhor.

21. Tãobem bautizou em outro luguar grande, chamado Atue [23], em que há muita gente. Bautizou a muitos delles, os mais aguardão que vão laa os Padres pera os fazerem christãos. Estes atues tem gerra com dous ou tres lugares de mouros e por nenhuma via querem fazer pazes com elles até se não fazerem christãos, ou os hão-de destruir a todos. A hum lugar chamado Tolomata [24] fez muita parte delle christão e não andava senão aos mais honrrados porque, tendo a estes en nossa mão, temos aos mais que ficão. Os que bautizou por todos en numero são tres mil almas.

22. Ao redor destes lugares há outros lugares pequenos suffreganhos a estes que se tãobem os cometerem far-se-ão christãos, mas como o Padre fosse de caminho deixou[-o]. Alguns portugueses passarão por suas prayas depois de o Padre ser passado, os quaes portugueses não quiserão desembarquar senão passarão adiante. Os principaes destes luguares se forão em busca delles agravando-sse muito de não quererem desembarquar em seu[s] luguares, que elles erão d'El-Rei de Portugal e não desejavão outra cousa senão servi-lo com suas pessoas e sua armada. Os portugueses como nesta parte não pertendão nem lhes lembrem senão como lhes busquem de comer, não lhes falarão em outra cousa. Parece, Irmãos meus, que se ahi ouvera quem pertendera de christandade, que não passarão estes infieis sem lhes fazerem huma lembrança que avia ahi Deos que os fizera à sua imaguem e

315 Seyrão *B*, Seylão *ms.* || 317 serião *B*, serrão *ms.* || 321 Atuee *B*

[22] Cf. D 118, 5 ; the Father sailed on June 20, 1563. For the king of Bacan, see note 8.

[23] Cf. D 118 note 12.

[24] *Relação Vasconcelos* 393 : Tulumata ; VALENTYN (II a 55) reports that on the site of Old Hatuwe there was in his time a village, Purmata or Permata, « which the Ambonese call Tolematta », and which was claimed by the king of Bacan.

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semelhança,e lhes dissera que avia ahi paraiso e inferno, e em cousas de como avião de buscar o caminho da salvação de suas almas. E [90*r*] isto hé o que cá muitas vezes choramos e de que recebemos grande magoa, em os veremos andar em o mar deste mundo afogando-sse, pedindo a mão do santo bautismo, não aver quem lha dee aos que a pedem, e aos que a não pedem não aver quem chame e brade por elles. Portanto, Irmãos meus em Christo, lembrem-se de quantas almas perecem cá por estas partes e que estam com os braços abertos esperando polla graça divina, pera com ella merecerem serem dignos de ser chamados filhos do muy alto Deos e contados no numero dos escolhidos de Jesu Christo.

23. Finalmente, Irmãos meus, como digo, indo el-rey sua rota batida para Seirão, indo com elle o P.e Antonio Fernandez e o Padre Nicolao Nunez [25], que o Padre Marcos Prancudo mandara de Maluco pera ambos irem em companhia d'el-rey, os seiroens lhe derão a obediencia e muitos lugares cometerão os fizessem christãos, mas como estivessem desviados e fora da mão deste Amboyno e algum tanto duvidosos de os proverem de Padres e Irmãos, se não atreverão a os fazerem christãos.

24. Hum lugar grande chamado Quey [26], que estaa junto com Seirão, o regedor delle se achou com el-rey em este mesmo lugar de Seirão, e como ouvesse muito tempo que desejava ser christão, elle e toda sua gente que hé muita, pedio a quisese[m] ir bautizar. O Padre, como quer que polo acima dito se mostrase pesaroso, não no quiz fazer. Elle o pedio tam affincadamente para sy e pera hum seu irmão, ainda que não fose a sua gente, que o Padre lhe não pode negar o bautismo, e bautizou somente a estes dous que são os principais do lugar. Este mesmo homem depois de feito christão pedio ao Padre lhe desse a invenção de como faria huma cruz pera ter em seu lugar, pera ser de

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352 no| nos do *B* || 370 invenção| ha menção *B*

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[25] This seems a contradiction to D 125, 17; see note 37 there.

[26] The Kei or Kai archipelago, SE of Seram at 6° S and 133° E, consisting of Kei Besar and Kei Kecil and of a great number of smaller islets. They are also called Ewab islands (RIEDEL, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen* 214: Keei and Ewaabu). Who ever wants to derive the name *Kei*, as being allegedly unknown to the inhabitants, from the Spanish *cayo* (islet, rock, reef), will have to take into account the fact that, in 1563-1564, people from a place beyond Seram presented themselves to the Jesuits in Ambon as coming from *Quey* (Cf. RUINEN, *Overzicht literatuur Molukken* I, 221 no. 672, and 460 no. 1599).

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todos honrada e venerada ; e mandou hum seu irmão em companhia do mesmo Padre pera neste Amboyno [27] pedir ao P.e Francisco Rodriguez hum Padre ou Irmão que fosse a este lugar. O P.e Francisco Rodriguez, parecendo-lhe que pola via de Jaoa viesse alguma cousa, estava muy alvoraçado pera ir lá ou mandar soccorrer, mas como não viesse nada [28] o despedio dando-lhe esperanças de muito cedo o prover. Neste lugar de Quey e mais lugares que a elle são suffraganeos diz o P.e Antonio Fernandez que averá perto de cincoenta mil almas [29] e todos tem desejos de serem christãos, que se algumas vezes falão em serem mouros, dizeem que antes morrerão vinte mortes que receberem tam má seita, e que hé ley de ladrões, que os ternates tudo hé buscar ardis como poderão furtar e que a torto e direito [90*v*] tudo apanhão. Portanto, Irmãos meus, peção e dar-lhe-ão, batão e abrir-lhe-ão [30], porque Deos hé largo em dar. Nosso Senhor, nos conserve em sua graça aos que cá andamos pera que possamos socorrer a estas tam grandes necessidades, como hé socorrer a tantas almas por quem Nosso Senhor derramou seu precioso sangue.

25. Ao Yrmão Antonio Gonçalvez coube estar em hum lugar chamado Liliboe [31]. Nelle fez huma ygreja muyto fermosa. De sy tem dado grande exemplo assi na obediencia como em guardar as regras. Neste lugar fez muyto serviço a Nosso Senhor, assi em doutrinar aos meninos como em bautizar a muytos. Dahy o mandou o Padre chamar para ho mandar a hum lugar chamado Ulate [32], o qual era fronteyro de mouros, e averá nelle trezentos homens de peleja : em tres meses que nelle esteve quasi continuamente peleijavão, e dia de duas vezes por os lugares dos mouros serem muyto vezinhos dos dos christãos, e não avia neste lugar mays de 4 portugueses que os ayudavão. Mas isto não era nada em comparação dos mouros por serem muytos mays em numero que os christãos, e era muyto para louvar ao Senhor ver os meninos

389 coube *corr. to* soube *ms.*, coube *B* || 390 dado *interl.*

[27] Fr. António Fernandes accompanied the king of Bacan also to Ambon shortly after February 16, 1564 ; see no. 6.

[28] We have to conclude that, in 1564, the Banda ship did not arrive at Ambon ; its scheduled time was about February 15.

[29] According to ENI II 295, the population of the Kei archipelago, in 1918, was estimated at 30,000.

[30] Cf. Mt 7 7.

[31] Liliboi, on the S coast of Hitu at the entry of Ambon Bay.

[32] Ulat in Saparua. The nearby Muslim village was Sirisori.

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da doutrina, tanto que os pays sayão a peleijar, tinhão elles cuydado, sem lho ninguem mandar, porem-se ao pé da cruz em joelhos batendo em os peitos levantando as mãos dizendo : « Senhor Deos, avey misericordia de nós ! » E ysto fazião por muytas vezes, e avia menino que quasi não sabia falar. As molheres tomavão suas joyas e as oferecião diante da cruz, dizendo : « Senhor, tudo ysto hé vosso, vós Senhor, mo destes : não permitais que se perca este lugar e os mouros vossos imigos gozem de nossas pobrezas ».

26. Por outra vez aconteceo que andando estes cristãos peleijando veo huma grande chuva e foy causa de as espingardas não poderem disparar ; os mouros hião entrando muito aos nossos. Os christãos muytos delles poserão as rodelas e espadas no chão, pondo-sse de joelhos e alevantando as mãos para o ceo, dizendo : « Senhor, olhay que somos christãos e por vós peleijamos ! Ayudai-nos, não nos desempare vossa misericordia ! » Quis o Senhor que se apartarão huns dos outros e sem perigo algum, e se foy cada hum pera seu lugar.

27. A gente deste lugar hé muito maviosa e tem gra[n]de amor aos Padres, e hé muito humilde. Yndo por huma vez o Padre Francisco Rodriguez, alem de outras muitas, chegando yá muito de noyte e por a sobida ser muy grande, não quis hir logo ao lugar deixando-o para o outro dia. Os christãos como soubessem de sua chegada, principalmente o regedor lhe mandou dizer que elle, por ser homem yá muyto velho, se não atrevia a hir abaixo à praya, lhe fizesse charidade de querer vir para o seu lugar e aceitar delle sua pousada. O Padre por escusar trabalhos a taes horas se escusou deixando a yda para o outro dia. O regedor lhe tornou a mandar dizer que de duas avia de ser huma, que ou o pay avia de hir aonde estavão os filhos, ou os filhos aonde estava o pay, donde foy necessario hir-se o Padre para o lugar, que não foy pequeno trabalho pera o Padre polo lugar estar em hum alto e ser muito de noyte e fazer grande escuro, e com sua chegada se alegrarão todos muito e lhe fizerão grande honrra e gasalhado [33].

28. Eu estive em hum lugar chamado Chilão [34]. Nelle quisera fazer huma ygreja mas não se pôde efeituar. Visitava nove lugares ensinando-lhes a doutrina e bautizando a muitos meninos. Daqui me

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402 pé *B*, pés *ms.* | cruz] + *ms.* || 403 em *interl.* || 406 cruz] + *ms.* || 411 disparar] lavorar *B* || 429 pera o Padre *interl.* || 431 muito] muitos *ms.* || 432 Quilão *B* || 433 efeituar *del.* porque ne . .

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[33] From this description it clearly appears that formerly Ulat was not situated on the coast, but more inland on a hill.

[34] Kilang, in the mountains toward the S coast of Leitimor (D 109, 6).

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mandou o Padre Francisco Rodriguez para outra ylha, a hum lugar chamado Homaa [35], o qual hé fronteyro, e continuamente tem guerra com elles hum lugar grande de mouros chamado Atuaa [36], o qual lugar está na mesma ylha. Averá neste lugar de mouros perto de dous mil homens, e os homens christãos serão cento e cincoenta, mas são taes que nunca lhes os mouros fizerão huma que estes christãos lhes não fizessem duas. De sua boa cristandade tem dado boa mostra, porque por sima de muytos trabalhos e perseguições que dos ternates, que do tempo da guerra tiverão, nunca se quiserão entregar, posto que derão aos ternates muito fato polos desafrontarem do cerco que lhes tinhão posto. Mas, como asima digo, da guerra que com estes atuas tem, chegou a cousa [a] tanto que hum mouro principal deste lugar, chamado Munavare [37], não pedia a estes christãos senão que lhes dessem huma peça aynda que fosse de pouca valia, que delles não queria mays que darem-se vencidos : que a sua chara [38] hé fazerem a çumbaya [39], aynda que os que muito pedem não se contentão com pouco fato, [91*r*] mas estes mouros não pretendião de aver delles mais que a honrra. Mas os homens christãos lhes mandarão dizer que nem huma palha do seu lugar lhes darião que antes não morressem todos.

29. E neste lugar fiz huma igreja da vocação de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, fazendo-lhes humas cruzes à maneira das dos comendadores [40], dizendo-lhes a elles polos honrrar que os africanos [41] que pele-

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439 homens[2] *interl.* || 440 huma *B*, humas *ms.* || 449 darem-se *add.* por *B* || 450 pe dem] podem *B* || 455 das *interl.*

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[35] Oma in Haruku. The name Oma is also used for the entire island and for its S half.

[36] Hatuhaha on Haruku ; also used as name of its N half. It was Muslim, but had been Christian before. See D 109, 6 and note 8.

[37] Otherwise unknown. The name Munavare (Munawari) occurs earlier (1550) as that of a brother of the king of Tidore, in Rebelo 248 (Munanate), 277 (Munavare and Munavão), 463 (Munavari), 484 (Munavary) ; in Couto VI 9 20 (Munerai).

[38] *Cara* (Malay), way, manner, fashion, custom.

[39] *Sembahyang* (Malay), gesture of submission.

[40] Br. Gomes had in view the members of the military orders in Portugal — of Christ, of Sant'Iago, of Avis — who, after the *comenda* or benefice they owned, were called *comendadores*, and were recognizable by the different crosses every order wore.

[41] The Portuguese in the fortresses of Morocco and of the more remote African coasts.

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jão com os mouros lhes dava El-Rey por honrra. Elles se alegrarão muito pedindo-me cada um delles lhes desse huma daquellas cruzes por sua; huns as pedião por honra, outros por via de merecimento. Finalmente que sabendo os mouros que neste lugar era feita igreja, avendo-o por cousa nova por nunqua nelle se fazer outra, mandarão dizer aos christãos que de duas avia de ser huma, ou os christãos lhe avião de hir deribar sua fortaleza, ou elles mouros lhe avião de vir queimar a igreja, e lançarão logo fama de como se fazião prestes pera a virem queimar. Pôs en tanto alvoroço aos christãos pera defenderem a igreja, que lhes digo de verdade que, já em os homens grandes não hé para falar a vontade e desejos que tinhão de se oferecerem à morte por amor de Deos, mas os meninos e meninas da doutrina era cousa pera louvar a Deos Nosso Senhor, porque huns com os outros fizerão conselho, avendo por bom meo pera defensão da igreja ajuntarem muitas pedras e às pedradas a defenderem, e dizião que milhor era morrerem todos que verem queimar sua igreja, aonde lhes ensinavão e ouvirão as palavras de Deos. Finalmente, como digo, puzerão os meninos suas pedras separadas a huma parte e as meninas as suas a outra, e como a igreja esteja em hum alto foy bom successo pera elles se determinarem aa defenderem às pedradas. Quis o Senhor por sua misericordia livrar de tam grande afronta por os mouros terem entre si disensões huns com os outros, e passou-lhes aquella fantesia da memoria.

30. Queira-os N. Senhor guardar por sua misericordia e a nós dee sua graça pera sofreremos os trabalhos com paciencia, e com elles socorreremos a os consolar em suas perseguições. Esta cristandade lhes encomendo muito, Irmãos meus, a encomendem muito a Nosso Senhor. Em suas devotas orações me encomendo.

Feita em Ative, aos 15 de Abril de 1564, digo em Amboyno.

De seu indino Irmão,

Manoel Gomez.

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465 alvoroço *del.* com || 484 15] quinze dias *B* | Abril *add.* do ano *B* | 1564 *add.* anos *B* | Amboyno *add.* 1564 *B*

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## 131

## FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ TO FR. GENERAL DIEGO LAINEZ, ROME

Malacca, December 3, 1564

TEXT : DI VI 315-321 [318-319]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 I* ff. 229*r*-230*v*. Original in Spanish.

### *Text*

*The bishop of Malacca wrote to Fr. Provincial in order to get Fathers for the country of Makasar which is near to Ambon. Its people refused Islam and showed themselves inclined towards Christianity.*

[. . .]

Agora escrive [el Señor Obispo] [1] a nuestro Provincial [2] sobre mandar Padres para el Machasar [3], que confina con Anbueno donde andan Padres nuestros [4]. Tiene esta tierra muchos reynos, y es gente que ya nunca quiso tomar la ley de Mafamede, siéndole por muchas vezes predicada, por lo que se espera con la divina gracia que se cogerá de allí mucho fructo [5]. Hum mercadel, que de aquellas partes este año aquí vino, nos contó cómo algunos principales dé aquella gente le pedían alguna imagen de nuestra Señora para la adorar, por donde parece que será fácil su conversión. Quiera nuestro Señor que se efetúe esto, para que su nombre sea cognoscido entre aquella gente y sanctificado.

[. . .]

De Malaca, 3 de Dezembro de 1564.

Servus tuus in Domino,

Balthasar Diaz.

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[1] Dom Jorge de Santa Luzia. His letter is lost. Cf. DI VI 321 no. 46*a*.

[2] Fr. António de Quadros SJ.

[3] SW Selebes.

[4] *Confina* here is a somewhat euphemistic expression ; the navigation distance from Makasar to Ambon is about 650 nautical miles.

[5] Cf. JACOBS, *Celebes ;* letter of Manuel Pinto of December 7, 1548, in DI II 419-423.

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## 132

## FR. BALTASAR DIAS SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

Malacca, December 3, 1564

TEXT: DI VI 321-325 [323-325]. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 85*v*-86*v*. Copy in Portuguese.

### *Text*

1. *The bishop of Malacca wants to entrust the Makasar mission, where one or two kings are Christians, to the Jesuits. To that effect he wrote to Fr. Provincial.* — 2. *Dias urges his fellow-Jesuits to come and help him.*

[...]

1. Agora, meus Irmãos, se nos abrio outra porta grande e vinha, a qual o Senhor Bispo nos quer entreguar a nossa Companhia, que hé o Macaçar, terra aonde ainda há hum ou dous reis [1] e muitos senhores christãos [2]. Veyo de lá este anno hum homem meu filho spiritual e bom homem, ao qual vierão alguns destes christãos a pedir que lhes mostrasse a imagem da Senhora Maria per lhe fazerem a çumbaya. O Bispo manda lá pedir gente ao Provincial pera irem pera este outro anno. Charissimos Irmãos, fundar nas virtudes! Eu fiquo fazendo prestes algumas cousas do mister, e as que já serão boas à minha maneira, pera meus Padres e Irmãos, já que eu não vou nem são pera iso, nem menos meu talento.

2. Desta maneira fico fazendo prestes; vinde com grande sede de almas e de padecer, que são duas cousas de que sempre avemos de fazer o alforje: padecer encastoado com paciencia, levando à consideração quanto Christo padeceo polas almas, e nacer-nos há hum animo grande pera tãobem padecer alguma cousa. E isto ou nestes reinos grandes que comquistão [com] Amboino, e laa pera onde andão esses nossos benditos Padres e Irmãos com tanto trabalho e desejo de padecer, como andão todos, como vereis por suas cartas e pessoas que

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[1] The rajas of Siang (the modern Pangkajene) and of Supa had been baptized by António de Paiva in 1544 (JACOBS, *Celebes*).

[2] Consult D 131, and the footnotes there.

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dessas pa[r]tes vem [3]. Assi que, meus Irmãos, aparelhai-vos que eu faço conta que aqui estarei como estalajadeiro de anjos, já que não são pera mais.

[. . .]

De Malaca, 3 de Dezembro de 1564.

Seu minimo Irmam,

Baltesar Dias.

## 133

## VICEROY D. ANTÃO DE NORONHA TO KING D. SEBASTIÃO, PORTUGAL

Goa, December 30, 1564

I TEXT: DI VI 400-405 [403]. Taken from Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Corpo Cronológico 1-107-38.* Portuguese original with autographic signature.

II PRINTED: the whole letter in SILVA REGO, *Documentação . . . India* IX 410-415; our fragment in SÁ III 108.

### *Text*

*Though the Jesuits' zeal caused some harm on the Goa island, yet the Fathers are very useful, especially where the king does not provide other ecclesiastical ministers, as, for instance, in Maluku.*

[. . .]

Os Padres da Companhia, ainda que diguão que seu sobejo zelo fose causa neste tempo desta ilha e aldeas receberem este danno [1], todavya são homens muy proveitozos a esta terra e que acodem a muitas obrigações que V.A. tem nela, asym com suas preguações como na converção dos imfieis, mormente aonde V.A. não provee de cleryguos, como em Maluco e no Cabo de Comorym e em outras muitas partes [2]

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[3] Letters: DD 125, 126, 128, 129, 130; « pessoas »: none of the Jesuits; the last one who is known to have returned from Maluku to India is Br. Baltasar de Araújo; he left in 1563 (D 125, 2). So Dias is here indicating laymen.

[1] Cf. DI VI 402 nos. 2-3.

[2] That is, the royal padroado provided secular clergy only to the officially erected fortresses and Portuguese towns.

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onde se deyxarya de preguar ho evangelho, se eles nelas não resydisem, donde tem feito e fazem muito serviço a Deos.
[...]
Desta sua cidade de Guoa, a XXX de Dezembro de 1564[3].
[*Autograph*] Dom Antam de Noronha.

*Lost Letter*

133*a*. — *D. João, king of Bacan, to King D. Sebastião of Portugal; February 1565.*
Fr. Nunes Barreto to the provincial of Portugal, shortly after January 21, 1566: « A principal pessoa, que nas partes de Maluquo se converteo a nossa santa fé, hé el-rei de Bacham... Elle escreve a El-Rei e manda provado por hum estormento os servisos que tem feito no tempo da guerra. Não pede nada nem quer mays senão que o favoreça S.A. com huma carta » (D 145,5).

## 134

## KING D. SEBASTIÃO TO THE VICEROY D. ANTÃO DE NORONHA, GOA

Almeirim, March 14, 1565

I AUTHORS: Seb. GONÇALVES III 169-176; SOUZA II III 1 15; BARBOSA MACHADO, *Memórias para a história de Portugal* II 586-588; WESSELS, *Amboina* 43-45.
II TEXT: Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional. Fundo Geral 915* ff. 370*v*-372*r*. This codex is the original MS of the *Historia dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram... nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental, Primeira Parte*, by Fr. Sebastião GONÇALVES SJ. It is there that our document appears, copied in the original Portuguese language, in chapter 3 of book 10.
III PRINTED: in Seb. GONÇALVES III 172-176; SOUZA II III 1 15: only nos. 1-5; BARBOSA MACHADO, ibid. (see I); SÁ III 127-131.
IV OUR EDITION: We print the text of the *Biblioteca Nacional* as it was published with painstaking accuracy by Fr. José WICKI SJ in his edition of Seb. Gonçalves.

### *Text*

1. *The viceroy must pay special attention to the outlying fortresses. Abuses in Maluku.* — 2. *The captains handle the regulations arbitrarily, concerned only with their own advantage; they do business with the native king for their self-interest, and let him persecute the Christians undisturbed.* — 3. *While two captains of the native*

[3] Written in the MS: $\overline{\text{I}}\text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{LXiiij}$.

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*king devastated the Christian villages on Ambon, the Portuguese captains dissimulated knowing it. They do not oppose the enslavement of Christians, who are thereby forced to live as Muslims. — 4. Out of regard for the king the captain of Maluku stopped António Pais from constructing a fortress on Ambon as he was instructed to do. This fortress is badly needed to make that of Ternate safer and to keep the Javanese off Ambon. — 5. The captains act arbitrarily, and they show hostility toward the Christians and priests, thus promoting the shameless attacks of the Moors upon them. — 6-7. Two examples of scandalous behaviour of a captain. — 8. There is bungling in the legal investigation into the retiring captains' government. — 9. The captain forced the clerk to write a false report. — 10. The viceroy must find a way to stop these abuses. — 11. Eventually he may send an inspector to Maluku in order to obtain information. — 12. He should be especially careful that the official report about the captains' administration is in accord with the truth. — 13. He should do the same in other fortresses.*

1. Viso-Rey amigo. Eu El-Rey vos envio muito saudar. Posto que confio que de todas as cousas universaes e particulares que tocarem a serviço de N. Senhor e meu, e bem das partes, tereis o cuidado, diligencia e vigilancia que convém, todavia por esta particularmente me pareceo lembrar-vos que as fortalezas minhas que mais distantes estão dos lugares de vossa residencia podem padecer mor detrimento que as que menos distão, e assy convém aver acerca dellas tanto cuidado, que os capitães, officiaes e moradores das ditas fortalezas não se possão descuidar nem deixar de fazer o que cumpre a sua obrigação, parecendo-lhes que não poderão ser castigados quando o merecerem. E porque fuy enformado dalgumas cousas particulares que em Maluco tem necessidade de remedio, me pareceo escrever-vo-las pera que provejaes nisso com toda a diligencia e efficacia que for possivel, e são as abaixo declaradas.

2. Dizem que os regimentos e provisões que os capitães de Maluco tem, minhas e de meus governadores e as que lhe as partes apresentão, quasi commummente annullão em tudo o que não faz a proposito de seu interesse, e as que podem ajudar pera seus proveitos interpretão, estendem e amplificão como lhes parece com perjuizo de meu serviço e das partes.

E que a guerra e destruição que se fez naquella terra agora há seis annos [1], com tantas mortes de christãos e mouros, procedeo da cobiça dos capitães [2].

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[1] That is, already from the time that Hairun was imprisoned, in December 1557 (D 72, 3).

[2] Their greed is strikingly illustrated by Ratiputi's words of D 109, 11 : « Pera contentar os capitães d'El-Rey tinha duas jarras d'ouro ».

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E que a raís e causa de grandes males hé terem os capitães trato com o rey da terra por sy ou por seus feitores, porque pello interesse que esperão os deixão perseguir os christãos e não lhes vão à mão a isto.

3. E que traz el-rey de Ternate dous capitães seus [3] a queimar, roubar e faz quanto mal pode aos lugares dos christãos das ilhas de Amboyno e aos portugueses que procurão defendê-los, e averá já quatro ou cinco annos que isto dura e os meus capitães com tudo dissimulão.

E que o mesmo rey de Maluco tem entranhavel odio aos christãos, e tem muitos em sua casa por cativos que tomou na guerra, com alguns delles ter tomado sobre seguro e outros que por outras rezões não podia cativar, fá-los viver como mouros, e os ditos meus capitães o sabem e passão por isso.

4. E que mandando o anno de quinhentos e sessenta e dous o Conde V. Rey [4], que Deos perdoe [5], fazer em Amboyno huma fortaleza por Antonio Paes, o meu capitão que então era de Maluco [6] o empedio fazer-se por não descontentar o rey, sendo a dita fortaleza muy necessaria e efficaz remedio contra os males que o mesmo rey faz, e de que se podião seguir grandes e manifestos beens. E compria que se mandasse fazer logo, porque com esta fortaleza se podia segurar a de Maluco [7], que dizem estar em grande perigo, porque o rey se vay fazendo cada vez mais poderoso. E como os moradores da dita fortaleza não tem donde bem e facilmente possão ser providos de mantimentos, senão de Malaca, donde pera lhe virem há mister perto de hum anno de tempo, podem os mouros tolher que lhe não vão e com isto tomar

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[3] One of them was called Leliato (D 109, 6); the other, according to the *Livro das cidades* (1582), was Gemilo (f. 72*v*). On the confusion concerning this latter, both as to the spelling of his name (Jamilu, Gimillo, Jemilio, Samilio, Ginulio), and as to his dates, see SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 664 note 132. There may be two persons with the same name. RIJALI mentions several Hitu chiefs who were called Djamiloe (VALENTYN II b 4-8). Also the Liliato (native name: Laulata) of REBELO 427 and 444, chief of Gamokonorah, and the one of D 109, 6 may be two different men. Another possibility is that the writers of the royal chancellery thought of Kaicil Guzarate as the second adversary. (Cf. D 128, 7).

[4] The viceroy D. Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, 1561-1564.

[5] He had died in Goa on February 2, 1564.

[6] Henrique de Sá.

[7] That is, of Ternate.

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a fortaleza ; e fazendo-se huma em Amboyno, serão socorridos de mantimentos todas as vezes que for necessario.

E que serviria mais esta fortaleza de defender que os jaos não fosse[m] pollo cravo a Amboyno, donde levão mais de mil quintaes cada anno [8] ; e com aver ally fortaleza averia eu mais de dous mil, além da noz e maça que a terra dá [9] e se poderia nella aver. E creceria a christandade, que hé grande meyo pera se segurar a terra e crecerem todos os proveitos della.

5. Dizem também que os meus capitães se fazem senhores absolutos e se mostrão por muitas maneiras inimigos dos christãos e dos ministros ecclesiasticos e dos que entendem na christandade a favor della, deshonrando-os, aveixando-os e abatendo-os publicamente diante do rey, mouros e christãos da terra e portugueses [10], e daqui vem que os infieis tomão atrevimento contra os mesmos e os christãos têm pouco respeito à doutrina e aos ministros della, e assy todos perdem o que devem à fee e ley de Deos.

6. Também fuy informado que hum capitão meu da dita fortaleza [11] fizera casar huma orfãa rica de idade de catorze annos com hum criado de hum seu parente pobre, taful e mal acostumado, contra vontade da mesma orfam e de sua avó que a tinha em seu poder, tirando-lha de casa per força e ameaçando-a que a desterraria de Maluco se não consentisse no casamento.

7. E que tirando o vigairo humas christãs da terra, filhas de pessoas principaes, de casa de hum feitor do capitão, solteiro, onde estavão com perigo, e mandando-as agasalhar em casas de homens portugueses casados, o capitão o deshonrou por isso perante el-rey e muita outra gente, e mandou tomar as molheres pello meirinho e levá-las a outra parte.

8. Fuy também informado que hum ouvidor daquella terra dissera que hum capitam meu que novamente entrava na capitania mandara dizer ao outro capitam que acabara de servir, de quem o mesmo ou-

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[8] « Fazião nesta ilha [de Amboino] escala os Jaos e resgatavão grande quantidade de cravo, que levavão ao Achem e outras partes » (*Livro das cidades* f. 72*r*).

[9] All nutmeg and mace came from the Banda islands : « Em cinco dellas [ilhas de Banda] nasce toda a noz e maça que se leva pera todallas partes do mundo . . . A noz e maça se não tem achado atégora em outra alguma senão nestas cinco ilhas (*Livro das cidades* f. 98*v*).

[10] An instance of this is in no. 7.

[11] The name of the captain in this and the following number remains unmentioned, likewise that of the vicar.

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vidor tirava residencia [12], que se pera bem de sua resedencia lhe fosse necessario alguma cousa em que o podesse ajudar, que tudo faria; e dizem que desta maneira se fazem as residencias ajudando os que ficão aos que precederão, pera que os que lhe soccederem fação o mesmo com elles, pello qual acontece que fazendo ordinariamente o que não convém, mais lhes servem as residencias de os justificar que de se castigarem e evitarem males.

9. E dizem também que algumas vezes acontecia testemunhar a testemunha huma cousa e o capitão constranger ao escrivão que escrevesse outra, e com estes e outros desfavores, aveixações e injustiças que se fazem aos christãos da terra e aos portugueses, está a dita minha fortaleza tão despovoada de moradores casados e forasteiros, e o rey já tão poderoso, que se os negros naturaes ou estrangeiros cometerem a dita fortaleza, corre muy grande perigo.

10. E porque todas estas cousas prejudicão quanto vedes ao intento por que mando e tenho capitães, officiaes e gente de soldo e moradores outros naquellas partes, que hé a veneração do culto divino, augmento de nossa santa fee e a conversão, dilatação e conservação do meu Estado, vos encomendo muito que vejais os meyos que se podem dar com efficacia pera que o dito meu intento se consiga e se evitem as causas que o podem impedir ou difficultar.

11. E parecendo-vos necessario pera enformação das cousas acima declaradas, e das mais que pode aver das ditas partes de Maluco que tenhão necessidade de ser remedeadas ou bem ordenadas, mandardes huma pessoa de authoridade, prudencia e virtude com poderes bastantes pera o poder fazer, o fareis encomendando-lhe muy particularmente as cousas e pessoas ecclesiasticas e as da christandade, o bom tratamento dos ministros della, o favor dos christãos da terra, a guarda da justiça, o comprimento de minhas provisões e regimentos e dos meus viso-reis e governadores [13].

12. E o modo da residencia que se toma aos capitães pera que se faça com muita fidelidade, e pera isto particularmente pello muito que importa serem os ditos capitães como devem, pois delles tão principalmente depende todo o que pretendo nas ditas partes, consi-

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[12] *Tirar residencia*: to make a judicial inquiry about the administration of an official.

[13] The following documents never mention such an inspector. But that the viceroy, D. Antão de Noronha, on April 10, 1566, issued a very detailed new *Regimento* for the fortress of Maluku, may have been caused by this royal letter (Cf. PISSURLENCAR, *Regimentos das fortalezas da Índia*, 441-478; D 147).

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derareis os meyos que podem ser efficazes e os fareis ordenar e dar à execução.

13. E o mesmo parecendo-vos necessario fareis nas outras fortalezas minhas, e tudo o que ordenardes e do effeito que ouver me avisareis porque receberey muito contentamento de se dar nestas cousas o remedio que a importancia dellas pede.

Escrita em Almeirim, a XIIII de Março de 1565 [14].

## 135

## BR. MANUEL GOMES SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PRANCUDO, TO THE JESUITS [OF ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE, GOA]

Ternate, May 27, 1565

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO III 273; SOMMERVOGEL III 1550; WESSELS, *Amboina* 183 Gomes no. 5; STREIT IV, in a note at no. 876.

II AUTHORS: LUCENA 290-291 (on no. 17); Seb. GONÇALVES III 170-172 (id.); SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc. Borgia* I 137-138; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 31; SOUZA II III 1 9 and 11-12; WESSELS, *Amboina* 39-40.

III TEXT: Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 218*v*-221*v*. Contemporary copy in Portuguese. The handwriting changes five times. Heading: « Copia de huma do Irmão Manoel Gomez pera os Irmãos da Companhia, de Maluco, 27 de Mayo de 1565. Do destroço de Amboyno ».

IV ADDRESSEE: The heading says only « Pera os Irmãos da Companhia », mentioning neither country nor town. At the end of no. 6 the text speaks of « Dom Joam que veo desse collegio », which can only be the college of Goa. Barbosa expressly mentions that the letter was addressed « aos Padres da India ».

V PRINTED: in SÁ III 132-140.

VI OUR EDITION: We print the only MS text.

### *Text*

1. *He will report on what has been going on.* — 2. *Physical welfare: Frs. Prancudo, Mascarenhas, and Magalhães have been ill; by now they are getting better.* — 3. *Br. Osório died on March 27.* — 4. *Spiritual matters: they are busy preaching and baptizing. The Fathers of Ternate accomplish a varied program of pastoral*

[14] There is no signature. According to Seb. GONÇALVES III 172, this letter was written by Cardinal Henrique in the name of King D. Sebastião.

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*work. — 5. The Jesuits of Moro and Bacan joined those of Ternate and renewed their religious vows. — 6. Among the many converts number some notables, e.g., some clan members of the king of Tidore and a brother of the king of Bacan. — 7. Progress of the faith in Moro ; it is not easy to convince people of the indissolubility of marriage. — 8. Fr. Álvares is doing a good job on Bacan. The king came to see the new captain and promised to follow the Father's guidance. — 9. On Ambon, after the death of the captains and the departure of the galleon, the Moors conspired against the Christians. — 10. A cruel war broke ou with murder, pillage, and destruction, so that many Christian villages apostatized again. The Portuguese, only thirty strong, barricaded themselves in the fortification of Hatiwi. — 11. The Muslim village of Baguala helped the Portuguese with food ; it was destroyed. — 12. Three Portuguese clove ships « hibernated » in the bay of Ambon ; they refused to offer help. — 13. The crew of the three ships was not able to win back a ship captured by the Javanese. — 14. Then the fleet arrived from Ternate with Fr. Prancudo and another Father in it. The captain began preparations to take the ship back from the Javanese. — 15. He suddenly declared that he could not attack because he did not wish to hurt the king of Ternate, and so he sailed away. — 16. Attack of the Moors on the residence of the Fathers and the Portuguese ; defense of a church. — 17. General destruction of the Christian villages ; in one of them six hundred were cruelly murdered (with cannibalism) because they had hidden a cross. — 18. The Portuguese sailed away, leaving Ambon, where there were 70,000 Christians, in the power of the Moors. The Fathers could do nothing but sail also to Ternate. — 19. The viceroy should quickly send a fleet and establish a fortress on Ambon.*

1. Ho anno passado de 1564 se escreveo [1] o que o Senhor tivera por bem obrar por esta minima Companhia [2] nestas partes de Maluco, agora (ainda que avia mais materia de chorar que de escrever, como verão no destroço da christandade de Amboino), por comprir com a mutua obrigação de nos commonicarmos por cartas, contarey com o favor divino o que occorrer ser pera gloria sua.

2. Quanto à saude corporal, ouve o Senhor por bem visitar alguns dos que quá andamos com algumas enfermidades pera maior gloria sua. Hum delles foi o P.e Reitor [3] que vindo do Moro a esperar aqui a nao da India [4], lhe derão humas febres que o tra[ta]rão muy [219r]

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3 de[1] *del.* Maluco

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[1] D 130.

[2] « Esta mínima congregatión ... llamada la Compañía de Jesú » (MHSI, *Const.* II 4). An expression of modesty, used by the very first Jesuits.

[3] Fr. Marcos Prancudo.

[4] Which was expected to arrive in Ternate shortly after mid October [1564].



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mal, de que ficou com tantas dores e fraquezas no estamago, de que há muitos annos que hé doente, que até o presente nenhumas ou poucas vezes pode dizer missa. Os outros forão o P.e Pero Masquarenhas e o P.e Diogo de Magalhães, que andando ambos no Moro doutrinando os christãos delle, os visitou a mesma terra que, por ser doentia, a ninguem perdoa com suas febres vehementes; se achão já bem.

3. Este Dezembro passado chegou a este collegio o Irmão Fernão d'Ozouro doente de huma enfermidade que ninguem pode conhecer nem entender. Forão muitos os remedios que lhe fizerão, mas nenhum aproveitou. Esteve em cama 4 messes e no fim delles, recebendo todos os sacramentos, ouve o Senhor por bem levá-lo pera si aos 27 de Março. Foi grande a edificação e exemplo que nos deu assi na paciencia com que sofria os trabalhos na enfermidade, como na resignação em Deos e na alegria que na morte mostrou.

4. No spiritual procedem todos com grande augmento, exercitando-se cada hum em doutrinar os christãos e bautizar os meninos e catecumenos, outros que o Senhor traz ao seu curral, catacizando-os primeiro comforme a capacidade de cada hum. E o fruito que com o proximo por meyo desta minima Companhia nestas partes se faz hé muito. E tratando deste collegio [5], os que nelle residem se occupão em preguar aos dominguos e santos, e ouvir confissões em que sempre estão occupados, por ser (segundo a terra hé pequena) grande numero dos que cada 8 dias e cada 15 se confessão e commungão, do que resulta grande gloria ao Senhor polos muitos males que se evitão, fazendo por este meyo aos taes fazer cousas que ao parecer humano parecerião difficultosissimas, como apartar alguns de muitos annos amancebados e outros perdoarem injurias graves. São assi mesmo chamados pera ajudar a bem morrer a alguns e consolar alguns enfermos, e em responder a casos de consciencia e a outras cousas semelhantes. [219*v*]

5. Vindo o Padre Reitor do Moro a esperar a nao da India, trouxe consigo os Padres que lá andavão e mandou vir o de Bachão, e assy juntos aqui os que boamente se podião ajuntar [6], renovamos os votos conforme a nosso Instituto dia de Sam Lucas [7], precedendo primeiro as confissões geraes, disciplinas secretas e outras penitencias, e

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21 os *del.* + || 22 paciencia *del.* que || 38 a$^{s}$ *interl.*

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[5] There is no longer any mention made of a school for boys.

[6] The Fathers of Ambon could not be summoned.

[7] October 18, [1564].

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tendo todos antes de se começar a missa oração na capella da nossa igreja onde os fizemos com assaz consolação de todos.

6. Na conversão dos infieis se entende com a charidade divida e são muitos os que o Senhor traz ao conhecimento seu, entre os quais vem algumas pessoas principaes, por cujo meio e exemplo vem outras muitas a pidirem o baptismo, principalmente cinco ou seis parentes mui chegados a el-rei de Tidore [8]. Estes os dias passados se vierão a esta fortaleza detriminando dar ao Rei celeste a menaje que ao terrest[r]e tinhão dado, e assi de vaçallos do demonio fiquão vaçallos e filhos de Deos. Bautizaran-se nesta nossa igreja que pera isso foi emparamentada. Foi seu padrinho o capitão [9] e fizeran-lhe grande festa; desparou a fortaleza toda a artelharia e a conversão destes homens fez grande abalo nestas ilhas. Espera-sse que por seu meio obrará Deos muito. Elles dam de si ao presente mostras de bons christãos, e nisto me parece que levão avantajem a outros muitos criados à teta da doutrina evangelica. O Senhor os conserve e lhe dee sua graça com que atee o fim se conservem. Com a vinda de Dom Joam, que veo desse collegio [10], se moveo seu pai que ainda era mouro, irmão d'el-rei de Bachão, a se fazer christão; bautizamo-lo dia da nossa festa de Jesu [11] nesta nossa igreja. Forão grandes as honras que o capitão lhe fez.

7. No Moro procedem com grande aumento: vê-sse claramente nelles terem a verdade dos Padres por regra e lei de seu viver. Estão bem exercitados na doutrina e, declarando-lhes os Padres aos domingos alguas cousas de nossa fee, mostrão grandes sinais de as ouvir, e chegan-se muitos à confissão e creo que em breve tempo se desporão todos a se confessarem. A cousa mais dificultoza atee o presente foi acabar-se com esta gente casarem-se ao nosso modo, por ser entre elles costume lançar as molheres fora cada vez que lhe emfadão, a qual liberdade os retrahia muito a sse obrigarem a tam estreito vinculo como hé ho do nosso matrimonio. Mas despois que ho P.e Reitor chegou a esta terra, visitando os lugares dos christãos, casou tantos delles, que creo não aver nenhum que ho não seja, com o que fiquarão tam faciles

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56 toda] todo *ms.* || 57 espara-sse *ms.* || 68 de[1] *interl., id. corr.* || 69 chegan-se *corr. fr.* chegando-se | confissão *corr. fr.* fissão || 71 entre] entres *ms.* || 75 visitando *corr. fr.* visando

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[8] See D 129, 1-3. They were baptized on February 27, 1561.

[9] Henrique de Sá.

[10] Saint Paul's College in Goa. Once again we see that the tradition of sending young men to the Goa college continued.

[11] January 1, feast of the circumcision and naming of Jesus.

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a se casarem ao nosso modo, que não tem necessidade alembrar-lhe o Padre que venhão à porta da igreja despois que entre si tem o contrato feito, pera que elles mesmos sem outra mais lembrança o fazem importunando o Padre.

8. Em Bachão reside o P.e Fernãod'Alvarez e hé grande o fruito que laa faz, e pello grande zelo seu nas cousas do serviço de Deos hé muito temido delles, en tanto que nenhua cousa lhes manda [220*r*] acerqua de seus maos costumes que ho não fação. Hé vindo os dias passados o rei de Bachão a esta fortaleza ver o capitão que novamente veio [12]. Fez grandes promessas de em tudo fazer o que lhe o Padre mandasse. Esperamos que o fará assi pollas mostras que tem dado, e com isto se espera que se fará muito fruito na sua terra, porque a gente dahi é de muito juizo e capás pera receberem tudo o que lhes ensinarem, se o seu rei de seus maos habitos os apartar com algum rigor, como começa a fazer aos seus mais chegados e mandarins [13] pellas cousas que cometem contra a Igreja e contra o que o Padre tem ordenado pera bem de suas almas.

9. Quanto à christandade de Amboino, já pollas cartas do anno passado terão emtendido o aperto em que estava e quam avexados erão dos mouros, principalmente com a morte dos capitães dos portuguezes [14] que à feitura da carta do anno passado faleceram. Depois de partido o galeam que aqui emvernou pera a India [15], se conjurarão os mouros todos contra nós, determinando (vendo-nos sem capitão nem pessoa que disso podesse servir) de fazerem o possivel por nos lançar de Amboino e destruirem os christãos, sojeitando-os a ssi ou a el-rei de Tarnate, cujos vaçallos são e com cujo favor fazem todos estes males.

10. E assi começarão a fazer a todos estes lugares de christãos, que nestas ilhas há, cruel guerra, matando aos que podião, destruindo-lhes os palmares, ortas, sementeiras e arvores de pão [16], o que elles

77 não *interl.* || 81 hé *corr. fr.* e || 90 rei *interl.*

[12] Álvaro de Mendonça, fidalgo of the royal house, had arrived in October 1564 (Couto VII 10 19), and was captain of Maluku until 1567 Couto VIII 16). He had sailed to India in 1548 (Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, *MS portugais 8* f. 220*v*), and had been named to the captaincy of Maluku on February 15, 1558 (APO 5 1 no. 238 ; Ribeiro, *Registo* no. 523 ; *Cadaval* 122 ; SÁ IV 47-48 ; *Título dos capitães* 149)

[13] *Mantri*, or better *menteri*, in Malay, is a state official (Dalgado II 20).

[14] António Pais, and obviously another captain of one of his three ships. whose name is not mentioned. Gomes refers to D 130, 8.

[15] That is, about May 15, 1564.

[16] The *sagu* trees.

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não menos sentião que a morte de pais e filhos, que diante de seus olhos cada dia vião, por ser gente pobre e que outra cousa não tem de que se sostente. Pello que muytos lugares de christãos, por escaparem à morte, se lançarão com elles, dando-lhes o fato que tinhão pera que lhes dessem a vida. Vendo os portuguezes, que serião 30, o poder grande dos mouros e como por serem poucos lhes não podião resistir, se recolherão a huum lugar nosso, chamado Ative, fazendo-se nelle fortes até verem se lhes vinha algum socorro de Maluco que elles tinhão mandado pedir, onde os mouros os cometerão muytas vezes e os puserão en tãoto aperto, que elles nem os christãos que consigo tinhão, ousarão a sair da tranqueira.

11. Perto deste lugar de Ative avia huum lugar de mouros, chamado Baiuela [17], muyto nosso amigo e que neste aperto nos proveya de mantimentos pollos ter muytos. E vendo os mouros que neste lugar nos provião, detreminarão de ir sobre elle, avisando primeiro que nos não provessem de mantimentos e lhes entregassem quatro portuguezes que tinhão em seu lugar, pois que erão imigos de sua má secta. Ao que lhes responderão que o fato lhes pedissem, mas [220*v*] que entregar os portuguezes nem deixar de os ajudar de nenhuma maneira ho farião. Indignados os mouros nossos imigos disto, forão sobre elles e os destruirão matando e cativando muytos. Os que puderão fugir se vierão pera nós [18]; muytos delles se fizerão christãos.

12. Estando nós neste aperto chegarão a este porto tres naos de Maluco, carregadas de cravo, pera nelle envernarem, com muita gente portugueza [19], com cuja chegada ficamos muyto alvoroçados, parecendo-nos que com sua chegada se destruirião os mouros e os christãos postos em sua liberdade. E assy nos fomos logo a elles propondo-lhes estas lastimas, pedindo-lhe que acodissem a isto; ao que elles respon-

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112 se *del.* se

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[17] Baguala on the isthmus connecting Hitu and Leitimor. On the coast of the Bay of Ambon the kampong Negerilama marks the site of Old Baguala; in later times (at least in Valentyn's time, that is, in the early eighteenth century) it had moved to the E side of the isthmus, where now the village Paso (Paso Baguala) is situated, and where the name of the Bay of Baguala recalls this ancient village name (Cf. VALENTYN II a 113). It is said to produce much sagu (ibid.; *Relação Vasconcelos* 239). Some years after this it is still said to be an ally of the Portuguese (*Relação Vasconcelos* 299-300).

[18] To Hatiwi.

[19] The ships from Ternate usually arrived at Ambon about March 1.

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derão que esperassemos polla armada que o capitão de Maluco ficava negociando pera mandar em nosso favor.

13. Socedeo neste comenos que vierão muytos jaos que estes mouros tinhão mandado chamar pera sua ajuda, e se forão direitos a Banda a tomar lá huma nao de contrato nossa, carregada de nos e massa, e a trouxerão a huum porto deste Amboyno. O que vendo estes capitães, dando-se por affrontados de diante delles se fazer cousa tão pouco acustumada, neste estado se aparelharão com huma fusta e bateis de naos e outras embarcações ligeiras, e forão combater a nao pera ver se a podião tomar e destruir os jaos e mouros causadores de tanto mal, mas como quer que a nao era alterosa e grande e as embarcações nossas pequenas, não puderão os nossos levar avante o que começarão.

14. Nesta conjunção chegou a armada de Maluco que esperavamos, em que vinha o P.e Reitor Marcos Prancudo com outro Padre[20]. Foy grande o alvoroço nos portuguezes e christãos que aqui estavão, parecendo-lhe que com tal armada e gente todo ficaria por nosso. Detreminou-se logo o capitão que vinha de Maluco[21] de levar huma das naos que aqui emvernavão e toda a mais armada que pudesse, e com ella ir tomar a nao que os jaos tinhão tomada, e destruir os jaos e mouros que os mandarão chamar. Pera isto offerecerão os capitães que aqui envernavão toda a [ajuda][22] possivel: assi de gente como de munições.

15. Partio daquy aos tres dias depois de sua [221*r*] chegada com hua nao muyto artelhada, huma fusta e 16 embarcações outras, que levavam cento e 40 portuguezes e muytos christãos naturaes, todos alvoraçados e desejosos de vingarem as offensas que a Nosso Senhor nesta parte erão feitas. Chegados à vista da nao não na quis o nosso capitão cometer, nem dar no lugar onde ella estava, as quaes cousas muyto a seu salvo pudera fazer, dando por desculpa que aquelle lugar e gente era d'el-rey de Ternate e que não o queria agravar, e assi se tornou, ficando os portuguezes mais desacreditados do que dantes estavão.

16. Vendo elles nossa covardia derão aquella noyte, antes que a

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138 a] e *ms.* || 154 ajuda *illeg., ink blot*

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[20] Probably Fr. Luís de Góis, who in October 1565 appears to have arrived in Malacca; consequently he must have sailed from Ambon in May of that year (D 145, 2).

[21] The name of this captain, sent by Álvaro de Mendonça, is not mentioned.

[22] Cf. apparatus.

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armada chegasse, no lugar onde os Padres e portuguezes residião [23], e o queimarão matando e cativando muitos, e isto à vista dos nossos sem lhe poderem valer. Acabado isto, se vierão a huma tranqueira nossa detreminando de queimar huma igreja nossa que aquy estava; aos quais lhe resistirão os portugeses animados por huma velha christã, que outra cousa não fazia senão dizer que não ouvessem medo e que pelejassem porque com elles estava N. Senhora, de cuja evocação era a igreja, apontando com o dedo os passos por onde os mouros querião entrar, pera que os nossos acudissem com as espingardas e lhe defendessem a entrada, e assi defenderão a tranqueira atee que os mouros se forão contentes com a preza que levavão, que erão das maiores que nestas partes ouve.

17. Animados com isto, como quem lhe parecia que o mais forte tinhão acabado, derão com outros lugares adjacentes a este e em outros muitos que por outras ilhas avia e os destruirão, queimando as igrejas, despedaçando as cruzes, matando e cativando muitos e uzando doutras cruezas, como foi matarem toda a pessoa que havia em hum lugar de christãos que serião seissentas almas, cortando-lhe primeiro os buchos dos braços e os das pernas, e diante de seus olhos os porem asar e os comerem em sinal de vingança: e isto porque, os tendo de cerco, mandarão pedir aos Padres que os ajudassem, e porque antes que se entregassem, tomarão a crux que tinhão e a envolverão em huns panos pretos e a meterão em huma cova en sinal de centimento, e pera que nella não fizessem os mouros as injurias e abominações que nas dos outros lugares tinhão feito.

18. Finalmente ficou a cousa em tal estado que os portugueses que aqui estavão se embarcarão pera Malaca e Maluco, ficando os mouros senhores de todo o Amboino, em que havia setenta mil almas christãs [24]. O que vendo os Padres lhes foi forçado, com alguns meninos que deste destorço puderão recolher, irem-se pera a fortaleza de Maluco.

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173 pelejassem *w. corr.* | 186 sinal] sinar *ms.* | 191 setonta *corr. fr.* sete

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[23] Hatiwi.

[24] Since, in 1560, the total number of the Maluku Christians was 40,000 (D 97, 1), the present number shows that Christianity, in spite of persecutions, had made great progress in the previous five years. Because the total population of Ambon Island by itself never passed 40,000 (Cf. ENI I 40; all the earlier estimations are inferior to this), the number given here seems rather high. It can be explained by remarking that «todo o Amboino» comprised likewise the Uliaser islands, Seram, and Buru, all of which counted Christian villages.

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19. Isto hé, charissimos Irmãos, o que brevemente lhe pude contar. O que daqui resulta hé encommendarem particularmente a Deos estes christãos de Amboino e pedirem-lhe que por sua infinita misericordia mova o coração do Viso-Rey [25] com que mande armada e gente [221*v*] a os tirar daquele cativeiro e fazerem em Amboino huma fortaleza; de que esperamos em o Senhor recrecerá muita gloria sua pola muita gente que está aparelhada a se fazerem christãos, se virem em nós poder e se virem livres do tirano jugo dos mouros. O Senhor por quem hé proveja en tudo como vir ser mais serviço. Elle nos dê a todos comprir sua santa vontade.

Oje 27 de Maio de 1565.

Por comissão do P.e Reitor.

Indigno servo,

O Irmão Manoel Gomez.

## 136

## FR. JUAN BAUTISTA DE RIBERA SJ TO CARDINAL CARLO BORROMEO, ROME

Goa, October 17, 1565

I TEXT: DI VI 463-476 [470-471]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 I* ff. 247*r*-252*v*. Autograph in Italian.

II NOTE: Fr. Ribera was a Spanish Jesuit who in that very year had arrived in Goa. He was a personal friend of Cardinal Borromeo, nephew of Pope Pius IV and his Secretary of State.

### *Text*

1. *Besides India, Japan, and China, the Jesuits are also operating among the people of Maluku, where lately 15,000 entered the Church and 50,000 more requested baptism.* — 2. *Those provinces are well disposed toward Christianity, even Muslims request baptism, but for their small number the Fathers are not equal to such a task.*

Ill.mo et R.mo Signor mio osservandissimo.

[...]

1. Oltre questo collegio [1], che è il seminario di tutto questo estremo orbe, ha la Compagnia molti altri nelli principal luoghi che di

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[25] In 1565 this was D. Antão de Noronha (1564-1568).

[1] Saint Paul's College in Goa.

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qua habbia la corona di Portogallo, oltre quelli del Giappone et principio nelli cini [2]; et oltre buon' numero de nostri che attendono nelle provincie et reame del Malucco alla conversione di quelle quasi innumerabili nationi, con sí estraordinario frutto che in poco tempo intendiamo esser' intrate nella Chiesa santa più di 15 mille persone, et hora dimandavano il battesimo più 50 mille. Erasi convertito un re [3] et di mano in mano si andavano convertendo molti nobili, chi fratelli delli istessi re, chi cugini, chi signori di vassalli, huomini molto potenti [4].

2. Anco si sperava dovessero convertirsi due o tre altri re, et tutte quelle provincie sono in grande et molto propinqua dispositione di farsi christiani. Grande numero delli già convertiti et che dimandano il battesimo è della pessima setta di Mauometo, ma come i nostri sono pochissimi in comparatione della messe innumerabile, il non farsene tanti è il mancamento d'operarii. Rogate ergo Dominum messis, disse Christo N. Signore, ut mittat operarios in messem suam [5].

[...]

Di Goa nell'India Orientale, alli 17 di Ottobre M.D.LXV.

[...]

Di V.S. Ill.ma et R.ma servo indignissimo et humile figliuolo in Christo,

Giovanni Battista di Ribera.

## 137

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS SJ, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

Malacca, November 20, 1565

I TEXT: DI VI 490-502 [491-495; 500]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 I* ff. 253*r*-256*v*. Original in Portuguese with autographic signature.

II NOTE: Quadros was writing to Fr. Diego Laínez, not yet knowing that he had died on January 19, 1565. On July 2 of that year Fr. Francisco Borja had been elected General of the Jesuit Order.

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[2] The Jesuits had just begun to settle on the small island of Macao in S China (VALIGNANO, *História* 443: « Os Padres ... asentarão sua residencia no porto de Amachao »).

[3] The king of Bacan.

[4] A very rough summary of several conversions described in DD 125-130.

[5] Mt 9 38; Lk 10 2.

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*Text*

*1. As the Jesuit government of India was sufficiently provided for, he sailed to Malacca in order to visit either China and Japan or Maluku. — 2. In Maluku Br. Osório died. — 3. Bad news from Maluku : the Ambon church, with 70,000 Christians, was wholly destroyed by the Moors. The viceroy is expected to send an expedition. — 4. Visiting the southern regions is indispensable ; great advantages of a provincial in Malacca. — 5. Fr. Prancudo should be promoted to a professed Father of three vows.*

Mui Reverendo em Christo Padre.

[...]

1. Este anno de 65 não recebi cartas de V.P. a que aja de responder, porque me parti da India pera Malaqua onde agora estou. Porque ainda que tinha recebido cartas de V.P. em que, por algumas enformaçoens que de quá lhe mandarão, dizia não parecer conveniente sair-sse o Provincial fora da India [1], todavia no anno de 64, por algumas rezoens que pera isso lhe escrevi [2], escreveo V.P. que podia sair da India se nella deixasse sufficiente recado e provisão [3]. E porque tomando parecer com os consultores, pareceo que vindo-me eu visitar estas partes remotas ficava a India sufficientemente provida [4], me vim a este Malaqua pera daqui ir ou à China e Japão ou a Maluquo, conforme as novas que aqui achasse de cada huma destas partes.

[...]

2. Tres da Companhia levou N. Senhor este anno pera si, scilicet, em Maluquo o Irmão Fernão d'Osouro, que dizem morreo de peçonha que alguns infieis lhe derão [5]; ...

[...]

3. De Maluquo tivemos este anno muito roins novas, porque em as ilhas de Amboyno, aonde avia a mayor força da christandade, e averia setenta mil christãos, forão desbaratados e vencidos dos mouros, que com elles há muitos annos tem guerra, de maneira que ficão aos mouros sojeitos todos os lugares dos christãos e os Padres forão lançados daquella terra. Tomarão sobre isto aos portugueses, que estavão ahi perto, huma nao muito fermosa carregada de fazenda de muito

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[1] D 113, 2.

[2] D 114, 7.

[3] D 121.

[4] Consult, however, D 124, 1.

[5] Br. Gomes, in reporting his death, asserts that Osório died from an illness «que ninguem pode conhecer nem entender» (D 135, 3).

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preço; e assi ficarão mais vitoriosos. Mas quanto mayor foy a vitoria, tanto se tem mayor esperança do remedio da christandade perdida e augmento de muito mais, porque forçadamente parece socorrerá o Viso-Rei da India e, se for sufficiente socorro, esperamos em o Senhor que se hão de fazer em Amboyno muitos centos de milhares de christãos.

[...]

4. Visitaren-sse estas partes do sul hé omnino [6] necessario, assi pollas rezoens universais que há pera as outras Provincias serem visitadas, como por rezoens particulares desta Provincia, que lá tenho escrito a V.P. O Provincial, que estiver aqui [7], pode visitar China, Japão e Maluquo em pouco mais de dous annos e o da India não as pode visitar em quatro annos. O Provincial, que estiver aqui, pode mandar reposta aos de Japão e de Maluquo em oyto meses depois de escritas as cartas de Japão ou Maluquo; da India pera esta reposta há mister hum anno e oyto meses. Se o Provincial da India ouver de visitar estas partes como convem, ou outrem quem quer, há mister que não faça outra cousa, porque, por muito cedo que se visitem, não pode ser senão de tres em tres annos, posto que se visitem daqui de Malaqua, porque ainda que se visitem em menos tempo, como disse, entre huma visita e outra há mister esperar muito tempo aqui em Malaqua. De maneira que, visitada huma parte destas, ainda que o visitador ande em continuo moto, não na pode tornar visitar senão dahi a tres annos, estando em Malaqua, porque da India muito mais tempo há mister; e assi se o Provincial da India ouver de visitar isto como convem, faça V.P. conta que não tem Provincial na India, digo na parte que espicialmente quá chamamos India, que hé de Dio até o Cabo de Comorim.

[...]

5. Tambem se podião fazer professos de tres votos o P.e Marcos Prancudo, que agora hé reitor de todos os que estão em Maluquo, e o P.e Christovão da Costa, reitor deste collegio de Malaqua, ambos muito virtuosos, antigos na Companhia e na sciencia acquirida, theologos, e que pregão com mais que mediocre satizfação dos ouvintes.

[...]

Oje 20 de Novembro de 1565.

[...]

De V.P. indino filho em o Senhor,

Antonio de Quadros.

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[6] *Omnino* (Latin), absolutely, without any restriction.

[7] Suddenly an entirely new idea is emerging here, that is, of an E Asian Jesuit province, centered in Malacca, separated from the Goa province. It never materialized.

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## 138

## FR. SEBASTIÃO GONÇALVES SJ TO SCHOLASTIC LOURENÇO MEXIA SJ, PORTUGAL

Goa, November 26, 1565

I TEXT: DI VI 508-518 [512-513]. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 216*r*-218*v*. Contemporary Portuguese copy.

II NOTE: The letter gives a description of the actors in a « comedia » performed in Goa and representing all places of Portuguese Asia where the Christian faith was rooted. We give the passage picturing the part of Knight « Maluco ».

### *Text*

*Knight « Maluco » is assisted by four pages : « Ambon », « Moro », « Bacan », and « Tolo ». They all renounce Mohammed and profess Christ. Names of all the Jesuits working in Maluku.*

[. . .]

Entra huum fidalgo, vasalo d'el-rey de Portugal, por nome Maluco, com quatro pagens, scilicet, Amboino, Moro, Bacham, Tollo. Vem arenegando de Mafamede e confeçando a Jesus Christo, detreminados todos e apostados de morrerem antes de cessarem da confissão de Jesus, e vem todos unidos e contados para se defenderem dos mouros seus vizinhos e contrarios. Vem armados com o escudo da fee e com a espada da palavra de Deos ahi semeada pollos nossos charissimos Padres Marcos Prancudo, Fernão Alvarez, Pero Mascharen[h]as, Nicolao Nunes, Diogo Magalhãns, Francisco Rodriguez, Antonio Fernandez, Luis de Gois, Araujo, João da Veiga [1], e Irmãos Manoel Gomez, Vasco Rodriguez, Antonio Gonçalvez, Fernão d'Osouro [2], que agora ahi residem.

[. . .]

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[1] This is the first mention of two new names : Tristão de Araújo and João da Veiga, who, in April 1565, set out from Goa, destined for Maluku, which, however, they never reached (Cf. D 141, 1 ; D 142 ; D 148, 5 and 10 ; D 156, 1-2). See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 30-31.

[2] He had died on March 27, 1565 (D 135, 3).

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Dada em este collegio de Sam Paulo de Goa, aos 26 de Novembro de 1565.

[...]

Tuus in Christo Iesu,

Sebastianus Gonçalves.

## 139

## FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA TO FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA

Rome, November 29, 1565

TEXT: DI VI 522-529 [527], taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 67* ff. 132*v*-134*v*. Originally registered letter. Spanish.

*Text*

1. *In Japan and Maluku the apostolic work shall be carried on and new qualified workers must be sent there.* — 2. *Fr. Provincial must not withdraw from India visiting Malacca, Maluku, China, or Japan; he may visit those remote countries through a delegate.*

[...]

1. En lo del Japón y Maluchas también deseamos vaya muy adelante lo que allí se ha començado para mucho servicio divino [1]. Y como se han enbiado los años passados, también se tendrá cuenta con lo embiar para lo adelante algunas ayudas de gente. Y es bueno lo aviso que se da, de no embiar los que desean esa missión por las nuevas que oyen de la conversión, se no están fundados en el deseo de padecer; y tenderáse cuenta con esto.

[...]

2. Sobre el visitar las partes de esa Provincia muy remotas, N.P.e Laýnez de santa memoria no lo devió permitir al principio, y del 1563 después, entendiendo las necessidades graves de aquellas partes, le devría de parecer que la visitación sería más enportante que el residir

[1] Perhaps someone had suggested the abandonment of the entire Maluku mission. This sentence is a proof that, for that mission, to be or not to be depended on the decisions made in Rome.

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en la India [2]; todavía lo que en Domino me parece es que V.R. no salga de la India para pasar a Malacha, Maluchas, Cina o Japón, aunque podrá visitar los lugares más vicinos a Goa, de los quales podrá fácilmente tornar a ella, pues desde aý se puede dar más ayuda a las partes remotas por ventura, que si presencialmente fuese a ellas; y todavía es bien visitarla[s] por tercera persona a sus tiempos.

[...]

De Roma, 29 de Noviembre 1565.

## 140

## BISHOP MELCHIOR CARNEIRO SJ TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

Malacca, December 3, 1565

TEXT: DI VI 583-589 [588], taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 I* ff. 263*r*-264*v*. Original letter in Portuguese.

### *Text*

*On the island of Ambon the Muslims destroyed a Christian village and killed its 600 inhabitants because they had hidden a cross.*

[...]

Nom dou novas nesta carta a Vosa Paternidade da christamdade, porque ahi quem tenha ese cuidado particullar, somente lhe direi huma cousa com que se á-de consollar, aimda que seja em materia de desconsolação, e esta é que salltamdo huns mouros em Amboino, terra de Maluquo, omde há muita christamdade, pera a distruirem, hum lugar omde averiam seiscentas allmas ou mais tomarão huma crus que adoravão, porque não tinhão outro templo e emburlhada em panos a soterrarão pera que os mouros a não cortasen e desacatasen. E, por isto que fizerão, os mouros os matarão todos à espada, e asi morrerão por esta causa seissentas allmas [1]. Seja dada a gloria a Deus.

[...]

De Malaqua, aos 3 de Dezenbro de 1565 annos.

Servo indigno de V.P.,

† Melchior, episcopus nicenus.

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[2] Consult D 137.

[1] See D 135, 17.

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## 141

# FR. JORGE CALDEIRA SJ TO FR. DIEGO MIRON, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

GOA, DECEMBER 6, 1565

TEXT: DI VI 598-623 [607; 608]. Taken from *Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 13 azul.* ff. 223*v*-231*v*. Contemporary copy. Portuguese.

### *Text*

1. *In April 1565 a Father was sent from the college in Goa to Maluku, together with a Scholastic, to meet the increasing harvest.* — 2. *Fr. Provincial sailed for Malacca in order to visit Maluku, China, and Japan.*

[...]

1. E deste collegio, no mesmo mes [1], se mandou hum Padre [2] pera Maluco, com hum Irmão que foi de Cochim [3], e em Malaca se avia de ordenar sacerdote, por quanto (como V.R. verá das cartas que os nossos de Maluco escreverão) se multiplicou muito nelle a messe, e assi á necessidade de mais obreiros.

[...]

2. Embarcou-sse tambem pera o mesmo Malaca nosso P.e Provincial, pera dali visitar os nossos que residem em Maluquo, China e Japão, de cuja ida àquellas partes confiamos em o Senhor resultará grande fruito, assim aos da Companhia e novamente convertidos, como tambem à conversão de tanta gentilidade, quanta há naquellas terras. Deos N.S., por cujo amor emprendeo esta obra, em tudo a prospere.

[...]

De Goa, oje 6 de Dezembro de 1565.

Por commissão do Padre Reitor Pero Ramires.

De V.R. filho em o Senhor,

Jorge Caldeira

---

[1] From the preceding proposition, beginning « O Abril passado », it results that this is April 1565.

[2] Fr. João da Veiga, as can be seen from D 142.

[3] Scholastic Tristão de Araújo; cf. D 142. In a catalogue of the Goa Jesuits of December 1564 he is still listed as teaching *humaniora* in the third form of Saint Paul's College (DI VI 373). Both these new missionaries perished before reaching Maluku; see D 138 note 1.

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## 142

# CATALOGUE OF THE JESUITS OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

[GOA, DECEMBER 1565]

TEXT: DI VI 623-631 [630], taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* f. 40*r-v*. Original that was sent to Rome. Portuguese.

### *Text*

*Names of ten Fathers and four Brothers living in Maluku.*

I. CATHALOGO DOS PADRES E IRMÃOS DO COLLEGIO DE GOA.
[...]
II. CATHALOGO DOS QUE RESIDEM NAS ALDEAS DESTA ILHA E OUTRAS PARTES
[...]

Maluco[1]

O P.e Marcos Prancudo.
O P.e Luis de Goes.
O P.e Pero Masquarenhas.
O P.e Francisco Rodriguez.
O P.e Nicolao Nunez.
O P.e Diogo de Magalhães.
O P.e Fernãod'Alvarez.
O P.e Tristão d'Araujo.
O P.e Joam da Veiga[2].
O P.e Antonio Fernandez.
O Ir. Fernão d'Osouro[3].
O Ir. Manoel Gomez.
O Ir. Antonio Gonçalvez.
O Ir. Vasco Rodriguez[4].
[...]

---

[1] This is the largest number of Jesuits ever listed as working in Maluku. In actual fact they were less numerous. See following notes.

[2] Araújo and Veiga never reached Maluku; see D 138 note 1.

[3] This Brother had died on March 27, 1565 (D 135, 3).

[4] Notice that Vicente Dias, who in 1563 is mentioned as a novice (D 125, 14), is no longer listed here.

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## 143

# FR. JUAN DE POLANCO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. GENERAL, TO THE RECTOR OF MALUKU

ROME, JANUARY 10, 1566

I TEXT: *ARSI, Hisp. 67* f. 153*r-v*. Registered original outgoing letter in Spanish. In the left margin the addressee: « Reitor del Malucco ».

II ADDRESSEE: Shortly after Fr. Polanco wrote this letter, the provincial of India, Fr. António de Quadros, appointed Fr. Luís de Góis rector of Maluku instead of Prancudo (D 150, 4), but obviously this could not be known in Rome. From D 158 it can be seen that Fr. de Góis gave the letter, delivered to himself, to Fr. Prancudo.

III NOTE: This letter is an answer to Prancudo's of March 7, 1563, to Fr. Laínez, which has not been preserved (see D 116*a*). It will be answered in turn by Prancudo from Ambon on June 1, 1568 (D 158).

## *Text*

1. *Joy and sorrow on account of his report of March 7, 1563, on the Maluku mission. The provincials of Portugal and India will be ordered to look after its supply of personnel.* — 2. *What did Prancudo mean when making a certain remark? Preferably he may use a code, enclosed here, to explain himself.* — 3. *A spiritual favour is granted. Conclusion.*

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Recibió N. Padre las de V.R. de 7 Março de 1563 [1] a los primeros días deste año del 1566, y de una parte nos hemos consolados en Domino entiendendo de lo que su divina Majestad se sirve en la conversión de muchos enfieles, y tanbién en el baptizar y doctrinar tantos hijos de christianos, de otra parte nos ha dado pena el trabajo grande que los nuestros han de tomar para poder visitar y ayudar los christianos dessos lugares, y más aun la difficuldad que ay en poder conservar el fructo que se haze en ellos. Y bien parece verdad lo que V.R. scrive que avría de estar en un lugar un Padre algunos años para que se conservasse mejor lo que con los tales se ganasse; y a Portugal y tanbién a la India se scrive a los Provinciales [2] que hagan la mayor

10 en *interl.* | para que *del.* al . .

[1] Lost letter. See D 116*a*.

[2] Such letters do not seem to be extant. See D 143*a*.



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y mejor provisión de jente que pudieren, enbiando la mesma letra de V.R. a Portugal.

2. Cierta otra cosa [153*v*] apunta en dicha letra, hablando sobre de los que se embían de Portugal y, diziendo estas palabras : « aunque en esta materia ay otras cosas que V.P. no sabe », non entendemos que quiera dezir. Y assí dize N. Padre scriva más claro [3] y si las cosas lo riquidan, aquí pienso yrá una cifra [4] en la quale se podrá scrivir con más libertad.

3. La facultad o gracia de librar un ánima con cada missa [5], conmunica nostro Padre a V.R. y a los demás sacerdotes que están en las Maluccas, pues en todos se giuzca será bien empleada. Porque tanbién escrive N. Padre General y al Provincial de la India se le da aviso de las cosas que de acá deseará saber para que las communique a las demás partes [6], no diré otro en esta se non que todos nos encomendamos mucho en las oraciones y sacrificios de V.R. y de todos nuestros carísimos Padres y Hermanos que en estas partes están a su obediencia.

De Roma, 10 de Henero 1566.

*Lost Letters*

143*a*. — *Fr. Polanco, by order of Fr. General Borja, Rome, to the provincials of Portugal and India ; January 1566.*

Polanco to the rector of Maluku, January 10, 1566 : « Bien parece verdad lo que V.R. scrive que avría de estar en un lugar un Padre algunos años para que se conservasse mejor lo que con los tales se ganasse : y a Portugal y tanbién a la India se scrive a los Provinciales que hagan la mayor y mejor provisión de jente que puedieren » (D 143, 1).

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19 riquidan [*sic*] *w. corr.* || 26 mucho] muchos *ms.* || 29 de[l] *del.* Genar . . | Heneros *ms.*

---

[3] So Prancudo did in D 158.

[4] This cipher or code has not been found in the archives. On the use of cipher in the Society, see Wicki, *Die Chiffre.*

[5] This favour was much esteemed and coveted in those days. Consult DI VI 669 doc. 105 no. 3 ; 673 doc. 107 no. 4.

[6] Text in *Polanci Complementa* I 532-576. The letter was directed to all provincials.

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## 144

# FR. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO, VICEPROVINCIAL OF INDIA, TO FR. DIEGO MIRON, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

COCHIN, JANUARY 20, 1566

I TEXT: DI VI 673-714 [690-695]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 III* ff. 547*r*-556*v*. Original. Portuguese.

II NOTE: Fr. de Quadros, in a first endeavour to visit the remote countries of his province, had left Goa in 1563, but, when in Cochin, had decided to return (D 124). For the second time he attempted to visit those regions in 1565, sailing from Goa on September 15 (DI VI 726), and reaching Malacca in October-November of that year. He had appointed Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto viceprovincial for the period of his absence.

### *Text*

1. *Having reported about India in general, he now gives some more particular information, beginning with Maluku. Not counting Fr. Provincial, ten Fathers and four Brothers are working there.* — 2. *Many kingdoms there desire to receive baptism if they can count on the support of the Portuguese captains.* — 3. *The king of Ternate obstructs conversion as much as possible, as is evidenced by examples from Selebes, Banggai, Lisabata, Samafo, Bicoli, and Weda.* — 4. *On Moro and in villages near Ternate people dare not become Christians because the Portuguese are not able to curb the king.* — 5. *Tidore would easily become Christian if only there were a zealous captain in Ternate.* — 6. *Conversions in Manado, Siau, and Kaidipan.* — 7. *In 1564 the king of Banggai sent his son to Ternate, where he became a Christian. The king of Ternate was fiercely trying to keep the faith out of Banggai.* — 8. *Two things are needed: power to restrain the rebels, namely the king; and captains who are really devoted to the service of God and Portugal.* — 9. *Services should not be rewarded to the disadvantage of the faith. Little good is to be expected from the new captain. A single zealous captain can do more than many Fathers.* — 10. *Strengthening Portugal's power is not only not expensive, but brings even great profit. Vulnerable position of Maluku and Malacca.* — 11. *Advantages of a fortress on Ambon; it could be a bulwark against illicit Javanese trade.* — 12. *It will especially promote conversion in the Ambon region.*

[. . .]

Maluco

1. Isto hé o que assi em geral me pareceo relevar muito ao serviço de N. S. informar a V.R. acerca da christandade da India. Agora descendendo mais ao particular declararei o que o Senhor me der a entender acerca de alguns lugares, reinos e provincias destas partes, o

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que nellas se faz e a grande porta que Deus N.S. tem aberta pera dilatar os termos da Igreja catholica e plantar muitas novas plantas nesta sua vinha se se usase dos meios necessarios pera a conversão.

E deixando a christandade de Japão, onde andam 7 Padres nossos e 6 Irmãos, afora os 4 Padres que vieram este anno com licença do nosso Padre Geral pera hirem ajudar os que lá estão — que hé christandade que Deus N.S. quer fazer puramente com a sua divina graça sem outros meos humanos, e contentar-me hia eu que os portugueses não estrovassem o que Deus por sua misericordia ahi quer obrar à maneira da primitiva Igreja — em Maluco estão dez Padres nossos e quatro Irmãos [1], afora o nosso P.e Provincial Antonio de Quadros, que este Setembro passado [2] partio pera laa, a visitar essas partes, onde por bondade de N.S. se fazem muitos christãos nas ilhas de Ternate, e nas do Moro, e de Amboino e de Bachão, e outros muitos lugares [3].

2. E pera V.R. saber quanto por aqueles reinos se poderia dilatar a nossa santa fee com muito pouco custo de S.A., saberá que há muitos reinos que estão aparelhados e desejosos de receber o sacramento do bautismo se tivessem esparança de serem favorecidos dos capitães de Maluco, segundo tenho sabido do Irmão Baltesar d'Araujo, que de laa veio [4], e por cartas dos nossos Padres.

3. O rei de Ternate [5], como seja mouro, usa de tal manha que tanto que sabe que os jentios se querem fazer christãos manda logo cacizes fazê-los mouros, como agora se vio na conversão dos Celebes e do sobrinho d'el-rei de Bengai [6] e Lucebatas, aos quais, tanto que soube que se queriam fazer christãos, mandou acometer com todos os favores que quisesem, que não se fizesem christãos e tomasem antes a sua lei. A ilha Samafo [7], com outros dous ou tres lugares anexos, há já certos annos que mostram desejos de serem christãos, mas com medo d'el-rei de Ternate não ousão. Os Bicholes [8], que são muitos lugares, tambem

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[1] That is, according to D 142. See notes there.

[2] On September 15 [1565] (DI VI 726).

[3] Fr. Quadros did not travel that far ; from Malacca he returned to India (D 145, 2).

[4] He had sailed from Maluku in March 1563 (D 125, 2). Wessels, *Amboina* 180, is to be corrected.

[5] Hairun.

[6] In no. 7, and D 128, 3, it is the king's son who was sent to Ternate in order to investigate the Christian way of life. Perhaps there was an account of the conversion of a nephew of the king in a lost letter.

[7] Samafo, not a island but a village in NE Halmahera.

[8] People of Bicoli ; consult D 63 note 26.

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acometeram mas não veio a effeito por tambem o rei de Ternate os estorvar ; e alem destes lugares há outros seus vizinhos, que se chamam Bedas [9], que tambem se faram, se virem que est'outros se fazem e que os livram das tiranias d'ell-rei de Ternate.

4. Há tambem outros lugares, que estão no Moro, onde há muitos lugares de christãos ; e tambem outros, perto da ilha de Ternate [10], onde está a nossa fortaleza, que não deixão de se fazer christãos, senão porque vem em nós pouco poder e vontade pera os livrarmos das opressões do mesmo rei se se fizerem christãos ou cometerem fazerem-se ; porque, ainda que não seja publicamente, laa às escondidas os mata e rouba por se fazerem christãos, e hàs vezes o faz tam descuberto que nam tem outra escusa que dar, senão que os que fizeram aquele mal o fizeram sem sua licença, porem nunca castiga a nenhum por esa causa, donde hé claro que elle o manda fazer secretamente. E porquanto a jente destes lugares e de todos os outros, que há em Maluco, vem que, se o rei os mata ou lhes toma as fazendas ou outra cousa semelhante, não há quem lhes faça justiça, senam ficarem-se com sua perda, não ousão de se fazer christãos nem o acometerem posto que tenhão vontade.

5. Tidore hé hum reino sobre si e tem muitos lugares ; e, na mesma ilha de Tidore, que hé cabeça, já são os principaes feitos christãos [11] e, se ouvese laa hum capitão zeloso do serviço de Deus e de S.A., facil cousa seria fazerem-se todos christãos com o mesmo rei, porque são muito imigos do rei de Ternate e por se verem livres dele e muito chegados a nós, como elles pretendem, facilmente se faram, como já digo, christãos, sendo já feitos os principaes. Esta ilha estaa mais perto da fortaleza que outra nenhuma e mais tem dado vasalagem e obediencia à fortaleza de Maluco quando foi ao fazer das pazes, que hé o costume da terra ficarem sogeitos como cativos.

6. Há outra provincia grande naquelas terras, que estaa de Maluco cento até 150 legoas [12], na qual está hum rei feito christão que se chama polo nome da terra Manado ; outro rei de muita jente como este por nome Siao, o qual pede tambem christandade. Há tambem outra provincia de muita jente, que se chama Caulupa [13], que tambem pede Padres que os vão fazer christãos.

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[9] People of Weda ; ibid.

[10] It is not clear which villages are meant by these last words.

[11] See DD 128, 5 ; 125, 19 ; 129, 3 ; 135, 6.

[12] The real sailing distance is not even half so far.

[13] In D 125, 8 : Cauripa, that is, Kaidipan.

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7. Há tambem outra grande provincia, a qual hé de grandes tratos e mercadorias, que se chama Bengai, e o anno de 64 mandou o mesmo rei hum seu filho hà fortaleza de Ternate pera escolher a milhor lei que lhe parecesse, e quis N.S. alumiá-lo que tomasse a nossa santa fee, e a tomou e se fez logo christão, ao qual ell-rei de Ternate estorvou muito e trabalhou polo trazer hà sua lei de Mafamede com grandes promessas e dadivas com huma sua filha, mas polo odio que lhe tinha polas tiranias e semrezões que lá em sua terra lhe fazia, lhe não aceitou nada [14].

8. Pera todos estes lugares, acima ditos, se conservarem na fee os que já são christãos e pera se converterem os que o não são, alem da ajuda da divina graça, duas cousas são principalmente necessarias, com as quais grandemente se acrecentará em aquelas partes a nossa santa fee. A primeira hé em Maluco ter poder pera sogigar [15] e castigar quando for necessario aos rebeis, principalmente ao rei de Ternate, porque pera os mais pouca cousa abasta; a segunda hé que os que ouverem de ser capitães em Maluco sejão escolhidos taes, que tenham enteira conta com o serviço de Deus e d'Ell-Rei, que sejam tementes a Deus e tenham zelo da sua santa fee, porque como estem mui longe da India e todos aqueles christãos vivam debaixo de seu emparo e governo, primeiro que provejão os governadores acabam seus 3 annos e sempre ficam sem castigo e a honrra e a fee de Christo N.S. perece.

9. E na verdade, pois S.A. tem tanto desejo que creça muito nosa santa fee naquelas partes [16], não devia pagar os serviços com tanto perigo e perda daquela christandade, que ainda este anno (o que digo nam com pequena lastima do coraçam) veio hum certo homem provido na naao capitaina da capitania de Maluco [17], o qual, ao parecer comum da India, hé veresimili que impidirá muito o bom socesso da christandade de Maluco. Isto digo, porque, se lhe hé devido algum serviço a

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[14] D 128, 3.

[15] Read *sojugar, subjugar.*

[16] As is proved by D 134.

[17] According to the *Titulo dos capitães* (184-185), among the « moradores da Caza d'El-Rey que nestas naos [of the armada of 1565] passarão à India » was a fidalgo cavaleiro, Luís Mendes de Vasconcelos, provided by royal favour with the captaincy of Maluku. The *mercê* was dated from January 25, 1563 (Ribeiro, *Registo* no. 635; *Cadaval* 146). He had sailed, as captain of the *Rainha*, to India in 1562 (Paris, *Bibl. Nat. MS portugais 8 f. 224r; Titulo dos capitães* 169; Couto X 1 16). We do not know why he was distrusted by Fr. Nunes Barreto. He never was an actual captain of Maluku. Álvaro de Mendonça (1564-1567) was succeeded by Diogo Lopes de Mesquita (1567-1570).

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elle e a outro[s] semelhantes, hé rezam que se lhe pague, mas nam com tam grande detrimento da ffee ; pois estaa manifesto que em Maluco mais pode fazer hum capitam zelloso da honrra de Deus e da sua fee, que muitos Padres nossos que laa andão. Pois N.S. há por bem que comummente o primeiro motivo daqueles gentios, com que se movem a se fazerem christãos, hé pera terem o favor do capitão e dos portugueses, bem que depois, com o ensino e douctrina dos nossos Padres, vem ao desejo da salvação e conhecimento da fee [18].

10. E porque dissemos acima que hum dos meios pera se fazerem muitos christãos em Maluco, hé principalmente ter S.A. poder naquelas partes pera deffender os christãos das opressões e tiranias, que lhes fazem, e poderá parecer que será isto acrecentar o gasto e carrega do Estado : per mui averiguado se tem de pessoas, que andaram naquelas partes, que ter S.A. mais jente e poder em Maluco não somente seria necessario pera maior acrecentamento da fee, senão tambem pera maior segurança e crecimento das rendas de S.A. ; porque, quando Maluco estaa de cerco, não lhe pode hir socorro de Malaca menos de 8 messes e às vezes hum anno, e às vezes está Malaca tam pobre de jente e mantimentos e monições, que nem pera si abasta, quanto mais pera socorrer Maluco.

11. E ainda se tem que, se S.A. mandasse fazer huma fortaleza em Amboino, todos estes perigos se remedeariam e lhe faria muito proveito pera suas rendas e Estado. Porque, alem de se poder dahi facilmente [socorrer] a Maluco, temeriam os mouros alevantarem-se vendo que tam prestes podem ser socorridos e poder-se hiam defender aos jaaos que nam fosem a Maluco nem a Banda, os quais nam podem passar senam por Amboino [19], e, quanto mal nestas duas partes posam fazer, se vio no cerco de Maluco agora há 6 annos [20], e este anno em Banda onde dous navios de jaaos tomaram huma naao de Banda carregada

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[18] An interesting statement betraying a clear vision of the real motivations for conversion to Christianity. Consult D 63 note 61.

[19] « With the western monsoon they [the Javanese] go to ... Ambon, and Banda. ... Wherever they go, namely while they wait for the other monsoon to go back home again, they pull their junks ... onto the beach » (SCHRIEKE, *Indonesian Sociological Studies* I 20, quoted from the *Verhaal van eenige oorlogen in Indië*, 1622). From this it can also be seen that the Javanese had to « hibernate » ; Ambon, and especially Hitu, allied with them, may have provided the most fitting place for that.

[20] The siege began in December 1557, after the imprisonment of Hairun. See D 73, 1.

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de masa e noz, e a levaram [21]. E, alem diso, deffender-se hiam nas mesmas ilhas de Amboino aos jaos que não levem cravo, que cada anno levão, os quais se afirmão que são de 500 bares [22] de cravo de bastão [23] pera cima ; e os jentios de Amboino não lho venderam polo mao pagamento, que delles recebem, se virem ali fortaleza que os deffenda das tiranias dos mesmos jaos e dos mouros de Ternate ; e todo este cravo viria pera a India.

12. E, alem destes proveitos, o principal seria o grande serviço de Deus N.S., que se siguiria em todas aquelas ilhas de Amboino, porque o capitão, que ahi residir, deffenderia os christãos dos mouros salteadores, que comummente os perseguem e guerream por se fazerem christãos. E não há muitos annos que huns capitães d'ell-rei de Ternate [24] desbarataram alguns lugares de christãos e os fizeram casar com mouras e repartiram por os lugares dos mouros, por que se não podessem conservar na christandade [25]. Não somente pera bem dos que estam já feitos, mas tambem pera se fazerem todas as ilhas comarcãs christãas, seria mui necessaria esta fortaleza que digo, as quais, se se deixão de fazer christãas, hé porque os mouros, tanto que se fazem christãos, lhes fazem guerra ; e facilmente se poderiam conservar com o favor e ajuda do capitão. Estas são as cousas, que da christandade de Maluco com a enformação dos Padres e Irmãos, que lá andão, e de outras pessoas, me ocorreo escrever.

[...].

Deste collegio da Madre de Deus de Cochim, oje 20 de Janeiro de 1566.

[...]

De V.R. servo em o Senhor,

Melchior Nunez.

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[21] D 135, 13.

[22] The *bar* or *bahar*, a measure of weight of approximately 500 pounds.

[23] *Cravo de bastão*, a lower quality of clove, consisting of the bud-stalks ; its value was three times less than that of the *cravo de cabeça*, consisting of the cleaned clove-buds, that is, stripped of the stalks. In their greed the Portuguese merchants of Ternate took all the clean clove for themselves and managed to foist the poor quality clove on the king's trading post. Therefore the viceroy, D. Afonso de Noronha (1550-1554), ordered that no clove at all could be bought in Ternate except the clean *de cabeça* (Cf. ORTA I 363 ; 374 ; COUTO VI 9 19 ; SÁ II 103 and 106). The clove of Ambon was of an all-round lower quality than the clove of Ternate.

[24] Leliato (D 109, 6) ; consult D 134 note 3.

[25] This happened in Buru : D 109, 8.

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## 145

# FR. MELCHIOR NUNES BARRETO SJ, VICEPROVINCIAL OF INDIA, [TO FR. DIEGO MIRON, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL]

COCHIN, SHORTLY AFTER JANUARY 21, 1566

I TEXT: DI VI 714-723 [722-723]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 III* ff. 545*r*-546*v*. Original in Portuguese.

II NOTE: Fr. Nunes could not know that Fr. Mirón, in 1565, had been appointed Assistant to Fr. General for Portugal and the Portuguese-sponsored Jesuit provinces, and that he was living in Rome.

### *Text*

*1. On January 20, 1566, the letters from the Far East had not yet arrived in Cochin. — 2. On the 21st, a ship arrived with Fr. Provincial in it. He had returned when he had learned from Fr. de Góis of the total destruction of the Ambon Church : in a village six hundred Christians were murdered ; the entire Christian population of Ambon, more than 70,000 people, had submitted to the Moors. — 3. Quadros decided to urge the viceroy to send a relief expedition and to build a fortress on Ambon. Then there would soon be more than 500,000 Christians in the Ambon islands. — 4. Fr. Mirón should influence the king to give instructions to the viceroy to that effect. — 5. The most important personage of Christian Maluku is the king of Bacan. The king of Portugal should send him a letter.*

[. . .]

1. As cartas de Maluco, China e Japão nam são ategora cheguadas ; se vierem a tempo procurarei que vão ainda nestas naos.

[. . .]

Deste Cochim, a 20 de Janeiro de 1566.

2. [*Postscript*] A 21 de Janeiro chegou huma naao de Malaca em que vinha o P.e Provincial [1] ; e a causa de sua tornada foi saber dos homens de Maluco, e principalmente do P.e Luis de Goes [2], que veyo por mandado do P.e Marcos Prancudo soo a informar o P.e Provincial e Senhor Viso-Rei [3], da grande destruição que os jaos juntamente com

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[1] Fr. António de Quadros.

[2] Quadros and Góis met each other in Malacca (no. 3).

[3] D. Antão de Noronha. According to COUTO (VIII 16), two Ambonese dele-

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os mouros de Ternate e da terra [4] fizerão em todos os lugares dos christãos de Amboino, queimando-lhes as casas e as igrejas e despedaçando-lhes as cruzes, e a elles pondo-os em muitos tormentos; em tanta maneira que em hum soo lugar mataram seiscentos christãos [5], cortando-lhes os buchos dos braços e pernas, soo porque antes que se entregassem fizeram huma grande cova em que esconderam huma cruz, que tinhão embrulhada em panos pretos por sinal de doo, pera que os mouros a não desacatassem com nefandas injurias, como fizerão nas outras. E com estas e outras estranhas avexações, toda a christandade de Amboino, que erão mais de sesenta mil christãos, se sogeitarão aos mouros, porque, como seja gente de fraco entendimento, não poderão resistir a tão crueis avexações e, entregando-se a quem mais podia, retrocederão.

3. Foi tam grande a lastima que o P.e Provincial teve de tam grandes males, que teve por milhor tornar-se de Malaqua à India, a fazer com o Senhor Viso-Rei que mandasse em socorro hum capitão com trezentos homens a Amboino pera aquietar a terra e fazer nella huma fortaleza e lançar os jaos de Amboino, que hir a Maluco, pera onde estava de caminho, a soo chorar estes males sem os poder remedear. E ten-se por cousa mui certa e averiguada que, se for este socorro, não somente aqueles sesenta mil christãos se tornarão loguo ao gremio da santa Madre Igreja, senão tambem que se farão mais de quinhentos mil christãos por todos aqueles povos e lugares das ilhas de Amboino [6].

4. Faça V.R. por amor de Deus que se neguocee com S.A. que mande ao Viso-Rrei fazer aquela fortaleza e mandar este socorro, pera que, se o nam tiver mandado este anno, com a tornada destas naaos o mande; e faça encomendar a N.S. esta necessidade e a todos os que quá andamos. Elle confirme sempre a V.R. em sua santa graça e a todos.

5. A principal pessoa, que nas partes de Maluquo se converteo a nossa santa fé, hé el-rei de Bacham [7], o qual sempre foi leal e bom christão, e tendo algum favor de S.A. dará animo a outros se fazerem christãos. Elle escreve a El-Rei e manda provado por hum estormento os

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gates, D. António and D. Manuel, had also come with the Fathers. They had been charged by the Christians to plead their cause with the viceroy.

[4] Hitu.

[5] D 135, 17.

[6] A daring number, seemingly too high, even if the people of Seram, Buru, Banggai, and the Kei islands are calculated as future Christians.

[7] He was converted in 1557 and was baptized by Fr. António Vaz (D 82, 2-3).

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servisos que tem feito no tempo da guera [8]. Não pede nada nem quer mays, senão que o favoreça S.A. com huma carta [9], e a nós quá parece-nos que tambem seria bom mandar-lhe alguma palavra [10] que, por pequena que seja, parecerá grande pera elle.

[. . .]

De V.R. servo em o Senhor,

Melchior Nunez.

## 146

## FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 31, 1566

TEXT: DI VI 760-762 [761]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 8 III* ff. 567*r*-568*v*. Original. Portuguese. Second *via*.

### *Text*

*Learning at Malacca of the destruction of the Ambon mission, he determined to return in order to move the viceroy to send an expedition.*

[. . .]

Chegando a Malaca achey ahi novas que em Maluco, pera onde eu hia, estava destruida em Amboyno huma christandade muy grande em que averia setenta mil almas christãas, porque os mouros lhe avião tomados seus lugares. E porque isto avia mister socorro do Viso-Rrey, o qual importava tanto e minha presença cá podia fazer alguma cousa a lho darem, me pareceo necessario tornar-me, e ao Padre Bispo [1] e a outros Padres [2], com quem consultey. Tambem me pareceo necessaria

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[8] This letter has never been found. See D 133*a*.

[9] It is probable that the royal chancellery complied with this wish, but such a letter has never been encountered.

[10] The MS has here only « p[a] », which generally means *pera*, here not suitable; nor does it seem to signify *pessoa* satisfactorily in this context; in some rare cases it stands for *palavra*.

[1] Not the bishop of Malacca, but Bishop Melchior Carneiro SJ, who was living with the Jesuits in Malacca, from where he also wrote D 140.

[2] Fr. Baltasar Dias and Fr. Christovão da Costa (DI VI 630).

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minha vinda pera ordenar algumas cousas, que me parecia que não estavão sufficientemente providas.

[. . .]

De Cochim, oje ultimo de Janeiro de 1566.

De V.P. indino filho em o Senhor,

Antonio de Quadros.

*Lost Letters*

146*a*. — *Fr. António de Quadros, Cochin, to the viceroy, D. Antão de Noronha, Goa ; January 1566.*

Gomes Vaz to the provincial of Portugal, November 29, 1566 : « Depois de cheguado o Pe Provincial de Malaca, deu conta ao Viso-Rei assi por huma carta que lhe escreveo de Cochim . . . de grande estrago que em Amboino os mouros fizerão naquela nova christandade, e do estado em que o negocio ficava, e da necessidade que avia S. Senhoria soccorrer a caso tão urgente » (D 150, 1).

146*b*. — *Fr. António de Quadros, Cochin, to the archbishop of Goa, D. Gaspar de Leão ; January 1566.*

« Peroche questi [il P. Luigi Goez], avvenutosi in Malacca col P. Antonio Quadros, allora Provinciale, inviato a visitare il Moluco, la Cina, e il Giappone, il mosse a dar volta indietro, e tornarsene a Cocìn ; e vi fu il Gennaio del 1566. Quindi in prima per lettere informò l'Arcivescovo, e il Vicerè, della distruttione d'Amboino » (BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 32).

## 147

## VICEROY D. ANTÃO DE NORONHA'S STATUTES FOR THE FORTRESS OF MALUKU

GOA, APRIL 10, 1566

I TEXTS : A. Goa, *Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia, MS 3025* ff. 155*r*-169*r*. Title of the MS : « Regimentos das fortalezas da India ». Copy in Portuguese ; probably of the 17th century (it contains one statute of as late as 1612).

B. Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico do Ultramar, MS 217* ff. 131*r*-151*v*. Copy in Portuguese of the 16th century (the latest signatures date from 1578). Title of the MS : « Regimentos das fortalezas, 1576 ».

II PRINTED : in PISSURLENCAR, *Regimentos* (441-478, « Regimento pera a fortaleza de Maluco » ; 451-453, our fragment), text A.

III OUR EDITION : We print a small part of text A, referring to the church of Maluku, as it was published by Pissurlencar.

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*Text*

1. *Annual salaries for the vicar, two beneficiaries, the treasurer and two choristers of the church of Ternate.* — 2. *Yearly allowance for church expenses.* — 3. *The Maluku Jesuits get their allowance at Malacca ; therefore in Ternate they receive nothing.* — 4. *Conclusion.*

REGIMENTO PERA A FORTALEZA DE MALUCO

[. . .]

Ordinarias das igrejas da dita fortaleza.

1. O vigario da dita fortaleza averá trinta mil rez de seu ordenado e mantimento por anno . . . . . $\overline{xxx}$ rez [1]

Averá na igreja matriz [2] da dita fortaleza dous beneficiados para servirem nella, os quaes averão servindo quinze mil rez d'ordenado por anno cada hum delles . $\overline{xb}$ rez [3]

O tizoureiro da dita igreja averá seis mil rez de mantimento por anno a rezão de quinhentos rez por mez . $\overline{bj}$ rez [4]

Averá maes na dita igreja dois moços do coro, que serão filhos de portùguezes ; e servindo na dita igreja lhe será pago, a cada hum delles, trezentos rez por mez de seu mantimento, em que se monta por anno . . . . . $\overline{bij}$ ij$^{o}$ rez [5]

2. Dar-se há pera a dita igreja pera serviço dela e do culto divino e da sancristia trinta mil rez em cada hum anno : pera vinho pera as missas, e azeite pera as alampadas, e sera pera todo anno e pera as Endoenças e dia da Paschoa, e farinha pera as hostias, e lenha e agoa e lavagem da roupa ; o qual dinheiro se entregará ao dito tizoureiro, e com seu conhecimento e certidão do vigario, de como serve, se levará em conta ao dito feitor . . . $\overline{xxx}$ rez

3. Os Padres da Companhia de Jesu que lá residem, o que lhes hé ordinado pera sua mantença se lhes dá na fortaleza de Malaca, na feitoria della, donde lhe vay o

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[1] 30,000 réis.

[2] The church of St. John the Baptist, being the official church of the fortress.

[3] 15,000 réis.

[4] 6,000 réis.

[5] 7,200 réis.

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provimento cada anno. E por tanto lá não averão maes couza alguma [6].

[...]

4. E o theor deste vay pera a dita fortaleza de Maluco, por mym asinada. Affonço Vaz, escrivão dos contos, o fez em Goa a x. de Abril de 1566. E eu Antonio Gonçalez o fiz escrever. Vizorrey [7].

*Lost Letter*

147*a*. — *Fr. Luís de Góis, Brunei, to the Jesuits in Malacca ; about October 1566.*

Lourenço Peres, Malacca, to Gomes Vaz, November-December 1566 : « Depois de ter escrito esta chegou huma fusta de Borneo por mandado de Gonçalo Pereyra, e das cartas que de lá nos derão do P. Luis de Gois soubemos [that Fr. João da Veiga died in Brunei] » (D 148, 10).

## 148

## FR. LOURENÇO PERES SJ TO SCHOLASTIC GOMES VAZ SJ, GOA

MALACCA, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1566

I TEXT : DI VII 31-38 [35-38]. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 354*v*-355*v*. Copy in Portuguese.

II NOTE : Lourenço Peres was born in Goa in 1540, entered the Society there in 1557, and was, when he wrote this letter, a superior in Malacca. He died in 1601 (DI IV 295 note 87).

### *Text*

1. *On Timor and Solor a wave of conversions after a big Portuguese victory.* — 2. *How fifteen Portuguese put up a stubborn defence against 200 Javanese.* — 3. *A Portuguese junk came up to their aid and the Javanese retreated.* — 4. *Thousands of pagans, also from neighbouring islands, asked to be christened.* — 5. *Bad news about the Frs. Tristão de Araújo and João da Veiga : no tidings at all of their ship.* — 6. *According to a credible information the king of Ternate invaded the church during a sermon and*

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[6] The yearly payment amounted to 600 cruzados in 1559 (D 87, 1), to 600 pardaus in 1571 (D 187). How little compliant the *feitoria* in Malacca was is witnessed by D 112, 2.

[7] For earlier statutes for the church of Ternate, see SÁ II 155-156.

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*killed all people present. It was also he who called the Javanese to Ambon. — 7. Many deserters among the Portuguese soldiers. — 8. He asks for rosaries, holy pictures, and for news. — 9. He gives instructions for letters to be sent to him in order to forward them to the Maluku Fathers. — 10. From Brunei news came that Fr. João da Veiga died there.*

[. . .]

1. De Timor e Solor [1], que sam humas ilhas onde os Padres de Sam Domingos fizerão alguma christandade [2], tivemos agora muy boas novas, de huma grande conversam, que por meio de huma victoria, que os portugueses tiverão, se fez [3]. Anda por aquelas partes hum frade chamado Frey Antonio, com alguns companheyros [4]; homem zeloso que parece que, com a perseverança, espera de colher algum fruito de sua paciencia; e assi foy.

2. Os jaos mouros, imigos do nome christão, vendo que crecia aquella christandade, vieram, paçante de duzentos amoucos [5], a destrui-lla. Ally se acharão huns oito portugueses [6], com os Padres, os quais se puserão em defensão, ordenando suas tranqueiras, e tiveran-se esforçadamente ao impeto dos jaos. Depois, sobreveio outro junco de portuguezes, em socorro, com sete ou oito homeens, de maneyra que estes quatorze ou quinze homeens tiverão o rosto a paçante de duzentos, bem que dos encontros forão feridos os nossos e morto hum capitão portuguez. Vendo os jaos que não podião entrar, mandarão dizer que, se lhes entregassem os Padres, que se yrião. Os portugueses lhes responderão, que nem hum cão lhes dariam, senão a espada.

3. Quis N. Senhor que, postos os portuguezes nestas angustias, sobreveio hum junco de Banda com alguns homeens, que, juntos todos, perfizerão o numero de trinta. Estes nhum corpo, derão nos jaos (e

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[1] On Timor and Solor, see D 88.

[2] The Dominicans started their Solor mission in 1562, shortly after the arrival of the first bishop of Malacca, D. Jorge de Santa Luzia OP, in November 1561.

[3] CACEGAS-SOUSA, *História de S. Domingos* IV 342-343, recounts the battle and the subsequent conversions. This must have occurred before the ship left Solor with the SE monsoon, that is, before May 1565.

[4] Frei António da Cruz and three companions (ibid. 342). The MS *Ilhas de Solor* says the bishop sent three Friars : Frey António da Cruz, Frey Simão das Chagas, and a lay brother, Frey Aleixo (SÁ IV 495).

[5] *Amok* or *amuk* (Malay), to commit suicide by running furiously and desperately at the enemy, to run amuck, to be possessed with a murderous frenzy (Cf. YULE 18-23 ; DALGADO I 33-36 ; ENI I 48).

[6] Obviously having arrived with a junk ; see the following *outro junco.*

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sendo alias esforçadissimos, e que não sabem fogir), tremor Domini invasit illos, et alii terga verterunt, alii vero occisi sunt [7].

4. Quando os christãos e gentios virão tam grande victoria, entenderão que Deos pelejara pellos portugueses, e assi, os yá convertidos ficarão mais confirmados na fee, e muitos milhares dos gentios, ou todos, pedirão o santo bautismo [8]; e não somente estes, mas os das ylhas comarcãas, ouvindo da victoria, tambem pedem o bautismo; de maneyra que se abre por lá huma grande porta à christandade.

5. Do Padre Tristão d'Araujo, Yoão da Veiga [9], temos ruins novas, porque desapareseo o navio, sem oje, este dia, termos novas delle. Não foy ter a Maluco; teme-sse que, segundo elle era pequeno e hya metido no fundo, que de todo se hyria ao fundo.

6. Pois de Maluco, à partida da armada [10], tivemos bem tristes novas e provaveis. Dizem que, estando hum dia à pregação et toda a gente na igreya, deu subitamente ho rey de Ternate, com a sua gente, no templo, e ali forão mortos todos [11]. Não será isto muito, porque dias há que os Padres et portugueses, que estão na fortaleza de Maluco, estão esperando que este negro se alevantasse com alguma treyção; et asy todos tem por averiguado que este ternate meteo os yaos em Amboino.

7. Estando a cousa desta maneira e Maluco em tanto aperto, muitos soldados dos que vierão se deyxarão quá ficar, por estes matos, escondidos; mas elles forão bem vareyados da mão de Deos, que huns morrerão de febres, outros, à pura fome, se vierão entregar à justiça, denique ludibrium facti sunt angelis et hominibus [12].

8. Não me quero mais nesta alargar, soomente peço a V.R., que desas contas bentas e registros [13], que do Reyno lhe vierem ou lá alcansar, parta comigo, et todas as mais novas particulares mas comu-

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[7] Not strict by quotations from Holy Scripture, but free adaptations of it. Cf. Jdt 4 2.

[8] The *História de S. Domingos* (343) is much more modest in recounting the success, speaking of *alguns* converted only.

[9] Cf. D 138.

[10] Meanwhile the viceroy had sent Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque to Maluku. His fleet sailed from Goa on May 1, 1566, reached Malacca, and left for Borneo (Brunei) in August of that year (*Relação Vasconcelos* 174, where 1568 has to be corrected to 1566).

[11] Obviously nothing but a false rumour since the supposed fact is not mentioned in any other letter or document.

[12] Cf. 1 Cor 4 9: « Spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus ».

[13] Rosaries and holy pictures.

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nique. Não tenho, ao presente, cousa que mandar, senão a boa vontade e amor que in Domino lhe tenho.

De Malaca, oye ... de Novembro [14] 1566.

[*First postscript*]

9. Lembre-sse V.R. de nos mandar, na monção de Abril, as cartas do Reyno que hão-de hir pera Maluco, porque quá não vierão ter mais de huma, da eleyção do Summo Pontifice [15], et outra geral de Roma da eleyção do novo Geral [16], e huma semestre de Portugal de Lisboa de trinta de Junho, e huma do collegio de Goa [17]; todas estas yrão na monção pera Yapão e China. Apontey-lhas aqui, porque estas não será necessario virem mais que por huma via pera Maluco, et as mais que faltão virão por duas, scilicet, Yapão e Maluco, porque, se porventura se lá se não alemb[r]ar as que quá mandou, não tomem os Yrmãos trabalho de tresladar, duas vezes, as mesmas cartas.

[*Second postscript*]

10. Depois de ter escrito esta, ant'ontem, chegou huma fusta de Borneo [18], por mandado de Gonçalo Pereyra [19], e das cartas que de lá

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[14] The date must be about the end of November; cf. DI VII 37 note 23.

[15] Pius IV died in 1565; Pius V was elected in early 1566. For the letter, see MHSI, *Borgia* IV 162: Fr. Polanco to all the provincials, January 15, 1566.

[16] Fr. Francisco de Borja was elected general of the Jesuit Order on July 2, 1565, as successor of Fr. Diego Laínez. For the letter, see MHSI, *Borgia* IV 16: Fr. Polanco to all the provincials, July 5, 1565.

[17] Two unknown letters.

[18] Borneo, the town and port of Brunei. The ship arrived in Malacca in December 1566; see D 152, 1.

[19] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque, son of António Pereira, fifth Lord of Basto. See *Relação Vasconcelos* 173-237; LEMOS 455-474; COUTO VIII 16, 25 and 31; *Livro das cidades* f. 72*r-v*. All the authors and sources seem to be rather uncertain and vague about Pereira's activities during the first years, from 1566 until the beginning of 1569, and they excel in giving erroneous dates. (See, e.g., the embarrassment of Manuel TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 471). They agree that, when making anchorage in Brunei, he learned that a Spanish fleet had been sighted in the waters of Cebu, Philippines. Against his instructions to succour the Ambon Christians and to build a fortress on that island, he changed route and sailed towards Cebu to expel the Spaniards from a region he considered to lie within the Portuguese demarcation limits. From this point, however, we meet only incomplete reports and much vagueness. A document in the *Archivo de Indias*, Seville, (*Patronato 24 ramo 6*) sheds some more light on these events. It is clear from Pereira's own words that he made three successive efforts to meet the Spaniards. (COUTO (VIII 25 [p. 188]) is not uninformed of the three efforts). *First* effort: he sailed from Brunei on October 6, 1566, in the direction of Cebu, but had to contend with an adverse wind that drove him back



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nos derão do P. Luis de Gois [20], soubemos como ho galiãosinho em que hião os Padres Araujo e Veyga envernara em Borneo, com muito trabalho, adoecendo muita gente, e ali foy Nosso Senhor servido de levar pera si o Padre Yoão da Veyga [21].

De V.R. Yrmão yndino em ho Senhor,

Lourenço Peres.

## 149

## FR. JUAN DE POLANCO'S ACCOUNT OF POPE PIUS V'S *VIVA VOCE* PASTORAL RULE OF CONDUCT FOR THE MALUKU JESUITS

ROME, NOVEMBER 27, 1566

I AUTHORS: SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc.*, *Borgia* IV 273; WESSELS, *Amboina* 53.

II TEXT: *Polanci Complementa* II 635-723 [669]. Taken from an autographic MS titled *Commentariola rerum memoria dignarum in Societate nostra ab anno 1564*, in *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 5a* ff. 129*r*-172*r*, our fragment ff. 145*v*-146*r*, written by Polanco by way of a diary and following closely upon the occurrences.

III PRINTED: Besides the aforementioned *Complementa*, a Dutch translation of our passage was published by WESSELS, *Amboina* 53 (and a French one in the French edition of the same work, pp. 80-81).

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to Ternate. He sent two coracoras under António Rombo da Costa and Baltasar da Sousa to reconnoitre the Spaniards. *Second* effort: on October 13, 1567, he set out again from Ternate, but again the monsoon was refractory and he had to return empty-handed. *Third* effort: on August 26, 1568, he sailed off anew and reached Cebu, only to find that the Spanish governor, Miguel López de Legazpi, had settled in and fortified himself thoroughly and was by no means willing to leave the country which he considered to belong to the Spanish crown. Pereira had to return, as wise as he had left, in January 1569. Letters and other documents of the negotiations between Pereira and Legazpi are to be found in the aforementioned archives, *Patronato 24 ramo 9*.

[20] When the Jesuits, in May 1565, were constrained to leave Ambon, Fr. Prancudo ordered Fr. Luís de Góis to sail to India to implore the viceroy to render assistance (D 145, 2). From Malacca Góis went to Goa with Fr. Quadros, who sent him back to Maluku in the fleet of Gonçalo Pereira (D 150, 4). The letter Fr. Góis wrote from Brunei to the Jesuits in Malacca is lost; see D 147*a*.

[21] So this Father, destined for Maluku, did not reach his goal. On him and Fr. Tristão de Araújo, see DD 130, 141, 142.

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IV OUR EDITION : We give the printed text of *Polanci Complementa*, our fragment on p. 669.

*Text*

*Having been asked whether or not the Maluku Jesuits could baptize big crowds of people without being able to instruct them and retain them in the faith, the pope gave to understand that they should restrict themselves to those whom they were able to preserve in the faith accepted.*

Cum autem ego qui aderam hoc ipso die, id est 27 novembris [1566], consulerem pontificem an videretur ei expedire ut Nostri, qui in Malucis agunt, et maximas hominum turbas, ultro baptismum petentes, post catechismum baptizarent, cum revera propter eorum multitudinem (plurima enim millia et in insulis variis christiani esse volebant) non possent post baptismum eos ut vellent instruere et in vita christianae fidei consentanea retinere [1], respondit sibi videri ut ad eos convertendos et baptizandos se Nostri extenderent quos in relligione semel suscepta conservare possent, ne quos facile fidei lucrifacerent, facile etiam defectu instructionis amitterent [2].

## 150

## SCHOLASTIC GOMES VAZ SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR ANTÓNIO DA COSTA, TO FR. LEÃO HENRIQUES, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

GOA, NOVEMBER 29, 1566

I TEXT : DI VII 38-71 [45]. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 274*r*-286*r*. Contemporary Portuguese copy.

II NOTE : On Gomes Vaz, see DI VI 16*.

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[1] From this it is apparent that the Fathers in Maluku had their serious doubts about mass baptisms and proceeded neither thoughtlessly nor with the superficial and selfish greediness to gain as quickly as possible large numbers of converts, which some later authors ascribed to them. Conscientiously, even scrupulously, they pondered the question of the right procedure and propounded their doubts to their superiors. But being in a running contest with Islam, they often were constrained to administer baptism where, under other circumstances, a postponement would have been advisable.

[2] Cf. D 153, 4 ; D 172 ; SACCHINI, *Historia Societatis, Borgia*, IV 273 ; PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste* VIII 535-537 ; DI VII 579 ; VIII 114.

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## *Text*

*1. Having returned from Malacca, Fr. Provincial [Quadros] exposed the distress of the Ambon Christians to the viceroy and urged him to send an expedition. — 2. He ordered prayers to be said for that purpose. — 3. Finally the viceroy resolved to send a fleet with more than 400 Portuguese soldiers under the command of Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque. — 4. Two Jesuits are in the fleet : Fr. Tonda, who will go and return in it, and Fr. Luís de Góis, who will remain in Maluku as a superior instead of Fr. Prancudo, who is ordered to return to India. The fleet sailed on May 1, 1566.*

[. . .]

1. Depois de cheguado o P.e Provincial de Malaca [1], deu conta ao Viso-Rei assi por huma carta que lhe escreveo de Cochim [2], onde se deixou ficar por alguns dias, pera escrever a essas partes nas naos que ainda não erão partidas [3], como tãobem depois que chegou a esta cidade, por algumas vezes que com elle se vio, do grande estrago que em Amboino os mouros fizerão naquela nova christandade, e do estado em que o negocio ficava, e da necessidade que avia de S. Senhoria soccor-[r]er a caso tão urgente e de tanto serviço de Deos, e como sua tornada de Malacha fora pera effeito de representar o que passava.

2. Depois disto ordenou tãobem que en casa se encomendasse o negoceo muito a N. Senhor, para que tãobem de nosa parte socorresemos a tão grande necessidade com o que podiamos.

3. Finalmente S. Senhoria concluyo mandar huma armada pera restaurar a perda e assegurar os negoceos de Deos e d'El-Rei naquelas partes. Fez capitão-mor da armada a Gonçalo Pereira Marramache, que servia de capitão-mor do mar ; deu-lhe 400 até quinhentos soldados portugueses [4]. Confiamos en Deos que, com este socorro e com as orações

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[1] Fr. Quadros disembarked in Cochin on January 21, 1566 (D 145, 2).

[2] Lost letter. See D 146*a*.

[3] See D 146. Undoubtedly he wrote to Fr. Provincial of Portugal, but this letter, and eventually other ones, are not known to us.

[4] The viceroy, D. Antão de Noronha, in a letter of December 22, 1566, to the Queen Regent Catarina, reports that he sent Gonçalo Pereira with a fleet of « mais de quinhentos homens » first to Malacca, to help this city to defend itself against the Aceh sultan, and then to Ambon : « E se em Malaca não tivese que fazer, mandey-lhe que passase a Maluco e Amboyno, por aver laa muy grande necesydade dela, por se não ter muita comfiança do rrey de Maluco, e por terem mortos hos jaos huma grande cantidade de cristandade em Amboyno, e asolado e destroido toda aquela terra, a que comprya muito acodir por nosso credito, e pera se favorecerem aqueles

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que ainda se continuão, favorecerá este negoceo, pois hé seu, e acudirá por sua honrra.

4. Quisera o capitão-mor que o P.e Provincial fora na armada a proseguir a intenção com que antes passara a Malaca, mas por outros negoceos que cá se offerecerão de maior serviço de Deos, e porque tinha por visitar outras partes da Provincia não pode satisfazer a seus desejos. Deu-lhe todavia dous Padres: hum hé o P.e Vicente Tonda [5], pera ir e vir na armada, e o P.e Luis de Gois que viera do mesmo Amboino, pera ficar lá por superior em lugar do P.e Marcos Pranqudo, que hé mandado vir pera a India [6]. Partio esta armada ao 1º de Mayo de 66 e correrão-lhe bons tempos depois da partida, louvores a Deos.

[...]

Deste collegio de S. Paulo de Goa, 29 de Novembro 1566.

Por commissão do P. Reytor, Antonio da Costa.

De V.R. indino em Christo filho,

Gomez Vaz.

## 151

## FR. LOURENÇO PERES SJ TO FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 2, 1566

TEXT: DI VII 84-89 [87-88], taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 296*r*-297*v*. Autograph. Portuguese.

### *Text*

1. *Ambon refugees arrived at Malacca, very poor and needy; he managed to give them clothes and food.* — 2. *A victory and conversions on Timor and Solor, where the Dominicans work.*

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pobres cristãos, que são muitos e a que temos obrigação d'emparar e ajudar » (WIKKI, *Noronha* 282).

[5] See Tonda's letter of August 10, 1566, in DI VII 17 (Doc. 8 no. 1). He was not a missionary for Maluku, but a fleet chaplain.

[6] We are in the dark as to why Fr. Prancudo was summoned to return to India. In actual fact he did not leave Maluku at this time, but he ceased to be a superior.

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[. . .]

1. Os dias passados vierão ter a este porto humas trinta ou 40 almas christãs que escaparão da perseguição e destruição grande que os mouros fizerão na christandade de Amboyno [1], como V.P. mais particularmente saberá pollas cartas de Maluquo [2]. Chegarão estes christãos mui pobres e necessitados, e nós os agazalhamos o milhor que pudemos, tirando-lhes algumas esmolas pera esta obra de charidade, que todos folgavão de a fazer; e do que se tirou os vestimos e lhes demos de comer, e oje em dia os provemos do mantimento corporal que com esta esmola se comprou.

2. Em as ilhas de Timor e Solor [3], onde andavão os Padres de S. Domingos fazendo alguma christan[da]de, tivemos agora por novas certas que abrio o Senhor grande porta à converssão, porque aconteceo que os jaos mouros, vendo que aquella christandade hia crecendo, detreminarão de a destruir, pera o que se ajuntarão passante de duzentos jaos, que hé a gente mais esforçada que por estas partes há. Estes derão na terra onde se acharão por todos alguns trinta portugueses, os quais feitos num corpo derão nos imigos e, sendo homens que alias não sabem mudar o pee donde o põem, então parece que terror Domini invasit eos [4], e fugirão parte delles, outros ficarão no campo. Esta vitoria atribuirão os gentios a misterio, dizendo que o Deos dos christãos peleijara por elles, e assi os novamente convertidos ficarão mais confirmados na fee e dos gentios se converterão muitos milhares, e não soomente elles mas doutras ilhas comarcans mandarão pedir o santo bautismo.

[. . .]

De Malaqua, oje 2 de Dezembro 1566.

De V.P. indino filho em o Senhor,

Lourenço Peres.

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[1] It is important to insist on the fact that the Hitu Muslims, favoured in every possible way by King Hairun of Ternate and assisted by Javanese troops obtained from Japara (Demak), aimed at a complete and thorough destruction of the Christian Church in Ambon by simply killing the people, destroying the villages, and burning down the houses. Against COUTO and REBELO, who defended Hairun through thick and thin as a loyal vassal of the king of Portugal, SOUZA (II III 1 12), after his report of the Ambon persecution, exclaims sarcastically: « E estes eram os grandes serviços que fazia el-rei Aeyro à Coroa Portugueza ».

[2] Especially D 135; other letters from Maluku on this topic did not come down to us.

[3] Cf. DD 88 and 148. The battle and victory related here are the same as those reported in D 148, 1-4.

[4] Cf. Jdt 4 2.

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## 152

# BISHOP MELCHIOR CARNEIRO SJ TO FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 20, 1566

TEXT: DI VII 157-161 [160]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11* II ff. 303*r*-304*v*. Original in Portuguese with autographic conclusion and signature.

### *Text*

1. *A vessel sent by Pereira Marramaque put into harbour, bearing news that the Spaniards under Legazpi had arrived at Mindanao with a mind to build a fortress there. Pereira could not forage at Brunei because its people had already allied themselves with the Spaniards.* — 2. *For the present Pereira abandoned his task* [*to succour Ambon*], *and turned off to Mindanao.* — 3. *In order to avoid a war between Spain and Portugal the pope should have the line of demarcation ascertained by cosmographers.*

[. . .]

1. Estando escrevendo esta carta, chegou a este porto huma fusta de hum capitam-mor [1] que vai socorrer a Maluco, o qual manda novas ao Viso-Rey da India [2] como partirão da Nova Espanha quatro naos de castelhanos a estas partes [3], os quaes vierão a fazer huma fortaleza a huma ilha chamada Mindanao [4], que está em dez graos pera o norte, junto das ilhas do cravo. Distará dellas 150 leguas. O general desta gente se chama De la Gasca [5]; intitulla-se general de todo este Occidente [6], e está já confederado de modo com algumas ilhas de aquelle arcepelego, que chegando o capitam-mor dos purtugueses a huma ilha, chamada Borneo, não lhe quiserão dar mantimentos por estarem já confederados com os castelhanos [7].

---

[1] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque.

[2] D. Antão de Noronha.

[3] They had left the port of Navidad in Mexico on November 21, 1564.

[4] The Spaniards of this fleet did not land in Mindanao, but successively in Leyte, Samar, Bohol, Cebu, Panay, and later on in Luzon and Mindoro.

[5] Deformation of the name De Legazpi (Miguel López).

[6] His bombastic title was: Gobernador y capitán general por su Majestad del descubrimiento de las islas del poniente.

[7] This seems an exaggerated statement. Certainly, there never was a treaty of vassalage or of alliance between Legazpi and the sultan of Brunei. That sympathy

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2. As novas, que esta fusta mais traz, sam que ho capitam-mor dos purtugueses deixando a empresa que levava, ou dilatando-a para depois, vay demandar aquella gente por estarem dentro na demarcação dos purtugueses com detreminação de os fazer ir dalli [8]. Já agora será chegado, porque de Borneo, donde partio, a Mindanao omde elles estam, averá 60 leguas. Estamos aqui em duvida se aquella gente será mandada por El-Rey Felipe ou pollo Viso-Rey da Nova Espanha [9].

3. E porque eu temo que se comece daqui a ordir grandes desaventuras e guerras amtre Portugal e Castella, que seria hum grande escamdolo para toda a Christandade, me pareceo bem avisar a Vossa Paternidade disto, por me parecer que nenhum serviço pode aguora fazer a Deos N.S. mayor, que fazer com Sua Sanctidade que queira averiguar por cosmographos estas demarcações amtre estes principes, pera aver paz perpetua amtre elles, a qual tenho muy grande duvida

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for the Spaniards joined with animosity towards the Portuguese prevailed at that time among the Borneo people may be derived from an *Información* of March 25, 1565 (*De las Islas Filippinas* II doc. 43, pp. 284-305), in which Muslim merchants of Brunei inform Legazpi of some cruelties committed by the Portuguese some years before against the natives of Bohol. But in the same document they state that they themselves were not molested, being friends of the Portuguese (ibid., 289, 291). Captain António Lopes de Sequeira, in a letter of November 12, 1566, witnessed that Gonçalo Pereira was informed about the presence of Legazpi in the Philippines by the king of Borneo himself (ibid., 470). In 1565, the galley in which João da Veiga and Tristão de Araújo sailed waited in the port of Brunei before catching the monsoon (D 148, 10). Not before 1578 did the Spaniards make their first advance against Brunei (COLIN-PASTELLS I 140).

[8] See the severe condemnation of Gonçalo Pereira for swerving from his instructions, in the *Relação Vasconcelos* 174-175. His duty was « a socorrer tanta emfenita christamdade que avia nas ilhas de Maluco e Amboino, bautizada pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus ». That Pereira himself was not ignorant of the risk incurred by the Maluku Christians is visible from his own words written to Legazpi off Cebu on October 19, 1568, retorting against the complaint of using native forces to combat Christians : « Está muito mais certo nan ter [el-rrey de Ternate] aynda saido de seu rreino que ser já fora dele. Verdade hé que o mandey vir con sua armada como vasallo que é del-rrey noso Senhor por muitas rrezõis ; a primeira e mais principal : pelo tirar de sua terra e nan fiquar nella, enquanto eu por quá andare, deservindo a Deus e a Sua Alteza, perseguindo a cristandade do Moro, Bachan e Anboino e Celebes, como algumas vezes se suspeita que fez por debaixo da capa ». (Seville, *Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 24 ramo 6* f. 3[a]*r*).

[9] The expedition had been ordered by King Philip II ; the execution had been entrusted to the viceroy of Mexico, D. Luis de Velasco († 1564) (COLÍN-PASTELLS I 151).

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avê-lla emquanto se isto não averiguar. E, se começar, durará muytos annos, porque ho poder que nestas partes têm os purtugueses hé muyto grande, e am-de deixar de má vontade ho cravo de Maluco e a prata de Japão e as rriquezas da China, as drogas de Çumda [10] e Banda, porque monta o cabedal que nisto amda perto de hum conto e meio d'ouro [11].

Noso Senhor nos dê a sentir sua sanctissima vontade pera que esta inteiramente cumpramos.

De Malaca, a 20 de Dezembro de 1566.

Filius indignus V.P.,

Melchior, episcopus nicenus.

## 153

## FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA'S FIRST INSTRUCTION FOR THE VISITOR OF THE INDIES, PORTUGAL

ROME, JANUARY 10, 1567

I TEXT: DI VII 185-192 [188-191]. Taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 68* ff. 7*r*-9*r*. Original Roman file-copy in Spanish.

II NOTE: Having learned of the second failure of Quadros' endeavour to visit the more remote parts of the Indian Province, Fr. General conceived a new idea: to send a special visitor who would operate independently of the provincial. As such he appointed Fr. Gonçalo Álvares, who in April 1568 sailed from Lisbon to India. For his life, see DI VII 16*-17*, and also 26*-27*. This document and the following are taken from two instructions Fr. Borja wrote to the appointed visitor.

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[10] The most important merchandise the Portuguese traded in Sunda, that is, in W Java, was pepper.

[11] One and a half million gold cruzados. Strangely enough, Bishop Carneiro seems to insinuate with these words that it is the Portuguese that would have to retire from the field, whereas it is clear to everyone now (and it was clear to the Portuguese then) that the Philippine Islands are situated entirely within the Portuguese limits, as the Maluku Islands are. But it is worth noting that, owing to the treaty of 1529 on Maluku between Portugal and Spain, the Spaniards could feel entitled to claim those islands. In this connection Pius V, in early 1571, declared « que estava con cuydado de que si querían ahora yr a tratar allá los vasallos de V.M. no suscediese algun inconveniente, porque los portugueses se hallavan en aquella parte muy poderosos y no lo çufrirían » (The Spanish ambassador to Felipe II, Rome, January 5, 1571, in SERRANO, *Correspondencia diplomática* IV 161).

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## *Text*

*1. Too many Jesuits in Goa ; some could be occupied more usefully in Maluku. — 2. The Maluku Jesuits should observe the « socius-rule » as far as possible. — 3. With the growing number of Jesuits in Japan, Maluku, and China, there should be a delegate of Fr. Provincial as local superior. — 4. Better to preserve the converts once made than to keep making new ones who cannot be preserved. This is also the pope's view.*

### Recuerdos que se dan al Padre visitador de las Indias de Portugal

[. . .]

1. Parece que en Goa ay muchos operarios sin mucha ocupación, y muchos sermones en diversas partes a menudo ; véase si saría mayor servicio de nuestro Señor repartir la gente para dar ayuda a los Maluchos y otras partes, contentándose en Goa de tener los que bastan, ultra de los que estudian y se disponen para trabajar después en la viña del Señor [1].

[. . .]

2. En los Maluchos y otras partes, parece que van solos algunos de los nuestros. Si buenamente pudiese proveerse, que andassen acompañados, se devería procurar con mucha diligentia, como cosa importante para su aprovechiamento y consolación [2].

[. . .]

3. Así en el Japón, como en las Maluchas y en la China, si los nuestros allí se multiplican, como se spera, parece devría haver un substituto del Provincial, que en cada región destas fuesse superior de los demás, por ser raro el comercio y estar tan apartados [3].

[. . .]

4. Mírese en el modo que se tiene de provar los que vienen al chris-

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[1] In December 1566 Saint Paul's College in Goa numbered 107 Jesuits, of whom 26 were Fathers, 51 Scholastics, and 30 Novices (DI VII 71-84).

[2] Ignatius Loyola wrote in his *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* : « Quod ad numerum attinet huiusmodi operariorum, qui mittendi sunt, et combinationem eorum, consideratio erit etiam adhibenda : et primo quidem, cum fieri posset, conveniret unum solum non mitti, sed saltem duos . . . » (MI, *Constit.* III 207). More than once, in Maluku, Fathers were sent unaccompanied to various places ; the solo voyage of Fr. Magalhães to N Celebes may have caused Fr. General's uneasiness.

[3] Such a delegate of the provincial is called *vicario provincial* in DD 154 and 155.

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tianismo, y de instruirlos, y el modo que se usa después de christianos para conservarlos, porque algunos tornan atrás. Y aunque esto pueda ser sin culpa de los nuestros, y así se cree lo sea, todavía, por ser la cosa de tanta importancia, merece particular consideración y cuydado, para buscar todos los medios de bien conservar lo que bien se ha ganado. Y esta es la mente del Papa, al qual no parece se hagan christianos los que no se pueden conservar, y aconseja fortificar lo ganado, y después pasar adelante [4].

[...]

De Roma, 10 de Enero 1567.

## 154

## FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA'S SECOND INSTRUCTION FOR THE VISITOR OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE, PORTUGAL

ROME, OCTOBER 1, 1567

TEXT: DI VII 303-313 [307; 313]. Taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 68* ff. 102*r*-103*v*. Original Roman file-copy in Spanish. Once we had to rectify the published text from the MS.

### *Text*

1. *Bishop Carneiro is fully free to settle in Maluku if he likes.* — 2. *The Indian provincial should not visit remote regions himself, but only through trustworthy provincial delegates.*

[...]

1. El P.e Obispo Carnero piensa le será propicio el cielo y la tierra de los Malucos [1]. Yo le escrivo que, pareciéndole así, vaya con la paz del Señor [2]. Pide le sean dados por conpañeros para hazer fructo en aquellas partes los que fueron de Europa para la Etiopía y han quedado en la India. Yo le escrivo que V.R. le proverá de aquellos o de otros

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[4] Cf. D 149.

[1] Bishop Melchior Carneiro SJ, suffering from asthma, had sought relief in Malacca and hoped to find a still more helpful climate in Maluku. But he never went there.

[2] Cf. DI VII 315-316.

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que sean al propósito para el mayor servicio divino y consolación suya ; y así lo aréis, Padre, porque le deseo al bendito Obispo todo su contentamiento.

[. . .]

2. El Provincial de la India no conviene que salga a vissitar las partes remotas [3] de ella. Pero V.R., informado dél, nombrará personas de confiança que sean vicarios provinciales, pero que dependan del Provincial de la India, en todas las partes remotas, como Malaca y Maluco y Japón y China [4].

[. . .]

De Roma, primero de Otubre 1567.

## 155

## FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA, TO FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA

ROME, OCTOBER 28, 1567

TEXT: DI VII 327-334 [329 ; 330]. Taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 68* ff. 104*v*-105*r*. Original Roman file-copy in Spanish.

### *Text*

1. *By letters received he is informed of Quadros' intended journey to Maluku and unexpected return from Malacca on account of the extermination of Ambon Christianity.* — 2. *Henceforth the provincial must never leave India again, but rather visit remote places, like Maluku, by deputies appointed by Fr. Visitor.*

[. . .]

1. Llegaron bien deseadas las de V.R. juntas, las de 2 años, de 15 de 9bre. y 20 del mesmo de 65, y 9 de Deziembre de 66 [1]. Por ellas he entendido la ida a Malaca, camino de la[s] Malucas, y tornada a Goa por el sucesso de las rebueltas de los reyes de Tidore y Ternate [2], y la

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[3] *Remotas*, in the MS, not in DI.

[4] It is in this same letter that Fr. Marcos Prancudo is authorized to make the profession of three vows (DI VII 311).

[1] The letter of November 15, 1565, is unknown, as well as the one of December 9, 1566 ; the letter of November 20, 1565, is our D 137.

[2] The king of Tidore was not a partner of Hairun in smashing the Ambon Church.

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muerte de aquellos inocentes del Anboyno, por la que de Henero de 66 se escrivió de Cochín [3]. Sea por todo el Señor alabado, que sabe y suele, de la sangre derramada de sus mártires, hazer brotar nuevas plantas en mayor número para bien de su Iglesia y gloria suya.

[...]

2. Aver ydo a vissitar las Malucas, aunque se tiene por cierto que fue por justos respectos, se juzga que, para adelante, no conviene que el Provincial salga de la India, pero podrá tener algunas personas de confiança que sean vicarios provinciales, que dependan del Provincial de la India, en las partes de Malaca y Maluco y Japón y China, los quales nombrará el P.e Vissitador [4] informado de V.R.

[...]

De Roma, 28 de Otubre 1567.

## 156

## SCHOLASTIC GOMES VAZ SJ, CHARGED BY FR. RECTOR ANTÓNIO DA COSTA, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

GOA, DECEMBER 12, 1567

TEXT: DI VII 371-405 [375-376]. Taken from Lisbon, *Academia das Ciências, 13 azul* ff. 361*r*-370*v*. Contemporary copy in Portuguese.

### *Text*

1. *Nearly three years ago two Fathers sailed from Cochin to Maluku. Owing to stormy weather they had to put into the port of Brunei.* — 2. *Both suffered from fever, and one of them, Fr. João da Veiga, died. The other continued on his way. This is good news, for in Malacca people feared that the ship was wrecked.*

[...]

1. Outros Padres falecerão em outras partes, mas porque não será Vossa Reverencia avisado por outra de hum que falleceo em Maluquo,

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[3] See D 145, 2.

[4] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares, who arrived in Goa in October 1568. This proposal materialized in some degree in the appointment of Fr. Luís de Góis as Visitor of the Maluku mission (D 177, 6).

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me pareceo referi-llo nesta. Este Padre [1] partio vay em tres annos de Cochim [2] por ordem do P.e Provincial pera Maluquo com outro Padre que deste collegio foi [3]. Tiverão neste caminho tempos muito rijos depois de partirem de Malaqua, tanto que não puderão passar a Ternate, que hé o luguar de Maluquo onde os portugueses têm sua fortaleza e os nossos Padres sua residencia principal, e foi necessario arribarem a Borneo [4], que hé huma ilha que está no caminho e invernarem nella.

2. Ally foi N. Senhor servido de visitar a ambos os Padres com algumas febres, e com ellas levou pera sy hum delles que chamavão João da Veiga. O outro dahy a poucos dias proseguia sua viagem e hia jaa convalecendo. Folgamos com estas novas, porque se presumia, ao menos em Malaqua, ser o navio em que hião perdido, por de Ternate não fazerem nenhuma menção delle, e quando partio de Malaqua não ir muito bem provido [5].

[. . .]

De Goa, oje 12 de Dezembro de 1567.

Por comissão do P.e Reitor.

Filho indigno de V.R.,

Gomez Vaz.

## 157

## MEMORANDUM OF FR. JUAN DE POLANCO SJ FOR POPE PIUS V

[Rome, April-May 1568]

I Authors : *Polanci Complementa* II 687-688 ; Wicki, *Nuovi documenti* (with a detailed commentary).

II Text : *ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 721 II 2.* Holographic draft on two folios stuck together, and numbered 28 (formerly 13 and 466) and 29 (formerly 14 and 467). The document consists of two parts : f. 28*r* is a memorandum in five points, three of which are numbered, written in Spanish, and perhaps intended for the personal use of Fr. General Borja in his interview with the pope (we call it A) ; f. 29*r-v* is the draft of a memo-

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[1] Fr. João da Veiga ; see no. 2.

[2] He sailed in April 1565 ; see D 141, 1.

[3] Scholastic Tristão de Araújo ; ibid. note 3.

[4] The port of Brunei.

[5] Since there is no mention whatever of Araújo's arrival in Maluku, the ship presumably was wrecked.

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randum directed to the Holy Father (« Beatísimo ») in Italian (we call it B).

III DATE : Memorandum B says that Fr. Álvares and his companion were sent as visitors to India « questo marzo » ; we know that actually they sailed from Lisbon on April 6, 1568 (DI VII 26*). By Polanco's *Commentariola* we are informed that negotiations on this issue took place in Rome in April and May of that very year. So we can be sure that he wrote the draft during those months.

IV AUTHOR : That Polanco is the writer of this outline can easily be seen from his very characteristic handwriting which occurs in hundreds of documents in the ARSI. The real authors were perhaps Fr. General and his Assistants.

V PRINTED : in WICKI, *Nuovi documenti* 413-417.

VI OUR EDITION : We print those parts of the MS text that refer to the mission of Portuguese Asia and especially of Maluku.

## *Text*

*1. He proposes to establish a Congregation of Cardinals for the Conversion of the Indies. — 2. The Portuguese Indies should be visited by bishops : India itself by the archbishop of Goa ; Maluku by the bishop of Nicea ; and Japan and China by the patriarch of Ethiopia. — 3. As to the Jesuits that will have to accompany them, he proposes their names. — 4. He proposes the names of the Fathers for India. — 5. Idem for Malacca and Maluku. — 6. Idem for Japan and China. Benefits of the presence of a bishop in those regions, as the bishop of Malacca is not able to visit them.*

### A

### Ihs

1. Primero, que se haga congregatión de Cardenales en Roma para ayuda de las cosas de la relligión en las Indias [1], scilicet, los protectores de los dos Reyes [2] y algunos más que Su Santidad mande [3].

2. 2º, que en las Indias de Portugal no solamente fuesen deputados

[1] This is the first idea of creating a Roman Congregation for the Missions ; it was not realized before 1622 : Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.

[2] King Felipe II of Spain and King Sebastião of Portugal. As for cardinal-protectors of Spain and Portugal, see MORONI, *Dizionario* 55, 328-331 ; SANTAREM, *Quadro elementar* XIII 457 (The Portuguese protector seems to be Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, † 1589).

[3] In an audience of May 20, 1568, Borja, Polanco, and the Portuguese ambassador, Álvaro de Castro, proposed to Pius V the names of the cardinals Amulio, Sirleto, and Carafa ; the pope approved them and added Crivelli (*Polanci Complem.* II 688).

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relligiosos para lo que Su Santidad ordena, sino que fuese principalmente nombrado el Arciovispo de Goa [4], que visite la India hasta Malaca, y el de Nicea [5] las Malucas, y el Patriarca de Ethiopía [6] el Japón y la China, y estos dos como commissarios del Papa.

3. 3º, quanto a los relligiosos de la Compañía : con el Arciovispo el P.e Melchior Nunez [7], o el Provincial de la India [8], o el P.e Gonçalo Alvarez [9], o el P.e Manuel Lopez [10] Visitadores ; en las Malucas el . . . . . [11] que tiene cargo sobre los otros de la Compañía ; en el Japón el P.e Torres [12], o Ramirez [13], o el que fuere Superior ; en la China el P.e Francisco Pérez [14], o P.e Alcazar [15], o P.e Manuel Texeira [16], o quien fuere Superior.

[. . .]

B

Ihs

Beatísimo

[. . .]

4. Per l'India de Goa et li loghi vicini, fra i quali sono li principali Cochim, Baçaim, Tana, Daman, Caulan, Pescaria o Capo de Comu-

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7 hasta Malaca *interl.* || 9 dos *interl.* || 12 visitadores *del.* en 5º lugar el P$^{e}$ Franc$^{o}$ Rodriguez | *after* el[2] *open space* || 14 Torres o *interl.* | Superior *del.* en || 20 Pescaria *del.* Manar

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[4] D. Jorge Temudo OP, 1567-1571.

[5] Melchior Carneiro SJ, who had been named auxiliary bishop of the patriarch of Ethiopia, but could not go there. He lived first in Goa, then, from 1565 in Malacca, and after 1568 in Macau.

[6] Andrés de Oviedo SJ.

[7] Melchior Nunes Barreto.

[8] António de Quadros.

[9] First visitor of the Indian Jesuit missions, sent from Portugal in 1568.

[10] Companion and eventual successor of Fr. Gonçalo Álvares.

[11] Open space. The superior of the Maluku Jesuits at that time was Fr. Luís de Góis, appointed in 1566 (D 150, 4).

[12] Cosme de Torres, superior of the mission in Japan.

[13] Pero Ramírez, a Spaniard ; destined to be the successor of Torres, he died in a shipwreck before reaching Japan.

[14] A Spanish Jesuit who, in 1563, founded the residence of Macau, for many years the only mission post in China.

[15] Ferdinando de Alcaraz, likewise a Spaniard, who perished in the same shipwreck as Ramírez.

[16] Companion of Pérez in Macau.

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rin, et Manar et S. Thomaso overo Chiromandel [17], bastarà uno et potrà esser il Provinciale Antonio de Quadros, o il P.e Melchior Nunez, già provincial pel passato, overo il P.e Gonçalo Alvarez, o P.e Manuel Lopez, quali si mandorno questo marzo per Visitatori, et tutti sono theologi et essercitati nel governo et boni servi de Dio.

5. Per Malaca, dove ci è Vescovo [18], et per le Moloche, sottoposte a quello, potrebbe servir il Vescovo de Nicea Melchior Carnero, deputato successore del Patriarca d'Ethiopia, benché vi è navigatione longheta di Malaca alle Moluche ; et però se paressi a V. Santità che il Vescovo de Nicea servissi per le Moluche solamente, il Viceprovinciale o Rector de Malaca [19] potrebbe servir per quella terra.

6. Per il Giapon et la China, dove già sono molti christiani, potrebbe servir il Patriarcha d'Ethiopia, mandato per V. Santità al detto Giapon. Et per non esser nelle Moluche né anche nel Giapon et China vescovo alcuno, tornaria commodo vi fossino li doi detti, per poter chresimar et dar ordini, essendo il Vescovo de Malaca discosto 400 leghe o 500, et però non potendo far li offici episcopali.

[...]

*Lost Letters*

157*a*. — *Fr. Luís de Góis, Ambon, to Fr. General, Francisco de Borja, Rome ; May 28, 1568.*

Góis to Borja, July 29, 1569 : « Ho ano passado escrevi a V.P. » (D 163, 1). Borja to Góis, January 10, 1570 : « Aunque es añeja una carta que ay de V.R., scripta en Amboyno a los 28 de Mayo 1568, todavía ... dan mucha consolación, especialmente yendo en tanto aumento la christianidad de esas partes, como V.R. por su cartha scrive » (D 170).

157*b*. — *Fr. Luís de Góis, Maluku, to Fr. António de Quadros, provincial, Goa ; May-July 1568.*

Góis to Borja, July 29, 1569 : « Todas estas necessidades propus o ano passado ao P. Provimciall e lhe dei llargua enformação da ffalta que quaa aa de obreiros » (D 163, 5).

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23 Gonçalo] Gaspar *ms., wrongly* || 26 sottoposte a quello *interl.* || 29 Malaca *corr. fr.* Malacha.

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[17] The modern names are : Cochin, Bassein, Thâna, Damân, Quilon, Cape Çomorin, Mannâr, S. Thomé (Mylapor, now a quarter of Madras), Coromandel Coast.

[18] D. Frei Jorge de Santa Luzia OP, first bishop of Malacca, 1558 (arrived in 1561)-1576.

[19] Fr. Christovão da Costa. No viceprovincial had been appointed.



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## 158

## FR. MARCOS PRANCUDO SJ TO FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

AMBON, JUNE 1, 1568

First *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 400*r*-401*v*, formerly 307 and XCII. Autograph in Portuguese. In lower left corner « 68 Prancudo ». Folios 400*v* and 401*r* are blank. F. 401*v* contains the autographic address and, added by another hand, « p ». Moreover a note of a Roman secretary « 1568 / Amboino / Marcos Prancudo primo de Junio ».

II NOTE: This is the answer to D 143.

*Text*

*1. He received Polanco's letter containing a question on what he meant by certain words in a letter to Laínez. He does not remember exactly. — 2. Less edifying behaviour of some Fathers on the way to India. Dissatisfaction of the Indian superiors at the poor quality of those sent from Portugal. — 3. Conclusion.*

Ihs

Reverendissimo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi

1. Pello Padre Luis de Goes, que ao presente hé Superior dos Padres e Irmãos da Companhia que residimos em Maluco, me foy dada huma carta do Padre Polanco [1] e nella me dezia de parte de V.P. que declarasse hum ponto de huma carta que eu escrevi ao Padre Laynes [2], que Deus aya, sendo Geral da Companhia. E porque isso há yá annos, não me pode alembrar bem que couzas particulares são as que lhe não escrevi, dizendo por estas palavras « aunque nesta materia ay otras cossas que V.P. no sabe », falando dos que vinhão de Portugal para quá, ainda que algumas me lembrão.

9 são *ins.*

[1] D 143.

[2] Lost letter of March 7, 1563. See D 116*a*.

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2. Huma hé que os nossos por dous annos vindo de Portugal para a India no caminho disserão a seus Superiores que os não conhecião por taes. Mas estes quá forão lançados da Companhia [3]. Outro anno hum Padre vindo para a India por vezes na nau pubricamente jugou aos dados caxas de mermelada pera os doentes. Este tambem hé yá quá fora da Companhia. Tambem vi por vezes os Superiores da India tão descontentes dos que vinhão de Portugal, que dezião que de milhor vontade lhos tornarião a mandar que retê-llos na India [4] e que outros milhores que aqueles lhes podrião mandar de quá, os quaes pera quá quasi não servião, quanto maes os que de llá lhes mandavão; porque os que na India avião de servir nos ministerios da Companhia não avião de ser gente de qualquer sorte pollas muitas liberdades que esta terra tem comsiguo [5].

3. Isto hé, Reverendissimo em Christo Padre, o que me pode alenbrar acerca do que V.P. me manda que lhe escreva. Em cujos sanctos sacrificio[s] e orações humilmente deseyo de ser lembrado.

De Amboyno, oye 1 de junho de 1568 annos [6].

De Vossa Paternidade indigno filho in Domino,

Marcos Prancudo.

[*Address* 401*v*] Ao Reverendissimo em Christo Padre, o Padre Francisco de Borya, Geral da Companhia de Jesu, em Roma.
1ª via. Prancudo. De Maluco.

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16 jugou *corr. fr.* jogou || 18 vi] vij *ms.* || 22 porque *del.* n.. || 28 sacrificio[s] *paper damaged*

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[3] Perhaps the Father and Brother mentioned in DI VI 492 no. 3.

[4] See, for instance, DI VI 504 no. 2, and 506 no. 6 (Quadros to Fr. General, Malacca, November 25, 1565).

[5] Fr. General Borja wrote to the provincial of Portugal from Rome, on October 15, 1566 : « El Provincial de la India con razón pide subjectos de buenas qualidades, porque tales son necessarios para ayudar aquellas empresas del divino servicio que allí se descubren, así en el Japón como en las Malucas y otras partes » (DI VII 21). And again, on June 15, 1570, he wrote to the same Father : « Le quiero encomendar ex ánimo como cosa que importa tanto para el divino servicio, que los que embíase a Brasil, Indias, sean personas escogidas de virtud probada y con aquellas partes de letras y sufficiencia que se requiere para hombres que van a missión tan importante y llena de peligros no solamente corporales mas mucho más spirituales, haviendo de tractar entre desnudos, entre bárbaros, gentiles y malos christianos, y yendo ellos a dar doctrina y exemplo a los demás » (*ARSI, Hisp. 69* f. 42*r*). Cf. also D 126*a*.

[6] Obviously the ships sailed rather late. Fr. Góis was able to write a letter as late as May 28 and send it along with them ; see D 157*a*.

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## 159

## FR. GONÇALO ÁLVARES, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

GOA, BEFORE DECEMBER 24, 1568

I TEXT: DI VII 570-586 [579 and 585]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 508*r*-511*v*. Original in Portuguese.
II DATE: For dating, see DI VII 571 III.

### *Text*

1. *Care is taken that the Fathers in Maluku go accompanied.* — 2. *Ternate as a center from where Moro, Bacan, and Ambon are attended. Start of the mission by Francis Xavier. The missioners' dwelling and their wages.*

[...]

1. Soube como se tem o cuidado que se pode de mandarem os Padres acompanhados assi em Maluco como por outras partes [1], ultra disso o tenho já lembrado algumas vezes.

[...]

2. Em Maluco tem a Companhia firme residencia, Ternati, onde está a fortaleza de S.A.; e em o Moro, Bachão, Amboino e mais partes daquelle archipelago andão os Padres na conversão dos gentios e na conservação dos christãos, conforme a necessidade daquellas partes. Foi o P.e Mestre Francisco a ellas no anno de 45 [2] e no de 47 forão lá outros Padres por sua ordem [3] e ategora sempre lá residirão os da Companhia. As casas em que vivem lhes deu o governador Jorge Cabral [4]. Vivem d'esmolas que ahy lhes manda dar S.A. [5] Não há esperança se faça collegio.

[...]

De V.P. filho indigno em o Senhor,

Gonçalo Alvarez.

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[1] Cf. D 153, 2.

[2] Francis Xavier sailed to Maluku from Malacca in 1546.

[3] Juan de Beira, Nuno Ribeiro, Nicolau Nunes, and Baltasar Nunes.

[4] He was governor of India 1549-1550. The documents of those years do not mention this donation. He did the same for the Jesuits in Cochin and Malacca (DI VII 584-585).

[5] D 147, 3.

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## 160

# FR. ORGANTINO GNECCHI-SOLDO SJ TO THE JESUITS OF THE ROMAN COLLEGE

GOA, DECEMBER 28, 1568

I TEXT: DI VII 597-610 [601-602]. No MS being available, the text has been taken from the printed edition in *Nuovi avisi . . .*, Roma 1570, ff. 1*r*-9*v*. Italian.

II NOTE: On the writer of this letter, see DI VII 15*.

### *Text*

1. *On his way back from Maluku, Fr. Vieira was shipwrecked but arrived safe in Malacca.* — 2. *The Maluku Jesuits undergo many deadly perils and the Christians suffer persecution; many of them were killed, many showed self-denying heroism.* — 3. *Instance of Christian boys saving themselves by swimming away during the night.*

[. . .]

1. L'anno passato, essendo mandato dall'ubidienza il P. Francesco Viera [1] di Malucco a questa città di Goa, et havendo navigato per poco spatio di tempo, la nave in che veniva, diede in certi bassi e scogli, e spaccossi, ma volle N. Signore salvar quasi tutte quell'anime, benché il detto Padre fu due volte molto presso a rimanervi, perché saltando nell'acqua con speranza d'andar a terra con gli altri, né sapendo natare, due volte calò al fondo, et essendo già quasi morto, due di quelli che sapevano natare, con molta difficoltà lo condussero a terra: e stando hormai fuori di questo pericolo, con haver salvato anche alcune poche vettovaglie et artiglierie, sopravenne gran moltitudine di mori per ammazzargli, stando quella terra in guerra contro i portughesi; e se il sito, dove erano ridotti, non fosse stato di sua natura forte, già gl'inimici haveriano ottenuto l'intento suo: stettero in quel luogo molti giorni difendendosi colle bombarde: tanto che di Malucco venne un'altra nave, con la quale partiti, giunsero a Malacca [2].

2. Narra il detto Padre molti pericoli di morte, in che ordinaria-

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[1] This Father, who after his arrival in Maluku was renamed Rodrigues, now is called again by his original surname. Cf. *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 22.

[2] He arrived there before November 15, 1567 (DI VII 356: «Hum que veyo de Maluquo»). He must have left Ambon in May of that year.

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mente stanno i nostri Padri e Fratelli nelle Malucche : e dice gran cose della persecutione, che quell'anno s'eccitò contro i christiani, e del gran numero di quelli, che furono uccisi per la fede di Cristo con vari tormenti ; e della constantia loro, il che saria infinito a scrivere. Basta, che le donne con i figliuolini suoi, altri in braccio, altri tenendone per la mano, se n'andavano fuggendo per le selve, lasciando le sue case ricche, per non negar la fede, la quale nuovamente haveano ricevuto ; altre erano uccise con i filiuoli, per la confessione di Giesù Christo. Molti giovanetti, ben di tenera età, passavano grandi tratti di mare, natando d'una isola all'altra per non rinegare Cristo.

3. Dice di più il detto P. Francesco, che quando stavano ritirati dove di sopra si disse per la paura de mori, venivano putti di dieci e dodici anni da loro, natando per mare la notte, e gridando : « Non tirate, non tirate, che siamo cristiani » ; e gli pigliavano in sua compagnia, piangendo per allegrezza di veder tanta costantia in sì tenera età, e per dolore di non potere soccorrere a tanto male. O Fratelli, giaché le donne e i fanciulli c'invitano co'l suo essempio a morire per Christo, perché non dimandate, vi sia conceduto finir' i vostri giorni in queste parti ?

[. . .]

Di Goa, alli 28 di Dicembre 1568.

## 161

## FR. NICOLAU NUNES SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR LUÍS DE GÓIS, TO THE JESUITS IN INDIA AND PORTUGAL

TERNATE, FEBRUARY 10, 1569

General Letter, First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : MILLIES 54 ; SOMMERVOGEL V 1840 ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 177 Nunes no. 1 ; STREIT IV 930.

II AUTHOR : WESSELS, *Batjan* 124-126 (nos. 9-10) ; ID., *Noord-Celebes en Sangi* 381 (nos. 12-14).

III TEXTS : The original has not been preserved.

A. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 433*r*-434*v*, formerly 396-397 and CVI. Copy in Portuguese, probably made in Cochin. The first page has at the bottom « 69 Nugnez » and « V » ; f. 433*v* has « a » in the margin ; f. 434*v* is blank but for a note in the copyist's handwriting « Copia da carta da fortaleza de Ternate em Maluco. Para Portugal. 1ª via. 1569. Em Fevereiro ». A

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Roman hand added « Già s'è tradotta altra copia », and Polanco « De edificatión ».

B. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 12*r*-14*r*. Portuguese contemporary copy in three handwritings, headed « Copia de huma do Padre Nicolao Nunez de Ternate a dez de Fevereiro de 1569 ». Same text as the preceding with many smaller variants, not only in the orthography but also in additions and omissions. It might have been copied from a second *via*.

C. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 435*r*-437*r*, formerly CVI, 415-417 crossed out, and 570-572. A blank sheet between 435 and 436. Italian translation, rather arbitrary, with many shortenings and omissions ; for instance, nos. 11, 14, and 15, are lacking. Some passages are marked with a vertical line in the margin ; they are omitted in the imprints.

IV NOTE : This is the General Letter which the superior of Maluku had to send annually to India. In Cochin it was copied more than once and dispatched by various *vias* to Europe. Along with it went the following letter of Fr. Mascarenhas, D 162. That both letters had a very prosperous voyage to Portugal is evident from the fact that they were printed in Rome as early as 1570. The remark « 1ª via » to text A is likely to refer rather to the journey from Cochin to Lisbon than to that from Ternate to Cochin.

V PRINTED : Italian version, in *Nuovi avisi*, Roma 1570, 15-17 ; *id.*, Brescia 1571, 17-18 ; *id.*, 5ª parte, Brescia 1579, 15-17 ; *Lettere dell'India Orientale*, Vinegia 1580, 80-88. — Latin version, in *Rerum a Societate*, Parisiis 1572, 215-217 ; *id.*, Neapoli 1573, 50-51 ; *id.*, Coloniae 1574, 95-98. — French version, in *Recueil des plus fraisches lettres*, Paris 1571, 46-51. — German version, in DOBEREINER VON TURSCHENREUT, *Sendtschreyben und warhaffte Zeytungen*, München 1571, 62-70 ; *Die Missiongeschichte* II 317-322.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A. The apparatus gives the more important variants of text B.

## *Text*

1. *In Ambon all is quiet now, and many people ask to be christened ; this gives rise to hope.* — 2. *Pray that God may enlighten the superiors to send more Fathers to Ambon.* — 3. *Pastoral work of Frs. Góis and Mascarenhas in Ternate.* — 4. *Two houses were joined to the Ternate Jesuit residence. A new church is being built.* — 5. *In Moro there are two Fathers and one Brother. Magalhães resides in Tolo ; he arrived ill in Ternate.* — 6. *He himself is stationed in Sakita on Morotai.* — 7. *Br. Gonçalves works on Rau.* — 8. *In Moro the Fathers endure great distress. Christianity is making progress ; in nearly every village there is a church.* — 9. *Fr. Álvares works on Bacan ; being alone he suffers from the impossibility of going to confession. He came to Ternate to be cured of fever.* — 10. *The Bacanese contrast favourably with the Moro people. They lost completely their former Muslim faith and show great devoutness. The king is building a church.* — 11. *When the commander of the fleet sailed to meet with the Spaniards, Fr. Mascarenhas and the king of Siau went with him in order to quiet the Siau people.* — 12. *Description of Selebes and its people. They could easily be converted if only Mas-*

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*carenhas were not the only priest there. — 13. Other regions request Christianity but in vain, for lack of personnel. An instance : the land of Papua, where some kings demanded Fathers, but nobody could be spared. Also the kings of Banggai and Gorontalo solicited priests. — 14. Nine years ago the Gorontalo king asked for baptism from Fr. Magalhães ; he is still steadfast in his desire. — 15. Fr. Prancudo and Br. Gomes accompanied the fleet to the Spaniards. Br. Dias works very usefully in Ternate.*

† Jesus

Muito reverendos em Christo Padres e charissimos Irmãos

A pax e amor de Jesu Christo faça continua morada em nossas almas. Amen.

1. O anno pasado teriam largas novas destas partes de Malluco [1], e assim tambem dos felices succesos que aconteceram em Amboyno, e de como aquella terra fiquou tam quieta, que todas aquelas ilhas pedem christandade [2]. Prazerá a Deus Nosso Senhor que virão muitos obreiros desse colegio [3] pera sustentar aquellas partes, que tam faltas estam de quem lhe administre os sacramentos. E esta hé huma das grandes empresas que ao prezente tem a Companhia entre mãos, de que speramos en Deus N. Senhor se daraa mui grande fruito ; e não menos speranças temos que agora se acabará a ceita de Mafamede nestas partes de Maluco, pera o que sam mui poucos quantos nesses collegios de laa há, porque, ainda que venham todos, nam seram metade dos que se am mister para este efeito [4].

2. Roguem, charissimos Irmãos, que aumente Deus Noso Senhor

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7 tam] mui *B* || 10 lhe] lhes *B* | huma] huama *ms.* || 14 o *interl.* | de laa] della *B*

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[1] No letters of 1568, reporting on the Maluku mission, have been preserved. One of them was certainly the letter of Luís de Góis of May 28 (see D 157*a*) ; perhaps there were other ones.

[2] After the terrible persecution of 1565-1566, Ambon had again become quiet and safe, due without doubt to the intermittent presence of Gonçalo Pereira's fleet. King Hairun knew from the beginning that Pereira had been ordered to arrest him and bring him to India, and he may have tried not to provoke him (*Relação Vasconcelos* 175).

[3] Saint Paul's College in Goa.

[4] An echo of these words is to be found in an Annual Letter of the Roman Province of 1572 : « Ex Indiis Orientalibus accepimus . . . in Malucis insulis tam patentes campos esse ad messem, ut Goanum collegium, in quo ex nostris plus centum vivunt, vix ipsi regioni futurum sit satis » (*ARSI, Instit. 40*, f. 24*v*).

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o numero dos da Companhia e os vista [5] de suas armas, pera que aja quem reparta seu pão por estas almas tam famintas à mingoa de obreiros : que, aimda que em algumas partes a ceita de Mafamede viva, tenho pera mim que com mui pouca resistentia se converterão muitos e entrarão em o curral de Christo N. Senhor. Avião de pedir todos a Deus inspirase ao Supirior os mandase quaa secorrer a tam grande desemparo d'almas, como vai por estas partes, pois este [é] hum dos maiores sacrificios que se pode fazer a Deus, tendo o mesmo oficio que elle teve, que hé comverter e reduzir as ovelhas perdidas a si.

3. Este anno passado de 68 socederam nestas partes de Maluco, scilicet : Ternate, Moro, Baschão, Celebes, onde os da Companhia residimos, algu[m]as cousas em que se deve de lovar muito ao Senhor, primcipalmente aqui en Ternate, nesta nossa casa, em confisõis, pregaçõis e outras obras pias que os da Companhia custumão fazer. Pregou o Padre Reitor, Luis de Gois, nesta fortaleza aos domingos e festas, e o P.e Pero de Mascarenhas antes de ser enviado aos Celebes [6]. Sam mui aceitos ao povo en suas pregaçõis. Fas-se muito fruito, o que se vee claramente polla frequentia das confiçõis. Esta festa de Jesus [7] nos ajuntamos todos os da Companhia que por quá há nesta casa de Ternate e fizemos os votos, precedendo nossas confiçõis gerais, e pasada a festa fomos todos cada hum pera sua vinha.

4. O Padre Reitor comprou este anno duas moradas de casas que acresentou ao nosso chão, asim pello nosso ser pequeno como por seremos destas casas devaçados, e começou huma fermosa igreija, que á-de ser homrra de toda esta terra, por ser a maior e milhor que nella haa [8]. A capella estaa jaa quase no cabo e alguma parte do corpo da igreija, que tem de largura seis braças e meia e dose de comprido. A qual hé mui trabalhosa de se fazer nesta terra, por se não acharem servidores [433*v*] por dinheiro nem as cousas necesarias pera ella, de maneira que os nosos moços an-de fazer a cal e acarretar a pedra e a madeira, e se nam tiveramos moços nam poderemos fazer obras.

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19 seus pãos *B* || 22 de . . . Senhor] do Senhor *B* || 23 grande *add.* necessidade e *B* || 24 este he *B* || 26 a si *corr. fr.* asim || 29 de *om. B* || 30 primcipalmente *del.* en || 32 Reitor *om. B* || 37 *corr. fr.* precedendos || 38 todos *om. B* || 42 toda *corr. fr.* todas || 45 se[1] *om. B* | por . . . servidores *rep.* || 48 poderemos fazer] tiveramos *B*

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[5] Read *vesta* (NUNES, *Gramática histórica* 60).

[6] He sailed on August 24, 1568 (D 162, 3-4).

[7] January 1, 1569.

[8] Obviously the church built in 1563 (D 125, 14) was not satisfactory. This new one was to be a stone church.

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5. Na terra de Moro residem este anno dois Padres e hum Irmão. O P.e Di[o]go de Magalhãis da banda da Morotia no populozo lugar do Tolo, e vesita todos aquelles lugares comarquãos, que daquella banda estão, com muita edificação e bom odor de vertude e muita patientia em suas emfermidades continuas; mas nem por isso com o seu bom odor de spirito deixa de acodir a todos en suas necesidades com a mezinha spiritual, como hé o bautismo, confisão, doutrina e missa. Haa muitos dias que anda maltratado de hum braço, que se lhe emcolheo de frio, e agora tem huma chagua em hum pee no calcanhar perigrosa, de que se veo curar a esta casa. Agora cortaram-lhe jaa a carne ruim e ainda não staa bem são; quererá Nosso Senhor que não seraa nada.

6. Na outra banda da ilha do Morotay estaa o P.e Nicolao, que hé o escritor desta. Hé hum dos milhores lugares daquella terra, que hé Sequita [9]. E tenho a cargo de visitar outros lugares, aos quais tambem lhe acudo com bautismo e confissão na lingoa, e com a missa e casar. No lugar onde resido lhes declaro ós domingos e festas o evamgelho do dia e as vidas dos santos.

7. Está da outra banda destas ilhas o Irmão Antonio Gonçalvez, que hé bom companheiro em o evangelho. Estaa em hum lugar que se chama Rau [10]. Asi os doutrina e visita certos lugares, baptizando, onde faz grande fruito com muita edificação nossa, tirando maos custumes e introduzindo os bons e doutrina do Evangelho com muita paciencia, tendo continuas dores de cabeça, que o tratão mal, por serem as terras do Moro muito quentes e doentias; mas nem por iso deixa de fazer seu carrego com muita cerenidade como se nam fose doente, que certo que me edefica muito.

8. Temos os que andamos no Moro mui grandes trabalhos, por ser terra que pera homem visitar os lugares se á-de embarcar em embarcaçõis que causão muito pouca saude corporal, e as disposisõis se vão jaa consummindo com o que se ganha nestas embarcaçõis, com terrenhos [11], frios e chuvas e grandes calmas. Esta christandade do Moro

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50 Morocia *B* || 51 Tollo *B* | vesita] incita *B* || 54 a todos] aos da terra *B* || 55 doutrina *om. B* || 57 no calcanhar *om. B.* || 58 Agora... jaa] Ja lhe cortarão *B* || 60 Morotuy *AB* || 62 Saquita *B* | outros] certos *B* || 63 lhe *om. B* || 68 Rão *B* || 69 muita] grande *B* | nossa *om. B* || 73 cerenidade] charidade *B* | fose] fora *B* | que[3] *om. B* || 78 nestas embarcaçõis] nellas *B* | terrenhos] muitos *B*

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[9] Sakita, more or less in the middle of the E coast of Morotai, near Cape Salamadoto.

[10] The island of Rau off the W coast of Morotai; the most important kampong is likewise called Rau or Aru.

[11] *Terrenho* or *terral*, « vento que sopra da terra para o mar » (Leitão-Lopes 385).

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pella bondade do Senhor com os trabalhos dos da Companhia vay jaa muito avante do que era dantes, em serem jaa muitos capazes do sacramento da Eucharistia. Hé muito pera louvar ao Senhor como pedem por sim confisão sem os amoestarem a iso. Tem feitos quase todos os lugares suas igrejas, aonde todos os domingos e santos se ajuntão e fazem sua douctrina, a qual lhes pasa por misa, e sabem já todos quando hé domingo. Tanto que adoecem o vão logo chamar o Padre que lhe reze o Evangelho e os confesse: e certo, eu tenho experimentado em muitos dos da Companhia que se faz muito fruito en suas confisões, e tem muita fee em Christo Nosso Senhor. Bendito seja elle que asim lhes alomia os coraçõis pera se confesarem tam bem, porque em verdade que me metem muitos em admiração. Praserá a Nosso Senhor que sempre irão de bem em milhor.

9. Em o reino de Bachão staa o P.e Fernãod'Alvarez, que com sua boa virtude e constantia faz ahi muito fruito, doutrinando-os e instruindo-os em as cousas da fee, pregando-lhes aos domingos na igreija e aministrando-lhes os sacramentos, tirando os maos custumes e instruindo-os nos bons. Visita toda aquella terra com grande trabalho por ser soo [12]. Teve elle este anno muitos trabalhos de emfermidades, e agora veo a esta casa de Ternate doente de febres. Praserá a Nosso Senhor que sedo comvalecerá. Alem destes trabalhos tem outro que não hé pequeno em se vir confesar a esta fortaleza, que estaa 30 legoas de Bachão, indo com roins embarcaçõis e pasando golfãos.

10. Hé a gente do Bachão de milhor juizo e entendimento que a do Moro e mais capax dos sacramentos, e em que se melhor emprime a fee de N. S. Jesu Christo. Hé gente que totalmente dam grandes mostras de se terem esquecido de toda a ceyta de Mafamede que dantes tinham, principalmente el-rei; e querem grande mal aos mouros, e trabalhão, principalmente el-rei, de aquirir outras gentes a ssi pera serem christãos [13]. Quando estam doentes estes bachões chamão e procurão confesar-se en suas necesidades, asim home[n]s como molheres, e provem logo a igreja de dadivas e azeite pera a alampada, no que

83 feito *B* | quase *add.* en *B* || 84 dias santos *B* || 85 sua] a *B* || 86 o[1] *om. B* ||87 em *corr. to* e *B* || 88 dos *interl.* || 91 que *om. B* | muitos em] em muita *B* || 92 irão] vão *B* || 93 Fernão Alvarez *B* || 97 nos] em *B* | toda *corr. fr.* todas || 99 a Nosso] ao *B* || 102 indo] vindo *B* || 105 Jesu Christo *om. B* || 111 dadivas *corr. fr.* davidas; dadividas *B*

[12] Owing to the small number of missionaries it was plainly not possible to observe always the ruling of D 153, 2.

[13] See, for instance, the friendly relations with the Papuans (no. 13), and with the king of Banggai (D 128, 3).

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mostram religião e devação de siguirem o Criador. Quando morrem dão muitas peças à igreja, scilicet : escravos, ouro, e outras peças de custume da terra, que certo hé muito de lovar ao Senhor en gente que há tam pouco que adorava a Mafamede. E isto que dam hé de seu propio motivo, sem ningem lho mandar. Custuma esta gente quando se vee em alguns naufragios fazerem grandes promesas à igreja, de que a igreja tem bons ornamentos. Agora faz el-rei huma gra[n]de [434*r*] igreja. Fez este anno passado o P.e Fernãod'Alvarez suas Endoenças, aonde oferecerão muitas peças, dinheiro e ouro à igreja com muita devação, de que tudo será o Senhor muito louvado. Praza a elle que os deixe ir avante de bem em milhor, e asim o peção, charissimos, a Deus N. Senhor.

11. Quando o capitam-mor [14] foy em busca dos castelhanos [15], foy daqui o P.e Pero Mascharenhas com el-rei de Sião, que andava nesta fortaleza, christão já á annos [16], pedindo socorro ao capitão contra a sua gente, que se avia alevantado contra elle. Foy o Padre com elle pera o ajudar com os portugeses em o concerto de sua terra [17], de que speramos felices novas. Jaa devem de ter sabido como nestes Celebes haa tres reis christãos feitos pellos da Companhia [18], dos quais o melhor christão hé este rei de Syão que, indo com o capitam-mor a Amboino [19] todo o mundo se edificou delle, das grandes mostras que daa de bom christão. Estando elle nesta fortaleza me pidia con grande instantia, por eu saber a lingoa malaya, que o confeçasse, que certo me edeficou muito.

12. Hé esta terra dos Celebes de mui grande grandeza de ilhas mui grandes e tem infenitos reis todos gentios, nos quais não haa mais trabalho que doutrinar e bauptizar. Hé terra muito abastada. A gente simplex e de grandes corpos, gente mais vermelha que negra, de boa

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112 o] ao *B* | dão] levão *B* || 115 pouco *add.* tempo *B* || 119 Fernão Alvarez *B* || 120 muitas] suas *B* || 121 de . . louvado] do que tudo gloria ao Senhor *B* | os] ho *B* || 125 Sian *B* || 126 ja *om. B* || 128 em o] ao *B* || 131 Sian *B* | Amboino] Amboano *corr. to* Ambouno *B* || 134 malaya *om. B*

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[14] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque.

[15] Who under Miguel López de Legazpi had settled in Cebu, Philippines. Pereira's fleet sailed from Talangame on August 26, 1568.

[16] He had been baptized in 1563 (D 125, 6).

[17] Cf. D 162, 3.

[18] The rajas of Manado and Siau ; a third « king » is not mentioned by the preceding documents.

[19] In our documents this is the first mention of an action of Gonçalo Pereira against Ambon before 1569 ; see also Lemos 459.

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disposisão e proporção. Sam inquietos por causa dos muitos reis, os quais como tiverem a lei do Criador facilmente se aquietarão. Hé hesta terra, charissimos Irmãos, onde se podem bem exercitar seus santos desejos e fervores que nesse collegio tem, com aumentarem nella muito numero de eleitos que podem morrer bauptizados, ainda que não sejão mais que os meninos, que hé o muito que agora o P.e Pero Mascarenhas pode acodir naquelles tres reinos jaa christãos ; por onde podem entender a grande mingoa que há quá de obreiros, que hum soo Padre acode a tres reinos, afora outros que lá podem pidir o baptismo.

13. E por aqui verão as terras que quá pedem christandade ; nomear-lhas-ei pera que roguem a Nosso Senhor que mande muitos obreiros a ella[s], pois tantas almas se perdem à mingoa de quem as bautize, scilicet : a terra dos papues, que hé gente como cafres, omde há muitos reis ; e estaraa daqui algumas 60 ou 70 legoas. Hé terra de infenita grandeza e dizem que são jaa discubertas della 70 legoas, e hé terra incognita e indiscuberta : dizem que chega ao Cabo de Boa Sperança [20]. Alguns destes reis vi eu stando em Bachão, que vierão a visitar a el-rei por serem amigos e juntamente a pedirem christandade, o que lhe nam concederão por não aver quem os doutrinasse e conservase. Deus por sua misericordia socorra a tanto desemparo de almas. Tambem da banda do sul staa hum rei das terras de Benguay, o qual há muito tempo que pede christandade, e outras muitas terras que serei longo de contar : porque tambem o rei do Gorentallo [21], que hé a contra-costa dos Celebes, manda pidir agora ao capitão Padres pera o bautizarem, onde há gente innumeravel. E sendo este rei christão, staa certo sê-llo toda aquella costa, que hé mui grande e confina com hum rei de muito mais gente, que hé o rei do Botum [22].

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145 muito *add.* a *B* || 146 podem *add.* bem *B* || 147 que[1] *del.* a || 149 por aqui] pera que *B* || 150 Senhor *om. B* || 151 ella] ellas *B* || 152 papuas *B* || 157 pedirem] pedir-lhe a *B* || 160 Benguay] Engai *B* || 161 serei] seria *B* || 162 de *om. B* | do *om. B* | Gorentalho *corr. fr.* Horentalho *B* | Gorentallo *del.* mandou chamar ao P^e^ Diogo de Magalhães *ms.* || 166 gente *add.* do *B* | do Botum] de Datão *B*

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[20] One of the phantastic representations about New Guinea that ignorance led to.

[21] Gorontalo, a port on the S coast of the N arm of Selebes, at 123° E (Cf. ENI I 805-806).

[22] Either Limboto is intended, a country W of Gorontalo, or Nunes, ignoring the existence of the Bay of Tomini, supposes that the coast of Gorontalo is the E coast of Selebes, which reaches southward as far as the island of Butung. Text B has *Datão* instead of *Botum* (see apparatus). VALENTYN (I b 64-65) mentions *Datahan* as the name of a village and of some islands. The village name *Datahan* occurs in a report of 1644 (see WESSELS, *De Kath. Missie in de Molukken*, 95-96 note 40).

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14. Este rei do Gorentallo mandou chamar o P.e Di[o]go de Magalhães ao Manado pera o fazer christão, no tempo que o P.e Diogo de Magalhãis esteve nos Celebes, o que deixou de fazer o Padre por o tempo lhe nam dar lugar [23]. E por aqui verão quam antigos e de quanta constantia são estes desejos neste rei, que haa seis annos [24] que teve desejo[s] de ser christão e nunqua os perdeo, antes neste meio tempo o pedio muitas vezes, e mãodou agora seus embaxadores ao capitão da fortaleza [25], p[ed]indo-lhe Padres que o fossem bautizar. O capitão mãodou laa dois portugeses, mandando-lhe algumas peças boas em retorno doutras que el-rei lhe mandou ; e mandou-lhe dizer que ao presente não avia Padres que laa pudessem ir, mas que da outra banda da sua contra-costa amdava o P.e Pero Mascarenhas e que a elle se recorresse [26]. Queira Deus Nosso Senhor dar desposisão ao Padre pera que o vaa laa bautizar, e que sedo teremos gloriosas novas disto.

15. Parece-me que me vou alargando muito, pello que acabo, não acabando de lhe pidir que peção todos muito a Noso Senhor socorra com brevidade a tantas almas que se perdem à mingoa. O P.e Marcos Prancudo e o Irmão Manuell Gomes são idos na armada aos castelhanos [27]. O Irmão Vicente Dias estaa nesta casa de Ternate aonde lhe não faltão trabalhos, os quais elle leva com muita paciencia, com que muito edefica a todos, por elle ter cuidado de toda esta casa, donde se acode a todas as partes onde estam Padres com o necesario. Noso Senhor lhes dê muita graça pera que en tudo fação sua santa vontade, e a mim e

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167 Gorentalho *B* || 171 teve] tem *B* || 172 desejos *B* || 179 recorresse] socorresse *B* || 180 laa *om. B* | e] do *B* | disto *om. B* || 183 tantas] estas *B* || 189-192 que . . . casa] serviço de S. Divina Majestade *B*

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[23] Fr. de Magalhães does not mention this in his report (D 125).

[24] Magalhães stayed in Manado in 1563 (ibid.).

[25] Diogo Lopes de Mesquita, also called Diogo Lopes de Lima. His *mercê* for the captaincy of Maluku is dated January 3, 1560 (SÁ IV 52). He sailed to India as a captain in 1563 (Paris, *Bibl. Nat., MS portugais 8*, f. 224*r*), and made his way to Maluku from Goa in March or April 1567 (COUTO VIII 16). On his name, see SÁ IV 42 note 1.

[26] Perhaps the deputies of the « Batachina » people, mentioned in D 162, 16, were natives of Gorontalo.

[27] That is, they accompanied Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque in his third expedition against the Spaniards who under Legazpi had settled in Cebu, Philippines. The fleet sailed from Ternate on August 26, 1568, and Pereira returned on January 15, 1569 (LEMOS 457, where 15 is to be read instead of 18). Before Cebu, Pereira availed himself of Fr. Prancudo's services, sending him more than once as a negotiator to Legazpi (FERRANDO-FONSECA I 128).

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a vosas RR. dê o mesmo, en cujas oraçõis e santos sacraficios me eu- 190
comendo muito.

Desta casa de Ternate, a 10 de Fevereiro de 1569 annos.

Por comissão do Padre Reitor Luis de Gois.

Servo de todos em o Senhor,

Nicolao Nunez. 195

*Lost Letter*

161*a*. — *Fr. Nicolau Nunes, Moro or Ternate, to the Jesuits of the Goa college ; early 1569.*

Nunes to the Goa Jesuits, January 2, 1570 : « Terão entendido os malles que hum vasallo seu, senhor de Bocanora, tinha feito a esta christandade do Moro . . , como mais largamente se escreveo nas cartas do ano passado » (D 169, 10 ; see note 5 there).

## 162

## FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR LUÍS DE GÓIS, TO THE JESUITS IN INDIA

TERNATE, MARCH 6, 1569

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : BARBOSA MACHADO III 587 ; MILLIES 54 ; SOMMERVOGEL V 665 2 (erroneously 1565) ; WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 no. 8 ; STREIT IV 932.

II AUTHORS : Seb. GONÇALVES III 240-243 ; SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc., Borgias* IV 261-277 ; GUERREIRO, *Gloriosa Coroa* 270-275 ; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 23-26 ; TANNER 235 ; SOUZA II III 1 18-23 ; VALENTYN I b 383-384 ; WESSELS, *Noord-Celebes en Sangi* 376-380.

III TEXTS : *First form :*

A. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 446*r*-451*v*, formerly 422-426 and no. XCIX. In all likelyhood the original. In Portuguese. In the left lower corner of f. 446*r* « 69. Mascar. » ; ff. 450*v* and 451*r* are blank ; f. 451*v* gives the address ; in Cochin a Father noted « Copia d'uma carta que escreveo o Padre Pero Mascarenhas de Maluco pera os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus da India. 3ª via », and a third hand added « 1569 » and again « 6 Março 69 ». In the first six numbers the text is quite different from texts B and C ; also for the rest it shows many variants.

193 Por . .Gois *om. B*

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*Second form :*

B. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 438*r*-441*v*, formerly 418-421 and no. XCIX. Copy, made in Cochin, in Portuguese, written in three hands on paper in smaller quarto. On f. 441*v* a note says « Copia da carta do Padre que foy à conversão dos Celebes em Maluco. Pera Portugal. 1ª via. Em Março de 1569 » ; a Roman hand added « Tradotto », and Polanco noted « de edificación ».

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 14*r*-18*r*. « Copia de huma do Padre Pero Mascarenhas que de Ternate foi à conversão dos Celebes em Maluco. Pera os Padres e Yrmãos da Companhia de Jesu em Portugal. De Ternate a 6 de Março de 1569 », written in Portugal in a great variety of hands, conformable to text B, with, however, many smaller and less important variants.

D. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 442*r*-445*r*, formerly 420-423, 563-566, and no. XCVIII corrected to XCIX. Italian shortened version of text B, more than once adjusted and embellished so as to serve edification more than historicity. Only remotely can it be said to be at the root of several printed Italian texts, which often show a different wording.

IV Note : The letter was written by order of Fr. Rector as a supplement to the general letter (D 161). This explains why the author in the first lines tells us that he writes it *besides* the news given in the general letter, whereas at the same time in the address of text A he calls it a « carta geral ». « Copia » (f. 451*v*) sometimes, as in this instance, does not mean a reproduction but an original specimen. As the notes « 3ª via » and « 1ª via » both have been written in Cochin, more probably they refer to the voyage from Cochin to Lisbon than to that from Ternate to Cochin.

V Printed : Italian version in *Nuovi avisi*, Roma 1570, 17-20 ; *id.*, Brescia 1571, 19-22 ; *id.* 5ª parte, Brescia 1579, 17-20 ; *Avisi novi et certezza*, [Roma 1570] (On this imprint, see H. Jacobs, *Ein bis jetzt verschollenes Kuriosum*) ; *Lettere dell'India Orientale*, Vinegia 1580, 88-96. — Latin version in *Rerum a Societate*, Parisiis 1572, 217-220 ; *id.* Neapoli 1573, 52-54 ; *id.* Coloniae 1574, 99-104 ; Alegambe, *Mortes illustres* 113-115. — French version in *Recueil des plus fraisches lettres* 52-62. — German version in Dobereiner von Turschenreut, *Sendtschreyben und warhaffte Zeytungen* 71-86 ; *Die Missionsgeschichte* II 322-330. — The Portuguese text of nos. 12 and 13 in Souza II III 1 20, is by no means a rendering of the original but a free translation of the arbitrary and ornate Italian *quasi*-quotation in Bartoli VI 24-25.

VI Our Edition : For the first six numbers we print texts A and B side by side ; for the rest we present text A, listing the variants of text B in the apparatus ; of text C only those are listed that give a different wording.

## *Text*

1. *He reports on his mission voyage to Selebes.* — 2. *The rebelling people of Siau wanted to submit to their king, once baptized by Magalhães, now living exiled in Ternate.* — 3. *Fr. Rector sent him in the ship of Furtado with the king to Siau. Gonçalo Pereira*

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*promised to pacify the island on his return [from Cebu]. — 4. Only half the population of Siau wanted to surrender ; on Siau the king was payed homage by his loyal supporters. — 5. The refractory remnant retreated into the mountains. As the loyal native population dared not attack them, Furtado weighed anchor on September 8 [1568]. — 6. In a loyal village a church was built and the king's father was baptized. — 7. At the end of September he prepared to visit the Manado Christians. — 8. Just then leading men of Sangi arrived and invited him to their island ; they cut their hair. — 9. He left for Sangi on October 4, accompanied by the king of Siau. — 10. Good reception in Kolongan ; instruction in the faith ; all people wanted to be christened. — 11. The same day the whole population received baptism. Festive joy. — 12. Erection of a tall cross. — 13. His joyful surprise, and people's satisfaction. — 14. He planned to sail to Kaidipan. — 15. A site for a church was viewed and prepared. Farewell. — 16. In Manado deputies of the Batachina people invited him to come and christen them. For want of Fathers he declined this proposal. — 17. Instance of the Batachinas' goodwill toward Christianity. — 18. On the way to Kaidipan, landing at Bolaang. — 19. He remained twenty days at Kaidipan. — 20. Encomium of the Siau king as a good companion, helper, advocate, and loyal witness for the faith. — 21. He declined to baptize the Kaidipan people, returned to Siau and planned to visit Sangi again. — 22. Mem de Ornelas arrived with two ships. — 23. Ornelas' operations against the rebels of Siau. — 24. Siege and surrender of one section of them. — 25. Campaign against Paseng. — 26. Surrender of the last group. — 27. He returned to Ternate accompanied by a son of the king of Siau.*

† Jesus

Muito reverendos em Christo Padres e charissimos Irmãos

Pax Christi

*Text A*

1. Nesta darey algumas novas (alem das que vão na carta geral) [1] dos Cellebes e cristandade delles, e da desposissão da terra pera que, vendo as grandes necessidades que por quá vão, se compadeção dellas e pessão a Nosso Senhor

*Text B*

1. Por a sancta obedientia me mandar este anno aos Celebes, pareceo serviço de N. Senhor darlhe conta do que laa se passou, alem do que na carta [1] desta fortaleza de Ternate se dirá, pera que, vendo a muita desposissão

B - 7 laa *corr. fr.* llaa

[1] The « general letter » is D 161.



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os faça obreyros desta sua vinha, que à minguoa delles se perde; e estão tantas almas em poder do demonio venerando-o e onrrando-o, dando a onrra do Criador à criatura tão bayxa como elle hé. Isto soomente por falta de quem os enssine e lhe mostre o caminho da sua salvação, porque elles da sua parte quasi todos tem vontade e desejão de ser christãos, como nesta abayxo lhe contarey pollo que laa vi. E pera que leve melhor ordem em o contar, comessarey do dia que parti de Maluquo pera laa.

2. Estando o capitão-moor Gonçalo Pereira prestes com sua armada pera se partir aos castelhanos [2], e não sperando mais que hum dia de bom tempo pera se poder sair de Talanguame, chegou huma embarcassão dos Cellebes, da ilha do Manado que hé christãa, e deu por novas que todos os lugares d'el-rrey de Ssiaoo, tirado hum, tinhão tornado a sua obediencia e stavão esperando por el-rrey pera lhe fazer a ssumbaaya [3]; (porque já devem de ter sabido pollas cartas que de quá forão [4] como este rey de Siaoo hé que laa vay e a muita necesidade de obreiros, peção todos a N. Senhor lhos mande em abastança.

2. Estando o capitão-mor Gonçalo Pireira pera se partir ao outro dia com sua armada a se ver com os castelhanos [2], chegou huma embarcação dos Celebes da ilha do Manado, que he christã, e deu por novas que todos os lugares d'el-rei de Sião se tinhão tornado à sua obediencia e estavam esperando por el-rei pera lha dar a este rei de Siam christão, a quem bautizou o P.e Diogo de Magalhães quando bautizou os manados, por este rei se achar no Manado quando lá o Padre foi ter. Mas dahi a hum anno e meio se alevantou por iso

A - 11 vinha *del.* e || 36 Ssiaoo *corr. fr.* Ssião || 42 Siaoo *corr. fr.* Sião

[2] Gonçalo Pereira sailed from Talangame on August 26, 1568 (D 148 note 19). On this expedition, see Couto VIII 25; *Relação Vasconcelos* 177-180.

[3] That is, the *sembahyang* (Malay), a solemn greeting professing obedience.

[4] D 125.

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christão e foy feito pollo P.e Dioguo de Magualhães), juntamente com os manados, por este rey se achar no Manado ao tempo que ho Padre laa foy. E depois hum anno e meyo de o ser se levantou a sua gente contra elle [5]; em toda a ilha não ficou por elle mais que hum soo lugar, a que se acolheo com seu pay e irmãos, e dahi se veo a esta fortaleza a pedir socorro. E ategora que Deos o socorreo (e não os homens, porque omnes quae sua sunt quaerunt et non quae sunt Iesu Christi [6]), andou por quá sperando [e]ste soocorro com bem de trabalhos seus e nossos, e elle sofria-os muito bem e com muita patientia, pollo qual paresse que Deos se lembrou delle.

3. Com virem estas novas do Manado, pollas quais se determinou o P.e Reytor a me mandar com el-rrey, posto que não estavamos nesta fortaleza mais Padres que elle e eu, onde são necessarios tres pera poder soprir a devação da gente deste povo, que quasi toda, assi portugueses como christãos da terra, se confessão com os nossos Padres; e en todo o tempo que pera suas conscientias tem necessidade de nós, assi de todo o reino [5] sem fiquar por elle mais de hum soo lugar, omde se acolheo com seu pai e irmãos, e dahi se veo a esta fortaleza a pedir socorro; omde amdou muito tempo sem o poder alcançar, com muito trabalho seu e noso por nam ser possivel satisfacê-lo. Mas agora se alembrou Noso Senhor delle com o mandar o reino pedir e lhe offerecer a obediencia.

3. O P. Reitor [7], vendo tam boas novas e recado, ainda que nam estava mais na fortaleza, omde sam necessarios muitos Padres, mais que elle e eu, quis antes fiquar soo, que perder-se esta occasiam, e mandar-me com este rei. O capitam-mor nos mandou lá levar na fusta d'Afonso [8] Furtado, e prometeo a el-rei que, quando embora tornase dos castelhanos, veria costeando a seu reino, e se ainda lhe nam tivesem todos dado

A - 45 este rey *corr. fr.* estes reys || 51 acolheo *corr. fr.* acholheo
B - 45 acolheo *corr. fr.* acholheo || 51 Noso Senhor *m.* || 65 mais *corr. fr.* mas

[5] About October-November of 1564.

[6] Phil 2 21.

[7] Fr. Luís de Góis.

[8] *Afonso* is an error. His name was Lourenço Furtado de Mendonça (No. 5; *Relação Vasconcelos* 173).

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dia como di noyte, não sabem chamar a outrem. Pella qual resão dous Padres hé muito pouco pera esta fortaleza por aver nella muita gente, em especial da terra, e [446*v*] mais pera quem à-de estudar e preeguar e acudir a negocios da casa e de fora que nunqua faltão. Com tudo isso se determinou o P.e Reytor [7], ainda que ficava soo com este trabalho todo às costas, mandar-me com el-rrey ; e pera nos levar mandou o capitão-moor a Lourenço Furtado que na sua fusta foce diante e nos pusesse em Siaoo, e me prometeo que, se a ilha de Siaoo não tevesse toda dada a obediencia a el-rrey, que quando elle tornasse dos castelhanos viria por hi e lhe destruiria todos seus inimiguos [9].

4. Partimos desta fortaleza dia de S. Bertholameo [10] e o dominguo seguinte [11] fuy dizer missa ao Manado, onde soubemos que soo a metade dos lugares de Siaoo stavão por el-rrey e os mais pelejavão contra elle. Partimo-nos de Manado pera Siaoo, e o primeiro lugar a que fomos surgir era o mais forte e principal inimiguo d'el-rrey [12]. Tanto que polla terra se soube que el-rrey era cheguado e[m] a fusta, juntarão-se todos os principaes a obediencia, lha faria dar a todos [9].

4. Partimo-nos desta fortaleza dia de Sam Bertolameu [10], o domingo seguinte [11] fui dizer missa ao Manado, omde soubemos que soo a metade do reino estava por el-rei e a outra ametade peleijava contra elle. Partimo-nos do Manado pera Siam e fomos surgir no lugar mais forte e principal inimigo que el-rei tinha [12], mas, tanto que pola terra se soube que el-rei era chegado e em fusta de portugueses, se ajuntaram os principaes que já

A - 86 com *del.* esses || 91 Siaoo *corr. fr.* Sião || 107 se *interl.*

[9] For how this was carried out, see nos. 22-26.

[10] August 24, 1568.

[11] August 29.

[12] Paseng ; see no. 5.

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que já stavão da sua parte e na fusta lhe vierão fazer a sumbaya todos, beijando-lhe os pés e alguns com lagrimas, que forão cousa de grande alegria assi a mim como aos portuguezes, ver a reverencia e amor com que aquella gente tam barbara tratava a seu rey.

5. Depois de estarmos 3 dias sobre este luguar, nos quais trabalhamos o possivel pollos trazer à obediencia d'el-rrey, com el-rrey e Lourenço Fortado e eu lhe fazermos muitas abundantias de prometimentos de lhe não fazermos nenhum mal, nem cousa nossa lho fazer, não querendo elles fiar-sse de nós, mandou Lourenço Fortado armar os soldados e com perto de trezentos homens, que el-rrey ahi tinha, sayo en terra. A gente não sperou no luguar, porque o desempararão e fogirão pera huma serra. Lourenço Fortado com os seus soldados os quiserão seguir, mas a gente da terra não quiz, assi por verem poucos portuguezes como por temerem muito a gente deste lugar de Passem [13], por ser a mais bellicosa e valente de toda a ilha de Siaoo. Vendo Lourenço Furtado isto e juntamente hir-se acabando a monssão e tempo que o avia de levar aos castelhanos a buscar o por ali estavam e dentro à fusta lhe vieram dar a obediencia, beijando-lhes os pees com lagrimas, que nam foi pequena alegria, asim pera mim como pera todos os portugueses que ali hiam, ver tratar com tanto amor e reverencia gente tam barbara a seu rei.

5. Tres dias estivemos [438*v*] sobre este lugar, e prometendo-lhe o capitam, eu e todos os mais muitos perdões e abastanças, nam se querendo remder, saio o capitam Lourenço Furtado em terra com os seus soldados e trezentos homens d'el-rei. Mas logo lhe renderam o lugar os imigos. E seguindo-os a huma cerra, a gente da terra nam ouçou a subir por ver poucos portugueses, e a gente daquelle lugar ser mais bellicosa de todo Siam. Por isto e porque a monçam se nos hia acabando, o capitam se avia de tornar a juntar com o capitam-mor a tempo que pudesem ir aos castelhanos, nos partimos de Siam dia de Nosa Senhora de Setembro [14], indo já confessados todos os soldados, capitam e o proprio rei.

A - 111 a *interl.* || 118 estarmos *corr. fr.* estaremos || 138 muito *interl.* | Passem *corr. fr.* parte
B - 124 trezentos *corr. fr.* trazendo-os || 130 bellicosa *del.* que

[13] Paseng is a kampong in the middle of the W coast of Siau.

[14] September 8, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

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capitão-moor, partio-se de Siaoo dia de Nossa Senhora de Setembro [14], com hirem elle e todos seus soldados confessados do dia antes que sayssem em Pacem, porque todos elles até el-rrey se confessou.

6. Partido pois Lourenço Fortado pera fazer sua viagem, ficamos el-rrey e eu, e 2 portuguezes que ficarão comiguo, em hum lugar dum seu primo de algums trezentos homens, afora molheres e meninos. Hay me derão humas casas loguo, em que o rey e eu e os portugueses pousavamos, e me fizerão huma igreja em que cada dia dizia missa, onde fiz christão ao pay d'el-rrey, que hé hum velho mui onrrado e que tenho pera mim que se á-de salvar naquella idade, por folguar muito de ouvir e perguntar as cousas da fee e pareserem-lhe muito bem ; e folgua muito de fazer o que lhe ensinão, dizendo que não há outro Deos nem verdade senão a nossa.

6. Partido Lourenço Furtado, el-rei e eu com dous portugueses fiquamos em hum lugar de hum seu primo, que será de trecentas pesoas. Ali nos deram logo humas casas em que todos pousavamos, e fizeram huma igreja em que cada dia dizia missa. Ali bautizei o pai d'el-rei, hum velho homrado e bem inclinado, que folgava de ouvir as cousas da fee e de perguntar por ellas e fazer o que lhe emsinam, dizendo que nam há outro Deus nem verdade senam a nosa.

7. Na fim de Setembro disse eu a el-rrey que queria hir ao Manado a visitar aos christãos, que me mandasse fazer huma embarcassão prestes. Elle o mandou [447*r*] loguo fazer prestes com determinação de hir comiguo elle e muitos dos seos principaes.

8. Neste tempo chegou huma caracora de Sanguim [15], en que vinhão todos os principaes de Sanguim (tirado o rey que ficou laa) [16],

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A - 148 confessados *interl.* || 150 até *del.* o || 159 pousavamos *corr. fr.* pousamos || 165 pertunguar [*sic*] *ms.*

B - 158 bautizei *del.* a

175 caracora *underl., note* : São navios que sem pregadura que se remão con tres a quatro orde[n]s de remos por banda. *m.* || 175-176 en que . . . o rey *m.* || 176 de Sanguim] daquelle lugar *B*

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[15] Sangi (Sangir, Sangihe), principal island of the Sangi archipelago, also called Sangi Besar (Great Sangi) (VALENTYN I b 41-55 ; ENI III 689 ; VIII 1477).

[16] Two « kingdoms » existed in Great Sangi : Kolongan (NW coast) and Ta-

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e me disserão que elles não vinhão a outra cousa da sua terra senão a buscar-me e que, ainda que eu estivera no Manado e muito mais longe, me ouverão de hir buscar, porque tinhão grandes desejos de ser christãos, e que estes desejos os trazião a Siaoo onde eu estava ; e que se não avião de tornar sem lhe prometer de os fazer christãos. E pera que eu visse a vontade que elles tinhão de o ser, cortarão loguo os cabellos, que elles costumão ter compridos como molheres, e cortá-llos hé pera elles mui caro [17]. El-rrey de Siaoo me pedio juntamente que os quisesse baptisar, por serem antiguamente muito seos amiguos e de seos antepassados, e tanbem por estar Sanguim tam perto da sua terra que huns a outros se podião ajudar.

9. Vendo eu seus tam efficazes desejos e o muito que se guanhava em estes serem christãos, pois se abria a porta pera toda a ilha, que hé mui grande, vir ao conhecimento de Deos, lhes disse que se fossem diante e me mandassem huma caracora esquipada em que eu fosse, e que eu hiria a sua terra a fazê-llos christãos. Sem duveda, Charissimos, que mostrarão tanto contentamento e alegria em a minha reposta, assi elles como el-rrey de Siaoo, que lho não sey contar com pallavras, porque 3 ou 4 dias sperarão por ella e, tanto que lha dey, se partirão loguo pera sua terra. Donde tanto que cheguarão, fizerão huma caracora prestes em que vierão hum sobrinho d'el-rrey e hum filho do principal homem que há na terra a buscar-me, e os que ficarão na terra se puserão a fazer humas casas novas pera eu pousar com meos companheyros. Mas por muita pressa que se derão, não as poderão acabar antes que nós cheguassemos, porque quando a caracora chegou a Siaoo el-rrey de Siaoo estava já prestes com oyto ou 9 embarcassões pera hir comiguo a Sanguim com todos os principaes de Siaoo. Donde nos partimos dia de S. Francisco [18] e fomos o mesmo dia anoytesser perto de Sanguim.

178 muito *om. B* || 179 desejos² *om. B* || 182 o *corr. fr.* os || 186 por *del.* por | tam *om. B* | huns *del.* aos || 189 serem] se fazerem *B* || 193-194 assi . . . Siaoo *om. B* | 195 sperarão] estiveram esperando *B* || 199 com *del.* os || 201 de Siaoo *om. B* || 202 9] dez *B* || 204 anoytesser *ut. corr.*

bukan (NE coast), whereas the S district of Tamako was a dependency of the king of Siau. From the following (no. 10) it appears that this embassy came from Kolongan (the modern Akembawi). See ENI VIII 1478.

[17] As late as 1900, the Alfuros of Tobelo were still used to cut their long hair as a token of their change-over from animism to Christianity (BARETTA 64-65). Perhaps this use is connected with the popular belief that hair is the seat of vital strength and that a man whose hair has been cut is symbolically dead, as JENSEN described for W Seram (*Die drei Ströme* 133). VALENTYN II a 143-144.

[18] October 4, 1568.

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10. Ao outro dia nos veo receber o rey de Sanguim com todos os principaes com toda a festa e guazalhado que à sua chara [19] podia ser: basta que a 2ª pessoa do reyno, por nos fazer mais guazalhado, se tirou de suas casas onde pousava com sua molher e filhos, e se foy pera outras mais pequenas por mas dar, por serem ellas as melhores da terra. Depois de aver tres dias que cheguey à cidade de Calongua [20], que hé a principal do reyno, onde reside el-rrey, juntou-se ell-rrey e os principaes da terra e a rainha com todas as molheres dos principaes em hum campo [447*v*] mui grande e fresco à sombra de mui fermosas arvores ao longuo do mar, por ser este o mais acomodado luguar pera a muita gente que se ajuntou pera ouvir as cousas de nossa sancta fee. As quais depois que ouvirão, declarando-lhas eu por hum lingua, estando elles mui attentos, me responderão que estavão tam satisfeitos do que tinhão ouvido, que desejavão muito de serem já christãos, e que farião tudo o que eu lhes mandasse e a elles foce possivel.

11. Neste mesmo dia receberão o sacramento do baptismo el-rrei e rainha, com todos os principaes e suas molheres, e o sacramento do matrimonio recebendo todos as primeiras molheres. Que lhe direy, Charissimos, que foy tanto o contentamento e alegria que nelles senti, depois que os bautizey e recebi, que lho não sey dizer. Basta que o resto deste dia, que foy pouco, e perto de quinze mais que ahi estive, tudo forão festas e banquetes huns aos outros, e a el-rrey de Siaoo e à sua gente, já a mim e aos portugueses. Não se acupava el-rrey de Sanguim e todos os principaes em outra cousa, senão a quem nos melhor avia de servir e banquetear e mandar mais cousas, assi gualinhas e porcos, como toda a maneira de fruitas que há muitas na terra: de maneira que nossas casas erão huns passos que de dia e de noyte estavão acompanhados de gente principal, huns com presentes e outros que vinhão fallar comiguo e preguntar cousas de sua salvação.

12. Certo, Charissimos, que ver o fervor e diligencia e perfeyção da obra, na cruz que fizerão, que era pera dar graças a Deos e causar muita alegria, porque andarão 2 ou 3 dias buscando o melhor pao e a mais direyta arvore que ouvesse; e depois de acharem huma muito

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206 sua chara] seu modo *B* || 210 Calangua *B* || 211 ell-rrey[s] *add.* e rainha *B* || 212 e a rainha *om. B* | dos *interl.* | principaes *del.* do reino || 216 que *del.* as | declarando *corr. fr.* decharando | hum *corr. fr.* huma; huma *B* || 217 tinhão ouvido] ouvirão *B* || 220 sacramento do *om. B* || 222 primeiras *corr. fr.* principaes || 226 a el *corr. fr.* [al || 227 a *interl.* || 228 avia *corr. fr.* avião || 229 gualinhas *del.* como || 234 Charissimos *add.* Irmãos *B* || 235 na] da *B* | a Deos] ao Senhor *B*

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[19] *Cara* (Malay): manner, custom.

[20] Kolongan; see note 16.

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boa, não consentirão que nenhum homem bayxo, que não fosse fidalguo, lhe pusesse a mão e trabalhasse nella. Porque todos os mancebos principaes, abayxo do rey, cortarão a arvore e fizerão a cruz por sua mão tam prima e fermosa, que hé huma das mais bem acabadas que nestas partes tenho visto. A qual depois de acabada foy alevantada e alvorada pellos mesmos, não se tendo por onrrado e fidalguo o que não peguava nella.

13. Se virão, Charissimos, ir 2 reis celebes e tam barbaros com a cruz de Christo nosso Redemptor às costas pera a enxalçarem e onrrarem, e vê-los star com toda sua gente principal postos de guiolhos adorando-a e reverenciando-a, fora-lhe causa de grandissima alegria: e mais aquelles que onrravão e adoravão ao demonyo avia tam pouco. Acrescentou-nos mais a alegria comessarem a tanger e a repicar sinos por toda a cidade ao tempo que estavamos adorando a cruz, e durarão as festas até muita parte da noyte. E todas estas festas fazião à onrra da cruz por neste dia lhe comprir Deos [448*r*] seus desejos de tanto tempo antes, que erão ser alevantada e alvorada huma cruz na sua terra, e elles todos serem feitos christãos. Porque muito tempo antes tinha este rey pedido a alguns portugueses, que a sua terra forão ter, que os fizessem christãos, segundo os mesmos portugueses me contarão, pedindo-lho com muita efficacia.

14. Vendo eu que se hia acabando a moução pera hir visitar os christãos de Caurippa [21], e que se tardasse mais hum mes não podia laa hir, lhe disse a el-rrey e aos principaes que era necessario hir visitar aquelles christãos, que se ficasse[m] embora, mas que da vinda eu os tornaria a visitar. Certifico-lhe en verdade, Charissimos, que sinti nelles tanta tristesa e pesar, como sente huma mãy apartando-sse dum filho que muito ama pera longas terras. E assi me responderão que, porque os deyxava tam sedo, que se era por nelles achar ruim gazalhado ou poucos mantimentos na terra, que elles mandarião loguo embarcações a trazer muitos mantimentos e porcos e guallinhas; e que me prometião que, se elles até então me fizerão ruim guazalhado, que lhes perdoasse por me não saberem aguazalhar como eu merecia, mas que dahi por diante davão por testemunha ao tempo, e que me não foce. Entendendo elles de mim que nenhuma das causas que me punhão

238 bayxo *om. B* || 245 ir *corr. fr.* irmãos || 246 Christo *interl.* | enxalçarem *corr. fr.*ençalçarem || 248 grandissima] muita *B* || 249 adoravão] acatavão *B* || 254 alevantado *ms.* | alvorado *ms.*, adorada *B*, *del.* em *ms.* || 255 e *interl.* || 259 se hia *corr. fr.* seria || 268 mantimentos . . . guallinhas *om. B* || 271 ao *corr. fr.* o, o *B* || 272 das . . . punhão] cousa das que propunhão *B*

[21] Kaidipan in N Selebes.

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me movia, senão o dezejo de vizitar os christãos, e que mo não podião estorvar, offerecerão-me então huma caracora que fosse em minha companhia, por el-rey de Siaoo star falto de embarcações por causa das guerras que ainda avia em Siaoo, hindo na mesma caracora hum sobrinho d'el-rrey e hum mancebo, filho do principal homem da terra, pera me acompanharem.

15. E pedirão-me que, já que me queria hir, que lhe assinasse primeiro o luguar pera a igreja, porque queriam ter prestes toda a madeyra necessaria pera quando eu tornasse. Assiney-lhe eu hum campo chão mui fermoso que estava ao longuo do mar, todo cuberto d'arvores feito hum mato serrado. Mas era tanto o fervor e desejos que tinhão de ter a igreja que, comessando hum dia pella menhã, quando veyo ao meyo dia, tinhão já dado com todas as arvores em baxo; e todas forão cortadas por mãos dos principaes abayxo d'el-rrey, o qual por ser velho não cortou seu quinhão mas estava ali mandando. A raynha me mandou dizer que ella com todas as molheres viria tambem tomar parte do merecimento e servirião de alimpar as ervas. Finalmente chegando-se já o tempo de me partir pera Cauripa, me despedi d'el-rrey e de todos os mais honrrados, os quais vierão até à praya a embarcar-nos e trouxerão 2 escravos que derão a meos companheyros, scilicet, àos 2 portugueses que forão comiguo, dando a cada hum seu pera os servirem, e isto por hirem comiguo a sua terra delles [22]. [448*v*]

16. Partidos de Sanguim fomos a Siaoo, onde el-rrey de Siaoo mandou fazer prestes algumas embarcações pera elle hir comiguo a Cauripa com toda sua gente principal, deixando todos os seus lugares de Siaoo apercebidos de gente pera pelleijarem com os enemiguos. Nos partimos sinquo embarcações o primeiro de Novembro e fomos dahi a dous dias ao Manado, onde estive alguns oyto ou dez dias, nos quais vierão ahi ter os batechinas [23]. Onde me dixerão que averá mais de cem mil almas, que hé a gente da ilha dos Cellebes (a qual há muito tempo

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279 primeiro *interl.* || 286 dos *interl.* || 292 scilicet] convem a saber *B* || 296 elle hir] hirem *B* || 299 partimos *del.* em || 300 oyto *del.* dias | dias *om. B* || 301 batachinas *B* || 302 hé *corr. fr.* se | a[1] . . . dos] gente como os *B* | ilha *w. corr.*

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[22] When Francisco de Dueñas, in 1582, was visiting Sangi, he was received with great kindness; and in his report he wrote: « Avían estado en esta isla más de quince dias un teatino (that is, a Jesuit) con quince u dizeseis portugueses y avían hecho en ella muchos christianos », and « habría esto como diez o doze años » (*Relación Dueñas* f. 2*r*). Mascarenhas remained in Sangi October 5-ca.22, 1568, accompanied not by fifteen but by only two Portuguese.

[23] Perhaps people of Gorontalo (D 161, 13).

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que deseja ser christãa), e como as cabeças que gove[r]não aquella terra são parentes d'el-rrey de Siaoo, pedirão-lhe que me fallasse que os quisesse fazer christãos. Eu vendo que os que nesta terra temos feyto são muitos e nós tam poucos, que os não podessemos visitar senão de muito em muito tempo, quanto mais conservar, me escuzey o melhor que pude, dando-lhe esperanças que os Padres que viessem pera estar nos Cellebes o farião, que eu não hia mais que a visitar os feitos.

17. Hum moço que ho Padre Dioguo de Magualhães deixou nos Cellebes quando de llaa veo, que averaa 6 annos ou pouco menos [24], foy ter algumas vezes a esta terra da Batachina, onde estes homens diz que lhe fizerão muito guazalhado soo por ser moço dos Padres, e lhe dixerão que, se os Padres os fizessem christãos e quisessem hir a sua terra, que farião quanto os Padres lhes mandassem, e que darião ao Padre quanto lhe foce nesesario na sua terra.

18. Finalmente parti-me pera Cauripa e, hindo correndo a costa da hilha dos Cellebes, fuy ter ao principal lugar d'el-rrey de Bollão [25] a buscar este moço que o P.e Dioguo de Magualhães deixara no Manado, porque residia então ahi. Por este rey de Bollão ser filho d'el-rrey do Manado, e posto que hé mouro, deseja muito de ser christão. Ao tempo, que eu fuy ter não estava ahi el-rrey, que era hido a Bool [26] de que tambem hé rey, que está daly a 50 ou 60 leguoas, mas a mãy d'el-rrey, tanto que soube que eu estava no seu porto, mandou-me do luguar porcos e gualinhas e saguu ; e mandava-me dizer que quisesse hir ter ao luguar, que estava longe do porto donde eu estava, por estar laa metido pollo rio dentro, e que laa me faria o guazalhado que lhe foce possivel.

19. Eu como não pertendia nem buscava naquella terra mais que o moço, parti-me loguo pera Cauripa, onde nos receberão os principaes da terra com todo guazalhado, amor e onrra que podia ser, assi dos christãos como dos gentios. Loguo em cheguando nos derão humas casas das boas que avia na terra, as quais tinhamos quasi sempre cheas de gente, a mais della principal, que vinhão estar comnosco pera nos

303 deseja *brackets close here, ms.* || 305 feyto *corr. fr.* feytos || 306 podessemos] podemos *B* || 309 que[3] *del.* os || 310 deixou *interl.* || 313 ser *om. B* || 314 hir *del.* pera || 316 lhe . . nesesario] quizesem *B* | nesesario *interl.* || 318 Bolão *B* || 324 luguar] seu porto *B* || 325 mandava *corr. fr.* mandou | que *del.* se || 326 por estar laa *om. B* || 327 faria *del.* e || 329 parti-me] partimo-nos *B* || 333 a mais della] da mais *B* || 333-334 que . . . guazalhado *om. B*

[24] Fr. de Magalhães left N Selebes about November 1563 (D 125, 16).

[25] Bolaang.

[26] Buol (Boeol, Bwool), port and country on the same coast, more westward towards Tolitoli (Cf. ENI I 425 ; VII 1418-1421).

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fazer guazalhado ; e vinte e tantos dias que ahi estivemos [27] tudo erão banquetes que a gente principal fazia assi a el-rrey de Siaoo e a sua gente como a nós. Sen duveda, Charissimos, que ainda que nós foramos seu pay e sua mãy e irmãos, e seu rey, não nos fizerão tanto guazalhado quanto nos fizerão, e isto com tam boa vontade e amor que se lhe enxerguava de fora.

20. E foy muita causa de tudo isto el-rrey de Siaoo, por ser hum homem dos mais temidos que há em todo o Cellebe, e em todo elle muito conhescido e ouvido de todos. E como elle a todas as partes a que fuy dos Cellebes hia sempre comiguo, em todas me fizerão muito guazalhado e onrra, assi por elle ser meu companheyro, como pellos muitos [449r] e grandes bens que em todas ellas elle dezia dos Padres, dizendo que não avia outra ley verdadeira senão a nossa, e que elle a tinha bem experimentado. E que perdendo elle o pay e mãy, fazenda e terras, que tudo isto acharaa em os Padres, e que nós o sostentavamos quá em nossas terras [28], e que o levamos e metemos de posse das suas que tinha perdido. Sem duvida, Charissimos, que este rey de Syaoo, pera christão de tam pouco tempo, que hé hum dos bons que tenho visto, e por esta rezão me parese que se faraa grande fruito, não soomente em toda sua terra mas em todo o Cellebe por amor delle, porque hé mui humilde e sojeyto aos Padres, en tanto que a toda parte a que fuy dos Cellebes nunqua fez pessoa de si, senão de mim. E dizia aos outros que elle não tinha mais parecer que o do Padre, que quem o quisesse ter por amiguo que ho seguisse. Se quisesse contar delle couzas boas que tem particulares, serão dilatar-me muito : hé finalmente mais sobjeito a nossa vontade que hum negro a seu senhor, e o que nos a nós parece bem, isso a elle e não outra cousa.

21. E porque me vou alarguando muito, direy o que resta em breve. Finalmente que em Cauripa declarey as cousas de nossa sancta fee assi aos christãos que já erão feitos como aos gentios que erão muitos, os quais me pedirão que os quizese bautizar, e eu ho deyxey de fazer polla mesma rezão que deyxey os da Batachina, mas dando-lhe speranças que o Padre que avia de vir star com elles o faria. Asi me despedi delles, mandando pera a matalotajem porcos e cabras e huma bufara, e

334 vinte e *C*, vinta *AB* || 335-336 que a . . . nós[1] *om. B* || 341 e] e hé *B* || 343 muito *interl.* || 351 hum *om. B* || 352 esta *interl.* || 357 contar *corr. fr.* contentar || 358 serão] seria *B* || 359 negro] escravo *C* | isso] parece *C* || 359-360 e o . . . cousa *interl.* || 361 direy] porei *B* || 362 as *interl.*

[27] In November-December 1568.

[28] In Ternate.

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tinhão mandado trazer outra mais, que eu não quis sperar por estarmos já embarcados, e allem disto muito saguu. Partimos pera Siao por ser já tempo pera o capitão-moor [29] fazer à volta dos castelhanos, e como era perto do Natal tive-o no caminho e o dia de nossa festa de Jesu [30] tivi à vista de Siaoo no mar. Erão pasados 20 tantos de Janeiro e o capitão-moor não vinha. Tinha mandado el-rey fazer 5 caracoras prestes pera eu hir visitar os christãos de Sanguim.

22. Hum dia depois das caracoras starem prestes polla menhã muito sedo parecerão ao mar 2 vellas. Mandou el-rrey loguo lanssar 2 caracoras ao mar, nas quais nos fomos aos navios 3 ou 4 leguoas ao mar; e toda alegria que levavamos de nos parecer que vinha o capitão pera destruir os inimigos d'el-rrey, se nos converteo en tristeza com as novas que Men d'Ornellas [31] nos deo, que vinha por capitão dum junco e da sua fusta que vinha com o junco, que são as 2 vellas que vimos ao mar. Deu-nos por novas como o capitão-moor era já passado pera Maluquo e como elle tinha mandado os navios de remo que focem a Siaoo, mas que ho não poderão tomar com hum grande temporal que ouve.

23. Entendendo Men d'Ornelas a rezão de minha tristeza, elle e os soldados se oferecerão a fazer o que da sua parte fosse possivel pera meter el-rrey de Siaoo de posse de sua terra toda, o que a mim e a el-rrey, que estava bem triste, alegrou muito. E assi comessarão a governar pera hir surgir em huma baya peguada com o principal luguar dos alevantados enemiguos d'el-rrey [32]. Stando já perto deu nos hum vento contrario, de maneira que não quis Deos que surgissemos alli mas andamos toda aquella noyte bordo [449*v*] ao mar e bordo à terra, e ao outro dia perto do meo dia fomos surgir da outra banda da ilha [33]. Loguo Men d'Ornellas se fez prestes com os soldados pera hirem dar ao luguar principal que estava da outra banda da ilha, por nome Passem,

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369 ja *del.* sperados || 371 e$^{s}$ *interl.* || 373 vinha *del.* mandado || 374 eu hir] vir *C* || 377 ao mar *om. B* || 382 como *interl.* || 386 Nendornelas *ms., corr. fr.* Nandornelas || 387 oferecerão *twice corr.* || 390 baya *corr. fr.* praya, *corr. fr.* vahia || 392 alli *interl.* | andamos] andando-nos *C* || 395 ao] no *B*

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[29] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque.

[30] January 1, [1569].

[31] One of the captains of Gonçalo Pereira's fleet (*Relação Vasconcelos* 173).

[32] Presumably the Paseng of no. 5, on the W coast.

[33] On the E side. They sailed there around the N and were tacking against the NNW monsoons.

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na fusta e caracoras [34]. E assi nos partimos em anoytesendo, e quando veo a outro dia polla menhã achamo-nos mui perto do luguar, pouco mais de meia leguoa ; e deu-nos hum vento polla proa tam rijo, que nem a fusta nem as caracoras o poderão romper. Tornamos então dalli a hum luguar, que estava perto donde o junco estava surto [35], mui forte, que depois de Pacem não avia outro mais forte [36]. Desembarcamo-nos polla menhã, dia de Sancta Ignês [37], e pelejarão até muito tarde às espinguardadas e elles de rriba [38] às pedradas sem quererem nenhuma maneira de conserto, antes o que dizião e com vozes altas e gritos em reposta do concerto era : « Mata Padre ! Mata Padre ! ». E paresse que me conhecerão polla cruz, e a nenhuma parte tiravão tantas pedradas como onde eu estava polla boa vontade que me tinhão.

24. Já sobre a tarde fez-lhes el-rrey de baxo huma pratica chamando os principaes do luguar por seu nome, dizendo-lhe[s] e lembrando-lhes como elle de seos antepassados era seu rey natural e elles seos vassalos, e que o deixarão por hum tirano vassalo seu, e que como deixavão o senhor pollo servo, pondo-lhe outras muitas cousas diante. Com esta pratica e tambem porque neste comenos os soldados, que andavão da outra bamda do outeyro em que elles estavão, acharão caminho por onde se podia rompel o mato e entrá-los, e andavão já da outra banda às spinguardadas com elles, dixerão que virião fazer a ssumbaya a el-rrey e que darião 20 escravos pera os soldados, e que cada homem onrrado dos que estavão dentro (que serião 20) darião alguns 25 ou trinta pardaos em ouro. Aceytado o partido vierão os principaes por huma escada a bayxo (porque não se pode sobir nem descer de rriba senão por huma escada).

25. E assi feyta a ssombaya nos partimos pera as embarcações com determinação de ao outro dia polla menhã hiremos por terra ao lugar de Passem, e atravessar a ilha da outra banda [39]. E asi se fez que,

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401 perto *del. six illeg. words* | surto] feyto *C* || 402 Bacem *C* || 403 Ines *B* || 406 era *interl.* || 411 seu *interl.* || 413 -lhe *corr. fr.* lhes || 416 caminho *interl.* | rompel] emtrar *B* || 425 Pasem *B*

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[34] He left the junk in an unnamed anchorage on the E coast and most probably took the southerly route towards the W side of the island.

[35] They returned again to the E coast where they had left the junk.

[36] This statement suggests that the town was Ulu (Oeloe), the principal port on the E coast with a good anchorage.

[37] January 21, a Friday. The indication « 20 tantos de Janeiro » (no. 21) cannot be entirely correct.

[38] So they had entrenched themselves on a hill.

[39] There are three ways across the island from E to W ; none of them leads

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tanto que amanheseo ao sabbado [40] nos partimos, não levando os soldados mais que cada hum huma cana na mão, porque a gente de Siaoo lhes levava as armas por ser o caminho longe. Andamos todo o dia e quando veo perto do sol posto chegamos perto do luguar; alli cearão os soldados e dormirão. E antemanhã se armarão e entrarão o luguar de Passem, que era muy forte assi no sitio, que era hum outeyro mui alto, como de paredes. Ao sobir do outeyro fomos sintidos pollas vigias que virão os morrões assezos dos soldados. Ouve loguo revolta na gente: tomando armas e muitas pedras se comessarão a defender e offender-nos. Mas com ajuda de Nosso Senhor e do Bemaventurado S. Elefonsso, [450r] cujo dia então era [41], entrarão o lugar os portugueses e matarão-lhe cem almas asi na entrada como no alcansse. Todo o que quiz peleyjar, morreo.

26. Mais de mil almas se acolherão a huma serra a que os portugueses determinarão de os hir buscar, se elles não mandarão pedir misericordia das vidas, a qual lhe concedeo el-rrey com 2 condiçõeis: a 1ª que todos avião de ficar seos cativos, e a 2ª que avião de dar loguo 20 escravos e todo o ouro e fato que tinhão pera os portuguezes. Aceytarão o partido e vierão todos os principaes, beijarão os pés a el-rrey segundo seu custume. E com a destruição deste luguar e dos que antes fizerão a ssumbaya, que erão os principaes, ficou toda ilha de Siaoo sojeyta a el-rrey, e os cellebes pasmados dos portuguezes, dizendo todos que entendião já a malicia dos tarnates que nunqua falavão verdade, porque lhe tinhão metido em cabeça que os portuguezes não sabião andar por terra e com seos olhos vião que erão aves e alafuros [42] do mato, e que caminhavão melhor que nenhuns delles; e tambem virão quanto sem medo erão os portuguezes, que soo dezanove homens entrarão hum lugar tam forte e o pozerão à espada.

27. Finalmente, porque me vou alargando muito, depois que com-

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427 huma] sua *B* || 428 lhes *interl.* | longe] comprido *C* || 429 cearão *ut, corr.* || 430 antemanhã] amanhecendo *C* || 431 Pasen *B* | outeyro *corr. fr.* olteyro || 432 do outeyro *corr. fr.* douteyro | vigias] espias *C* || 435 Ilefonso *B* || 441 2] algunas *C* || 443 20 *corr. fr.* 2° || 445 e[s]... antes *interl., corr. fr.* e do que estes || 445-446 e dos... ssumbaya] de que antes fiz a saber *B* || 446 fizerão *w. corr.* | que erão *interl.* | ficou *del.* a || 450 alafuros *underl., add. m.* homens do mato *h2*; alifuras *B* || 452 os portuguezes *om. B* || 454 porque *interl.*

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directly to Paseng. Probably they took the path from Ulu to Pehe and then went southward along the shore.

[40] January 22.

[41] Feast of St. Ildephonse, January 23.

[42] The Alfuros, aboriginal people of many islands in NE Indonesia, living mostly in the mountains of the interior (Cf. *Treatise* 367).

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prirão com os portuguezes o que prometerão, nos partimos de Siaoo deixando el-rrey de posse de toda a ilha [43]. Deu-me el-rrey seu filho o morgado pera se criar aqui en nossa casa en Ternate e doutrinar. Será de idade de oyto ou 9 annos, muito vivo e muito bonito [44]. Per amor de Deos que este rey e sua terra e toda a cristandade dos Celebes encommende[m] muito a Nosso Senhor em suas orações e sanctos sacrificios, em os quais me encommendo muito.

De Ternate, a 6 de Março de 69 annos.

Por commissão do Padre Reytor.

Servo indigno,

Pero Mascarenhas.

[451*v* :] Carta geral [45] pera Malaqua e India, dos Cellebes, a qual depois que se ller em Malaqua se mandaraa à India.

*Lost Letter*

162*a*. — *Fr. Gonçalo Álvares, Visitor, Goa (?), to Fr. Luís de Góis, Ternate ; April 1569.*

Góis to Borja, May 25, 1570 : « Ho Padre Visitador Gonçalo Alverez, por trazer o tempo por tres annos limitado por V.P. e não poder vir a estas partes, me escreveo que em seu lugar as visitase por ele » (D 177, 6).

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457 Ternate *w. corr.* || 459 rey *corr. fr.* el-rrey | e[a] *corr. fr.* em || 460 sanctos *om. B*

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[43] So Fr. Mascarenhas did not visit Sangi again as he had promised (no. 14) and as he had been on the point of doing (no. 21).

[44] According to Fr. Marta's *Informação* of 1588, the royal prince, in 1563, when he was two years old, had been baptized together with his father in Manado. His name was D. João, and he was the reigning king of Siau in 1588 (MARTA 108). See also D 184, 22 ; D 213, 19.

[45] Here this term presumably comprises both D 161 and D 162.

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## 163

## FR. LUÍS DE GÓIS, SUPERIOR OF MALUKU, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

AMBON ISLANDS, JULY 29, 1569

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 11 II* f. 455*r-v*, formerly 359 crossed out, 555, and no. CI. Original with autographical signature. In Portuguese. At the bottom of f. 455*r* a secretary's remark « 69 Goës »; on f. 455*v* in the left margin an « m ». Some sentences, or parts of them, are surrounded with a line by a later hand. The usual second leaf with the address is lacking.

II ADDRESSEE: That the letter was directed to Fr. General seems clear from these facts: 1° it is an official letter in which the superior renders account of the spiritual and apostolic life of the Jesuits; therefore he is writing it to some authority; 2° he calls this authority « Vosa Paternidade » (V.P.), a title which was commonly reserved for the general; 3° he speaks of Fr. Provincial in the third person; 4° the original is found in the Roman Jesuit archives. That it was directed to the Visitor, Gonçalo Álvares, cannot wholly be excluded.

### *Text*

1. *He came as a superior to Maluku in the fleet* [*of Gonçalo Pereira*]. — 2. *The number of Jesuits is the same as one year ago. They are in good spiritual condition. Some have been ill.* — 3. *Six years ago two kings and some chiefs were baptized; it was impossible to visit them again. One king was expelled and came to the fortress for help. The fleet commander restored him to his realm. A Father accompanied him, baptized some people, but postponed baptism of others for lack of priests.* — 4. *The fleet commander favoured Christianity by building a fort on Ambon. Nearly all the inhabitants ask for baptism, but the number of Fathers is too small; thirty more of them would not suffice.* — 5. *Last year he laid this need before Fr. Provincial; now he expects new helpers to come in next October.* — 6. *Up till then there was only a wooden church in the fortress of Maluku; he began to build a stone one.*

†

Iesus

Reverendissimo Padre

Pax Christi

1. Ho ano passado escrevi a V.P.[1] como o Viso-Rei da Imdia[2]

[1] Probably the lost letter of May 28, 1568; see D 157*a*.

[2] D. Antão de Noronha.



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mandou a esta terra huma armada [3] a favorecer a christandade e a castigar allguns mouros que a perseguião, e de como o Provimciall [4] me mandara nella por sopirior a estas partes. E assi do moodo do proceder nosso assi na observancia das regras, como em doutrinar os novos christãos e do modo que Deus por seus meos nestas partes obbrava.

2. Ao presente somos os mesmos que o ano passado. Vê-se em todos novos desejos de crecerem em sua perfeição e na observancia das regras e doutrinar destes christãos. Procedem com muita edifiquação. Foram visitados allguns de allgumas enfermidades, mas não piriguosas.

3. Quanto aa christandade, jaa V.P. teraa entendido em como averaa 6 anos que pellos nossos foram bautizados dous reis e alguns senhores outros [5], que por respeitos de allgumas guerras que quaa ouve, não foi possivell aos nossos visitá-llos e jumtamente por o primcipall rei destes ser llançado de seu reino [6] por outros reis mouros, o quall veo a esta fortalleza a pidir socorro e por allgumas rezões não foi possivell darem-lho. Com a vimda desta armada o mandou o capitão-mor meter de posse e castigar seus imiguos [7]. Foi com elles hum Padre [8] o quall bautizou outro rei vizinho a este [9] e allguns outros senhores; e outros muitos mais lhe pidião o bautismo, o quall dillatou, por entender que não tinhamos quem os doutrinase e instruise nas cousas da ffee, por não sermos mais de nove, que pera todas necessidades não é nada, e por muito que de nossa parte façamos, não podemos acudir ao terço das partes que de nossa ajuda são necesitados.

4. Tem o capitão-mor feito nestas ilhas de Amboino huma fortaleza [10] pera favorecer esta christandade, com cujo favor os moradores de todas estas ilhas comarcãns, de que allguns são mouros e outros gimtios, os mais ou case todos pedem o bautismo, [455*v*] cujo numero é tão grande, que parece não se poder numerar, porque as ilhas adja-

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5 mandou] mandando *ms.* || 11 observancia das regras *u'. corr.* || 20 darem-lho *corr. fr.* dar-lho

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[3] Under the Chief Captain Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque, in 1566.

[4] Fr. António de Quadros.

[5] More accurately than in D 161, 11 (tres reis); the kings of Manado and Siau, and some chiefs of the Kaidipan people (D 125).

[6] The king of Siau.

[7] As is reported in D 162.

[8] Fr. Pero Mascarenhas.

[9] The king of Kolongan in Great Sangi.

[10] First mention that Gonçalo Pereira actually carried out the order for which he had been sent, that is, to build a fortress in Ambon. Cf. D 164, 6.

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centes a esta de Amboino são muitas e grandes e mui povoadas. E tão grandes, que com ser esta de 20 lleguoas em roda, aa outras muitas maiores, não tratando de huma que estaa 6 lleguoas desta, que seraa de 80 até 100 lleguoas em roda [11], em as quais ilhas todas, pella experiencia que desta terra temos, creo que averaa mui pouquos lluguares que refusem a receber nossa santa fee. Mas falltão Padres que os caticizem, doutrinem e instruão nas cousas da fee, e por este respeito dillatamos o bautismo a muitos que o pedem. E pera suprir a tantas necessidades e acudir a tantas allmas quantas de novo vem e se espera vir ao conhecimento de seu Criador, não se escusão 30 da Companhia com os que quaa andamos.

5. Todas estas necessidades propus o ano passado ao P. Provimciall e lhe dei llargua enformação da ffallta que quaa aa de obreiros. A mesma lhe dou aguora [12]. Bem creo que em reposta disto virão jaa alguns pelo caminho e serão aqui por todo Outubro que vem, que é o tempo em que chegua a nao da Imdia.

6. Serviamo-nos até o presente na fortaleza de Malluquo de huma igreja de madeira. Por me não parecer decente, primcipiei huma de pedra e quall, pera a terra grande e fermosa, e o co[r]po de cem pallmos de comprido e 55 de larguo e capella conforme ao corpo. As paredes da capela estão quase acabadas. Trabalha-se no corpo. Tivemos do povo, pera esta obra, algumas ajudas e esmollas. Mercamos tambem duas moradas de casas, necessarias pera fazer esta igreja [13]. Pidimos a V.P. que de llaa nos llance sua benção em a quall todos nos encomendamos.

Destas ilhas de Amboino, aos 29 de Julho de 1569.

Indigno filho em o Senhor de V.P.,

Luis de Gois.

*Lost Letter*

163*a*. — *Fr. Luis de Góis, Ambon, to Fr. António de Quadros, Provincial, Goa ; July 1569.*

Góis to Borja, July 29, 1569 : « Todas estas necessidades propus o ano passado ao P. Provimciall e lhe dei llargua enformação . . . A mesma lhe dou aguora » (D 163, 5).

38 recebor *ut. corr.* | 51 pallmos *corr. fr.* pallpos [*sic*]

[11] Seram.

[12] The two letters of Góis to Fr. Provincial mentioned here, one of 1568 and another of July 1569, are not extant.

[13] See D 161, 4.

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## 164

# FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ TO THE FATHERS IN MALACCA AND INDIA

AMBON, AUGUST 3, 1569

Third *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 no. 9.

II AUTHORS: SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc., Borgia* V 256-258; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 27; SOUZA II III 1 24-25; WESSELS, *Amboina* 46-49.

III TEXTS:

A. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 456*r*-457*v*, formerly 432-433 and no. C. Original. In Portuguese. Paper often badly consumed by ink, which makes many words hardly legible. In left lower corner of f. 456*r* « 69 ». On f. 457*v*, in the same handwriting as the letter, the quasi-address; another hand added « 3 d'Agosto 69 » and again « 1569 »; a third hand noted « 3ª via ». Regularly written text with many corrections, especially interlinear words, probably added by Mascarenhas himself.

B. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 458*r*-459*v*, formerly 427-428 and no. C. Copy made in Cochin, in Portuguese, scarcely deviating from text A, written very clearly and quite well preserved. At the bottom of f. 458*r* « 69 Mascaregnas » and « V » (which is likely to mean « Universale », that is, of general importance); f. 459*v* contains only some notes: « Copia da carta dos da Companhia que estão na nova fortaleza de Amboyno em Maluco, pera Portugal. 1569. Em Agosto », by the copyist's hand; Polanco added « de edificación » and a third hand « 1569 ». The copyist shows himself not very acquainted with strange proper names; he writes *itaoos* for *jaos*, *Itoadude* for *Ito adonde*, *Labu* for *Babu*, *Rocãve* for *Rosanive*, and *Brancudo* for *Prancudo*.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 18*r*-20*r*. Copy in Portuguese, made in Portugal. Title « Copia de huma de Maluco do Padre Pero Mascarenhas pera os Padres e Irmãos de Portugal de 3 d'Agosto de 1569 ». Text written in various hands, with some omissions, but especially drastically shortened at the end in the nos. 12 and 13.

D. *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 460*r*-461*r*, formerly 418-419 deleted, and 567-568. Italian translation of fragments only, taken from the nos. 1 and 7-13. Heading « Copia de una del Padre Pietro Mascaregnas, da Amboino isola, dei tre d'Agosto 1569 ».

IV OUR EDITION: We print text A; in the apparatus we note the more important variants of text B and the differently spelled proper names of text C.

## *Text*

1. *This account of great hardships may be a stimulus to run to the rescue of the Ambon people that otherwise might be eternally lost.* — 2. *Zeal of the fleet commander;*

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*he wants to build a fortress on Ambon. — 3. Repelling demeanour of the Hitu men, instigated by the Javanese. — 4. Military expedition against Hituese and Javanese ; diseases among the soldiers. — 5. Fr. Mascarenhas and Br. Dias took part in campaign. — 6. Within two months the new fortress of Ambon was ready. — 7. Many towns of both Moors and pagans ask to be baptized ; the number of Jesuits is not equal to their request. — 8. Still less to that of other islands, like Buru. — 9. And by no means they are able to look properly after the Seram people who are soliciting after the faith. — 10. Prospects of conversions during the term of office of the fleet commander. — 11. The Ambon Jesuit team is composed of only two Fathers and one Brother. — 12. He could report much more, but writing of their ordinary activities would mean loss of time. — 13. As many souls are lost, the Jesuits of the [Goa] college may come without fear and share in the hardships.*

Muito reverendos Padres e charissimos Irmãos

Pax Christi.

1. Pollas cartas gerais de Maluco e Cellebes [1] terão sabido e entendido o que Nosso Senhor lá obrou e obrará por meyo dos da Companhia, e as muitas necessidades que há em todas aquellas partes de quem os doutrine e emcaminhe no serviço do Criador. E pera que mais se acrescentem seus santos desejos pera acudir a tanta perdição de almas, que ao Filho de Deus tão charas custarão e sse perdem à mingoa, lhes contarei as maiores necessidades que todas as outras, e a innumeravel gente que nestas terras de Amboino se offerece e deseja entrar em o curral de Christo Nosso Senhor e ser apascentada com a doutrina evangellica.

2. De todo este bem foi grande meyo o capitão-mor Gonçalo Pereira polo grande zello que tem do serviço de Deos e d'El-Rey. O qual, depois que chegou a Ternate dos castelhanos [2], desejoso de vir fazer esta fortaleza, que entendia ser tão necessaria ao serviço de Deos e d'El-Rey, he hum esteio e chave de Maluco, fez logo prestes os galiões e mandou-os diante a Amboino [3], ficando elle en Ternate nas fustas e galliotas pera deixar a terra quieta o mais que fosse possivel ; e pera tambem vir castigar o lugar de Buanoo [4], que estava por el-rey de Ter-

9 as] *om. B* || 11 Senhor] Redemptor *B* || 17 Maluco *brackets that nowhere open close here B* || 20 Buanoo *illeg., from B*

[1] DD 161 and 162.

[2] On January 15, 1569 (SÁ IV 457, where 18 should read 15).

[3] About February 15, this being the scheduled time for the ships to sail to Ambon.

[4] The island of Boano at the NW point of Seram. Its oustanding kampong is likewise called Boano. Cf. *Relação Vasconcelos* 233.

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nate contra nós e, tendo todo Amboino dado a obediencia ao capitão-mor, soo este lugar o deixou de fazer.

3. Tanto pois que os galleões e nao da carreira, de que Lopo de Noronha [5] era capitão, chegarão a este porto, mandou logo Lopo de Noronha recado aos itos em como o capitão-mor vinha a fazer fortaleza a sua terra, como elles o anno passado lhe tinhão prometido. A reposta foi quererem alguns itos matar o embaxador per conselho dos jaos, que avia poucos dias que alli avião chegado en dous juncos e em outras embarcações [6]. Fez-se logo prestes Men d'Ornellas [7], que vinha por capitão do galeão do capitão-mor [8] com corenta soldados, e deu nelles e depois de os pôr a todos em fugida, lhes queimou os junquos.

4. Neste tempo chegou o capitão-moor de Maluquo [9], com cuja chegada os jaos com obra de 400 itos se forão apousentar em huma alta serra mui fragosa [10]. O capitão-moor os foi buscar a rriba, tomou-lhe huma tranqueira mui forte que tinhão no caminho, onde lhes matou alguma gente que a querião defender. Tres dias andou por esta serra com muito frio e fome, sede e grande trabalho dos soldados; a qual hé tão alta, que affirmão os que lá forão que en todo este tempo não virão lá pasaro [11]. Quando chegarão ao forte onde os inimigos estavão, hyão yaa tão fracos e debelitados asi da fome como da sede, como dos grandes trabalhos do caminho, que pareceo bem tornarem-se sem dar nos inimigos, pera tornarem laa bem providos de mantimentos e necessario pera tão trabalhoso caminho, que hé tão ingreme em partes, que sobir por elle hé sobir por huma parede assima, o que aos soldados que hião com as armas às costas era mui trabalhoso. Destes trabalhos e outros muitos, que nesta armada de tanto tempo e tão necessitada de mantimentos não faltão aos soldados, adoecerão alguns de

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25 em *interl. w. corr.*, e *B* || 27 dos *corr. fr.* do || 28 jaos] itaoos *BC* | juncos *interl.* || 29 Memdornellas *C* || 30 mor *interl.* || 33 jaos] itaoos *BC* | apousentar *corr. fr.* aposentar || 34 rriba *corr. fr.* riba || 44 elle *del.* e so . .

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[5] Perhaps the same captain who, in 1557, carried the body of Francis Xavier in his ship from Malacca to Goa (MX II 424, 426; Seb. GONÇALVES I 424, 430).

[6] The Javanese, assisting the Hituese, are said to have come from Japara and Tuban (*Relação Vasconcelos* 188, 378).

[7] Who, after January 23, had left Siau, bound for Ternate (D 162, 25-27).

[8] The galleon of Gonçalo Pereira was called « São Francisco » (*Rel. Vasc.* 180).

[9] He sailed from Ternate at the end of February (LEMOS 457).

[10] *Relação Vasconcelos* 203.

[11] « Jamais daquelle gunno se vê paçaro » (ibid.; *gunno* is the Malay *gunung*, mountain).

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febres e berebere e corrimentos e outras emfermidades, com os quais os Padres e Irmãos [12] usarão da charidade acustumada, acodindo-lhes às suas necessidades corporaes e espirituaes quanto o tempo e necessidades o pedião e era possivel.

5. Fazendo-se o capitão-mor prestes pera tornar à serra e destruir os enemigos, neste tempo cheguei eu de Maluquo, por me ter mandado o Padre Reitor [13] [456*v*] a chamar pera ficar em Amboino. Ao outro dia despois que cheguei foi o capitão-moor dar em hum lugar en que estavão jaos e itos mui fortes. O Irmão Vicente Dias hia com Dom Duarte de Meneses [14] na dianteira [15] com huma † [cruz] nas mãos, e eu com o capitão-mor com a mais gente. Os enemigos, vendo o capitão-moor posto em concruzão, fugirão e deixarão o lugar, o qual o capitão-moor mandou destruir e pôr fogo, onde se queimou huma misquita nova e bem lavrada. Os jaos sofrerão mal cortarem-lhe as palmeiras, que era seu mantimento, e fixerão-se amoucos [16] dando na dianteira. Mas sayo-lhe tão mal a sorte, que deixarão o seu casis [17], que os vinha animando, morto no campo e o seu capitão escapou com as tripas fora, e outros muito mal feridos dos quais depois alguns morrerão ; posto que tambem alguns portugueses ficarão feridos de feridas leves, emtre os quais o Ir. Vicente Diaz ficou com huma lançada por hum braço, mas foi tão pouquo que em poucos dias foi são : e se não levara huma boa coira de laminas que lhe emprestarão, em que lhe derão humas poucas de lançadas, ficara tambem no campo. Depois de destroidos os palmares nos tornamos pera as embarcações.

6. Por ser yá chegado o tempo en que as naos acustumão ir pera

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48 e berebere *om.* (*open space*) *C* | e berebere e corrimentos *om.* *B* || 56 jaos] itaos *B*, itaoos *C* | Dom *interl.* || 57 na dianteira *interl.* | 58 moor *del.* mandou || 61 jaos] itaos *BC* || 63 que[1] . . . animando *om.* *BC* || 68 boa *interl.*, *om.* *C* || 72 chegado *interl.*

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[12] The Frs. Prancudo (no. 11 ; D 158) and Mascarenhas (no. 5), and Br. Vicente Dias (ibid.).

[13] Fr. Luís de Góis. Fr. Mascarenhas did not leave Ternate before March 6, the date on which he wrote D 162.

[14] D. Duarte de Meneses de Vasconcelos was « almirante », second in command, in the fleet of Gonçalo Pereira. He is said to be a nephew of D. Afonso de Mafora and to be nicknamed « O Narigão », the large-nosed (*Relação Vasconcelos* 173 ; LEMOS 456 ; COUTO VIII 16). He accompanied Gonçalo Pereira to Cebu in 1568 and played a large part in several military campaigns in Ambon, where he was captain of the new fortress, and where he died in 1570 (Cf. SÁ IV Index).

[15] Twice the *Relação Vasconcelos* mentions his leading the vanguard (189, 206).

[16] Running amuck.

[17] Muslim religious teacher (Cf. *Treatise* 369).

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Malaqua [18] e não ser aynda começada a fortaleza, pareceo bem ao capitão-moor e a todos começar-se a fortaleza logo, porque depois de ella feita en todo o tempo podia destroir os enemigos, que tinhão pera ssi não se avia de fazer e que não pretendia o capitão-mor mais que destroi-llos e por esta rezão até este tempo se não entregarão. E assi veo-se logo pera Ito, onde mandou logo abrir os alicerses e cortar muita madeira mui grossa. Deu-se tanta pressa e bom aviamento à obra que, comesando-se a fortaleza a 20 e tantos de Mayo, quando veyo a 20 e tantos de Julho estava toda sercada com portas fechadas, onde se fizerão 4 baluartes mui fortes e grandes [19]. Mas não hé muito fazer-se tanta obra em tão pouco tempo por ser muita a gente que trabalhou e trabalha [20] nesta fortaleza, na qual se ocuparão quasi todos os lugares d'Amboino assi infieis como christãos, todos trabalhando con tanta diligencia e alegria, como homens que adevinhavão grande tezouro e bens que pera elles se fundavão nella, como de verdade ella há-de ser seu refugio, muro e escudo de seus inimigos corporaes e spirituaes.

7. E como aqueles que estão confiados de ser escudados com tal escudo, deixado a huma parte todo o temor que tinhão dos jaos e ternates, em cujo poder erão tão tiranizados — não sendo ainda lançados os jaos da terra, e tendo novas certas que hé chegado o Babu, filho erdeiro d'el-rey de Ternate, a Sulla [21], que hé mui perto daqui, com 40 caracoras — com tudo isso não cessão muitos lugares de mouros e gentios de pedir o baptismo, assi desta ilha como de muitas outras, ao que ategora se não pode acodir nem sei se poderá por não aver quem os possa doutrinar, por serem muitos os que pedem o bautismo e nós tão pouquos : que ainda que todos os que há em Maluco se ajuntem em Amboino, sem duvida, Charissimos, que nem pera esta soo ilha de Ito em

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76 ssi *del.* que *B* | avia] aver *C* || 78 veo-se *illeg., from B* | Ito *corr. fr.* Itos, Itoo *C* | Ito, onde] Itoadude [*sic*] *B* || 81 portas] fortes *BC* || 90 ternates] Ternate *BC* || 92 tendo *corr. fr.* tendos | Babu] Labu *B* || 93 Sulla] Xulla *B*, Xula *C* || 96 se[2] *add.* se *B* || 99 de Ito *corr. fr.* dito, *om. B*

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[18] About May 15.

[19] This first fortress was situated on the N coast of Hitu (*Relação Vasconcelos* 209, 223, 234, 238), near Senalo, about half a league E of Kaitetu (ibid. 385, where Çenado should read Cenalo), not far from New Hitu (ibid. 209) which is Hila, a kams pong close to Kaitetu, and near the river Wakahuli (Cf. VALENTYN II a 104). It was a fort with a wooden palisade. Within a few years it was twice replaced by new one on the NW coast of Leitimor (LEMOS 470-471).

[20] Obviously in August 1569 the fortress was not yet entirely finished, and Fr. Mascarenhas is writing as an eye-witness. See final dateline of this letter.

[21] The Sula islands, NW of Buru.

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que estamos abastão, que não sendo mais de 20 legoas em roda tem sesenta e seis lugares, e o mais pequeno delles tem 140 ou mais almas, afora muitos outros pequenos que se não contão, e muitos destes tem quatro e sinquo mil almas.

8. E menos poderemos acudir a sete ou 8 ilhas outras mui grandes, em muitas das quais há yá muitos christãos, e os mais desejão e pedem que os baptizem. E muito menos poderemos acodir àquella grande ilha de Burro, que hé polo menos maior que esta de Ito tres vezes [22], onde há yá grande christandade e os infieis que nella vivem desejão de ser christãos. E averá dous meses que andão e estão nesta fortaleza alguns regedores dos lugares dos christãos a pedir Padres que os vão doutrinar.

9. E se não podemos acudir a tão pouca gente como hé esta que tenho nomeada, como [457r] poderemos fazer a quasi innumeravel da grande ilha do Ceirão que agora se offeresse ? Porque, aynda que a gente que tenho nomeada das ilhas yá christãas, e as mais que o pedem agora, hé já tanta que sem duvida não abastão 30 da Companhia pera os poder doutrinar, hé todavia mui pouqua em comparação da muita que há nesta ilha de Ceirão, que hé de 150 legoas ou mais em roda, e mui povoada assi no certam como ao longo do mar, em a qual haa jaa tres ou quatro mui grandes lugares christãos [23], e muitos dos mais que há na ilha pedem o baptismo. E os mais infieis que há na ilha, se ouvera quem os doutrinara, facilmente e em poucos dia· vierão em conhecimento de seu Criador, por serem gentios em os quais há pouca contradição. Porque os lugares dos mouros que nella há ten dado obediencia a esta fortaleza [24].

10. E com lhe tirarem as mesquitas e cassizes, como veyo ordenado pollo sancto sinodo [25] o qual nesta terra se pode guardar muito

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106 muito *interl.* | poderemos] podemos *B* | acodir *corr. fr.* codir || 107 Burro] Buro *B* | esta *corr. fr.* estas || 108 há *interl. w. corr.* || 113 poderemos . . . quasi *hardly legib., from B* || 114 Ceirão] Ceilão *del.*, Celano *m. C* || 115 o *interl.* || 116 sem duvida *m.* || 122 os *corr. fr.* o || 126 com] como *ms.*, com *C* || 127 pollo *corr. fr.* no | pollo . . . o] polla sancta synodo a *C*

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[22] Buru is more than twelve times as large as Ambon (resp. 9599 and 761 km²).

[23] Lisabata, Hatuwe, and Tolomata (D 130, 20-21).

[24] For the three principal towns in Hoamoal (Little Seram) : Veranula (or Luhu), Lesidi, and Kambelo, see *Relação Vasconcelos* 184 ; they were claimed by Ternate, but Gonçalo Pereira brought them under Portuguese obedience in Lent 1569, at least for a short time.

[25] First synod of Goa, 1567, first session, decree 6 : « A sancta Synodo declara ser necessario desterraremse das terras de S.A. todos os infieis que tem por officio sustentar suas falsas religiões, como são cacizes dos mouros e os pregadores dos gen-

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bem e sem trabalho, facilmente se converterão todos os mouros a nossa sancta fee catolica. E mais com a ficada do capitão-moor Gonçalo Pereira, que hé tão zeloso da christandade que se estaa muitas vezes alegrando em cuidar a maneira que á-de ter em de todo extirpar todo genero de infidelidade de todo Amboino daqui até Mayo que nelle espera de estar [26], e assi no-lo diz muitas vezes aos Padres; de cuja ficada folgarão muito não somente os christãos, mas tambem os mouros e gentios, tanto que hum mouro principal de Ito, que estaa connosco, deu hum escravo d'alvissaras a quem lhe deu a nova.

11. Ora vejão, Charissimos, que poderão fazer dous Padres e hum Irmão que nesta terra ficamos, que hé o P.e Marcos Prancudo que andava na armada [27]. Parece ordenou Deos ficar o capitão-mor pera elle nos ajudar aqui este ano nesta christandade, porque não ficavamos este ano em Amboino mais que eu e o Ir. Antonio Gonçalvez, què o P.e Reitor tinha mandado chamar a Maluquo e há tres dias que chegou. E, com arribar tres vezes às terras de Bachão, de quasi pegado com a terra d'Amboino, com temporal e ventos polla proa, e por derradeiro se perdeo. Todavia, allembrando-se Deos das nessecidades que padecem as almas a que elle pode acodir, o trouxe aimda que maltratado de camaras da frialdade e trabalhos do caminho. Prazerá a Nosso Senhor que não irão avante. Os que pera quá vierem tragão a meisinha, porque quá morre muita gente de camaras, e soo no lugar de Rosanive [28] dizem que morrerão este ano perto de 300 almas.

12. Pouco escrevo pera o muito que tinha, se em particular ouvera de relatar as cousas que acontecem, de que não faço nem sei fazer caso, assi por não saber escrever, como por ver outras muitas de tanta maior importantia, que me parece se pode escusar de gastar tempo niso, antes dá-llo a outras obras de maior serviço de Deos. Porque são tantas as que por quá se offerecem, que muitas vezes falta o tempo pera co-

136 lhe *corr. fr.* lhes | a$^2$ *interl.* || 138 Brancudo *B* || 143 Bachã *C* || 144 temporal] tempestade *corr. fr.* tempestades *BC* || 146 as] tantas *B* || 149 Rosanive] Rocãve *B*, Rochane *C* || 150 almas *del.* delas *B* || 152 nem *add.* tal *B* || 154 pode] podem *B* | antes] e assi *B*

tios . . . »; decree 9: « Esta sancta Synodo . . . pede muyto a S.A. mande . . . que aos mouros se derribem todas as suas mesquitas . . . » (*Bullarium Patronatus*, Appendix, I 7-8). For an instance, see no. 5.

[26] Gonçalo Pereira appears to be rather optimistic: expecting his mission to be fulfilled by that time, he intended to return to India in May 1570. How differently were things to turn out!

[27] That is, from August 1568 to January 1569 he had sailed in the fleet of Gonçalo Pereira to Cebu (D 161, 15).

[28] Nusaniwi in Leitimor.

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mer o necessario à sustentação, ora chamando os Padres pera as confissões, ora pera fazer amisades, ora pera estar com emfermos e a consolá-los, e ajudar a bem morrer aos que estão em o artigo da morte; ora pera outras muitas necessidades corporaes e spirituaes, em que quasi sempre nos ocupão os homens, tomando aos Padres por refugio e emparo em seus trabalhos. E se isto ouvesse de contar em particular seria gastar muito tempo e papel.

13. E portanto deixando isto, que hé quasi natural e huma continua occupação dos da Companhia, soomente lhes torno a dizer que se perdem muitas almas e quasi sen conto nestas ilhas de Amboino à mingoa dos que estais nesse collegio[29], e estão gritando que venhão a ensiná-los a conhecer o Criador. Trabalhem po-llos vir ajudar a salvar, porque com esta fortaleza se abrio a porta a gente quasi sem conto; e se lhes parecer que não poderão soprir os trabalhos com algumas emfermidades que tem, venhão, Charissimos, e não temão porque quá Deos Nosso Senhor supre aynda que faltão as forças naturaes. Quá estamos emfermos e com grandes e trabalhosas emfermidades, e Deos por sua bondade nos daa forças pera poderemos [457*v*] com os trabalhos que se offerecem e maiores[30]. Portanto peção muito a Deos Nosso Senhor os faça dignos obreiros desta grande vinha, em cujas orações e sanctos sacrificios me emcomendo muito, e peço queirão emcomendar esta terra.

Desta fortaleza, a tres d'Agosto de 1569 annos.

Por commissão do P.e Reitor.

Servo indigno,

Pero Mascarenhas.

Carta geral de Amboino pera Malaqua e aos Padres e Irmãos da India, a qual depois que se ler em Malaca se mandará à India, etc.

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160 em que] e *B* || 163 e papel *om. B* || 164 isto *del.* tempo || 165 dos da] desta *B* || 168 ensina *corr. fr.* sina || 170 parecer] parece *B* || 172 aynda que] onde *B* || 179 annos *om. B* || 181 servo indigno *om. B*

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[29] Saint Paul's, Goa.

[30] On the useful work and the great hardships of the Jesuits in Maluku, see the witness given by João da Fonseca, captain or vedor-da-fazenda in Cochin, of 1568: « E deste cravo, que vier a Sua Alteza, se podem soster tambem os Padres da Companhia que laa [em Maluco] amdão fazemdo seu oficio, que hé maior naquelas partes do que nese Reyno se pode imaginar, e por sem duvida tenho que nestas obras que eles fazem sostem Deos esta terra; que as obras de todo outro homem não hé senão pera se souverter este Estado, ou se perder, de que Deos por sua piedade o livrará » (WICKI, *Duas relações* 141).

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## 165

## SCHOLASTIC SEBASTIÃO FERNANDES SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR JOÃO BRAVO, TO FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

GOA, END OF NOVEMBER, 1569

I TEXT: DI VIII 35-93 [62]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 215*r*-232*v*. Original. In Portuguese.

II NOTE: Sebastião Fernandes was born in 1543; he entered the Society in Goa in 1564 where he studied classics and logic (DI VIII 35 note 1). On João Bravo, see EX II 134 note 34.

### *Text*

*Fr. Andrés Cabrera sailed to Maluku. A Portuguese fleet defeated the Ambon Moors. A fortress will be erected there.*

[...]

Pera Maluquo foi o Padre André Cab[r]eira [1], donde se pudera dizer muito pelas boas novas que de lá vierão da destruisão, que huma nosa armada fez em os mouros em Ambouno, onde esperamos aver-se de fazer huma fortaleza que será grãode bem pera a cristãodade, mas disto por suas cartas se saberá.

[...]

De Goa, aos ... [2].

Por commissão do Padre Reitor.

Servo indignissimo de todos,

Bastião Fernandez.

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[1] This is confirmed by D 167, 2 and D 175, 1; but according to D 177, 1, he was accompanied by another Father. Andrés de Cabrera was a Spaniard; see DI VI 14*. He arrived in Ternate in October 1569 (D 175, 1); *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 33.

[2] The date has been omitted.

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## 166

# FR. CHRISTOVÃO DA COSTA SJ, RECTOR, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 2, 1569

TEXT: DI VIII 103-108 [104; 106-107]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 470*r*-471*v*. Original in Spanish. Autographical signature.

### *Text*

1. *Two Fathers were sent to Maluku, one who resided in Malacca, the other who came from India.* — 2. *The Ambon Christians were tyrannized and persecuted by the Javanese.* — 3. *They were restored to liberty by a Portuguese fleet. Building of a fortress.* — 4. *Great confluence of people to faith and baptism. Notice on the country of Papua.* — 5. *Great expectations.*

1. Estuvimos este año de 69 en esta casa 4 Padres [1], de los quales por orden de nuestro Padre Provincial fue uno [2] — con otro que vino de la India [3] — para Maluco.

[...]

2. De Maluco tenemos muy buenas nuevas, porque Amboyno, que es un piélago de islas en que ay muchos christianos del tiempo del Padre Maestro Francisco [4] y otros que depués se hiziero[n], los años passados avían sido tyranizados de los jaos, que es una nación de moros muy atrevidos que pertu[r]ban mucho aquellas partes, de tal manera que mataron muchos christianos y pervertieron a otros, y se apoderaron de la tierra.

3. Por esta razón fue de la India un'armada gruessa [5] que los echó de la tierra, y castigó a los culpados, y restituyó todas aquellas islas (que son innúmero) en su libertad, y confederó unas con otras, porque se consumían con guerras intestinas, y las reduxo a todas a la obediencia del Rey de Portugal. Ordenóse que en el mejor sitio uviesse una fortaleza nuestra, la qual está ya hecha con sus baluartes [6], y está ya

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[1] See DI VII 529.

[2] Jerónimo de Olmedo (*Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 34).

[3] Andrés de Cabrera (ibid. no. 33).

[4] Xavier.

[5] The fleet of Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque.

[6] See D 164, 6.

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proveýda de capitam [7] y soldados. Están aý nuestros Padres para hazer una casa, porque desde allí pueden correr muchas tierras y venirse a recoger a la fortaleza.

4. Con este sosiego que la tierra tiene vinieron muchos embaxadores a dar la obediencia al capitam mayor, y a pedir que quieren ser christianos, y assí gentiles como moros quieren dexar sus yerros, y tienen por grande [gracia] que los Padres y el capitán los admitta, y se les dé esperanças que irán a su isla. Escriven los Padres que serían poco 30 Padres [8] con los que allá están para se instruir y baptizar los que agora están reduzidos, sin otros gentío[s] de los papuas que moran en tierra firme, que también pide[n] christiandad [9]. La tierra destos corre para el sul, y es tan cumplida que aviéndose navegado muchos días por ella de los castellanos que por allí fueron, no le hallaron cabo [10]. Junto con esto ai otras tierras en aquellas partes en que ai christiandad que no se á visitado de los nuestros dos y tres y quatro años por no se poder acudir a todo.

5. Este succeso que agora nuestro Señor ordenó da grandes esperanças de se plantar la fee en aquellas partes con mucha prosperidad y fertilidad de almas, y que á de ser el fervor de allí no menor que el de Japón. La tierra en lo natural es de un temple mediocre, porque no declina a mucho frío ni callor; es fresca de arboredo y muy regada con fuentes y si fuere cultivada a nuestra manera tendrá muchos mantenimientos. Quiera nuestro Señor ut perficiat quam plantavit dextera eius [11].

[...]

De Malaca, 2 de Dezembro de 69.

De Vosa Paternidade servo em ho Senhor,

Cristovão da Costa, reitor.

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[7] The viceroy D. Antão de Noronha had appointed Aires Gomes de Brito, one of the captains in Pereira's fleet, to be the first captain of the fortress to be built in Ambon (*Relação Vasconcelos* 173, 185). But his name is never again mentioned as an actual captain. For the first years, Gonçalo Pereira acted as captain of the Ambon fortress, sometimes alternating this office with D. Duarte de Meneses (ibid. 211, 222).

[8] See D 163, 4.

[9] The Papuans were still mentioned in D 161, 13.

[10] This recalls the report given by Iñigo Ortiz de Retes, in 1545, of his unsuccessful effort to sail to Mexico from Tidore : « Vieron otra isla muy grande, de tierra alta y de muy hermoso parescer, por la cual costearon docientas e treinta leguas por la banda del Norte, sin la poder ver cabo » (ESCALANTE 154-155).

[11] Ps 80 [79] 16.

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## 167

## FR. GONÇALO ÁLVARES, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 5, 1569

TEXT: DI VIII 111-122 [113 and 122]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 476*r*-479*v*. Original. In Portuguese. Autographic signature.

### *Text*

1. *The Fathers in Maluku go accompanied.* — 2. *Fr. Cabrera was sent to Maluku. Fr. Visitor would prefer to send a man of letters, if only he could.*

[...]

1. Soube que os Padres de Maluco e doutras partes andavam acompanhados quanto podia ser [1].

[...]

2. Para Maluco foi o P.e Cabreira [2]. Confio em Noso Senhor que ajudará naquellas partes no que poder. Desejei de mandar àquellas partes alguma pessoa de mais cabedal de letras, porque ainda que o que lá tem todo o cuidado [3] hé prudente e de bom exemplo não enche aquellas partes, e assi mo afirmão pessoas amigas da Companhia que lá se acharão. Mas, asi como Maluco está sem hum destas partes, asi temos pacientia até que V.P. proveja que de Portugal venhão algumas pesoas, que enchão bem estes lugares com exemplo de virtude e letras.

[...]

A 5 de Dezembro 1569.

De V. Paternidade filho indigno em o Senhor,

Gonçalo Alvarez.

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[1] See D 153, 2.

[2] He sailed from Goa on May 2, 1569 (DI VIII 17-18).

[3] Fr. Luís de Góis (D 150, 4).

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## 168

## FR. JOÃO BRAVO SJ, RECTOR, TO FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 5, 1569

TEXT: DI VIII 123-126 [124-125]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 11 II* ff. 480*r*-481*v*. Holograph. In Portuguese.

### *Text*

*Plea for dispatching a Father Visitor to Maluku and to other far-off Jesuit residences.*

[...]

Acerca desta Provincia me ocuria outra cousa que propor a V.P., e hé que como esta Provincia seja grande e os Padres e Irmãos que nela há estejam mui longe, como Maluco, Japam, China, tem muita nesesidade de serem visitados por pesoa que saiba da Companhia e intenda o modo que cada hum (em terras tam remotas) leva de proceder, se vai com a [e]deficação que na Companhia se requere. Porque, como estejam tam longe e tantos anos soos, sem nunqua serem visitados, principalmente os de Maluco, Japam, China, pode-se arecear que, por falta de visitação, venhão os que lá vivem a descair muito do caminho da perfeição que a Companhia pretende, e a seguiren-se alguns escandalos que dão depois muito trabalho. Pelo qual se a V.P. parecese que convem serem estas terras visitadas pelo Padre Visitador ou polo Padre Provincial, parece que se seguiria diso muito serviço do Senhor e proveito grande nas almas dos que nelas vivem da Companhia.

[...]

De Goa, a 5 de Dezenb[ro] de 1569.

De V.P. servo indigno em o Senhor,

Joam Bravo.

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## 169

# FR. NICOLAU NUNES SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. LUÍS DE GÓIS, TO THE JESUITS OF THE GOA COLLEGE

[Tolo in] Moro, January 2, 1570

## Annual Letter

I Bibliography : Sommervogel V 1840 under A, refers to text D only ; Wessels, *Amboina* 177 Nunes no. 2 ; Streit IV, mention in no. 930.

II Authors : Sacchini, *Hist. Soc.*, *Borgia* V 261-262 ; Bartoli, *L'Asia* VI 34 ; Souza II III 1 31-32.

III Texts :

A. *ARSI*, *Goa 12 I* ff. 8*r*-10*v*, formerly 66-67 and II. Perhaps an original. In Portuguese. The letter ends on f. 9*v* ; 10*r* is blank and 10*v* bears a kind of address written by Fr. Manuel Teixeira in Cochin forwarding some copies of the letter to Europe : « Annual da ilha do Moro em Maluquo do ano de 70. Pera Portugal. 1ª via », with notes added in three hands : « Moro, 2 de janeiro » ; « 1570 » ; « aos dous de janeiro de 1570 » ; « do Padre Niculao Nunes » ; « Dupplicada ». The letter is well conserved and beautifully written, presumedly by an amanuensis ; the signature is in the same hand.

B. *ARSI*, *Goa 12 I* ff. 46*r*-49*v*, formerly 68-70 crossed out, 49-50, and II. Copy in Portuguese. On f. 46*r* in left lower corner « 70 Nugnez » ; ff. 48*v* and 49*r* are blank ; f. 49*v* presents a note « Copia de huma carta do Padre Nicolao Nunez do Moro pera os Irmãos do collegio de Goa de 1570. 2ª via » ; a second hand added « Enero » ; a third noted « já ». Moreover, there is a very short compendium of the letter in Italian.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional*, *Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 20*r*-22*r*. Copy in Portuguese, written in four hands, with some omissions at the end ; heading « Annual do Moro do ano de 69, escrita polo Padre Nicolao Nunes a 2 de janeiro de 1570 [*corr. fr.* 1571] ».

D. Évora, *Biblioteca Pública 116/2-11 no. 4*. Contains only a small fragment in Portuguese, corresponding exactly with f. 22*r* of text C, beginning with the words « fracas, mas sam ligeiras » (see no. 16). Mentioned by Sommervogel and Streit. Seems to be a sheet out of a large codex.

E. *ARSI*, *Goa 12 I* ff. 44*r*-45*v*, formerly 576 (*rep.*) and VIII. Spanish translation made after text A, erroneously dated January 20. On the first page, at the top « Del isla del Omoro dell'anno 1569. Nicolo Nugnes » and « De edificatione » ; at the bottom « 70 Nugnez ».

IV Place : The conclusion says « no Moro » ; the contents show that Nunes was writing in Tolo (no. 8).

V Addressee : Whereas texts A, C, and E, in the superscription, mention a « Reverendo Padre » in the singular number, text B pretends to be directed to « Reverendos Padres » in the plural. The author speaks to « charissimos Irmãos » (no. 14), living « nesses sanctos collegios » (no.



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13). A note on the last page of text B (f. 49*v*) reveals the true addressee : « Pera os Irmãos do collegio de Goa ». As writing to the community of the Jesuit college in Goa meant directing the letter to Fr. Rector or to Fr. Provincial who also was living there, an alternation of singular and plural may not seem actually surprising. An official annual report, composed by order of Fr. Superior, should be addressed to Fr. Provincial in the Goa college (See *Introduction* V 1). The indications « 1ª via » in text A, and « 2ª via » in text B, refer rather to the shipping from Cochin to Lisbon than to that from Maluku to Cochin.

VI Our Edition : We print text A, in the apparatus giving the variants of text B, and rarely those of text C.

## *Text*

1. *Order of Fr. Góis to report on Moro.* — 2. *Activities of the three Jesuits who live there ; counteraction of the king of Ternate.* — 3. *The Moro Christians' faith in holy water.* — 4. *Prayer answered.* — 5-6. *Their appreciation of the sacrament of confession.* — 7. *Much more could be told about this.* — 8. *Death from fever of many baptized babies in Tolo.* — 9. *Heavy distress caused by the king of Ternate.* — 10. *Evil wrought in Ambon by this king, and on Moro by the Lord of Gamkonorah, his vassal. Political friendship between the king and Gonçalo Pereira ; their dissimulation of these evils.* — 11. *Pereira having sailed to Ambon, the king of Ternate dispatched a fleet against the Moro Christians. Massacre in Puni.* — 12. *Instance of the heroic death of a Christian.* — 13. *Description of cruelties.* — 14. *Nunes drinks the « chalice of disconsolateness ».* — 15. *Steady hardship of visiting the Christian villages by boat.* — 16. *Instance of danger and rescue at sea.* — 17. *Praise and prayer to God.*

† Jesus Maria

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Como quer que as cousas ordenadas pela santa obediencia ordenem tudo a bom fim, assi pera louvar ao Senhor como tambem pera se dilatar o fervor e caridade por muitas partes dos da Companhia, pareceo ao P.e Lluis de Gois que escrevesse as cousas que o Senhor obrou este ano por meo dos da Companhia nestas partes do Moro.

2. Os que commummente residimos nestas ilhas são tres [1], tendo necessidade, quando nada, d'otros tantos, por serem muitos os lugares

2 Reverendos *B* | Padres *B* || 7 P.e *add.* Reitor *B* | Gõis *ms.* || 8 Moro *corr. fr.* Morro

[1] Frs. Nicolau Nunes, Diogo de Magalhães, and Br. António Gonçalves (D 161, 5-7).

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dos christãos, distantes e apartados huns dos outros e em diferentes ilhas, os quais sostentamos e doutrinamos com asaz de glorioso fruito, do que seja gloria ao Senhor donde manão todos os tesouros das virtudes. São alimentados de nós de todos os sacramentos, de que muitos delles são capazes, cada dia os filhos doutrinados, e aos domingos e sanctos se lhes faz declaração das cousas da ffee, e outras muitas obras pias que os da Companhia costumão fazer. Pello que os gentios nos tem em grande credito e os christãos muita obediencia e sogeição nas cousas em que os instruimos e de que os reprendemos. Em suas doenças, nos lugares onde residimos, todos assi como adoecem mandão chamar o Padre, ou pera se confesarem ou pera rezar o Evangelho. Estão mediocremente instruidos nas cousas da ffee e ainda crecerião em maior aumento do spiritual se não forão tão desinquietos e avexados pellos vasalos de hum rei mouro chamado rei de Tarnate, o qual os trata tão mal, assi com mortes secretas e pubricas, que hé grande lastima ver o muito que padecem pola confissão da ffee, o que em gente tão tenrra haas vezes em alguns causa algum modo de frieza, do que em nós resulta não pouqua desconsolação, e fora muito maior se juntamente não visemos a constancia que mostrão outros muitos mais ou quasi todos.

3. Não deixarei em particular de lhe contar algumas cousas maravilhosas em o Senhor. Tem estes novos christãos grande ffee e devação n'aguoa benta, que em suas enfermidades a bebem por salutifero alectuario contra toda a doença e peçonha, tendo grande ffee que por virtude della lhe á N. Senhor de conceder a saude corporal, e asi se vee às vezes o Senhor obrar nelles grandes maravilhas.

4. En hum lugar principal destes, que se chama Saquita [1], ouve grandes calmas e muitos dias que não chovia, pello que com a sequa grande não podião semear seus arozes. O rejedor da terra, que hé hum homem velho, nesta esterilidade se foi à igreja batendo nos peitos, pedindo ao Senhor que lhes desse agoa, acendendo e deitando azeite na alampada. Prouve ao Senhor de lha conceder, e asi day a huma ora ou duas choveo a agoa que lhes era necesaria. Vendo o velho tam grande maravilha, foi apregoando pello lugar que viesem todos à igreja e trouxesem azeite pera a lampada, pois elle era testemunha da mercê que o

16 faz *corr. fr.* fazem | muidas *ms.* | obras *add.* o || 23 do *om. B* | desinquietos] desinquietados *B* | 27 alguns *add.* deles *B* || 32 em o] do *B* || 33 bebem *add.* tendo-a *B* | alectuario] leituario *corr. fr.* lectuario *B*

[1] Sakita, on the E coast of Morotai.

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Senhor lhe fizera. Gloria seja a elle que asi imprime sua ffee e verdade nestas gentes que tão allongadas estão do seu santo conhecimento.

5. No sacramento da confissão tem grande ffee. A mim me aconteceo confessar hum [8*v*] homem de muita idade que me serteficou que, tanto que se acabara de confessar e botar os peccados, que logo lhe viera a saude corporal e asi andava persuadindo a muitos que se confesassem. Esta gente no principio que começão a frequentar este sacramento mostrão-se algum tanto tibios, depois que se confessão vão a convidar a outros per que se venhão a confesar. Nas primeiras confissõis areceão serem os Padres com elles asperos mas, esprimentando sua brandura, com menos areceo se chegão a este sacramento, em os quais se vê muitos sinais de contrição.

6. E a mim me aconteceo confessar não há muito hum principal destas partes que, com as muitas lagrimas que derramava, mitia em confusão minha tibieza. Partindo de hum lugar em que o mais do tempo residia pera a fortaleza, se veio a mim hum filho do rejedor e me disse que sua molher estava mal de huma emfermidade, e que me mandava dizer que, já que asi estava, como avia de aver no mundo ir-me de sua terra sen na confesar? E por ser a primeira confissão me maravilhei da efiquação com que a pedia e muito mais depois que cheguei aonde ella estava polla ver tão resinada na vontade de Deos, de maneira que a confessei. Tenho pera mim ter serta sua salvação.

7. Muito me pudera dilatar nas cousas que o Senhor obra por via deste sacramento nas almas destes novos christãos, se ouvese de tratar as cousas de edificação que neste sacramento aos Padres que por quá andão acontesse[m], mas serão tanto maiores as que lá poderão acontecer, que por ellas eu peço que julguem o pouquo de quá.

8. Huma das grandes consolaçõis que por quá temos é na morte dalguns mininos inocentes que os mais dos dias pera o ceo caminhão. Chegando os dias passados a hum lugar principal de Moro, que se chama o Tollo [3], me disserão que obra de 100 mininos de mama, já baptizados, erão fallecidos de humas febres que nelles derão. Pareceo a alguns cousa de muita llastima e eu em parte folguei com ver as cadeiras celestiais povoarem-se destes inocentes em quem está mais certa a salvação. Bendito seja o Senhor que em tão tenrra idade os levou pera si: parece que desta sua orta do Moro achou esta fruta madura pera se

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46 imprime *corr. fr.* emprime || 54 a[3] *om. B* || 55 serem *del.* com || 63 ir-me *add.* heu *B* || 65 efiquação] eficasia *B* || 71 acontesem *B* | tanto *rep.* || 74 os . . . dias *om. B* || 76 Tolo *B* || 78 com] por *B*

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[3] Tolo, in Morotia.

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ajuntarem no numero dos electos. Estando escrevendo esta carta neste lugar do Tollo me vierão dizer em como hum minino, que eu avia pouquo que o baptizara, era fallecido. Louvado seja o Criador de todas as cousas que deste cabo do mundo escolhe almas pera a bemaventurança.

9. Hum dos maiores trabalhos que padecemos é com as muitas guerras que nesta terra há. E bem sabem que tão somente ouvir nomear guerra desinquieta, quanto mais passar por ellas com tantos desgostos e trabalhos e perigos do corpo ! E o autor de todas ellas hé el-rei de Tarnate, intimo inimigo do nome da cruz de Christo, e omem que parece que não trata senão de como dilatará huma diabolica seita, e de como desareiguará destas ilhas a verdade de nosa llei. Mas esperamos em Deos que, não olhando nosos demeritos e peccados, que movido de sua misericordia com que quis dar seu sangue em preço de nosas almas, que sairaa pola honrra de sua lei e sua verdade, e salutifera cruz, e livrará estes inocentes das tiranias, oppressõis e males que lhe manda fazer.

10. Jaa terão entendido os malles que as armadas deste rei os anos passados fizerão em Amboino, a cuja conta mandou o Viso-Rei huma armada a fazer nelle huma fortaleza ; e tambem terão entendido os malles que hum vasallo seu, senhor de Bocanora [4], tinha feito a esta christandadè do Moro destruindo allguns lugares, matando e roubando muitos christãos, queimando muitas igrejas, cortando muitas cruzes, como mais largamente se escreveo nas cartas do ano passado [5]. Emquanto o capitão-[9r]-mor andou nestas partes de Maluco, disimulou com estes malles fingindo querer ser seu amigo, prometendo de fazer aos seus que satisfizessem os roubos que tinhão feitos òs christãos que tinhão cativos e castiguar os culpados, mas nenhuma destas comprio. Com o que disimulou o capitão-mor Gonçalo Pereira por alguns respeitos que lhe parecerão licitos, digo, por alguns inconvenientes que se achavão a o castigar [6].

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87 somonte *add.* com *B* || 88 desinquietão *B* || 90 do nome *om. B* || 91 huma] sua *B* || 95 honrra *corr. fr.* honra | 106 seu *om. B*

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[4] Sometimes written Granboconora (Grão Boquonora : *Treatise* 82, or Guamoconora : REBELO 388), stands for Gamkonorah, a country subject to Ternate on the W coast of N Halmahera between Jailolo and Loloda ; see ENI I 737.

[5] D 161 does not speak of these vexations. We have to assume that Nunes wrote yet another letter, in the course of 1569, after Hairun began to persecute the Moro Christians (no. 11). See D 161*a*.

[6] On this connivance, see *Relação Vasconcelos* 180-183, especially : « O capi-

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11. Hindo o capitão-mor pera Amboino [7], parecendo-lhe que estava de caminho per'a India, ordenou com que os seus, que dantes destruirão a christandade, aguora com mais poder e maiores cruezas trabalhassem em sua destruição. Armarão 30 vellas, em que muitos delles erão parentes e criados do mesmo rei; salteavão os que da fortalleza hião pera o Moro e do Moro pera a fortaleza. Chegarão huma ante-menhã com esta armada a hum lugar perto daqui, chamado Pune [8], onde matarão a maior parte dos mininos e molheres, que erão muitos em numero, cousa mui lastimosa e chorosa. Estes males lhe fizerão por serem christãos.

12. Achou-se neste encontro hum cavaleiro de Christo, homem tido nesta terra por de muito esforço: pola defensão destes mininos e molheres, e da cruz que no lugar tinhão, podendo fugir quis antes com a morte cobrar nome immortal que fugindo ganhar a vida temporal. E foi que cheguando-sse à cruz quis padecer com Christo junto da cruz, de maneira que o fizerão em postas; cousa de que resultou em muitos grandes lastimas e piedades (estes erão os seus parentes), e a nós grande fervor e enveja.

13. Não vejo cá nesses sanctos collegios desinquietação e desconsolação e trabalhos que se possão comparar com estes: ver os corpos dos christãos entasalhados diante de si, ver as molheres descabeladas e chorosas, hé cousa mui lastimosa; ver matar as molheres prenhes e tirar-lhes os filhos dos ventres, cousa tão crua, quem a podera ver sem muitas lagrimas e dor! E isto se aconteceo neste lugar, em o qual estes ministros de Satanás, agitados de hum diabolico furor, abrião as molheres prenhes, e tirar-lhes os filhos dos ventres e espadasá-llos. Antes eu sofriria os trabalhos de llá por grandes que fossem que ver isto. Não vejo mortificação que se compare com esta, e o que mais sintimos é o pouquo remedio que vemos a estes malles e desgostos.

14. E posto que por outra parte, charissi[mos] em Christo Irmãos,

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113 que[1] *interl.* || 117 e *add.* os *B* || 118 com esta *rep.* || 123 esforço *add.* que *B* | defensão *add.* da cruz *B* | destes] dos *B* || 124 e . . . tinhão *om. B* || 126 cruz *add.* que no lugar tinhão *B* || 130 cá] heu *B* | collegios *vt. corr.* || 133 chorosas *C*, chora-los *A*, chora-las *B* || 137 espadasa-llos *corr. fr.* espadaçallos, espadaçando-os *C*

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tão-mor desemulou . . . porque amdava buscamdo ocazião para lamçar mão delle » (182).

[7] In late February 1569.

[8] Puni, a kampong near Galela in Morotia (see Map XIV in De Jongh, *De Oostkust van Noord-Halmahera*, in Tijdschrift Aardrijkskundig Genootschap 26 (1909); Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver* II/I 775).

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comamos muitas vezes o pão da consolação à vinha de Christo, muitas mais tragamos o callez da desconsolação com estes desgostos e outros que seria longo de contar: e certo que há mister muita virtude pera esta terra e bom alforje de pacientia. Eu lhe sertefiquo que este ano de 70 faz 23 anos que ando nestas partes de Maluquo [9], em o qual tempo nunqua me achei tão cerquado de trabalhos como neste, porque estão aparelhados os maiores trabalhos neste Moro de guerras que eu nunqua vi: e provesse a Deos Noso Senhor que acabasse eu, como desejo, nelles pera que fosse gosar da bemaventurança, e asi acabaria de dar fim aas miserias desta vida.

15. Ho mais contino trabalho em que nos quá exercitamos hé em visitar os lugares de christãos pera bautisarmos os mininos, fazermos alguns casamentos, evitarmos alguns peccados, reconsiliar alguns inimistados. E como quer que os lugares são muitos e allgumas legoas hums dos outros, e as necessidades pedem frequentação nestas visitaçõis, hé-nos forçado andar o mais do tempo embarcados, no que allem da [de]sinquietação interior padecemos muitos trabalhos corporais de fomes, frios e chuivas, e muitos [9*v*] perigos de tormentos, das quais de soo huma, pellos não enfadar, lhe quero tratar.

16. Ordenou o P.[e] Reitor que nos juntassemos na casa de Ternate pera fazermos nossos votos, como hé custume [10]. Elles feitos com muita consolação spiritual nos tornamos pera este Moro, que da fortalleza está 60 legoas. No caminho levamos muitos trabalhos no mar de huma tempestade que nos deu indo em huma embarcasão. Era de remo conforme à usança da terra, que são humas embarcaçõis fraquas, mas são ligeiras e remão bem. Asi que não tivemos outro remedio senão varar em terra, e nos varamos com muito trabalho. E despois fazendo allguma bonança nos botamos ao mar, e começando a navegar, em huma ponta que bem se pode chamar o Cabo de Boa Esperamça, torna a vir a tempestade e tornamos arribar. E neste comenos nos anouteceo e tornando à praia donde nos varamos não nos podemos varar por ser noite. Erão aqueles tempestuosos mares e ondas tam grandes, que quando passavão por nós nos cobrião a terra. Estivemos toda noite ao pairo com grande escuridão e chuiva e vento chamando pella Virgem sagrada Nosa Senhora. E em amanhecendo nos mostrarão os remeiros o lugar

149 a Deos *rep.* || 154 inimistados] inimizades *B* || 156 visitaçõis] vizitas *B* || 158 sinquietação] dezenquietação *B*, inquietação *C* || 165 embarcação *add.* mui pequena. Hiamos nelle vinte e tantas pessoas; a embarcasão *B* || 168 e nos varamos] o que foi *B*

[9] He arrived in Ternate in October 1547 (D 10, 12).

[10] Cf. D 161, 3.

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onde antes nos varamos : caio huma arvore de immensa grandeza, a qual se nos ahi acolhera nos matava a todos.

17. Bendito seja o Senhor que de tantos perigos nos livra, e nos livra doutros maiores, que são os perigos d'allma, fortifiquando nosos coraçõis com o llume de sua ffee, esperança e charidade, pera que o seu dulcissimo nome seja exalçado antre estas barbaras naçõis. Dou fim a esta com pedir a todos que nos encomende[m] em seus sanctos sacrificios e oraçõis.

Feita no Moro, aos 2 de Janeiro de 1570.

Por comissão do P.e Luis de Guois, reitor.

Inutil servo,

Nicollao Nunez.

## 170

## FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, TO FR. LUÍS DE GÓIS, SUPERIOR OF THE MALUKU MISSION

ROME, JANUARY 10, 1570

TEXT : *ARSI, Hisp. 69* f. 5*v*. Original file copy, in Spanish, written by Fr. Juan Fernández (who was at that time an assistant of Fr. Polanco) hastily and quite badly, so as to make the reading of some words doubtful. In the left margin the addressee is indicated : « Luis de Goes / Malucho [*del.*] / Anboino / superior ».

### *Text*

*Answer to letter of May 28, 1568. Satisfaction with increasing number of Christians ; pity on small number of Fathers. Fr. Visitor receives instructions to give help to the Maluku Jesuits.*

Pax Christi

Aunque es añeja una carta que ay de V.R., scripta en Amboyno a los 28 de Mayo 1568 [1], todavía considerada la distancia, los peligros de camino de mare et terras que ay en medio de Roma y Malucho, los parecen en las cartas freschas y como tales dan mucha consolación,

177 varamos *add.* com grande espanto : que foi que ali onde nós varamos *B* || 179-184 Bendito . . . oraçõis] Dou fim a esta *C* || 186 Por . . . reitor *om. C*
4 Maluho *ms.*

[1] Lost letter. See D 157*a*.

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especialmente yendo en tanto aumento la christianidad de esas partes, como V.R. por su cartha scrive. Llévelo adelante el Señor, cuyo negocio es, como esperamos que lo hará ayudando para ello la buena industria y trabajos de Vuestras Reverencias, cuio pequeño número en tanta abundantia de miez nos haze gran compasión. Y así se scrive al P. Visitador[2]: que, scilicet, visite y consuele a V.R., y que procure que aya número de los nuestros para que los trabajos se puedan llevar, y no se dexe por falta de obreros de ayudar a la salvación de tanto número de almas como ay sin pastor ni guia en esa gentilidad. El Señor si apeiada de los nuestros. En las oraciones y sacrificios, etc.

De Roma, X de Enero 1570.

## 171

## FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, TO FR. GONÇALO ÁLVARES, VISITOR OF INDIA

ROME, JANUARY 10, 1570

TEXT: DI VIII 185-192 [186-187 ; 190-191], taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 69* ff. 2*r*-3*v*. Original file copy, in Spanish.

### *Text*

1. *Fr. Visitor will have to visit personally the Jesuit residences of India, and if possible also those of Malaka, Maluku, and Japan.* — 2. *Importance of such visits.* — 3. *The small number of Jesuits in Maluku might be increased by removing others from where they are less needed.* — 4. *The king of Portugal should finance a larger number of them.*

[...]

1. Quanto más he considerado el bien que nasce y el que espero que nascerá de la visita de V.R., y quanto mayor veo que es la consolación y alegría de spíritu que todos tienen con V.R., tanto más me persuado en el Señor que será servicio de su divina Magestad que V.R.

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6 especialmtee [*sic*] *ms.* || 8 esperanos *ms.* || 11 que[1] *corr. fr.* y, *del.* que | scilicet *d. r., del.* y || 12 numero *d. r.* | para que *w. corr.* || 14 si apeiada *d. r.* || 16 1570 *corr. fr.* 1567

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[2] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares ; see D 171.

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por su mesma persona visite y consuele los collegios y residencias que ay en toda esa costa que llaman India ; y si las fuerzas le sirviesen para passar adelante, me sería particular consolación que vaya también a visitar a Malacha, los Maluchos y al Japón, passando como se suele por la China.

2. A esto, Padre charíssimo, me muove conocer que, aunque su persona será útil en qualquiere parte para el divino servicio, no se podrá emplear en cosa más digna ni importante, que en visitar, animar y consolar, dando nuevas fuerzas en spíritu a tantos Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía como andan por tantas partes divididos, con muchos trabajos corporales y pocos refrigerios. Y paréceme que veo desde aquí las lágrimas de regozyjo que deramarán viendo a V.R. consigo, y la noticia que les dará de las cosas de acá y de nuestro Instituto. Y aunque se me representan los trabajos y peligros de mar y de tierra que en este viaje se podrán offrecer, hechada mi cuenta, hallo que ninguna cosa mejor se podrá aver empleado que la salud y la vida en una obra de tanta religión y charidad. A esto le deseo animar, Padre mío, aunque bien sé la prontitud de su voluntad.

[...]

3. Entiendo que ay pocos de los nuestros en el Malucho para tanta mies como allí tienen que coger, y que han sacado de Malacha gente, de modo que no quedan sino 4. Parece que de los que se quitan donde no son menester, se podrían suplir los que faltan en el Malucho. Esto lo digo por advertimiento, allá V.R. verá lo que más convenga, especialmente si el Señor fuere servido que los visite por su persona, lo qual sería para allá y para acá particular consolación.

4. De Su Alteza se devría procurar que diese la provisión necessaria para que pueda haver en Malucho más operarios, si se dexan de poner por falta de lo temporal.

[...]

De Roma, X de Enero 1570.

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## 172

## FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, TO FR. ANTÓNIO DE QUADROS, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA

ROME, JANUARY 10, 1570

TEXT: DI VIII 193-196 [196], taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 69* ff. 3*v*-4*v*. Original Roman file copy, in Spanish.

### *Text*

*People to be baptized should be well prepared. Pope's advice for the case, realized in Maluku, of great multitudes requesting baptism with only a few priests being at hand to instruct them in the faith.*

[...]

Nunca creý que allá se battizassen los gentiles sin la devida preparación, pero uvo occasión de escrivir lo que se scrivió, porque preguntando a Su Santidad [1] quál tenía por mejor, que donde ay pocos obreros, como en Malucho, se baptizen muchos que piden el baptismo, o solamente aquellos pocos que se podrán dottrinar, etc., respondió: « Un mi antecessor aconsejó al Rey de Francia que fuese ganando poco a poco las tierras de sus enemigos, y que no passassen adelante hasta que aquéllas no estassen fortificadas, y esto mismo aconsejaría yo a los Padres de la Compañía quanto al baptizar de los infieles ». Por esto que Su Santidad entonces nos dixo se scrivió aquel recuerdo [2].

[...]

De Roma, X de Enero 1570.

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[1] Pius V.

[2] Cf. D 149.

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## 173

## FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, TO FR. LEÃO HENRIQUES, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

ROME, JANUARY 11, 1570

TEXT: DI VIII 201-203 [202-203], taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 69* f. 8*r-v*. Original Roman file copy, in Spanish.

### *Text*

*Plea for a bishop for Maluku.*

[...]

En Malucho parece que convernía se proveyesse de un Obispo particular, porque estando tan lexo el de Malacha, es creýble que raras vezes o nunca visitará aquellas ovejas, que tantas y tan necessitadas están de conocer su Pastor y saper doctrinarlas [1].

[...]

De Roma, 11 de Enero 1570.

## 174

## FR. MANUEL TEIXEIRA SJ TO FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 15, 1570

TEXT: DI VIII 210-213 [213], taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 65*r*-66*v*. Holograph in Portuguese. Our fragment is the post-script to a letter whose date is given immediately before: « Deste collegio da Madre de Deos da cydade de Cochym aos 15 de Janeiro de 1570 ».

### *Text*

*On letters and their shipping. The Ambon Fathers are employed in restoring the Christian Church there.*

---

[1] After Fr. Vieira's bold proposal of 1558 to send a patriarch to Maluku (D 72, 9), and Polanco's suggestion, in 1568, of a bishop-visitor for Maluku (D 157, 2), this is the third time that the idea of a bishop for Maluku emerges. Neither was this proposal realized.

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[...]

Até 15 de Janeiro, em que a nao que esta leva se parte, estivemos com os maços abertos esperando pellas cartas de Goa e das partes do norte e de Japão e partes do sul, e não vierão a tempo. Por huma nao que de Goa pera lá parte irão as cartas do P.e Visitador e Provincial e dos mais. O reccado que delles temos, hé estarem todos de saude, o Senhor seja louvado ; ter o P.e Visitador já visitada a parte do norte, e esperarmos cada dia por elle pera estas do sul ; os companheiros de Maluquo e Malaqua serem todos vivos, e andarem ocupados os de Amboyno em reduzir aquella nova christandade, com huma nova fortaleza e igreja [1] que os capitães de S.A. aly fizerão. Por outra nao, que daqui há[-de] partir, irão as cartas, porque temos recado virem já perto. Em a santa benção de V.P. nos tornamos a encomendar estes seus filhos em o Senhor.

De V.P. filho indino e servo em o Senhor,

Manoel Teixeira.

## 175

## FR. ANDRÉS DE CABRERA SJ TO FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

TERNATE, FEBRUARY 10, 1570

TEXT : *Goa 12 I* ff. 6*r*-7*v*, formerly 83 crossed out, 42 and I. Original in Spanish in the same handwriting as D 177 so that no conclusion can be drawn as to whether or not this is a holograph. Here the signature is in the same hand. On f. 6*r* in left lower corner « 70. Cabrera » ; f. 7*r* is blank ; f. 7*v* presents, beyond the address in the same handwriting as the letter, a note : « 1570. Ternate. P. Andrés de Cabrera, 10 de Hebrero », and a short compendium of the contents, likewise in Spanish. There is a small seal of a dark red wax, showing only the monogram IHS.

### *Text*

1. *Four months ago he arrived in Maluku, « country of the exiles ».* — 2. *Virtue and good example of Fr. de Góis.* — 3. *Hence his salutary influence ; common favourable opinion on him.* — 4. *Conclusion.*

---

[1] After the fortress had been built on Ambon, the Fathers who worked on those islands established their headquarters near it, building a house (D 166, 2) and a church, both of them of wood and palm leaves. We never found in any documents a mention of a special vicar for the fortress of Ambon for these years, but neither did we find that the Jesuits supplied officially for this post.

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†

Jesús

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre

Pax Christi

1. Quatro meses ha que llegué a esta tierra de Maluco [1], la qual puesto que se llama tierra de desterrados [2], todavia no estoi desterrado de mi tierra y naturaleza, la qual llevo siempre comigo para donde quiera que voi. Confiesso a V.P. que tengo bien de ocasiones para la dexar y para me vengar della, mas al fim soi su cativo. Nuestro Señor me liberte della para servirlo más libremente.

2. En estos quatro meses que estuve con el P. Luis de Goez, rector destas partes [3], conocí en él mucha virtud, con la qual dio siempre buen exemplo y edificación, assí a los Hermanos de casa, como a los seculares. Tiene dos condiciones buenas entre otras, scilicet, es sufridor y trabajador; con la una nos da exemplo para trabajar en la viña del Señor, y con la otra ánimo para perseverar en el trabajo.

3. Oy dezir a los Padres que aquí vinieron de sus lugares, que se vio en todos notable reformación, después que él tiene este cargo; y esto con mucha suavidad y consolación de los Hermanos; por ser él tam sufri[6*v*]do y tam exemplar en la guarda de las reglas, y en la conversación de los de fuera; los quales están no menos edificados dél, por hallarlo muy expediente para todas sus necessidades espirituales y temporales. Y assí veo en todos los de casa y en los de fuera que le tienem particular affición y amor.

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21 todas *corr. fr.* todo

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[1] So Cabrera arrived in Maluku in October 1569, the scheduled time for the « nau da carreira ».

[2] Maluku was used as a place of degradation and exile. « E de todas quatro partidas os omicidas se vem á India, e dela os degradão para Malaqua, por inormes quasos os prãotão em Maluquo, que hé viveyro de todos os maos do mumdo » (*Treatise* 72; cf. 332). The Portuguese residents of Ternate wrote to King D. João III in 1546: « Esta terra, Senhor, de continuo há mester de trezentos homens, e que não sejão forçados como todos estamos, porque daquy não vay nenhum que não seja fugydo ou com presa licença. Asy que esta fortaleza hé carcere perpetuo, galé de forçado cativeiro, de que ninguem não say, senam pela dita maneira; e como asy seja, a ela não querem vir » (SÁ I 476-477).

[3] Presumably in Ternate, from where he is writing.

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4. Esto es, Padre mio, lo que se me ofreció para escrivir a V.P. del Padre Rector Luis de Goez y de su administración [4]. Resta pedir a V.P. me encommiende a Nuestro Señor en sus sanctos sacrificios y oraciones.

Deste Ternate, a 10 de Hebrero deste ano de 1570.

De V.P. siervo

Andrés de Cabrera.

[*Address*, 7*v*] † Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre, el P. Francisco, Prepósito General de la Compañía de Jesús. En Roma.
1ª via. De Maluco.

## 176

## FR. FERNANDO ÁLVARES SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. SUPERIOR LUÍS DE GÓIS, TO THE JESUITS OF THE GOA COLLEGE

BACAN, APRIL 20, 1570

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 301; WESSELS, *Amboina* 181 Alvarez no. 1; both dating April 24.

II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Baljan* 126-128.

III TEXTS: No original seems to have been preserved.

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 51*r-v* and 55*r-v*, formerly 63-64, still earlier 99-100, and IX. Copy, apparently made in Cochin, in Portuguese. On f. 51*r*, in the left lower corner « Bachaon 70. Luis de Goes ».

B. *ARSI Goa, 12 I* ff. 52*r*-54*v*, formerly 61-62, still earlier 95-96, and IX. Another Cochin copy in Portuguese. At the bottom of the first page « 1570. Bachão. sarvz » [misreading of *daluz*, abbreviation for *dalvarez*]; f. 54*r* is blank; f. 54*v* gives the quasi-address « Copia de huma carta do Padre Fernãod'Allvarez de Bachão pera os Irmãos do collegio de Goa de 1570. 2ª via ». Another hand added « Aprile », a third « já », which means: it has been copied. Moreover, there is a very short compendium in Italian. The writer uses a somewhat strange orthography, e.g., *cervisso* for *serviço*, *cce* for *se*; *cer* for *ser*; *padeçço* for *padeço*; *jarall* for *geral*; *pom* for *poem*, etc.

C. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 99*v*-101*r*. Copy in Portuguese, written in two handwritings. Heading « De huma da ilha

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[4] We suspect that Fr. Cabrera was ordered by Fr. Gonçalo Álvares, the Visitor, to report to Fr. General on his superior, Fr. Góis; otherwise this letter would seem unbecoming for a newly arrived subject.

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de Bacham em Maluco pera Portugal de 20 d'Abril de 1570 ». The wording corresponds generally with text A, but in some few points it follows accurately the variants of text B, and even sometimes it presents its own version. It may have been copied from a different *via*. In the first two numbers it shows some shortenings and omissions.

IV NOTE : Though our letter for the greater part (nos. 1-11) brings only « edifying » generalities, yet it has a high historical value, being the first direct notice on the murder of King Hairun of Ternate (no. 12). Relative to this point, a comparison of texts A and B is highly interesting : whereas in text B Álvares unwaveringly asserts that the Portuguese captain had given the order to commit the murder, in text A he shows himself much more cautious and critically hesitating, modifying his assertion to « people like to say that . . . », and adding « and if it is like that . . . ». For this reason we think that text A is a later *via* or version, more carefully thought of, and that therefore it is preferable to text B.

V OUR EDITION : For the reason set out above we prefer to print text A. In the apparatus we give all the real variants, omissions, and additions of text B, but not the merely orthographical variants ; of text C, however, only the more important ones are given.

## *Text*

1. *Duty of reporting edifying things.* — 2. *Bacan has many islands and few people. Hardships and dangers in visiting the Christians.* — 3. *Their devotedness in confession and holy mass.* — 4. *Celebration of Holy Week.* — 5. *First jubilee preached there.* — 6. *Reverence paid to the Holy Name of Jesus ; swearing truth by the Holy Cross and by the church.* — 7. *Belief in evil spirits, kinds of sorcerers.* — 8. *Its decline among the Christians.* — 9. *Belief in the power of holy water.* — 10. *Children's eagerness to learn Christianity.* — 11. *High mortality among babies is comforting, for they go to heaven.* — 12. *Murder of the king of Ternate.* — 13. *Immediately after, the king of Bacan rendered aid to the Portuguese.* — 14. *Some military operations of two Bacan vessels under Dom Duarte.* — 15. *The drifting off, coincidental enterprise, and return of Dom Duarte of Bacan.* — 16. *Conclusion.*

† Jesus Maria

Muito reverendos em Christo Padres

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Já que, pera se mais acenderem nossos corações no amor e cha-
5 ridade huns dos outros e nos mais aviventarmos a levar a cruz com Christo, está entre nós ordenado que por cartas communiquemos huns aos outros as cousas de edificação, que N. Senhor obra por meio desta minima Companhia, indignissimos servos seus, trabalharei por lhes dar conta do que o Senhor obra nas almas dos moradores deste reyno de

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Bachão, ainda que pera isso folgara de ter tempo mais quieto, porque o estrondo da guerra que agora nesta terra se allevantou [1], e o alvoroço que com ella neste lugar há, me não deixa ser tão particular como devia de ser, juntamente com estar o parao pera se partir [2].

2. Este reyno de Bachão hé grande em terras mas pequeno em gente e, tirando este lugar em que el-rey reside, que hé grande [3], os mais são pequenos e estão repartidos por muitas ilhas, que estão a humas das outras algumas dez, doze legoas, o que dá muito trabalho a quem os doutrina e alimenta no spiritual. Se não frequento as visitações, morrem muitos meninos sem bautismo, e pera as frequentar hé necessario andar o mais do tempo embarcado, em que se passão muitos trabalhos, muitas fomes e chuivas e frios e muitos perigos de tormentas e de ladrões, os quaes em embarquações ligeiras muitas vezes entre estas ilhas vem fazer saltos. Assi que nos não faltão perigos do corpo nem da alma, com as desinquietações que isto comsigo trás. Deos seja bendito que nos dá graça pera por seu amor e serviço soffrer com gosto estes e outros muitos trabalhos.

3. Estes bachõis hé gente de bom juizo pelo que caem bem nas cousas da fé. Confessão-se muitos e mostrão affeição a este e aos mais sacramentos, e na verdade que vejo às vezes nelles tantas lagrimas e sinaes de contrição e arrependimento de seus peccados, que me poem em admiração. São homens que fazem muitas perguntas dos artigos da fé, da morte, juizo, inferno e gloria, desejando de serem instruidos e informados nestas cousas. Tem muita devação na missa que não somente aos domingos e dias sanctos, mas tãobem pola somana ouvem el-rey com muita parte dos seus com tantos sinaes de devação, que a muitos portugezes que se achão presentes metem em confusão. Louvado seja o Senhor que de gente, que há tão poucos annos veneravão a diabolica ceyta de Mahoma, agora seu divinissimo culto e os sacrificios de sua sanctissima paixão e morte com tanta devação são venerados. [51*v*]

4. Na somana santa costumão mostrar muito sentimento da morte

---

10 Bachão *corr. fr.* Balhão || 13 parao] paro *B* || 16 ilhas *add.* e ilhas *B* | a *om. B* || 25 bendito] llouvado *B* || 27 bachõis] bachaõis *B* | caem] quaem *corr. fr.* quay *B* || 31 perguntas *add.* acerqua *B* || 34 sanctos *add.* ha ouvem *B* | ouvem *om. B* || 36 presentes] com elles *B* | em *add.* muita *B* || 38 Mahoma] Mafamede *B* | sacrificios] sacramentos *C* || 39 são *interl., corr. fr.* he onrada | são venerados] e venerada *B*, venerão *C*

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[1] Of which he speaks in no. 13.

[2] To Ambon, from where the ships are to sail to India in May.

[3] On the island Kasiruta.



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e paixão de Christo Nosso Senhor, e a quinta-feira de Endoenças e toda a noite seguinte andão da igreja pera a cruz e da cruz pera a igreja, que hé hum pedaço grande, como quem corre estações: nunqua está o caminho vazio, fazendo oração ora na igreja, ora na cruz; e muitas pessoas destas, movidas de devação, neste dia e nesta noite gastão o mais do tempo nesta devota peregrinação, offerecendo cada hum na igreja comforme a sua pobreza.

5. Com a vinda deste galião se lhes pregou o jubileo que este anno veo [4], que foi o primeiro que nesta terra se deu. Vio-se em muitos muito fervor e aparelho pera o receberem, e assi se disposerão a isso acodindo às procissões que lhe precedem. Não faltou pessoa alguma e yão nella com muita quietação e devação. Praza a Deos de receber a pureza de suas intenções e ouvir os gemidos e rogos deste seu indignissimo povo.

6. Huma cousa tem, que hé muito pera confundir a desordem de nossos tempos, em os quaes não soo os homens mas as crianças com tanta soltura e pouco temor poem sua boca sacrilega em Deos, jurando por seu nome santissimo e pollo de seus santos, que hé muito pera chorar: estes christãos pollo contrario tem tanta reverencia ao nome de Jesus, à cruz e à igreja e aos sanctos, que huma das cousas trabalhosas que se pode acabar com elles hé que jurem polla cruz ou por outros juramentos, sendo necessario pera verdade de algumas cousas. Já mentir por nenhum caso o fazem. E assi, como hum achega à cruz ou à porta da igreja a jurar sobre a verdade de alguma cousa por ella, hão os outros, a cujo requerimento o faz, que não pode mentir e que, se mentir, que hão-de receber de Deos logo o castigo. Pera o que trazem em prova a morte e castigos com que elles dizem que Deos castigou a alguns dos seus, porque na cruz e igreja juravão falso. Graças sejão dadas a Deos que polla via de temor quiz levar estes à veneração de seu sanctissimo nome.

7. Tem a gente destas partes grande medo a huns homens que elles chamão soanges [5], que parece que são como antre nós bruxos. Tem pera si que os embruxão e lhes causão alguma infirmidade, no que tem alguma superstição; porque, se estão doentes e estão mal com alguma

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43 e da . . . igreja *om.* *B* || 49 se lhes pregou] lhe pubriquei *B* || 51 acodindo] e *B* || 54 indignissimo] yndino *B*, *om.* *C* || 57 e *corr. fr.* e ter || 58 pollo . . . chorar] pelo contrario *B* || 59 pollo contrario *om.* *B* || 60 Jesus] Christo *B* || 61-62 polla . . . pera] a *B* || 62 mentir] a mentira *B* || 64 por *corr. fr.* sobre || 65 pode *corr. fr.* podem || 66 hão] ha *B* || 72 soanges *corr. fr.* sanges; soanges *BC* | são] he *B* || 74 estão mal] sonhão *B*

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[4] Presumably the same that was celebrated in Quilon (S India) in January 1569 (DI VIII 142), and in Cochin in that same year (ibid. 238).

[5] *Suangi*, evil spirit, vampire (Cf. *Treatise* 376).

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pessoa, tem que aquelle hé o que lhe causa sua emfirmidade, e assi o mandão matar por seus parentes ou criados. E achão que, untando-se com hum pouquo de seu sange, sarão de sua infirmidade que lhe causou [6].

8. Entre os christãos está isto muito emendado: e fallando-me os dias passados huns dos principaes nestes soanges, e querendo-o[s] eu persuadir que não nos avia, e que era falsa opinião que os malucos delles tinhão, porque ninguem sabia mais delles senão o que sonhavão, e trazendo-lhe, pera os persuadir por rezão, que se os seus soanges matavão os homens, como não matavão os portugezes e lhes causavão doenças, como os malucos dizião que causavão a ssi mesmos? Ao que elles me responderão que os portugezes erão christãos de muyo tempo, bem instruidos nas cousas da fé e mais achegados a Deos, e que por isso os seus soangues lhes não podião fazer nojo; mas que elles que erão [55r] novos christãos e buçaes nas cousas de Deos e pouco constantes na fé, e que por isso os soanges, como ministros dos demonios, tinhão nelles poder. A rezão não foy boa mas, por ser humilde, lha quiz contar, e pera que vejão como huma superstição, que de seus antepassados tem tão impressa em seus corações, a attribuão não a ser verdade mas a seus peccados e a não terem a constancia na fé que deviam.

9. Em suas doenças e emfermidades huma das primeiras cousas que fazem, hé mandarem chamar Padres pera que os confessem ou pera que lhe rezem o Evangelho, e tãobem pera lhes pedirem que rogem a Deos que aja com elles misericordia. Tem muita devação em chamarem pollo nome de Jesu Christo e de N. Senhora; e [u]são muito d'agoa benta em suas necessidades e emfermidades, em que tem tanta devação que hé de louvar a Deos; e bebendo-a e lançando-a na boca com fee viva, Deos N. Senhor pola virtude della lhe dá saude, e assi se vê às vezes obrar Deos obras de sua omnipotencia. Costumão tãobem muitas vezes trazer azeite à igreja pera a alampada e offerecer nella outras cousas, em que mostrão em suas necessidades tomar soo Deos por valedor.

10. Nos meninos se vê claramente fructificar-se muito, que hé cousa que cá temos por grande fruito. Vem todos os dias à doutrina,

---

76 achão] hão *B* || 77 pouquo *corr. fr.* pequeno | lhe *corr. fr.* lhes || 78 muito *om. B* || 79 huns] hum *B* | principaes *add.* deste lugar *B* || 80 avia] avião *ms.*, avia *BC* || 81 o] os *C* | sonhavão] sonhava *B* || 82 os[1]] o *B* | os[2] . . . como] avia os seus soangues, porque *B* || 84 os *corr. fr.* aos | elles *om. B* || 85 responderão] respondeo *B* || 89 dos demonios] do demonio *B* || 92 a[1]] e *ms.*, a *B* || 95 mandarem *add.* me *B* | Padres *om. B* | cofessem] confecce B || 96 rezem] reze *B* | lhes] me *B* | rogem] roge *B* || 98 Christo *om. B* || 99 necessidades e *om. B* | em que] na qual *B* || 100 boca] cabesa *BC'* || 101 Deos] de *BC* | dá] dar *BC*

[6] A similar description, in *Treatise* 180.

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no que são continuos e faltão poucas vezes; sabem-na toda de cor e assi andão cantando polas ruas e embarcações. Trabalho por lhes desarreigar de seus corações algumas erronias e superstições que seus pais em mouros e gentios tinhão, e de que ainda em alguns algumas vezes se achão por não estarem de todo fora delas. Mas eu trabalho muito por lhes imprimir a verdade de nossa ley, o que tudo por serem de idade tenra se imprime neles facilmente, e assi se crião com amor às cousas da fé e odio e aborecimento à falsidade das erronias de seus antepassados.

11. Dos innocentes caminhão muitos deste lugar pera o ceo cada anno, que hé huma das maiores consolações que tenho e com que recompenso parte do trabalho que em outras cousas padeço. E na verdade, que maior gosto e alegria pode ser que ter homem por officio despojar ao demonio de hum tão riquo despojo, como hé de quantas almas este anno nesta terra tragava? Deos N. Senhor por que[m] hé nos dê a conhecer esta mercê e nos dê graça pera em cousa de tanta sua gloria fielmente o podermos servir.

12. Pola carta geral de Maluco entenderão como Deos Nosso Senhor foi servido de livrar a cristandade de todo este arcepelago de tão grande oppressão, como era a que lhe dava el-rey de Ternate com muitas mortes e roubos por meio dos seus. E querem dizer que o capitão [7] o mandou matar [8]. E se isto assi hé, podemos dizer por elle que foi pera este povo como outro Mousés pera o povo israelitico, pois o livrou de outras oppressões e tiranias corporaes e spirituaes. [55*v*] Porque, ao que nós entendemos, emquanto este rey foy vivo, a christandade não deixava de padecer muitos trabalhos.

13. Como o rey de Bachão [9] foy sabedor destas novas, ainda que seu sobrinho, filho de sua irmãa, pôde mais a obrigação de christão que

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109 assi] as ha [*sic*] *B* || 110 erronias] errõis *B* || 111 algumas] as *B* || 112 achão por] acha *B* | Mas ... muito] e juntamente *B* || 113 imprimir] inpirdir *corr. fr.* indir [*sic*] *B* || 115 às] nas *B* || 118 recompenso] recupero *B* || 122 este ... terra] desta terra cad'anno *BC* | Deos noso] Ho *B* || 128-129 E querem ... assi hé] e isto com mandar matar o capitão ao messmo rei. E assi *B* || 129 E se isto] O qual se *C* || 130 Mouses] Moises *C* || 131 spirituaes *add.* não menores que as que ho povo issraellytico padecia *B* || 133 trabalhos *add.* corporais e juntamente muito detrimento spritual *B* || 134 o] este *B*

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[7] Diogo Lopes de Mesquita; see D 161 note 25.

[8] First mention in our documents of the murder of King Hairun of Ternate. It happened on February 28, 1570 (D 178, 8). On this murder, consult *Relación Dueñas* f. 6*r-v* (COLIN-PASTELLS III 34); COUTO VIII 26; *Relação Vasconcelos* 210-211; ARGENSOLA 75-77; SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc. Borgia*, VI 195: BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 35; SOUZA II III 1 34-35; VALENTYN I b 204 (with some errors).

[9] D. João (D 69, 8).

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a rezão de parentesco e sangue, e se fez logo prestes pera por sua parte ajudar aos portugezes em tudo o que podesse, e pera morrer pollo augmento da fé que tinha recebido. E logo mandou dous paraos, hum após outro, ao capitão-mor [10] a lhe dar novas do estado em que a fortaleza estava. Pôs logo em ordem aparelhar a mais armada que tinha pera com ella ir em companhia do capitão-mor à fortaleza pera pelejar com os ternates que a tinhão de cerco [11]. Não vay lá antes da vinda do capitão-mor, por ter pouco poder e os ternates por serem poderosos, e assi seria mais ir-se entregar a elles que ajudar-nos. Em alguns lugares que aqui estão perto d'el-rey de Ternate mandou fazer alguns saltos, pera que alguma gente que delles estava ajudando ao Babu, herdeiro do reyno de Ternate, acudissem a suas molheres e filhos e assi, sendo menos gente, não dessem tanto aperto [12].

14. Poucos dias depois da morte d'el-rey mandou à mesma fortaleza duas carocoras pera [ver] [13] o estado da fortaleza, e mandou dizer ao capitão como se ficava fazendo prestes pera ir com o capitão-mor lá. Estas corocoras estando dentro no porto de Ternate, vierão 7 embarcações grandes de ternates a fazer diante da fortaleza o carracheo [14], qu'é ao seu costume hum modo de ronca e desprezo. E vendo isto o primo d'el-rey de Bachão, chamado Dom Duarte [15], que nestas caracoras de Bachão vinha por capitão, não podendo soffrer afronta tamanha, sem tomar portugezes que o capitão lhe dava, soo com dous que de Bachão trazia, tomando mais alguns berços da fortaleza foi cometer as 7 embarcações dos ternates, e à vista da fortaleza andarão às ber-

136 parentesco e *om.* *B* || 139 ao capitão-mor *om.* *B* || 148 aperto *del.* a fortaleza duas corocoras pera o estado da fortaleza ; *add.* a fortaleza *B* || 149 dias *add.* llogo *B* || 150 pera *add.* ver *B* | mandou dizer] dizerem *B* || 152 de Ternate] da fortaleza *B* || 154 costume *add.* e *B* | ronca *corr. fr.* ronco || 156 de Bachão *om.* *B* | vinha] hia *B* || 157 sem *add.* querer *BC* || 159 embarcações dos ternates e *om.* *B*

[10] That is, to Gonçalo Pereira in the fortress of Hitu, Ambon.

[11] Immediately after the murder the whole of Ternate revolted, made war against the Portuguese, and laid siege to the fortress.

[12] A shrewd manoeuvre of diversion. As to the Ternatan towns situated near Bacan, one could think of kampongs in Kayoa and in S Jailolo, for instance of Gane, which as late as 1606 was claimed by the sengaji of Labuha in Bacan (Seville, *AGI, Patronato 47, ramo 16*).

[13] Text B has *pera ver*, which makes better sense ; cf. app. crit.

[14] For this word, see *Treatise* 369-370. Here it seems to mean a terrifying war song or war cry, like the one described by HOËVELL, *Ambon* 170-171. *Ronca* is bravado, a boastful threat.

[15] On this D. Duarte of Bacan, see also LEMOS 469.

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çadas e espingardadas tão grande espaço, que com os muitos tiros arrebentarão dous berços dos que levavão. Ajudou-hos N. Senhor de maneira que foy forçado aos ternates voltarem fogindo com morte dalguns. Dom Duarte se tornou pera a fortaleza sem dos seus perigar nenhum. Despois de estar ahi passante de hum mes, vendo que não podia ajudar à fortaleza, pedio licença ao capitão pera se tornar com cartas pera el-rey que mandasse outro parao [16] a Amboino.

15. Os ternates, como quer que são muy poderosos no mar, tinhão muita armada nos caminhos por onde podia ir Dom Duarte, e assi lhe tolhião a saida de porto. Sabendo isto Dom Duarte partio da fortaleza à boca da noite e, duas legoas dela, se vem na volta do mar mui desviado de seu caminho, e vay de frecha demandar huma ilha pequena que chamão Os Meaos [17], que estará ao mar da fortaleza trinta legoas. Há nesta ilha hum lugar sojeito a el-rey de Ternate. Deu Dom Duarte com as duas embarcações que levava huma ante-menhã [nelle] [18], queimou-lhe o lugar e cativou-lhe 35 pessoas. Dali se fez em outro bordo e por fora de todas as ilhas veo tomar Bachão. Afrontados disto os ternates vierão com doze embarcações grandes à barra do rio de Bachão [19], tomarão 4 ou 5 pessoas que no mar em paraos andavão pescando.

16. Quis-lhes escrever estas cousas, ainda que são de guerras, porque entendo que estas cousas hão-de servir pera o nome do Senhor serençalçado e o nome do diabo abatido. Encomendem, Charissimos, estas necessidades a Deos, que são grandes, e lhe peção que queira abater com sua dextra de omnipotencia o poder destes inimigos de sua sanctissima cruz. De todos peço ser encomendado ao Senhor porque tenho disso necessidade.

De Bachão, aos 20 de Abril de 1570.

Por commissão do P.e Reytor Luis de Gois.

Inutilis,

Fernãod'Alvarez.

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‖ 163 tornou] veio *B* ‖ 165 tornar] vir *B* ‖ 167 muy *om. B* ‖ 168-169 Dom . . . porto] lhe tinhão tomados com muitas embarcações *B* ‖ 170 se vem] fez-ce *B*, se fez *C* ‖ 174 menhã *add.* nelle *BC* ‖ 175 queimou] queimarão *B* | cativou *corr. fr.* cativo ‖ 179 cousas] novas *B* ‖ 180 Senhor] Deus *B* ‖ 183 omnipotencia] sua potencia *B* ‖ 187-189 Por . . . Alvarez *om. C*

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[16] *Perahu* (Malay), a prow, boat, vessel.

[17] The island of Mayu in the Maluku Sea between Halmahera and N Selebes. The name « Os Meaos » is found likewise in REBELO 387. VALENTYN (I b 96) calls it Majauw or Minjauw; CLERCQ (160 note 2) Mojaoe; HUETING (*De Tobeloreezen* II 265) Mojau.

[18] Texts B and C add *nelle*, which makes better sense; see app. crit.

[19] The river Kasiruta on the island of the same name.

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## 177

## FR. LUÍS DE GÓIS SJ, SUPERIOR, TO FR. GENERAL, FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

AMBON, MAY 25, 1570

First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 304; WESSELS, *Amboina* 184 Goes no. 1.

II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 49-51.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 42*r*-43*v*, formerly 41, earlier 149-150, and VII. Original in Portuguese with autographical conclusion and signature. A note on f. 42*r* runs « 70. Goes »; f. 43*v*, beyond the address, presents another note « 1570. Amboyno. P. Luys de Goes. 25 de Mayo ».

*Text*

1. *Two new Fathers arrived. Moderate health, spiritual and apostolic zeal of his subjects.* — 2. *Owing to the establishment of a new fortress on Ambon many villages request baptism, but the Fathers are too few for that.* — 3. *There are only five Jesuits, whereas there would be work for fifty more.* — 4. *Misdeeds and violent death of the king of Ternate.* — 5. *General uprising of the country of Ternate. Situation in Moro and in Bacan; precarious position of the fortress of Ternate.* — 6. *He has been commissioned by Fr. Visitor Gonçalo Álvares to perform the official visitation of the Jesuit mission of Maluku.*

† Jesus Maria

Reverendissimo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Com as novas que este anno da India nos vierão, da saude e boa disposição de V. Paternidade, fomos todos mui consolados, não cesando de rogar a Deos que por muitos annos nela o conserve pera consolação nosa. Ao numero dos que cá andavamos o anno passado se acrecentou mais dous Padres, que este anno o P.e Visitador mandou [1]

[1] Fr. Andrés de Cabrera and Fr. Jerónimo de Olmedo (*Gen. Introd.* IV 4 nos. 33-34). The latter wrote D 178. Whereas Cabrera sailed from Goa, Olmedo was picked

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pera ajudarem aos que cá andavamos. Estamos todos com mediocre disposição, aynda que alguns visitou Nosso Senhor com algumas infirmidades, de que foi servido convalecerem. Na guarda das regras, mortificaçõens e outros exercicios espirituaes procedem com muita edificação. Nas cousas da conversão mostram muita charidade asi na alegria com que sofrem os trabalhos que a acompanhão, como na paciencia que tem nos muitos contrastes e persigui[ç]ões que o demonio move por meyo dalguns seus ministros.

2. Da cristandade destas ilhas d'Amboino e do augmento em que vai poderei dar felices novas a V.P. Já o anno passado tenho escripto a V.P.[2] como o Viso-Rrei da India, tendo emtendido ser necessairo, pera a conversão, mandar fazer huma fortaleza nestas ylhas, mandara huma armada com poder bastante pera o fazer e juntamente castigar os omicidos na destruição destes pobres cristaons. A fortaleza se fez[3] e os mouros culpados forão castigados, e como quer que estes culpados erão os que nestas partes substentavão a lei de Mafamede e impidião aos gentios que se não fizesem cristãos, ameaçando-os com mortes e persiguiçoens, tanto que forão destruidos, mui poucos lugares destas [42*v*] ylhas há que não peção o baptismo. E o que mais hé pera louvar a Nosso Senhor, que os mesmos mouros, que poucos dias há persiguião tanto a cristandade, aguora são os que com mais eficacia pedem serem baptizados. Mas asi a eles como aos mais dilatamos o baptismo por falta de obreiros, entretendo-os com esperanças, até veremos se pera o anno provê o P.e Visitador[4] com alguns Padres.

3. Nestas ylhas de Amboino não residem mais que cinquo da Companhia[5], tendo necessidade quando nada de vinte e, se 50 vierem, terão bem em que se occupar. Estas ylhas são muitas e grandes, e tam grandes, que huma que hé a mayor, terá cem legoas em roda, outras de 20 30, 10, 15 legoas, e todas mui povoadas. A gente delas, por não ter ceita nem paguodes[6] a que adorem, á neles pouca contradição a se converterem, nem menos a há, com o favor da fortaleza, nos lugares de mouros

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up in Malacca. This explains Cabrera's being mentioned without a companion in D 167, 2 and D 175, 1.

[2] D 163.

[3] D 164, 6.

[4] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares.

[5] Four Fathers and one Brother (D 179, 1): Frs. Prancudo, Mascarenhas, Góis, Olmedo, Br. António Gonçalves. Obviously, Vicente Dias was not seriously considered yet as belonging to the Society; see, however, note 11.

[6] No religion or church, and no gods.

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de que há alguns nestas ylhas, e muitos deles sem lhes pregarmos nem declararmos as cousas da fee, parece que espritados por Deos pedem que os baptizem. Por aqui julgue V.P. a necesidade que há de Padres. Este anno soo se baptizarão oito lugares de mouros e gentios, e ainda com escrupolo por não teremos quem doutrine a quinta parte dos jaa baptizados, quanto mais baptizar de novo outros.

4. Por outras cartas dos annos passados terá emtendido V.P. de quantas tiranias el-rei de Ternate usava com os novamente cristãos, e como por seus capitaens e vasalos os mandava destruir, roubar e matar, no que a cristandade padecia grandes trabalhos. No principio disimulava e fingia não ser sabedor diso : vendo que o capitão e portugueses disimulavão com ele [7], foi-se tanto facilitando, que já não usava de disimulaçõens, dizendo que não lhe posesem culpa porque era mouro, inimicissimo da cruz de Christo. Pelo que movido o capitão da fortaleza [8], vindo ele hum dia a ela, o mandou matar.

5. Alevantou-se a terra com sua morte. A cristandade do Moro fez-se em dous corpos. Estão com eles hum Padre e hum Irmão [9], e hum capitão con 50 portugueses ; outro Padre que laa andava, neste tempo se achou na fortaleza [10], onde ao presente está em companhia doutro Padre e hum Irmão [11]. Com el-rei de Bachão, que hé cristão, está outro Padre [12] e juntamente com alguns portugueses. A fortaleza está em algum apreto por falta de mantimentos, nem tem poder no mar que lhos vaa buscar. O capitão-mor [13] vai lá de socorro com a gente e armada que tem. Prazerá a Deos que com sua yda se arrancará desta terra o nome de Mafamede e virão em [43*r*] conhecimento de seu Criador. Estas novas escrevo a V.P. por ser este rei o mayor ministro que o demonio nestas partes tinha e o mayor empidimento que tinhamos nesta obra da conversão, e entendo que sua morte foi pera a cristandade outra morte dos primogenitos dos egiptios pera os filhos de Israel [14].

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40 pregarmos *corr. fr.* pregamos || 48 mandava *corr. fr.* matava

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[7] Cf. D 169, 10.

[8] Diogo Lopes de Mesquita.

[9] Fr. Nicolau Nunes and Br. Manuel Gomes (D 182, 2).

[10] Fr. Diogo de Magalhães (ibid., and D 178, 2).

[11] Fr. Andrés de Cabrera and Br. Vicente Dias (ibid.).

[12] Fr. Fernando Álvares ; cf. D 176.

[13] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque ; he had been summoned from Ambon to come to the rescue of the fortress (D 176, 14).

[14] See Ex 12 29-30. The Jesuits did not approve the murder as such (« Se algum Religioso o [i.e., the captain] reprehendia em algum caso ou lho estranhava

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6. Ho P.e Visitador Gonçalo Alverez, por trazer o tempo por tres annos limitado por V.P. [15] e não poder vir a estas partes, me escreveo que em seu lugar as visitase por ele [16]. Eu o fiz [17] e não achei quem mais necesidade tivese de ser visitado que eu. Alguas cousas se ordenarão de que tudo ao P.e Visitador escrevo a relação [18] por mo ele asi mandar. Não o faço nesta a V.P. por entender que ele em pesoa o deve fazer. Todos os que cá andamos nos emcomendamos na benção e sanctos sacrificios de V.P.

De Amboino, aos 25 de Mayo de 1570 annos.

Indignissimo filho em o Senhor de V.P.

Luis de Goes.

[*Address* 43*v* :] † Ao Reverendissimo em Christo Padre, o P.e Francisco de Borja, proposito jerall da Companhia de Jesus, em Roma. 1a via. De Malluquo.

*Lost Letter*

177*a*. — *Fr. Luís de Góis, Ambon, to Fr. Gonçalo Álvares, Visitor, Goa ; May 1570.*

Góis to Borja, May 25, 1570 : « Eu o fiz [that is, the visitation of Maluku] ... Alguas cousas se ordenarão de que tudo ao P. Visitador escrevo a relação por mo ele asi mandar » (D 177, 6).

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não respondia mais senão que não fallasse nisso, que o rey [Hairun] era hum mao perro », Couto VIII 26), but *post factum* their first impression was that of a providential intervention which reminded them of the killing of the first-born in Egypt. Cf. D 176, 12.

[15] There is no document limiting the visit of Fr. Gonçalo Álvares to three years only. But see DI VII 511 no. 4.

[16] Lost letter of about April 1569. See D 162*a*.

[17] He got the Father Visitor's letter in October 1569. Until February 1570 he stayed in Ternate (D 175, 2). So he would have performed the canonical visitation of all the mission posts from February to May, which is surely too short a time for that. Neither the letter from Bacan (D 176) nor the other ones from Ambon (DD 178, 179) mention this visit. From the following words it is clear that the report of the visitation had been made already, and that consequently the visitation itself had been brought to a conclusion. The case remains somewhat baffling.

[18] This report is lost. See D 177*a*.

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## 178

# FR. JERÓNIMO DE OLMEDO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR LUÍS DE GÓIS, TO THE JESUITS IN GOA

AMBON, JUNE 2, 1570

General letter of the Residence of Ternate. First *Via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY : WESSELS, *Amboina* 185 ; STREIT IV pp. 302-303.

II AUTHORS : BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 34-35 ; SOUZA II III 1 32-35.

III TEXTS : The first of the three ARSI texts, though called a « copia », could nevertheless be an original ; the other two are certainly copies, made in Cochin to be forwarded to Europe.

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 24*r*-25*v*, formerly 71-72 and V. Original ( ? ) in Portuguese, written and subscribed by an amanuensis in a graceful and clear handwriting. (If Olmedo's letter from Malacca of December 12, 1566, in *Goa 11 II* ff. 301*r*-302*v*, and published in DI VII 131-132, is a holograph, as Fr. Wicki assumes, then, owing to a different handwriting, our actual document has been written by an amanuensis). In f. 25*v* the quasi-address by the hand of Fr. Manuel Teixeira, Cochin, « Copia de huma de Ternate em Maluquo do ano de 70 pera Portugal. 1ª via ». Another hand added « 1570 » and « dous de Junho de 1570 ».

B. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 26*r-v* and 29*r-v*, formerly 84 (*del.*), and 26, and V. Copy in Portuguese. F. 29*r* is blank, and f. 29*v* contains a note « Copia de huma de Ternate em Maluco escrita pelo Irmão [*sic*] Jeronimo d'Olmedo pera os Irmãos de Portugal a dous de Junho de 1570 » ; another hand added « Dupplicada ». The wording is almost perfectly identical with text A.

C. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 27*r*-28*v*, formerly 147-148 (*del.*), and 27-28, and V. Copy in Portuguese. F. 28*v* is blank but for the address « Carta geral da casa de Ternate pera os charissimos em Christo Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesu que residem em Goa, de 1570. 1ª via ». Other hands added « 2 de Junho 1570 », and « Jeronimo d'Olmedo », with a very short compendium in Italian. This text puts the lines dealing with the jubilee (no. 11) immediately after no. 2 ; further it shows many other variants.

D. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 101*r*-102*r*, contemporary copy in Portuguese, made in Portugal, titled « Copia de huma de Ternate em Maluco do anno de setenta para Portugal », and written in two hands. It does not deviate much from texts A and B.

E. Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Armario Jesuitico, cod. 28* f. 17*r*. Fragment in Portuguese of only nine lines, dealing with the murder of Hairun and arbitrarely borrowing from nos. 3 and 8, with some moralizing additions. Its heading is « De huma da casa de Ternate de 1570 pera Goa », which reminds one of the address of text C.

IV NOTE : Whereas « 1ª via » of text A may refer to its shipping from

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Ambon to Goa, the same indication in the address of text C points rather to its voyage from Cochin to Lisbon. This letter is called a general letter, that is, an annual report, of the residence of Ternate (Address text C). But it has been written in Ambon at a moment when the ships were on the verge of sailing and no letters from Ternate had so far arrived (no. 1). So Fr. de Olmedo had to report from hearsay.

V Our Edition: We print text A, paying attention in the apparatus especially to the variants of text C, and less to those of texts B and D.

### *Text*

1. *The Annual Letter of Ternate not having arrived, he will report on what happened there.* — 2. *The three Jesuits in Ternate proceed well in spiritual life and apostolic work.* — 3. *New church in Ternate ; it will soon be too small for the growing number of Christians hoped for after the death of the king of Ternate.* — 4. *The king obstructed the supplying of the fortress.* — 5. *Expedition against the Christians in Moro ; unprecedented cruelties.* — 6. *Hypocrisy of the king. Deliberation if he should be killed.* — 7. *Reconciliation sworn on oath.* — 8. *Murder of the king.* — 9. *Revolt of the country ; precarious situation of the fortress.* — 10. *Bacan and Moro dare again deal firmly with the Ternatans.* — 11. *The jubilee. Conclusion.*

† Jesus Maria

Muito reverendos em Christo Padres e charissimos Irmãos

A graça e amor do Spiritu Santo faça continua morada em nosas almas. Amen.

1. Por cartas de Ternate do anno pasado [1] terão entendido o que Deus Noso Senhor por meyo dos da Companhia que ahi residem tinha obrado, e agora por não virem cartas suas [2] e estes galeões estarem pera partir, me mandou a obediencia o fizesse. E por satisfazer a obrigação e desejos que os absentes comummente tem de saber novas de nós e destas partes, o farei brevemente do que me ocorrer.

2. Os que em Ternate ao presente estão são 3, scilicet, o Padre

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3 do . . . morada] de Jesu Christo Nosso Senhor more sempre *C* || 6 Deus *om. C*

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[1] DD 161 and 162.

[2] D 175 was not a « news letter » ; it was perhaps even « soli », that is, to be opened only by Fr. General personally. Evidently Olmedo's informant about Ternate is Fr. Luís de Góis.

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André de Cabreira por superior [3], e o Irmão Vicente Diaz [4], e o Padre Diogo de Magalhães que ay veio do Moro curar-se de hum pee [5], de que avia dias estava mal de huma chaga que lhe nelle naceo de que esteve muitos mezes em cama ; com sua humildade e pacientia a todos nos edificou muito, mas já ficava bem delle. Todos estão bem, louvores ao Senhor. Quanto ao spiritual não há que dizer, porque todos procedem com muita edificação e augmento spiritual. Ten-se muita conta com a observancia das regras e vê-se nelles muita promptidão na obediencia e nos mais exercitios spirituaes. Ocupam-se em pregar, confessar e juntamente entendem em algumas amizades, e de tudo se serve muito Noso Senhor. Pera a renovação dos votos, que foi dia de Jesus [6], nos confessamos todos com o P.e Reitor geralmente com as mais preparações acustumadas [7].

Do Bachão [8] e do Moro [9] por os Padres que lá residem saberão o que Deus Noso Senhor por meyo delles naquelas partes cada dya obra.

3. O edificio da igreja foi muito por diante com o muito cuidado e diligencia que o Padre Reitor nesta obra pôs : as paredes estão em boa altura e falta-lhes pouco pera se porem no em que han-de ficar ; vão fortes. Tem a igreja 100 palmos de comprido e 52 de largo, afora a capela que hé de bom tamanho proporcionada ao corpo [10]. Posto que esta obra no principio parecesse grande pera a terra, já agora nos [11] vai parecendo pequena, porque se vai abrindo caminho com a ajuda divina pera a obra da christandade ir muito adiante, porque foi Deus servido de nos desapressar, e a esta pobre christandade, do maior imigo

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12 Diaz *add.* que tem cuidado da casa *C* || 16 delle *om. D* || 18 spiritual *om. D* || 21 entendem *om. D* || 26 Deus *om. C* || 30 fortes *add.* são de 5 palmos de largo *C* | Tem a igreja] Ho corpo da igreja tem *C* | 100] duzentos *D* || 33 com *corr. fr.* pera *B* | a *om. B* || 34 adiante] por diante *BC*

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[3] He may have been appointed by Góis when leaving for Ambon during or after February.

[4] Consult app. crit.

[5] See D 161, 5. So he had already suffered from this foot trouble for about a year and a half. In January 1570 he was still in Moro (D 169, 2).

[6] January 1, [1570]. Then Fr. Góis was still in Ternate.

[7] Olmedo suddenly jumps from « they » to « we ». This makes concrete conclusions difficult. Should we deduce that all of them, at least the Ambon Jesuits, assembled in Ternate ? They did so in 1569 (D 161, 3).

[8] D 176.

[9] D 169.

[10] Consult D 161, 4 ; D 163, 6. See likewise app. crit.

[11] Obviously Fr. Góis is speaking.

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de Christo e de sua cruz que nós nestas partes sabemos, que era el-rey de Ternate. E elle por tal manifestamente se pubricava [12]; e ainda que com a boca o disimulasse, com as obras bem o pregoava e mais conforme à traça que muitos dias há tinha ordenado, a qual agora lhe parecia ser tempo de a executar.

4. O primeiro em que começou, foi em nos querer tolher os mantimentos que os não podessemos ter senão por sua mão, os quaes vendião como querião; finalmente que mandou a huns lugares seus, como hé a Bocanora, Sabugo, Doi [13], que armassem caracoras para nos tomar as champanas [14] que do Moro vem com mantimento para esta pobre fortaleza. E a primeira presa que fizerão foi em quatro champanas de portuguezes, grandes e carregadas de mantimentos, mas quis Deus que a gente se salvou toda por estarem perto da terra.

5. Depois forão com 30 velas correr a costa do Moro, e o primeiro lugar em que derão foi num que se chama [24*v*] Pune [15], onde matarão e cativarão, segundo soubemos, 300 almas; com os quaes uzarão de cruezas inauditas, porque as molheres prenhes abrião e dos ventres lhes tiravão as crianças e lhas espedaçavão. Quatro ou sinqo lugares mais, atemorizados destas cruezas, lhes derão obediencia; a outros forão, de mais gente que estes, onde os fizerão embarcar à espada com lhes cortarem algumas cabeças, e noutros não ousarão de desembarcar. Em hum lhes entregarão dous portuguezes que logo matarão. Tambem matarão outros dous ou tres mestiços que hião pera a fortaleza, ainda que, segundo dizem, venderão bem suas vidas. Depois disto, em

37 manifestamente] pubricamente *C*, se manifesta *D* | se pubricava] e publica *D* || 38 disimulasse] disimulava *C* | as obras] a obra *C* | pregoava *corr. fr.* pubricava || 39 ordenado] dada *C* || 40 a *om. B* || 49 correr . . . Moro *om. C* || 52 inauditas] nunca vistas *C* || 56 ouzararão [*sic*] *C* | de *om. C* || 59 segundo *interl. C*

[12] See D 177, 4 : « Dizendo que não lhe posesem culpa porque era mouro, inimicissimo da cruz de Christo ».

[13] Gamkonorah (D 169 note 4); Sabugo or Sabuga at the mouth of the Ake Lamo in the district of Sahu in NW Halmahera between Jailolo and Gamkonorah (Cf. ENI VII 1152, under « Djailolo »). In a Spanish report of 1584 it is said : « Más abajo en la misma costa [de Batachina] ocho leguas de Jilolo está el sangaji de Çabubo [*sic*] vasallo del dicho rei [de Ternate] . . . Más abajo . . . ocho leguas de Çabubo está el sangaje de Ganconora » (Seville *AGI, Patronato 46, ramo 18* 2° f. 1*v*, published in COLIN-PASTELLS III 41); the island Doi in the N Lolola islands along the NW point of Halmahera : « Más adelante nueve leguas apartado de Loloda y legua y media apartado de la Batachina y su costa están dos ilhas llamadas Doy, subjetas a este tirano » (ibid.).

[14] The *sampans*, vessels in general.

[15] Cf. D 169, 11-13.

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humas ilhas perto da fortaleza, a 5 e 7 legoas, mandou el-rey matar outros tres portuguezes, e o mesmo fizerão a alguns christãos e escravos de portuguezes, que por aquelas ilhas andavão fazendo cravo.

6. A todos estes males se fazia el-rey muito de novas e dizia que os seus o injuriavão, que erão huns alevantados, ameaçando-os que os avia de matar e destruir ; depois fingia que fugirão e pasava a cousa por aqui, que era asaz de vergonha e descredito deste Estado da India e portuguezes. O capitão da fortaleza [16] vio-se envergonhado e afrontado com estas cousas d'el-rei, e pôs em conselho com os casados se mataria el-rey ou o prenderia. Mas todos forão de parecer que se não bulisse com el-rei [17] pondo diante falsos temores ; e ainda que por outra parte tambem fossem muito apparentes, mas muito mais era para temer o estarem como estavão. De tudo isto foi el-rei sabedor, presume-sse que de pouco segredo que entre nós ouve, e não ousava vir à fortaleza.

7. Depois de serem dous galeões de cravo carregados, sendo o de João Gago [18] ydo, Symão de Mendoça [19] estando para partir, vendo a terra como ficava muito perto de se revolver, ententou com alguns casados de reconciliarem el-rei com o capitão ; o que se fez com juramento que de ambas as partes ouve de pazes e que o pasado fosse pasado [20],

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61 e$^{s}$ *om. B* || 70 el-re ] elle *C* || 71 tambem *om. C* | temer] temerem *C* || 73 -sse *om. B* | de] do *B* || 75 depois] deporem [!] *B* || 76 de Mendoça] da Mendonsa *B*, de Mendonça *DC* || 77 muito *om. C*

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[16] Diogo Lopes de Mesquita.

[17] « Os casados que vivião nas fortalezas, os ricos todos, erão amiguos del-rei, e como tais os tratava » (*Relação Vasconcelos* 185. Cf. pages 185-186 in their entirety).

[18] João Gago de Andrade, a captain, had received, on February 10, 1558, the *mercê* of two journeys to Maluku (APO 5 1 no. 232 p. 345). He made one of them in April 1565 (COUTO VIII 7). In February 1570 he was again in Ternate (COUTO VIII 26).

[19] Another captain, whom we find taking part, in 1568, in the battle against the Hituese and the Javanese in Ambon (COUTO VIII 25 ; *Relação Vasconcelos* 206). In early 1570 he had arrived in Ternate from Ambon and was, together with João Gago, an intermediary in the reconciliation of the captain with the king (COUTO VIII 26). According to this author it was Hairun himself who asked Simão de Mendonça and João Gago to reconcile him with Diogo Lopes de Mesquita. In 1587, Simão de Mendonça received the *mercê* for a journey to India as a royal reward « por vinte annos de serviços achando-se no socorro de Maluco, servindo de capitão-mor de huma armada » (RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 1137 ; *Cadaval* 273).

[20] Diogo Lopes did so reluctantly and with ill will ; Hairun acted with shrewd political purpose (COUTO VIII 26 ; see the following lines of this no. 7). Obviously the eyewitnesses considered this reconciliation to be a false peace : « esta falsa paz ».

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prometendo de mandar vir tres portuguezes e huma molher mestiça que na Bocanora estavão cativos e todos os christãos e escravos de portuguezes. Mas de tudo isto se suspeitava aver el-rei de faltar, como sempre teve de custume com os capitães, e seu intento era principalmente com esta falsa paz pretender ir-se o capitão-mor de Amboino pera a India pera depois fazer a sua livremente.

8. Sendo já partido Symão de Mendoça pera Amboino, hum dia depois de sua partida, que forão 28 de Fevereiro [21], foi el-rey à fortaleza e, saindo pera se ir, travou com elle rezões hum primo do capitão, por nome Martym Afonso [22], e o matou. E nesta revolta foi tambem outro seu capitão, chamado Gorango, homem principal entre elles [23].

9. Alevantou-se a terra, matarão nesta revolta os ternates dous ou tres portuguezes, que fora acharão descuidados, com alguns christãos e escravos de portuguezes. A fortaleza está falta de gente e com muito poucos mantimentos, mas esperamos em Deus que daquy resultará ficar a terra bem concertada desta vez, porque este hé o meyo por onde ella tinha remedyo conforme ao entendimento dos que desta terra entendem, e a christandade irá por diante em muito augmento. Esta necessidade, charissimos Padres e Irmãos, lhes encomendamos muito em seus santos sacrificios e orações ; tenhão particular cuidado diante de Deus, porque, como a obra hé sua e de que se espera muito fruito na conversão, por muito certo temos não nos negar seus acustumados favores. [25*r*]

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82 de[1]] em *C* || 87 28]] 18(*or* 8?) *D* || 89 revolta]] emvolta *C* outro]] hum *D* || 93 com]] tem *D* || 95 hé]] era *C* || 99 cuidado]] lembrança *C* || 100 muito]] tanto *C* || 102 favores]] fervores *B*

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[21] According to this passage, Simão de Mendonça sailed on February 27, and on February 28 Hairun was murdered. According to Couto (VIII 26) no more than six days elapsed between the reconciliation and the murder, and Simão de Mendonça and João Gago sailed to Ambon « ao outro dia » after the peace pact.

[22] Martim Afonso Pimentel (*Relação Vasconcelos* 209 ; Couto VIII 26). Some authors call him less correctly António or Martim António ; so Argensola 75 ; also Pastells, *Historia general de Filipinas* I p. CCXXV ; and Wessels, *Amboina* 57. According to the *Relação Vasconcelos* and Couto he was a « sobrinho », a nephew, and not a « primo », a cousin, of the captain.

[23] Otherwise unknown. Souza (II III 1 35) writes : « Se arriscou el-rei a metter o pé dentro da fortaleza acompanhado de Gorango seu gentil-homem, mui esforçado cavalleiro e de grande fama nas emprezas militares » ; presumably his only source is just this letter : « Segui as cartas e informações dos nossos missionarios residentes nas Molucas » (ibid. 36).

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10. El-rey de Bachão e os seus tem dado mostras de bons christãos e constantes na fee, e estão muy determinados de acompanharem bem o capitão-mor nesta guerra.

Do Moro temos por novas que hum capitão que lá está com obra de 50 portuguezes [24], depois de ter as novas d'el-rey, deu em Çamafo que era seu e donde muitos males tinhão feito à christandade e, segundo dizem os tidores por quem esta nova soubemos, entre mortos e cativos dizem que chegou o numero a novecentas almas, que foi huma boa vitoria e mui necessaria à quietação e bem daquela christandade.

11. O jubileo [25] se pubricou e toda a povoação se confessou e comungou com muita devação, precedendo suas acustumadas procissões, em que se vio notavel proveito e fruito de suas almas. Noso Senhor os conserve em seu amor.

Não tenho outra cousa mais que escrever senão pedir-lhes muito nos encomendem a Deus em seus santos sacrificios e orações, nos quaes muito me encomendo.

De Amboyno, oje dous de Junho de 1570.

Por commissão do P.e Reitor Luis de Gois.

Servo de todos em o Senhor,

Yeronimo d'Olmedo.

## 179

## FR. PERO MASCARENHAS SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR LUÍS DE GÓIS, TO THE JESUITS OF THE COLLEGE IN GOA

AMBON, JUNE 15, 1570

### Annual Letter

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 no. 10.

II AUTHORS: Seb. GONÇALVES III 334-342; SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc., Borgia* V 259-260; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* VI 33; SOUZA II III 1 11 (our nos. 16-17), 26-30; WESSELS, *Amboina* 49-50.

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104 muy determinados de] apostados a *C* | acompanhar *C* || 107 portuguezes *add.* e os christãos do Tolo *C* || 109 esta nova] estas novas *C* || 111 mui *om. B* | e bem *interl. C* || 112 pubricou *add.* em nossa igreja *C* | a] aquella *B* || 114 em que] e en tudo *C* || 116 outra cousa *om. C* | que *add.* lhes *C* || 119 oje *om. D* | 1570 *add.* annos *C* || 121 Servo ... Senhor *om. D*

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[24] Consult app. crit. The name of the captain was Henrique de Lima (*Relação Vasconcelos* 236).

[25] See D 176 note 4.



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III TEXTS : No original is extant.

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 16*r*-23*v*, formerly 136-142, and IV. Copy in Portuguese, made in Cochin. The ff. 18*v*, 19*r*, and half of 19*v* seem to be written in a second hand. The ff. 22*v* and 23*r* are blank ; f. 23*v* contains an address from the hand of Fr. Manuel Teixeira in Cochin « Annual da ilha de Amboyno em Maluquo do ano de 70. Pera Portugal. 1ª via ». An archivistic note reads « 15 Junho 1570 ».

B. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 36*r*-41*v*, formerly 37-40, earlier 130-135, and IV. Portuguese text with not a few variants from text A. F. 41*v* is blank but for the note « Copia de huma carta do Padre Pero Mascarenhas de Amboino pera os Padres e Irmãos do collegio de Goa de 1570. 2ª via » ; a second note reads « Junii 1570 » and a third « já ». Moreover there is a short compendium in Italian.

C. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 32*r*-35*v*, formerly 29-31, earlier 143-146, and IV. Copy in Portuguese, follows faithfully text A. On f. 35*v* we find only « Copia de huma do Padre Pero Mascarenhas das ilhas de Amboino de 15 de Junho de 70 » ; another hand added « Amboino 15 de Junho 570 », and a third « Dupplicada ».

D. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 102*r*-106*r*. Copy in Portuguese, headed « Copia duma do Padre Pero Mascarenhas da ilha de Amboyno e[m] Maluco de 1570 aos 15 de Junho », and written in several hands. It follows text A.

E. Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Armário Jesuitico, cod. 28* ff. 17*r*-19*r*. Portuguese fragmentary copy of nos. 6-8, 10-12, 15-17, 19-22, 27, and 32-33, titled « De huma do Padre Pero Mascarenhas de Amboyno de 1570 pera os Padres e Irmãos do collegio de Goa ».

IV ADDRESSEE : The direct addressees were the Fathers of the Goa college, and, as a matter of fact, primarily Fr. Provincial ; this is clear from the notes added to texts B and E, and from internal evidence : « nesse collegio » (no. 26). « Pera Portugal » in text A denotes only the further address of the forwarded letter.

V NOTE : As to the indications « 1ª via » (text A) and « 2ª via » (text B), they leave us uncertain about whether they mean : this is a copy of the first, resp. second *via*, which arrived (from Maluku or from Cochin), or : this copy goes by the first or second *via*, from Cochin to Portugal. Theoretically it is quite possible that a copy of a first *via* letter is sent from India to Portugal by the second *via*.

VI OUR EDITION : We print text A. Sometimes, where it seems to give a less satisfying sense, we correct it from other texts. In the apparatus, beside the remarks demanded by text A itself, we give the variants of text B, and of the other texts only the more important ones, especially for proper names and where these may justify corrections we felt obliged to introduce. As text A is swarming with corrections of no importance, rectifying only small clerical errors, we take the liberty to omit many of them.

## *Text*

1. *Jesuit personnel of the Ambon Islands : 4 Fathers, 1 Brother.* — 2. *Their spiritual ministration : hearing confessions, preaching, conciliating enemies, baptizing*

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*and administering other sacraments, visiting villages and teaching the faith. — 3. In a big village a Father and some Portuguese were joyfully received ; they remained 8 or 10 days ; erection of a cross. — 4. The cross worshipped by the people. — 5. Instruction on faith in the* baileu ; *people deeply impressed by it. — 6. Destruction of tomb of a* caciz ; *ill boy healed instantly by baptism. — 7. Wonder this caused in the Father's interpreter. — 8. Only after having been baptized people ventured to destroy Moorish tombs. — 9. People's love and anxiety for the Father. — 10. He was gained over to visit, beyond scheduled route, another town on Ambon. — 11. He was cheerfully received there, baptized the people and erected a cross. — 12. On his arrival in Sirisori, envoys from Ulat came and brought up charges against the Sirisori men. — 13-14. He left Sirisori and arrived at Tuhaha, a Christian village. His priestly work there. — 15. Extraordinarily cheerful reception in Ulat. — 16. History of Ulat : christened by Fr. Diogo de Magalhães ; hated, destroyed and massacrated by Moors of Sirisori. — 17. Martyrdom and prophecy of Patih of Ulat ; historical source of this story. — 18. Rest of Ulat people dispersed ; return and restoration ; stay of the Father ; re-erection of the cross. — 19. Baptisms, weddings and confessions in Ulat ; the Father's departure to Ihamahu where he sojourned for more than a month. — 20. Teaching of Christianity in the* baileu ; *people's conversion ; destruction of two mosques and of some other sanctuaries. — 21. People ate pork and confessed their religious ignorance so far. — 22. People baptized ; man who fell from a rock restored to health by baptism. — 23. Conversion of a town of fervent Moors on Ambon. — 24. Baptism of this people ; erection of a cross, zeal in destroying venerated graves ; fear to do so to a* caciz's *tomb overcome by the example of a Jesuit Brother. — 25. Some other villages, which more than a year ago had requested baptism, were taken care of. — 26. Conversion of Nusatelu and of a neighbouring place. Story of life and death of Dom Diogo of Nusatelu. — 27. Some other places christened ; 12 or 13 in all. — 28. Many other villages could not be looked after for lack of Fathers. — 29. Defeat of rebelling Hitu men, principal destructors of Christianity, by chief-commander [Gonçalo Pereira]. — 30. Some of their chief leaders converted. Calm having returned, many towns would ask for being christened, if only they did not know they cannot be succoured. — 31. Good results of conversions are visible. Zeal of youngsters in learning Christian faith. — 32. Superstitious fear retained by newly converts from paganism. Mission method : first of all destroy all places of « diabolic » worshipping. — 33. Instance of such a fear, but overcome by prayer. — 34. Some Christian places on Ambon never apostatized, but they had to suffer much for the faith. — 35. Some had bribed the Moors. — 36. Two other villages had feigned conversion to Islam and concealed their Christian symbols, which now they took out again. — 37. Conclusion.*

† Jesus Maria

Muito reverendos [em] Christo Padres e carissimos Irmãos

Pax Christi.

1. Avemdo de dar conta dalgumas cousas desta terra, comesarei primeiro pelos da Companhia conforme ao custume dela. Os que ao

4 de *add.* lhes *B*

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prezente rezidimos nestas terras de Amboino somos simquo, convem a saber, quoatro sacerdotes e hum Irmão [1], todos bem dispostos e com saude, aimda que este verão pasado nos vizitou Noso Senhor com algumas emfermidades de febres e outras que durarão poucos dias. Todos prosedem com muita edifiquasão em seus ministerios ajudamdo-se dos meios que a Companhia uza de orasão e exercicios. Renovarão-se os votos nos dias acustumados com muita consolação espiritual e desejo de os comprir perfeitamente, presedendo as confiçõis gerais como hé custume.

2. Hos exercicios que por quaa temos ssão os mesmos que a Companhia custuma exercitar pera bem das almas, scilicet, confesar, pregar quem o tem a cargo, fazer amizades entre os que estão em odios, bautizar e ministrãodo todos os mais sacramentos com muito fruito das allmas. E em particular lhes direi algumas coussas que me ocorrerem das muitas que por quaa vi, por sser materia pera muito louvar ao Senhor como os nosos Padres por quá custumão a vizitar os llugares e estar neles alguns dias ensinãodo-os e doutrinãodo-os nas coussas de nosa santa fee.

3. No principio do verão mandou aqui hum llugar [2] mui grande destes d'Amboino pedir hum Padre que os fose fazer christãos, a que logo se acudio. E por estar a terra aimda mui emburulhada e muitos lugares alevãotados, levou o Padre consiguo alguns purtugezes, os quoais estiverão com o Padre no lugar oito ou des dias. E todos forão mui festejados asi da gente da terra como dos purtugezes, porque de dia e de noite tudo erão fulias e festas, e primcipalmente o dia em que se alevãotou a crus, a quoall llevavão às costas todos os principais do lugar domde se fez athé omde se avia d'alevãotar com grandes fulias e festas dos da terra e dos purtugezes por todo caminho. E despois [16*v*] de alvorada allevãotarão os purtugezes hum Beneditos [3] até ho cabo que

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6 terras] ilhas *B* | convem a saber] scilicet *C*, *om.* *B* || 20 vi *add.* e ouvy *B* || 24-25 hum . . . fose *om.* *C* || 27 alevãotados *add.* e *ms.* || 30 o dia *om.* *B* || 32 domde se fez *om.* *B* || 34 Benedictus *BC*

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[1] Frs. Góis, Prancudo, Mascarenhas, Olmedo, and Br. António Gonçalves.

[2] In this letter many kampongs or villages are mentioned, but only six of them are called by their names : Sirisori, Ulat, Tuhaha, Ihamahu, Nusatelo, and Oma. Another drawback of this text is that it does not always permit us to discern with certainty whether Fr. Mascarenhas was personally present at the even s he describes or refers to them from hearsay only ; and the identification of the other Fathers in each single instance appears to be impossible.

[3] Latin church hymn beginning with the word « Benedictus ».

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causava muita devasão, e diserão-no muito bem por se acharem alli das milhores falas que avia em toda armada; e despois humas ladainhas de cãoto d'orgão, estãodo todos de juelhos adorãodo a cruz, asi gemte da terra, homens e molheres, como os purtugezes, e em todos via muita allegria e devasão.

4. Neste dia à omra da cruz fizerão todos os primcipais o carraeno [4], dãodo hum grãode bamquete a todo o lugar, que hé a maior festa que conforme a seu custume fazem. E não era o sol bem posto, que comesou a gente da terra a asender grande numero de cãodeas de breu que, por serem muitas, alevãotavão huma grãode lavareda em roda de toda a cruz, o que não causou pequena devasão e alegria em os purtugezes que o vião. E asi o fizerão despois [e] o fazem todas as noites pomdo ao pee da cruz cãodeas de breu e na igreja cãodeas d'azeite.

5. Neste mesmo llugar declarãodo o Padre as cousas de nosa santa fee a todos os homens, que para iso se ajuntarão em hum mui grãode baileu [5], ouviam com tãota devasão que não perdião palavra. E asi despois que o Padre acabou lhe comesarão a preguntar muitas cousas do juizo final e se este mundo avia de ter ffim e outras muitas coussas. E dizião huns aos outros coão verdadeira hera nossa llei e quoão falça a sua, e coão segos até emtão amdarão pola segueira e inorancia de seus casizes. A outro dia veio hum omem omrado ter com o Padre, que o fizese christão. E perguntãodo-lhe o Padre que o movia a iso, respomdeo que não outra coussa senão o mao estado em que estava, pois nele nem podia ver a Deos nem cousas boas, amtes enquoanto o não era, hera escravo do demonio como lhe tinha ouvido.

6. Neste mesmo lugar mãodou o Padre hum dia os mosos e juntamente com elles hum moço principal, filho do pate do lugar, o quoal moço ainda não era christão, a dirribar huma sepultura de hum casis que estava perto da cruz. Isto foi pola menhã e, semdo já perto da noite, foi hum mancebo christão, filho do pate de Ito, que se fez christão [6]

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37 orgão] orgãos *B* || 40 carraeno *ins. into open space*, careche *B*, carroeno *C* || 41 hé *interl. h2* || 42 era *add.* aimda *B* | que[3]] quando *B* || 43 breu *interl. h2*, pix *C* || 46 e[3] *BD* | o[3] *om. B* || 49 ajuntarão] ajuntava *B* | hum] hlma *B* || 50 devasão] atenção *B* || 56 lhe *om. B* || 58 o não *om. C* || 61 paty *B* || 64 de] do *C* | Ito] Hito *B*

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[4] *Carraeno, carroeno* (text C), *careche* (text B), unidentified word. The form *careche* suggests a connection with *carracheo* (D 176, 14).

[5] *Baileu* or *baileo*, village meeting house.

[6] *Pate, pati* or *patih*, originally a Javanese title, meaning a governor; in Maluku used in some places as title of a village chief. This is perhaps the «moço Amboino, casta Ito, por nome Pate Lima», who, according to the *Rel. Vasc.*, was baptized Ruy Vas Pereira (356).

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há dous anos, ho quoal servia de limgoa ao Padre ; e dise ao Padre como a mais jente principal do lugar estava em casa do pate ajudãodo-lhe a chorar ho filho que estava pera morrer de hum mal que lhe deu na garganta em comesãodo a dirribar a sepultura do casis, que o Padre lhe mãodara, porque de tal maneira lhe imchara o pescoso que nem agoa podia llevar pera baixo. Foi o Padre logo ter a casa do pate e, consolãodo--os, lhe dise que não see entristesesem, que não avia de ser nada. E mãodãodo o Padre vir o moço diamte de si o bautizou e rezou o evãogelho de S. Marcos. Foi Noso Senhor servido de lhe dar saude, o que não causou pequena admirasão e espamto em toda a gente do lugar, llouvãodo todos a Deos Noso Senhor.

7. E caussou em espesial gramde admirasão no lymgoa que llogo [17*r*] dise ao Padre que agora acabara de conhecer e cria verdadeiramente a verdade de nosa fé, e que na verdade não avia outra e que todo o mais era falço, porque ele com seus olhos a vira ; e isto contava e dizia a todos os amboinos com que se achava, e o mesmo dizia despois das pazes a sua gente persuadimdo-os a ser christãos.

8. Ficarão tão atimorizados os da terra com o soceso do filho do pate, que nenhum amtes de ser christão ouzava a chegar a nenhuma sepultura de defuntos pera a quebrar, porque soo ao filho do pate, que aimda não era christão, na destruisão da sepultura do casis veo tãoto mall, e não aos outros que já erão christãos. E por esta rezão, quoamdo os mancebos e meninos acabados de bautizar saião a quebrar os pagodes e sepulturas de defuntos pelo lugar, as molheres e homens aimda não bautizados os chamavão pedimdo-lhe que entrasem em suas casas a quebrar-lhe os pagodes que tinhão nelas, por eles se não atreverem por não serem aimda bautizados.

9. Encoamto o Padre esteve neste llugar a gente delle lhe dava de comer a ele e a hum purtuges que ficou com elle e aos moços que levava consigo, não consimtimdo que ele o comprase. Fficarão-lhe tendo tãoto amor que, avemdo-se o Padre de ir a visitar e bautizar outros lugares [7] que o mãodavão chamar, trabalhavão muito por lhe impedir a ida e lhe pedirão que não fizese, pois o tinham por pai, os imsinase e doutrinase como filhos de poucos dias regenerados pelo bautismo. Dizendo-lhe o Padre que elle tornaria sedo a vizitá-los e que era nece-

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66 mais ~ *add.* da *B* | principal *om.* *B* || 69 imchara] imcho *B* || 70 llevar *del.* o pescoso *B* || 72 o moço *om.* *B* | e *add.* lhe *B* || 76 no *ins.*, na *C* || 77 conhecer] crer *C* || 79 vira] viraa *B* || 84 que *interl.* || 90 quebrar] quebrarem *B* || 97 fizese] fizesem *AB*. fizese *C*

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[7] Among them Sirisori (no. 12).

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sario tãobem acodir aos outros, entendemdo eles que lhe não podião estrovar a ida, lhe diserão que já que hia que olhase por si, por ir a huma ilha [8] omde avia muitos mouros e casizes acustumados a matar a muitos com pesonha, e portãoto tivese muito resgoardo no comer e beber. E asi fizerão hos principais deste luguar huma grande pratica aos regedores dos lugares da outra ilha que vinhão buscar o Padre, encomemdãodo-lho muito e dizemdo que lho entregavão são e bem disposto e que tal lho tornasem a emtregar porque, se adoesia, que eles lho avião de paguar.

10. Ffazendo-se o Padre prestes pera se ir com os que o vinhão a buscar, chegou o regedor com os primcipais dum lugar da mesma ilha e pedio ao Padre quizese ir ao seu lugar a fazer sua gente christã. O Padre se escuzou por entãoto por estar de caminho pera outra ilha que o mãodava buscar. A quoal reposta tornou tão triste ao regedor, que comesou a derramar muitas lagrimas e meteo o portugues por 3º [9], não sesando de chorar. Movido o Padre de suas lagrimas, lhe dise que folgara de ir se seu lugar fora mais [17*v*] perto, mas que era 3 ou 4 legoas por terra de grandes outeiros e ruins caminhos, onde avia d'aver muita detensa, porque estava de caminho e o estavão esperãodo. Respondeo o regedor que coãoto ao trabalho do caminho não no temese porque a sua gente [e] ele o levarião em hum amdor [10], e que nem averia detensa por ele ter a gente toda prestes.

11. Vemdo o Padre seus tão grandes desejos se partio pera o seu lugar, e em todo o caminho até chegar forão fazemdo grandes festas, porque hia o regedor diamte do Padre com os mais principais fazendo o carrocheo [11] e quantando a seu custume: « Deus é Noso Senhor no ceo, e ao Padre como seu ministro obedeseremos na terra ». E quoãodo nomeavão a Deus alevãotavão os olhos ao ceo e tiravão o barrete, e

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101 ida *del.* que ‖ 103 o[1]] que *B* ‖ 106 lho[1] *corr. fr.* lhe, lhe *C* ‖ 107 lho[1]] lhe *C* ‖ 109 o[2] *interl.* ‖ 110 a *om. C* | da mesma *BE*, daver huma *AC* (*does not seem to make sense*), de (*corr. fr.* daver) huma *D* ‖ 114 o portugues] portuguezes *B* | por *ins.* ‖ 115 de[2]] com *C* ‖ 116 3 ou 4] 30 ou 40 *AD*, tres ou quatro *BE*, 3 ou 4 (*corr. fr.* 30 ou 40) *m.C* ‖ 117 outeiros] outros *ms.* ‖ 118 porque *corr. fr.* pera que, pera quem *BDE* ‖ 119 temése] temesem *A*, temesse *BC* ‖ 120 gente *add.* e *BCE* ‖ 121 ter *add.* jaa *B* | prestes *del.* e junta, *add.* e jumto *B*, *add.* e junta *E* ‖ 122 tão *om. B* ‖ 125 carrocheo] charache *B*, carocheo *D* | é] he *interl. B*

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[8] Saparua.

[9] Read *terceiro*, that is, mediator, intercessor.

[10] On the use of the native litter or sedan in Ambon, see MARTIN, *Reisen in den Molukken* 5-7.

[11] Again this unidentifiable word, here seemingly meaning cheers, shouts of joy. Cf. note 4.

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cantavão outras cãotigas em louvor dos christãos. Desta maneira forão até chegar ao lugar, onde o Padre foi recebido mui bem de toda a gente principal, asi homens como molheres, que o estavão esperãodo na emtrada do lugar. Aquela noite até pola menhã e dous dias mais que o Padre ahy esteve, em que bautizou toda a gente do lugar, tudo forão cãotigas e festas de dia e de noite, e premcipalmente o dia em que se alvorou a cruz que todos adorarão de joelhos com muita alegria e contentamento de todos.

12. Acabando de bautizar este lugar se partio o Padre com a gente que estava esperãodo pera a ylha de Fore-sore [12] com a mesma que o viera buscar, que erão os principais do lugar de Fore-sore, e no lugar foi mui bem recebido de toda a gente principal. Ao outro dia vierão ter com o Padre os principais do lugar de Ulate [13] e lhe contarão a grande obrigasão em que o lugar de Fore-sore estava aos ulatos, pelo destruirem não por outra cousa senão por serem christãos, e por esa rezão matarão a muitos e ao seu bom pate. Pelo que o Padre mandou ajuntar os principais de Fore-sore e lhes preguntou a causa por que destruirão os ulates e, entendendo de sua reposta não ser outra senão a que os olates davão, lhes dise a obrigasão em que estavão de restetuir aos ulates tudo o que lhe tomarão e as perdas que lhe derão. Ao que eles responderão que se iso era necesario pera serem christãos que asi o farião, e comesarão logo a trazer allguns sinos [14] e fato.

13. E como a cantidade do fato era muita e não se podia ajuntar senão devagar, e o Padre tinha nesta ilha alguns lugares de christãos pera visitar e outros de mouros e gentios que querião ser christãos e chamavão o Padre pera iso, despedido dos principais de Fore-sore despois de aver estado tres dias no lugar, se partio por terra visitar o lugar [18*r*] de Tua [15], christão, que tinha já vimdo visitar o Padre e 50

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136 acabado *B* || 137 que[1] *add.* o *B* | Sore-sore *B* (*so constantly*) || 140 Ullate *B* || 150 como *om.* *B* || 155 Tuha *B* | vimdo] mandado *B*

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[12] Sirisori in Saparua, at present a double kampong : Sirisori Serani and Sirisori Islam. Text B writes always Soresore ; see app. crit.

[13] Ulat, a little S of Sirisori along the same coast ; its people appear to be Christians already. (Cf. no. 16).

[14] Bells, but here the famous Javanese gongs. Cf. *Treatise* 140 : « Fazem tizouro . . . de johias he peças d'ouro, synos da Jaoa . . . ».

[15] Tuhaha (text B : Tuha and Tuhaa, see app. crit.), at present on the N coast of Saparua, formerly near Ulat and Sirisori, more inland, on a hill (VALENTYN II a 86). One should remember that all the villages situated at present on the coast were lying, at that time, at some distance from it in the mountains.

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ou 60 homens pera o acompanharem pelo caminho, deixãodo dito aos sore-sores que como acabasem de ajuntar o fato que elle tornaria a fazê--los christãos ; e cuja ida eles sentirão muito e trabalharão d'estrovar buscamdo todos os meios que puderão, até ajuntarem todas as molheres principais pera que o pedisem ao Padre.

14. Mas como o Padre tinha muito que fazer naquela ilha e em outras partes, domde o chamavão e ali não fazia mais que perder tempo, não lho consedeo, amtes se partio pera o lugar de Tua omde, alem das festas que por todo o caminho fizerão de muitos tãogeres e cãotigas, todas em louvor de Deus e dos christãos, o regedor com os mais principais o estavão esperando hum gramde espaço de caminho fora do lugar, e à cruz estavão todas as molheres principais esperãodo, onde o receberão fazemdo-lhe muito agasalhado. Neste lugar esteve o Padre alguns dias imsinãodo-os e despois de bautizar os meninos e pessoas que aimda não erão christãos, e casar alguns que estavão pera iso, se partio a visitar Ulate tãobem por terra por estarem ahi já alguns 60 ou 70 ulates com os principais que o vinhão buscar.

15. Os quoais por todo o caminho fizerão grandes festas de muitos tãogeres e cãotigas em louvores de Deus : e amtre outras cousas dizião em que contavão sua destruição só por serem christãos, e que até então estiverão mortos, mas que agora comesavão a viver, já que Deus os vinha vizitar. Tendo já mais de meio caminho amdado, emtrãodo por hum grande arvoredo em hum cãopo chão e sombrio, lhe saio supitamente ao encontro hum grande exercito de molheres riquamente vestidas a seu custume de muitas patolas [16] de seda e ouro, e todas bailãodo e dansãodo e cãotãodo louvores de Deus ao som do[s] sinos e tifas [17] que os que acompanhavão o Padre hião tãogendo. O Padre se deteve hum pouco e, agradesendo-lhe o trabalho que quiserão tomar tão lomge de seu lugar, lhe pedio que fosem diamte porque elle hiria mais devagar. E chegando já perto do lugar lhe tornarão outra vez a sair em hum cham da mesma maneira bailãodo e quantãodo, e ningem mostrava mais contentamento e alegria que huma molher velha omrada, molher do bom pate que morreo martere por amor de Deus.

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157 fore-sores *C* || 158 e[1] *om. B* || 160 o pedisem] impedissem *B* || 162 o *interl.* || 163 Tuhaa *B* || 167 esperãodo *add.* o *B* | onde] comde *B* | 169 e[2] *add.* mais *B* || 171 visitar *add.* o *C* || 172 70 *add.* homens *B* || 179 molheres *add.* muy *B* || 181 dos] de *B* || 182 tifas *B*, tinas *AC* || 188 do] de *ms.*

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[16] *Patola, petola*, fine silk cloth ; in Ambon, red linen with a special pattern. Consult ENI III 393-394 ; COOLEY, *Ambonese Adat* 28.

[17] *Tifa*, a sort of small drum.

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16. Este Ulate foi antigamente hum gramde lugar e de mais gente principal de toda a ilha de Fore-sore. Sendo gentios os fes o Padre Diogo de Magalhãis christãos averá 6 anos ou pouquo mais [18], e como na destruisão de Amboino [19] ficou desemparado de purtugezes, tiverão lugar [18*v*] os mouros, com favor e ajuda dos ternates, pera destruir os christãos, e como os sore-sores tinhão particular odio aos ulates, asy por ser christão como por ser tão poderoso e rico, ou mais poderoso que todos os da ilha, buscarão todos os meyos que poderão para o destruir. E como não poderão por ser o lugar mui forte, determinarão de o tomar por engano, e assi fizerão pazes, debaixo da fee das quaes o entrarão huma noite estando descuidados e dormindo. Matarão mais de 400 pessoas, os mais deles homens, e cativarão muita gente, e pouca escapou fugindo.

17. Entre estes cativarão o paty [20], ao qual cometendo que se fizesse mouro e que o não matarião, elle respondeo que era christão e tinha dado sua fee a Deus, que portanto a não avia de quebrar. Vendo que se não queria fazer mouro começarão a dar-lhe huma nova maneira de morte que, tendo-o bem amarrado e feito hum grande brazeiro de fogo, lhe cortavão a carne posta e posta e a comião e lha davão tambem a comer a elle. O paty vendo o genero de morte que lhe davão, lhes disse quão pouca rezão tinhão de uzar com elle de tanta crueza, e profetizou o que depois se vio com os olhos, porque lhes disse que a morte que lhe davão e a destruição do seu lugar avia de ser vingada pelos portuguezes; e para testemunha e sinal do que lhes dizia, tomassem huma posta da sua carne que cortavão e a pusessem em hum bacyo, porque ao outro dia se desfaria e a acharião feita azeite.

E asi foy, que elles desejosos e curiosos de ver cousa tão nova o fizerão asy, cortando-lhe huma posta de carne de seu proprio corpo, a puserão em hum bacyo como ele disse, e ao outro dia acharão azeite em lugar de carne, de que se ficarão depois muito arreceando e temendo

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189 gente *add.* e *B* || 192 de²] dos *B* || 199 matarão *BE*, entrarão *ACD* || 200 pessoas] almas *B* | deles *om. B* || 206 brazeiro] brasido *B* || 218 arreceando] arrecosos *B*

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[18] Fr. Diogo de Magalhães worked in Ambon in 1562 until about April or May of 1563. That he converted Ulat in Saparua is not expressly reported in DD 115 and 116.

[19] Cf. D 135, 9. The Moorish domination of Ambon lasted from 1565 to 1568.

[20] The story of the *patih* of Ulat is likewise related in the *Relação Vasconcelos* (202), the author of which calls him *o rey*, the king. In VALENTYN's time Ulat was governed by a *raja*, assisted by a *pati* (II a 88).

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o castigo que os portuguezes depois lhe derão [21]; porque, alem de lhe destruirem o lugar matando-lhe e cativando-lhe muita gente, os principaes que forão no martirio do paty hum deles morreo queimado e outro metido em huma bombarda.

Isto das palavras do paty, de sua vingança e da carne se tornar em azeite, não sei mais que os ulates o contarem ao Padre e o Padre o preguntar depois a alguns dos sore-sores, os quais disserão que asy pasava como dizião os ulates [22].

18. Os quaes, posto que depois de sua destruição, até o capitão-mor chegar a Amboyno [23], os que escaparão andavão derramados pelos outros lugares, com a chegada do capitão-mor tornarão a ajuntar-se todos e povoar o seu proprio lugar, onde o Padre esteve alguns dias ensinando-os, dos quaes de dia e de noite foi mui festejado, em especial no dya em que se alevantou a cruz, a qual foy arvorada com a mesma festa de ladainhas e Benedictus e as outras, e adorada de toda a gente do lugar, senão que depois de arvorada vierão [19*r*] todas as molheres principaes do lugar e, bailando diante da cruz, de quando em quando alevantavão os olhos e as mãos adorando-a e beijando-a.

19. Depois do Padre neste lugar bautisar a gente dele e dum seu ny [24] de 200 almas, em que os mais erão crianças, filhos seus, e casar os que estavão para isso, confessando-os primeiro, especialmente os homens que sabião falar malayo, se partio, tambem por terra, ao lugar de Hiamao [25], que avia dias que tinha mandado chamar o Padre por se quererem todos fazer christãos, e estarem perto de 200 homens do mesmo lugar esperando pelo Padre pera o irem acompanhando até o lugar com as mesmas festas que os outros, onde chegando foy mui bem recebido de toda a gente da terra. Neste lugar esteve o Padre mais de hum mez, por ser grande e aver muita gente e muitos casises, com os

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225 a alguns dos] aos *B* || 235 de . . . quando³ *om.* *B* || 238 ny] nhi *B* || 239 especialmente] principalmente *C*

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[21] The *Relação Vasconcelos*, not always proceeding chronologically, describes this destruction of Sirisori by order of Gonçalo Pereira on pp. 186-187. See also LEMOS 457.

[22] Mascarenhas takes care to have good witnesses of this event.

[23] Here presumably Mascarenhas has in view the second arrival of Gonçalo Pereira in Ambon, which was in March 1569.

[24] *Ny*, or *nhi* (text B), could not be identified, nor is it clear either what it could mean. Should there be a comma after *dele*, or after *ny*? The first seems to be more probable.

[25] Ihamahu in Saparua, on the N coast.

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quaes teve algumas disputas, mas por derradeiro renderão-se e confesarão e seguirão a verdade de nosa santa fee.

20. Depois do Padre estar alguns dias neste lugar, se ajuntarão todos em hum grande baileu donde lhe declarou as cousas da fee, a que estavão tão atentos que nem cuspir ousavão por não perder ponto do que o Padre dizia. E acabadas de declarar, lhes preguntou se erão contentes de seguir e guardar a lei que lhes tinha declarado. Ao que responderão os principaes que elles, como cegos, em lugar de Deus omravão até então o demonio, e já que o Padre, servo do verdadeiro Deus, os viera alumiar, que eles estavão prestes para fazer tudo o que o Padre lhes mandase e a elles fose posyvel. O Padre lhes disse então que, se querião que Deus, charidade eterna e infinita, entrase em sua terra e lugar, que era necessario lançar dela primeiro o demonio, porque ambos não podyão estar juntos. Entendendo elles que o Padre lhes dizia isto pelos pagodes e mesquitas, se alevantarão logo todos juntos e se forão a quebrar todos os pagodes e a queimar duas mesquitas que tinha[m] no lugar com suas proprias mãos.

21. E vierão todos os principaes mouros e casizes e diserão ao Padre que, pera que entendese quanto desejavão ser christãos, farião diante delle o que hé mais caro aos mouros, que hé comer carne de porco, e logo o comerão todos diante do Padre. E dizia hum falando com os outros acerqua da verdade da nosa fee e de sua cegueira, e em especial dous casizes, praticando hum com outro diante da outra gente, que era tão verdadeira nosa fee que, ainda que se ajuntassem dez casizes dos seus, os mais sabios que ouvesse, e se pusesem a desputar com o Padre, que o não poderião sofrer muitas horas que não fossem vencidos. E dizião mais que, se hum dos seus casizes soubesse o que sabe hum Padre, teria as casas cheas de fato do muito que lhe darião os mouros por lhes [19*v*] dizer alguma cousa, e falando huns com os outros dizião : « Nós outros não sabemos nada e o pouco que sabemos hé hum demolho e bem demolho [26], a peso de fato como cousa grande, e o Padre diz-nos tantas cousas e tão verdadeiras sem interesse, o que bem mostra tudo o mais ser mentira ».

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247 confesarão *add.* -se *C* || 255 servo *rep.* || 258 eterna e *om. B* || 262 tinhão *B* || 266 carne de *om. B* || 267 dizia hum] dizião huus *B* || 269 praticando] falando *C* || 274 do muito *om. C* || 276 hé hum demolho e bem demolho] escomde molo e vem de molo *B*

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[26] The combination *hum demolho* (perhaps better *de molho*) does not seem to be of common use. Presumably the meaning is : a hodgepodge. The variant of text B (see app. crit.) does not give a better sense.

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22. Depois de contribuirem com algumas obrigações e lançarem as 2.as molheres, ficando com as primeiras, os baptisou o Padre a todos, fazendo elles muitos jogos e festas em sinal de alegria. Nestas festas aconteceo hum desastre que Noso Senhor parece ordenou para confirmação da fee destes, e foy que, andando hum homem de volta com outros festejando esta solenidade, cayo de huma rocha abaixo, que por ser alta, da grande pancada que deu perdeo o sentido. Trouxeram-no ao Padre, o qual achando-lhe pulso, o baptisou, e prouve a Noso Senhor de lhe dar saude e tornar logo em sy, com o que estes novos christãos ficarão mais confirmados na fee atribuindo esta mercê e saude deste à virtude do sacramento do baptismo que recebera, e asy daly por diante se vio neles muita fee às cousas de Deus e reverencia ao Padre como ministro de tão salutifero sacramento [27].

23. Avia na ilha d'Amboino hum lugar de mouros tão zelosos de sua má ceyta, que com estar cerquado de lugares de christãos com que tinhão muito parentesco e amizade, e com ser contra elles, e pelos Padres que antigamente quá andarão ezortados a que deixasem a erronia em que vivião e seguisem a verdade que lhe emsinavão, tão contomazes estavão que numqua o quizerão fazer; e asy erão tidos de todos os outros mouros por homens zelosos da llei maumetica. Foi o capitão-mor ter a este lugar, em cuja companhia hia hum Padre noso, o quoal despois dos mouros estarem juntos por ordenasão do capitão-mor, e pera iso os domar, lhe fez o Padre huma pratica em que lhe declarou alguns misterios de nosa ley e algumas erronias e falsidades de sua maa seita.

Movidos por isto e juntamente por rogos do capitão-mor (que nestas cousas da conversão e das mais mostra muito zelo da gloria e onra de Deus e augmento de sua fee) vierão em odio de sua maa seita queimando logo a mesquita e outras casas de orasão e pagodes, e pedimdo os quisesem bautizar porque esperavão em Deus que, já que em mouros erão dos mais contumases em suas erronias, que asi christãos ningem lhes avia de fazer avãotagem em serem bons christãos. E espero em Deus que asy á-de ser porque hé gente de bom juizo, que tem primor em suas pesoas.

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280 lançarem *add.* fora *B* || 284 volta] emvolta *B* || 295 contra] por *B* || 296 ezortados] exortando-os *B* || 302 domar] chamar *B* || 306 das] dos *AC*, das *B* | e onra *om. B* || 307 augmento] ao muito *AC*, augmento *B*, augmento *corr. fr.* ao muito *D* || 310 asi *add.* em *B*

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[27] Up to this point it is always the same Father who is acting. Some detailed descriptions and characteristic particularities in the report suggest that he was Fr. Mascarenhas himself. This is also the opinion of SOUZA (II III 1 26).

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24. Dahi alguns dias, despois de instruidos na[s] cousa[s] da fee, os bautizamos [28] com muita allegria e contentamento [20*r*] seu e não menos daqueles que os bautizarão, por verem aquelle grande numero d'almas livres das trevas e escuridades em que vivião e regenerados novamente a Christo e de filhos de ira adoptados em filhos de bensão. No meio do lugar alvorarão huma cruz com muita alegria e contentamento, que de todos é adorada e tida em venerasão.

Ao dirribar dos seus nitos [29] e sepulturas de mortos, em que usão de muitas sopristiçõis, foi tãoto o fervor que forão corremdo a quem seria o primeiro que os derribase, mas chegando a huma sepultura que no cabo do lugar estava, em que estavam sepultados dous casizes que eles tinhão por homens sãotos, não ouve amtre eles pessoa (parese por serem aimda tenros na fee) que lhe ouzase a pôr a mão por medo que tinhão de lhe acontecer allgum mal grande, por o[s] terem em tãota veneração que tinhão como por fee que ningem podia tocar naquela sepultura pera lhe fazer desacato que escapase com vida. Vemdo isto hum Irmão noso que com eles hia [30], achegando à sepultura comesou a dirribar; animados com isto os novos christãos, arremeterão a ajudar o Irmão a quebrar a sepultura e asi não ficou pedra, pao nem ola [31] que não derribasem amtes de os bautizarem, e despois de bautizados fizerão e fazem muitas preguntas que bem mostrão o desejo que tem de sua salvasão.

25. Avia nesta ilha d'Aõboino outros lugares que avia hum ano que com muita estamcia pedião o santo bautismo [32], aos quoais se não pode ir neste tempo por falta de quem os bautizase. Mas oferesendo-se oportunidade, o P.e Reitor [33] mãodou a eles hum Padre, o qual rece-

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314 nas cousas *B* || 321 nitos] vitos *AC*, nitos *B*, vitos *corr. fr.* ritos *D* || 322 forão] partirão *B* || 323 derribase *B*, derribasem *A* || 327 os *corr. fr.* lhe, lhe *B* | em *om. B* || 330 achegando] achegua *B* || 331 animados] animando-os *B* | os *ins.* | arremeterão *B*, arremetendo *AC* || 334 preguntas *add.*, em *B*

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[28] From this *bautizamos* it is evident that «hum Padre nosso» of no. 23 was Mascarenhas.

[29] *Nitu*, in the language of Ambon and W Seram, is properly speaking a tutelary spirit of the clan or village, or a spirit of the deceased; sometimes the word is applied to heaven, sun, earth, or moon, worshipped as religious forces (Cf. for instance, RIEDEL, 55-56; JENSEN 166, 192). Here it obviously denotes a spirit symbol or sanctuary.

[30] Br. António Gonçalves.

[31] *Ola* (Indo-Portuguese from Malayalam), palm leaf, used for thatching.

[32] At the time that the fortress was built. See D 163, 4; D 164, 7-9.

[33] Fr. Luís de Góis.

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berão com muita alegria e grandes mostras do desejo que tinhão de receber o bautismo. E em dous dias que em hum destes esteve bautizãodo-os lhe fizerão muito gasalhado e todo este tempo se ocuparão em festas, principalmente as noites. E sabendo que tinhão ahi huma casa pera venerasão do demonio, foi logo desfeita por eles mesmos e em seu lugar se pôs huma cruz, a quoal os principais do lugar vierão a pôr com muita alegria sua. A outros tres lugares, que tãobem avia muito tempo que desejavão de serem christãos, tãobem se acudio e os bautizarão com muita festa.

26. Hum lugar grande, chamado Roçotelo [34], com outro que perto dele está não menor em gente [35], instarão muitos dias que os fizesem christãos, o que por falta de obreiros se lhe dilatou muitos dias, no cabo dos quoais pareseo necesario ir lá hum Padre a os caticizar e bautizar, nos quoais não ffoy menos festejado do que os outros nos outros llugares. Ouvião as cousas da fé com muita prontidão e fazião grandes promesas de morrer pola ley que recebião.

Deste llugar de Roçotello hera [20*v*] regedor hum Dom Diogo que nese colegio [36] em tempo de Dom Costamtino [37] se fez christão, omem de bom juizo e tido por casis amtre eles, o quoal veio com Antonio Pais [38] e, por vir feito christão e trazer armada pera contra os mouros e em favor da cristãodade, não somente não foi dos seus recebido, mas os mesmos seus, imduzidos pelos jaos e itos, o matarão com hum cruel genero de morte, ho que ele tudo sofria com muita alegria e constancia [39]. Huns dous filhos deste Dom Diogo, que com ele forão à Imdia, são os que na obra da conversão deste lugar mais trabalhão.

27. Outros alguns lugares fizemos christãos de que não trato em particolar por não ser comprido. Abasta saberem que todos eles com muita estancia pedirão serem recebidos neste cural de Christo e que com sinais esteriores mostravão a alegria que na alma tinhão. Em hum

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347-348 e os . . . festa *om. B* || 349 Rocotelo *ms.* || 350 instarão *corr. fr.* estarem | muitos] tantos *C* || 355 recebião] receberão *C* || 359 pera *om. C* || 360 favor] saber *B* | mas] mais *ms.* || 362 genero *ins. into open space h2* | ho *corr. fr.* por

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[34] Nusatelo, at the NW angle of Hitu, the present-day Asilulu. (See VALENTYN I b 146 ; II a 108).

[35] Nusatelo is located between Uring (NE) and Larike (S).

[36] In Saint Paul's College, Goa. See Seb. GONÇALVES III 340.

[37] Dom Constantino de Bragança, viceroy of India, 1558-1561.

[38] António Pais sailed from Goa in September 1562 ; he arrived in Ambon in February 1563.

[39] Cf. D 114, 6 ; his people was Muslim.

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destes lugares me diserão que, declarãodo-lhes hum Padre a paixão de Noso Senhor Jesu Christo e a causa porque padesera, arrebentara hum casis em muitas llagrimas e, preguntãodo-lhe por quem chorava, respondeo que polo muito que Deus polos omens padeseo. Estes lugares com os que asima nomeey que se este ano fizerão christãos serião por todos 12 ou 13 [40], em que se bautizarão oyto mil almas, afora os meninos filhos dos que já erão feitos christãos que, coantos sejão, podem julgar pelo grande numero de cristãodade que cá há.

28. Outros muitos lugares pedem que os bautizem mas não no fazemos por falta de obreiros, porque os que cá amdamos não bastamos pera doutrinar a 6ª parte dos que já são bautizados, e asim nos parese que não bautizaremos mais até vermos se pera o ano o noso P.e Visitador [41] proverá de operarios que posão suprir a estas necesidades que são tão grandes, que huma das maiores magoas e trabalhos que nesta terra padesemos, é ver ho innumeravel numero de allmas que segos de suas erronias perecem eternalmente por falta de quem lhe ensine o caminho da verdade. E não trato soo dos que numca vierão em conhecimemto de seu Criador, mas dos já bautizados e feitos christãos perecem e se condena a mor parte por falta de doutrina, por serem tãotos os lugares e tãota a gente e nós tão poucos que, aimda que todo o ano não façamos outra cousa senão caminhar de lugar em lugar, o que não pode ser, não poderemos mais fazer que bautizar os meninos hinosentes, que pera doutrinar os grandes não há tempo, he ainda dos meninos hinocentes morrerão muitos sem bautismo, como agora a muitos acontese.

29. Já terão emtemdido como os autores da destruisão desta cristãodade forão os itos, os quoais despois de serem algumas [21*r*] vezes vensidos pelo capitão-mor, com lhes entrar e queimar o lugar e sidade em que vevião [42], e asi mais hum cabeço e outeiro que tinhão por fortaleza, e assi outros fortes de vasalos e confederados seus, se fortificarão em hum outeiro alto, a muitas partes pela natureza talhado como que fora ao piquam, e às outras menos fortes erão os caminhos tão imgri-

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370 causa] cousa *AB*, causa *C* || 371 quem] que *corr. fr.* quem *B*, que *D* || 375 podem] poderão *C* || 379 dos que] do que qua ha *B* || 384 lhe ensine *om. B* || 389 lugar[1] *add.* e *ms.* || 399 às] polas *B*, *om. C*

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[40] Two unnamed villages in Ambon ; Sirisori, Ulat, Tuhaha, Ihamahu in Saparua (nos. 1-22) ; one unnamed in Ambon (nos. 23-24) ; four kampongs in Ambon (no. 25) ; Nusatelo and a neighbouring village (nos. 26-27) : that makes exactly thirteen.

[41] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares, general visitor of the Jesuit mission in India.

[42] Hitumeseng and Hitulama on the N coast of Ambon.

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mes e estreitos que defycultozamente se podião amdar. Confiados no sitio e arreseozos do castigo que meresião esteverão muito tempo sem quererem dar a obediensia. Fazia-lhes o capitão-mor a gerra por pedasos matãodo-lhe muita gente em emboscadas e silladas. Vemdo que as necesidades da terra e as gerras de Tarnate não sofrião tãota dilasão, se detreminou a cometer este seu forte aimda que fose com risco de muitos purtugezes, como se presumia que nele morrerião. Mas, como quer que a obra hé de Deus e ordenada a seu serviço, aprouve-lhe de a favoreser e asi os emtrou sem morte de purtugezes; dos henemigos amtre mortos e cativos serião 300 [43].

30. E como quer que Noso Senhor de malles custuma tirar bens, tomou a destroisão destes por meo pera virem em conhecimento de suas erronias, pedimdo com muita eficasia que querião ser christãos, dos quoais temos bautizados allguns principaes, dos outros caticizão-se, mostrãodo-se mui desejos[os] de purgarem a culpa que tinhão da destruisão desta cristãodade com trabalharem daqui por diamte de o nome de Christo neste arsepelego ser por seu meo dilatado. Com a destroisão destes se quietarão de todo estas ilhas de Amboino e com sua conversão muitos llugares de novo pedem o santo bautismo, e outros muitos mais o pederião se sentisem em nós que lho concederiamos e os bautizariamos, mas por verem que muitos pedem o bautismo com que nós disimolamos e lho difirimos por falta de obreiros, não ouzão a pedir o que entemde[m] não lhe averem de conseder: mas com tudo sabemos de sua parte não aver repunhansia como de nosa ouver posibilidade.

31. Nos llugares que vizitamos, na alegria com que dos christãos somos resebidos, se notão muitas cousas de llovor de Noso Senhor e, por serem commuuas e quasi ordenarias, não tratarei dellas. Nos llugares em que residimos [44] se vê claramente servir-se Deus muito em furtifiquar-se muito as allmas destes novos christãos. Fazem os meninos todos os dias a doutrina e commummente a sabem todos de cor e, não contentes com a fazerem na igreja, de noite em suas casas se juntão os de cada bairo e a fazem: isto sem lho mãodarmos, tãoto hé o fervor

410 como . . . tomou *om.* *C* || 411 por] foi *C* || 413 allguns *add.* dos *C* | cathesizarão-se *B* | mostrão (*del.* -se) todos muytos desejos *B* || 414 desejosos *D* || 418 santo] senhor *AC* || 420 que[3]] quem *B* || 422 entendem *C* || 424 llugares] luguar *B* || 426 ;tratarei *add.* tanto *B* || 427 servir-se *corr. fr.* servisem || 428 se *interl.* | as *corr. fr.* nas, nas *CD*

[43] On the destruction of the Hitu forces, see *Relação Vasconcelos* 188-191.

[44] Hatiwi and Nusaniwi, since 1562 (D 115, 10, 17), and, more recently, the fortress on the N Hitu coast, built in 1569 (D 166, 2). According to D 184, 5, Mascarenhas was stationed in Hatuhaha on Haruku.



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e a delligensia que tem em na aprenderem e saberem, e a afeisão que lhe tem.

32. Aimda que em jentios não tinhão casas de pagodes nem adorasem [21*v*] a deozes proprios como outros gentios, contudo em suas ortas e às vezes em suas casas tinhão algus lugares dedicados ao culto dyabolico. Aimda que despois de christãos não reverenseão estes lugares, contudo movidos de hum temor que em gentios tinhão cobrado ao demonio cujas casas estas são, em alguns lugares feitos de pouco tempo christãos se achão algumas pessoas que, aimda que não adorem estes lugares, tem-lhe algum respeito polo temor que tem que lhe poderá o demonio por esa causa fazer allgum mal. E asi das primeiras cousas que fazemos, quando bautizamos allgum llugar, hé fazer com os moradores que derribem todas estas casas e lugares homde se o diabo adora, e afeisoamos os meninos da doutrina que vão pelo mato a ver se achão algumas casas pera as derribar.

33. E aconteseo em hum lugar que imdo muitos meninos da doutrina pelo mato, emcontrarão com huma destas casas e, comesãodo a quererem derribá-lla, não no poderão da prymeira vez fazer. Dise hum deles, que era menino da doutrina, aos outros que se posesem de joelhos e rezasem hum Pater noster e que Deus os ajudaria. Fizerão-no asi, alevãotão-se todos e, com o nome de Jesus na boca, dãodo huma grande grita arremetem à casa e a derribarão e espadasarão. Outro dia na doutrina muito alegres derão conta do que fizerão, dizemdo como rezarão o Padre noso e nomearão o nome de Jesus, que llogo o diabo que sostinha a casa fugio.

34. Na destruisão desta cristãodade d'Aôboino ouve allguns llugares que, por estarem sitoados em sitios fortes, nunca os mouros os poderão entrar e asi conservarão a fé que receberão, pela conservasão da qual padeserão muitas persegisõis e trabalhos de que podera fazer particular carta, se não emtendera serem já pollas cartas dos anos pasados emformados.

35. Outros lugares menos poderosos vemdo que com armas se não podia defender esta mesma fee que tinhão recebido, derão aos mouros tãoto fato com que os aplacarão e os deixarão sem os fazerem mouros como aos outros lugares. Este lugares forão de Oma e alguns outros do Lliaser [45].

436 ao . . . dyabolico] aos pagodes *B* || 438 contudo] todavia *C* || 443 hé *ins.* || 449 querê-lla derribar *C* || 452 alevantando-se *C* | dãodo] tãoto *ms.* || 455 nomeando *C* 461 pollas] por ellas as *AC*, pollas *B* || 464 podia] podião *C* || 467 Liçar *B*, Lliacer *C*, Liasor *D*

[45] Oma on Haruku, and other villages in the Uliaser islands, among them obviously Ulat (no. 16).

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36. Dous lugares desta ilha d'Aõboino vemdo que nem com armas nem com fato podião aplacar os mouros, forsados dos ameasos que lhe fazião e atemorizados com as mortes de alguns seus que os mesmos mouros lhe matarão, lhe derão a obedyencia com se fazerem mouros mas, pera prova e testemunha de como o fazião mais forçados que por vontade, tomarão dous crucifixos e a huma imagem que tinhão e as goardarão em lugares secretos de maneira que os mouros o não viesem a saber. E quoando agora fomos aos seus llugares no-las amostrarão, como em prova do erro que cometerão ser por temor e não por outro respeito, o que bem mostrarão no fervor [22*r*] com que fizerão as igrejas em seus llugares, no que lhe poderei afirmar que a hum deles vi tãota deligensia e fervor que meteo em confusão minha tebieza [46]. Socedeo quoatro ou simquo dias de huma chuiva continua tãota e tão grosa, quoãota nunqua vi em Amboino e, com toda esta chuiva, nunca llevarem mão da obra, mostrãodo emtão mais fervor a acabarem.

37. Bemdito seja o Senhor que em gente que á bem pouco tempo estava tão alhea de seu conhecimento e amor emprime tão fervidos desejos de sua onra e culto. Ele per quem hé lhes dê a todos perseverar nestes bons propositos e grasa pera com augmento prosederem no caminho de sua salvasão. Em seus sãotos sacrafisios e orasõis todos nos emcomendamos.

De Amboino, aos 15 de Junho de 1570.

Por commisão do P.e Reitor.

Seu emdino irmão e servo em o Senhor,

Pedro Mascarenhas.

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468 nem] vem *ms.* || 469 dos *om. C* || 476 ser *add.* mais *B* | e nõo] que *B* || 478 a *ins.* || 485 per] por *BC* | quem] que *C* || 489 1570 *add.* annos *C* || 491 servo *add.* de todos *B*

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[46] Here Mascarenhas is personally present.

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## 180

## FR. VICENTE TONDA EX-SJ TO FR. FRANCISCO DE BORJA, GENERAL, ROME

VALENCIA, JULY 16, 1570

I TEXT: *ARSI, Hisp. 114* ff. 295*r*-296*v*, formerly 304. F. 296*r* is blank; f. 296*v* contains the address, where Tonda added « m.p. », that is, manu propria. Holograph in Spanish.

II NOTE: Fr. Vicente Tonda, who once as a chaplain in the fleet of Gonçalo Pereira sailed to Maluku (« pera ir e vir na armada », D 150, 4), was dismissed from the Society by the provincial of India, and, in 1570, arrived in his native town Játiva near Valencia in Spain. It is from Valencia that he wrote two letters, one to Fr. General, the other to Fr. Provincial of Barcelona, with a view to be readmitted. As the first contains interesting news about Bacan and Ambon, we publish it here.

### *Text*

1. *He is dismissed from the Society. He worked nine years in India for the benefit of the people.* — 2. *In Maluku he converted the queen of Bacan, and on Ambon he not only acted as a priest but also as a captain, conquering the whole of the island. Luís de Góis and Marcos Prancudo may give more information on him.* — 3. *He requests to be re-admitted.*

Ihs.

Muy Reverendísimo Padre

1. Fueron tan grandes mis pecados que bastaron a darme en rostro, y de tal manera que, deseando siempre acabar en la Compañía donde fue mi primera vocación, hállome al presente fuera dell[a] [1]. La causa no escrivo, porque entiendo que ya V. P. la sabe. Pídole [2], por amor de Dios nuestro Señor y por la salvación desta alma, y por los muchos

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[1] He had been dismissed by the provincial of India, Fr. António de Quadros, presumably in 1568 or 1569. In his letter to Fr. Provincial of Barcelona, Tonda writes that a Spanish Jesuit he met in Valencia « tiene para si que el Provincial de las Indias no me podía despedir » (*ARSI, Hisp. 114* f. 297*r*).

[2] This *pídole* lacks a grammatical complement; it is repeated in no. 3. The whole sentence shows poor style.

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trabajos que en nueve anños en la India passé [3], como aquel que siempre anduve exercitando mi talento, como nuestro Señor me ajudó (y cierto que, aunque a mi está mal dezirlo), con mucha edificación de llos próximos, qual creciera siempre en su servicio, si el enemigo no procurara de anublar mi crédito y ser, que para tal exerci[ci]o, como era convertir almas, Dios nuestro Señor por su liberalidad me havía concedido.

2. Y, principalmente, en la christiandad que hize en Maluco [4], quando convertí la reyna de Bachán con una su cuñada y otros moros que allí quedavan [5]. Y en las cosas de Amboino quisiera que V.P. se enformara de otrin [6], porque no solamente hize el officio de sacerdote, pero [295*v*] de capitán, cobrando con mi industria toda la isla que era de los enemigos de nuestra santa fe occupada [7], y cobrando las ánimas pervertidas. Y esto con tanto trabajo, que de dos rectores que havía de nuestra Compañía, llamados el uno Luys de Gois y el otro Marcos Prancudo, quisiera yo ser V.P. informado. Porque tengo por averiguado que viendo lo que nuestro Señor obró por este su inútil siervo, con más facilidad se compadesciera de mi.

3. Por donde le pido otra vez por Christo nuestro Señor lo aga [8], porque nel tiempo que tenía salud la consumí en la Compañía [9] y al presente, que ya me va faltando, veome fuerra della. Y quando no, aunque a mí me paresce que estoy en buena consciencia, porque fuy despedido, todavía V.P. favoresca mis deseos o me dé licencia para que aga de mí lo que quisiere, que le prometo que, si escoyjo vida, que no será en la más larga religión, porque esto me da Dios nuestro Señor

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16 cuñada] cuyañada *ms.* || 31 escoyjo *corr. fr.* excoyjo

---

[3] He sailed to India in 1562 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 81).

[4] Nowhere else is any missionary activity of Tonda in Maluku mentioned. It is quite embarrassing that the other Jesuits reported not a word in their letters on his presence and work.

[5] Among those baptized in Bacan in 1557 no queen is recorded in D 82, 3. Consult, however, note 10 there.

[6] Read *otro*. *Otrin* is a contamination with the Portuguese *outrem*.

[7] This seems pure bluff. Neither the *Relação Vasconcelos*, nor the information of LEMOS, nor the Jesuit letters know anything about a captain Tonda and his reconquest of the entire Ambon Island.

[8] *Lo aga*, that is, admit me again into the Society.

[9] But already in 1566 he wrote from Malacca : « En este viagge tan complido, largo y trabajoso, lo que alguna pena me da, no es tener aquella salud y fuerças corporales que yo quería » (DI VII 18).

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a sentir. No quiero más enhadar a V.P., la qual Dios nuestro Señor en vida y santidad acresciente como yo y todos le deseamos.

De Valencia, a 16 de Julio 1570.

Siervo inútil de V.P.,

Padre Vicente de Tonda.

[*Adress*: 296*v*] Ihs. Al muy R.$^{mo}$ Padre, el Padre Francisco de Borja, general dell' Compañía de Jesús, en Roma.

## 181

## SCHOLASTIC DUARTE LEITÃO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR JOÃO BRAVO, TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

GOA, NOVEMBER 16, 1570

I TEXT: DI VIII 309-342 [321]. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532*, ff. 79*v*-90*v*. Copy in Portuguese.
II NOTE: On Duarte Leitão, see DI VII 81 no. 71.

*Text*

*In the past year two Fathers sailed to Maluku, one from Goa, the other from Cochin.*

[. . .]

Alguns por ordem da obediencia forão este anno deste collegio pera diversas partes e doutras tornarão pera elle, scilicet, hum Irmão pera o collegio de Cochim; dous Padres pera Maluco, hum partio daqui [1], outro se tomou de Cochim [2], os quaes posto que pera tam copiosa messe, como hé [a] de Maluco, sejão quasi nada, todavia respeitando ha falta de obreiros que há, se fez mais do que se podia.

[. . .]

Deste collegio de Goa, oje dezaseis de Novembro de 1570.

Por commissão do P.$^{e}$ Reitor.

Servo em o Senhor,

Duarte Leitão.

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39 Borja *del.* preporal [*sic*] | general *interl.*

---

[1] Fr. Paulo Gomes. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 35.

[2] Fr. Bartolomeu Rodrigues. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 36.

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## 182

# FR. NUNO TOSCANO SJ TO THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL

MALACCA, DECEMBER 3, 1570

I TEXT: DI VIII 342-347 [346]. Taken from Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 91*r*-92*r*. Copy in Portuguese. (For difference of texts, see DI VIII 342 I; for the conclusion see ib. 347: apparatus to lines 107-111).

II NOTE: On Nuno Toscano, see DI VII 83 no. 80.

## *Text*

1. *Murder of the king of Ternate; awkward situation of the Portuguese in the fortress there.* — 2. *Three Jesuits in that invested fortress; two others, also besieged, in Moro.*

[...]

1. Socedeo este ano de 70, pola Paschoa pouco mais ou menos [1], matar hum soldado nosso, sobre palavras, el-rey de Maluco, mouro muito adverso aa christandade, polo qual ficou a terra de guerra com muito poucos portugueses e menos mantimentos; recolhidos na fortaleza, estam em muito aperto, segundo a nova que agora veo [2], nam sei se hé certa, ainda que de quá se proveo com o socorro com mais diligencia que foi possivel.

2. E estam nesta fortaleza o P.e André de Cabreira e o P.e Diogo de Magalhães e o Irmão Vicente Dias. Em o Moro estam trinta ou quorenta portugeses [3] tambem cercados; com estes estaa o P.e Nicolau Nunes e o Irmão Manoel Gomez [4]. Isto digo a V.R. pera que lhe lembre de encommendar a Deos estas necessida[de]s que são muyto grandes.

[...]

Oje a 3 de Dezembro de 1570.

Servo de todos em o Senhor,

Nuno Toscano.

---

[1] Hairun was murdered on February 28. Easter was on March 26.

[2] DD 176-179.

[3] Cf. D 177, 5.

[4] Their companion had been Fr. Magalhães, but because of his foot trouble he had sailed to Ternate.

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## 183

# ARRANGEMENTS OF KING D. SEBASTIÃO ON BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS OF INDIA AND OF THE JESUITS WORKING AMONG THEM

PORTUGAL, JANUARY-MARCH 1571

TEXT: DI VIII 402-411 [407]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 22 I* ff. 29*r*-30*v*. Original, in Portuguese.

### *Text*

*The Maluku Jesuits may send for sale four bahars of cloves to India, free of duty, every year.*

LISTA DAS COUSAS QUE ESTE ANNO DE 1571 CONCEDEO EL-REY DE PORTUGAL EM FAVOR DOS PADRES DA COMPANHIA DE JESUS QUE ANDAM NA INDIA E EM FAVOR DA CHRISTANDADE DE QUE SE FIZERÃO PROVISÕIS E CARTAS DE S.A.

[...]

Concede S.A. que os nossos que andão em Maluco possam cada anno comprar e mandar à India 4 bares de cravo, que são deseseis quintais, sem delles paguarem terço nem frete [1].

[...]

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[1] An additional regulation for the livelihood of the Jesuits in Maluku. From DD 187 and 202, 2 it appears that, henceforth, 600 pardaus will be paid for them in cash, and 400 more will be acquired by selling four *bahars* of clove exported free of duty from Ternate. Consult also D 87.

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## 184

# FR. JERÓNIMO DE OLMEDO SJ TO THE JESUITS OF THE COLLEGE IN GOA

AMBON, MAY 12, 1571

## General Letter

I AUTHORS: The *Relação Vasconcelos*, the report of LEMOS, and the works of COUTO, BARTOLI, and SOUZA report partly some of the same events as mentioned in this letter, but from an internal examination it is evident that they do not depend on it; they had their own experience or other sources at hand.

II TEXTS: No original seems to have been preserved.

A. Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* ff. 122*r*-124*v*. Copy in Portuguese. Heading « Copia de huma do Padre Jeronimo d'Olmedo de Amboino de 12 de Maio de 1571 ». After the signature (f. 124*v*) a note is added « Copia da carta geral ».

B. Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Armário Jesuítico 28* ff. 15*r*-16*v*. Copy in Portuguese titled « De huma do Padre Jeronimo d'Olmedo em Maluco pera os Padres e Irmãos do collegio de Goa, de Amboyno de 1571 [*corr. fr.* 1578] ». It contains only the text of nos. 5-10, 15, 22, and 28. Nearly always transposing words and parts of sentences, now adding new ideas, now omitting something, it seems to have been copied from another *via*.

III OUR EDITION: We print text A as being the more complete one. In the apparatus we give those variants of text B which really modify the meaning or add to it; not, however, the many transpositions that in no way interfere with the signification.

## *Text*

1. *Ternatan attack on Ambon fortress.* — 2. *Naval battle half a league from this fortress. Portuguese victory.* — 3. *Merits of a Father and of the chief commander.* — 4. *After departure of chief commander Ambon attacked, first by fleet of Rubohongi; escape of Fr. Prancudo.* — 5. *Second action was at Hatuhaha [Haruku]; its apostasy; plan of killing Fr. Mascarenhas.* — 6. *The Father escaped, helped by faithful boy.* — 7. *He started marching to Oma and lost his boys. Faithfulness of one of them.* — 8. *Hatuhaha punished by God.* — 9. *Hardships and dangers of Fr. Mascarenhas during his march.* — 10. *After eight days he was met and carried to security by the Christians of Oma.* — 11. *The Christian village of Ulat attacked and invested.* — 12. *Ulat relieved by small Portuguese fleet.* — 13. *Christian villages [of Saparua] allied themselves in mutual self-defence.* — 14. *Fervor of Christians in the towns where the Fathers have their residence.* — 15. *Heroism of a fifteen-year-old boy.* — 16. *The ship from Malacca did not arrive. Unpleasant consequences for the Portuguese soldiers.* — 17. *Another naval battle won by the chief commander on his journey to Ternate.* — 18. *Many Por-*

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*tuguese in Ternate died from epidemic fever ; also the enemy, even the king, suffered from it.* — 19. *Distress of the besieged in the fortress of Ternate ; dearth of food.* — 20. *Supplies afforded three times by the king of Bacan.* — 21. *Surrender of the Portuguese in Jailolo.* — 22. *Visit of a king of Selebes ; assistance given by his men ; escape and marvellous salvation of this king ; his gratitude.* — 23. *Constant faithfulness of Moro Christians. Instance of it.* — 24. *An heroic Christian defended his life and died at the foot of the cross.* — 25. *A Jesuit Brother was enthusiastically received in Morotai.* — 26. *Successes of the Portuguese in Morotia ; destruction of Samafo.* — 27. *Great faith of Tolo chief miraculously rewarded.* — 28. *Deeply Christian feelings of Dom Henrique, relative of the king of Tidore.*

1. O anno passado se escreveo [1] o trabalho e desenquietação em que estas partes ficavão por causa da morte d'el-rei de Tarnate, e como huma armada sua (estando o capitão absente da fortaleza com a mor parte da gente [2]) deu sobre nós subitamente e nos levou 2 fustas [3], que eram muita parte de nossa força, muito bem artelhadas e com algumas munições que dentro tinhão, as quais estavão surtas perto da fortaleza e sem guarda alguma. E depois de partidos os navios e galiões pera a India, acodio o capitão-mor e fez prestes 6 caracoras que aqui tinha [4].

2. En andando os ternates poderosos no mar por muitos dias à nossa vista com 17 caracoras grandes e bem artelhadas, saio-lhe o capitão-mor com as suas 6 muito desiguaes das dos imigos, e pouco mais de mea legoa desta fortaleza pelejarão hum bom espaço sem se ver melhoria de nenhuma das partes, mas por deradeiro vendo o Senhor que, se aqui desbaratavão o capitão-mor, não somente nos perdiamos todos com esta fortaleza e christandade mas ainda a de Maluco sem ficar nada, foi servido de lhes abaixar a soberba com lhes matarem os nossos o seu capitão-mor [5] com mais 400 pouco mais ou menos, no qual numero entrarão os principaes de sua armada, e lhes tomarão dous

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4 da *rep.* | gente *del.* derão | nós *del.* de || 10 com *add.* de *ms.*

---

[1] In the letters of the preceding years, DD 176-179, there is no reference to the two craft seized from the Portuguese.

[2] Gonçalo Pereira had sailed to the Bay of Ambon in order to dispatch the ships to India, so obviously in May 1570.

[3] For a more extensive account of this raid, see *Relação Vasconcelos* 212 ; it is mentioned also in LEMOS 460.

[4] That is, while going himself by land, Pereira sent his six *coracoras* to sail around W Hitu to the fortress (*Relação Vasconcelos* 214).

[5] His name was Cavasinco ; he was the son of the Raboanje of no. 4 (*Relação Vasconcelos* 210). VALENTYN, following RIJALI's *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, recounts this story in II b 9 (Kimelaha Kakasingkoe).

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calacuzes [6] mui fermosos. O maior delles passava de cento e dez remeiros, afora os do baileo [7] e 7 ou 8 berços, e outra embarcação sua ficou casi sem gente; mas ficou toda a nossa ou muita parte della tam ferida que das mãos lhe escapou [8].

3. Hum Padre nosso [9] se achou neste successo e animou muito os soldados falando-lhe de Deos e alevantando huma cruz que levava, e depois da vitoria se ocupou em confessar os feridos dos quaes falecerão tres. Bem creo que ajuda Nosso Senhor muito ao capitão-mor em todas suas cousas por sua muita virtude e zelo da christandade, polla qual tem padecido muitos trabalhos con grande patiencia.

4. Depois delle ser partido pera Ternate [10] foi esta christandade de Amboino mui perseguida com outra armada maior que a passada, cujo capitão era hum ternate chamado Raboanje, pai do que matarão [11], e veio em vingança da morte do filho. O primeiro salto que fez foi en dous lugares nossos de christãos vizinhos e, estando descuidados, os queimarão e as cruzes que nelles avia, e lhes levarão quanto tinhão com obra de cento e sinquoenta cativos, a maior parte molheres e meninos. Matarão-lhe muita gente en que entrou hum portuges que ahi estava. Ao Padre Marcos Prancudo, que poucos dias avia fora residir ao mesmo lugar por ordem da obediencia, quis N. Senhor guardar em não ser visto delles, posto que com muita diligentia revvolvessem o mato onde andavão com muita gente matando e cativando os que achavão.

5. A 2ª presa que despois disto fizerão foi no lugar de Atuaa [12],

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31 Raboanje *corr. fr.* Raboange || 33 christãos *del.* que esta || 37 Prancudo] Tracudo *ms.* || 42 A 2ª . . . de] Huma pressa fizerão os ternates capitães imigos da lei de Deos em hum lugar chamado *B*

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[6] Read *calaluzes*. The *calalus*, Malay *kelulus*, was a light and rapid craft. Cf. ENI V 114.

[7] Here, the elevated cabin for soldiers on board ship. « Os do baileu » or « homens do baileu » are the armed soldiers in opposition to the rowers. (See *Treatise* 156-163).

[8] For another account of this sea battle, see LEMOS 461. It took place near Mamala (VALENTYN II b 9).

[9] Perhaps Fr. Prancudo who served as chaplain in the fleet (D 164, 11), or Fr. Olmedo who did so later on (*Relação Vasconcelos* 230, where he is called Lomedo).

[10] Gonçalo Pereira sailed to Ternate from Ambon in August 1570 (LEMOS 462).

[11] Raboanje, also Rebohange, Rebohonge, occurs continuously in the *Relação Vasconcelos* from chap. 15 to 97, always as waging war on the Portuguese (ibid. 223); CLERCQ (153) calls him Roebohongi.

[12] Hatuhaha in Haruku, now the name of the N part of the island, comprising

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que era grande e de muita gente de christãos, mas enganados pollo demonio se consertarão com os mouros de se entregarem com matarem primeiro o Padre Pero Mascarenhas que ahi residia, do qual tinhão recibido todos obras não menos que de pai : porque alem de ter trabalhado com elles muito em os ensinar e doutrinar, acabou com o capitão-mor que lhes perdoasse e os não destruisse de todo, como tinha detriminado por outra tal como esta, que já dantes tinhão feito na outra guerra passada. Com este luguar consintirão outros 3 da mesma ilha e que estão perto, os quais todos juntos se lançarão com os mouros em dia de N. Senhora da Conceição [13].

6. E esta grande malicia determinarão de effeitoar quando estivesse à missa, mas por pormissão divina foi ordenado que se anticipassem, e no mesmo dia polla menhãa, estando o Padre em casa e yá com algum arreceo do que sentia na gente, sairão estes enemigos da ley de Deos e, caminhando pera casa do Padre, acharão huum portugez que ahy estava rezando por humas ho-[122*v*]ras, o qual logo matarão e após elle dous mosos nossos. O Padre quando isto vio, se saio por huum grande rochedo abaixo que junto da casa estava, acompanhado de dous mosos, dos quais huum que era natural deste lugar, filho de huum principal delle, como quer que tinha recebido de Deos mais graça no sancto baptismo que seus paes e parentes, assi mostrou effeito de verdadeiro christão, porque tanto que vio a cousa como hia, se pôs a chorar diante do Padre que o avião de matar, e lhe aconselhou que se fosse por aquella parte, que elle o poria en salvo. Os imigos não ousarão a se lançar polla rocha, mas o Padre chegou abayxo com algumas feridas das pedras nos pés e nas mãos, e não padecer mais dano se vio bem que Deos o quis guardar.

7. Começou logo a caminhar polos matos pera outro lugar nosso de christãos que se chama Homa [14], que deste distava tres legoas, os moradores do qual são muy constantes na fee, e na outra gerra tiverão

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43 enganados pollo demonio] como quer que o não fossem ex animo mas fingidamente, posto que todos tivessem recebido o santo bautismo *B* || 49 feito *add.* em se fazerem mouros *B* || 53 estivessem *B* || 56 estes *rep.* || 59 isto vio *add.* de sua casa *B* || 60 que . . . de] a par do qual tinha a casa, e yuntamente com elle *B* || 61 mosos *add.* nossos *B* || 63 assi] pola melhor disposição com que o recebeo *B*

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four Muslim villages ; formerly identical with one of them, Rohomoni, on the W coast (VALENTYN II a 91 and 93). It is the Athua-grande of some Portuguese sources, in opposition to the Athua-pequeno which is Tuhaha in Saparua. Cf. *Relação Vasconcelos* 246, where the following story is summarily recounted.

[13] On December 8, [1570].

[14] Oma, on the S coast of Haruku.

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muitas perseguições por se não quererem fazer mouros, porem com não serem mais que 200 de peleija, ainda que os milhores destas partes, peleijarão elles sós contra todo este Amboino e ternates. Indo pois o Padre pello mato por erro se apartou dos mosos, os quais no mesmo dia à noite chegarão ao lugar; aonde logo os paes e parentes deste que asima dise, lhe mandarão rogar que se tornasse pera elles e deixasse o Padre, o que elle não quis fazer e escolheu antes perdê-los a elles que a sseu Criador. Agora ho temos em casa e, ainda que do seu lugar elle soo nos fiqou, todavia com sua boa constantia nos alevia muito a tristeza que com a perda de todos os outros recebemos.

8. E pera que tamanha ingratidão como estes lugares tiverão não ficasse sem castigo, permitio Deos pera exemplo dos outros que, depois que se passarão aos mouros, lhe morresem quasi todos os meninos e meninas da doutrina que dizem seriam seiscentos, que certo não foy pequena sorte porque muitos delles se avião de salvar, e dos grandes tambem soubemos ser já muyta gente morta.

9. Mas tornando ao Padre, forão muitos os trabalhos de fome e sede que padeseo emquanto andou embrenhado pollo mato, porque por espaço de 8 dias se sostentou com dous caracoes crus que achou, os quais lhe não souberão mal, e em dous ou tres dias não achou agoa e noutros alguma pouca. E a causa era porque andava por sima dos montes e não ousava deser abayxo polla grande vigia que sobre elle se tinha. Mas neste tempo veo huma grande chuva de noyte que satisfez bem a sua necessidade. Por todos estes oito dias andarão de dia e de noyte passante de dous mil homens sempre em sua busqua sem delles poder ser visto, ainda que muitas vezes se vio tam perto que lhe parecia que o vião e ouvia muito bem o que elles dizião; e indo pera lhes fallar quis Deos que o não fizesse. No meio destes trabalhos lhe deu o Senhor huma muy grande resignação, conformando-sse com sua sancta vontade pera tudo o que delle ordenasse.

10. A cabo deste tempo cansou esta gente de o busquar e sairão os christãos do lugar de Homa que já disse, até as molheres, e andavão bradando pello mato ao Padre que saisse, dizendo quem eram, que não ouvesse medo. Mas não no achando desta vez, sairão ao outro dia ver se podião cortar algumas cabeças de mouros. A caso forão dar com elle, que estava já muyto fraco, e tanto que o virão lhe fizerão muita festa

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75 e *add.* os *B* || 76 mosos *add.* cuidando que hia bem *B* || 77 deste] destes *ms.*, deste moço *B* || 78 dise *add.* que seria de dezoito annos *B* || 80 Agora *del.* o || 81 todavia] mais nos alegra elle soo *B* | nos[a] . . . com] do que nos entristeceo *B* || 82 recebemos] ainda que muito sentimos sua perdição *B* || 85 que *add.* deixarão seus lugares e *B* || 102 ordenasse *add.* no que se vee bem claro quanto sua divina [*w. corr.*] bondade ayuda aos que nelle confião e por seu amor padecem *B*

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e, tomando-o em huum pano como em palanquin, o levarão a seu lugar onde, em alguns dias que ahi esteve, com o bom tratamento e amor desta gente convaleceo alguum tanto. Depois elles mesmos o trouxerão à fortaleza, com cuja vinda nós e os de fora assi nos alegramos como se Deos o resucistara da outra vida, porque na verdade se não tinha em menos e já todos tinhamos ditas as missas por elle.

11. A outra ilha perto desta, que se chama Sore-zore [15], foi esta armada do demonio pera destruir aquella christandade, na qual huum lugar de christãos, taes como os de Atuaa, se lançou com os mouros e foram logo com elles pôr cerquo a outro lugar da mesma ilha, obra de huma legoa, chamado Ulate (christãos antigos que sempre derão muy boas mostras de constancia na fee, pola qual causa na guerra passada tiverão [123*r*] muitos trabalhos e perseguições). E conquanto o poder dos enemigos era grande que, segundo me parece, passarião de trinta caracoras e o tiverão de cerco 24 ou 25 dias, que pera esta gente hé mais que para nós 2 annos, porque não tem os mantimentos nem agoa no lugar e custumão i-los buscar ao mato cada dia, tiverão-se todavia todo este tempo e sairão algumas vezes a p[e]lejar fazendo sempre dano aos mouros.

12. Desta fortaleza os mandou socorrer o capitão Dom Duarte de Meneses, que Deos tem em sua gloria [16], com a maior armada que pode, posto que a fortaleza ficasse com muito pouca gente. Tanto que os cercados virão nossa armada lhe deu o Senhor tanto esforço que saindo alguns fora derão nos mouros e lhes cortarão algumas cabeças, os quaes desemparando suas estancias que em terra tinhão se recolherão com toda a pressa em sua armada. Os portuguezes animados grandemente para pelejar e morrer por amor de Deos, depois de hum Padre nosso que com elles ia lhes falar de Deos, e tomando huma cruz nas mãos, com muita reverencia e devação a vinhão beijar todos os soldados, e os que não podião das outras embarcações lhe fazião a mesma reverencia. Muitos se confessarão a noite dantes e outros o tinhão feito na fortaleza. E com ser nossa armada tão desigual à dos imigos, porque não erão mais que sete velas, elles a não ousarão de cometer,

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113 porque . . . menos *om. B*

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[15] Saparua.

[16] *Relação Vasconcelos* 224-225. When departing from Ambon, Gonçalo Pereira appointed D. Duarte de Meneses captain of the fortress. Meneses, however, died soon after.

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mas os christãos nos vierão receber com muita alegria trazendo as cabeças que aquele dia cortarão [17] com que muito se onrrão.

13. Desta ida se servio Nosso Senhor muito polo grande animo com que os christãos ficarão pera se defenderem se fosse necessario, e assi todos os mais lugares desta ilha tiverão mão. E assi por serem muitos deles pequenos se unirão huns com outros pera milhor se ajudarem, e da mesma maneira em outras duas ilhas de christãos o tem feito todos muito bem, e se defenderão sempre fazendo dano aos mouros que os yão cometer. E quem agora tam bem o faz, muito melhor se cree que o fará quando nos virem mais poder do que temos ao presente, que hé bem pouco pera o que requere todo este arcipelago, que se pode dizer outro novo mundo e do qual depende aceytar a ley de Deos. Rogemos, charissimos Padres e Irmãos, ao Senhor que tenha por bem de nos mandar hum bom socorro, porque nele está fazerem-se todos christãos, e então averá lugar pera se effeituarem os sanctos desejos que lhes Deos da de trabalharem nesta vinha por seu amor, e por mais que sejão os obreiros, muita mais mese há pera todos se ocuparem.

14. Em algumas partes onde nossos Padres e Irmãos mais vezes rezidem sabem os meninos mediocremente a doctrina, e assi em seus trabalhos como quando andão polos matos a vão cantando com tanto gosto que hé muito pera louvar ao Senhor. Tem todos assy grandes como pequenos a cruz, agoa benta e ygreja, a qual aos sabados emrramão muito bem e lhe trazem azeite, e à cruz candeas em muita abundancia.

15. Com o P.e Pero Mascarenhas estava hum menino de quinze annos ou pouco mais que há muito pouco que se fez christão naquele lugar que como acima disse se levantou [18]. Este sendo aly mesmo cativo polos mouros e posto entre huma prisão qũe entre elles se custuma, chamada lara [19], que hé hum pao grosso comprido com huma forquilha no cabo, onde emcaxão o pescoço e depois o fechão por detrás e dá muito trabalho: [123*v*] estando pois este menino desta maneira, mandou dizer a seu pay que lhe rogava muito, se lhe queria fazer bem e tirá-lo do cativeiro, não fizesse ceremonias aos pagodes por elle como os igno-

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166 Com ... estava] Não deixarei de contar pera gloria do Senhor o que aconteceo a *B* | menino *del.* que || 167 christão *add.* o qual estava com o Padre Pero Mascarenhas *B* || 169 custuma] custama *ms.* || 170 lara] laya *B*

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[17] « A iguaria que lhe troxerão foi alguns cestos cheios de cabeças » (ibid.).

[18] Hatuhaha in Haruku.

[19] *Lara* is a wooden device used as a kind of shackle for offenders. The word does not seem to belong to the common Malay; it may be Maluku Malay.

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rantes costumão, antes se fosse rezar à igreja e levasse muitas vezes candeas à cruz, que desta maneira Deos o tiraria. Outras cousas avia semelhantes mas por brevidade as deixo.

16. Este anno por nossos peccados não chegou a esta terra hum junco que de Malaca pera esta fortaleza vinha com provimento e alguma gente [20], e por isso ficamos sem a consolação que commummente recebemos com as cartas de nossa Companhia e sem o provimento que nelle vinha assi pera nós como pera os soldados, o que tudo fez muita falta. Porque já nós passaremos como pudermos, mas elles há muito tempo que padecem as maiores e mais compridas necessidades que porventura tegora se passarão de fomes, vigias, despidos e descalços; e se adoecem, muitas vezes perecem à mingoa porque, posto que de nós recebão toda a charidade possivel, muitas vezes o não temos; e estes trabalhos sofrem com muita paciencia e alegria, que hé muito pera louvar ao Senhor.

17. O capitão-mor partio daqui pera Ternate [21]. Levou huma galeota e huma fusta e doze caracoras com obra de cem portuguezes, e indo já perto [22] lhe sayo o que agora hé rey de Ternate [23] e o rey de Tidore [24] com todo seu poder, que serião sesenta caracoras. Ouve no mar outra peleja grande que durou muitas horas. Foi o Senhor servido de nos ajudar como custuma, porque ficarão mortos dos imigos cento e oitenta e outros tantos feridos, e dos nossos somente morrerão sinco.

176 tiraria *add.* donde estava *B* | Outras . . . deixo *om. B*

[20] This junk for Ambon did not appear, whereas a ship and two smaller craft did indeed arrive in Ternate from India in November 1570 (LEMOS 463).

[21] In August 1570. Consult LEMOS 462, where this other sea battle is related more extensively with some different particulars. See *Relação Vasconcelos* 234-236; COUTO IX 8 (who roughly copies the former).

[22] Near the Goraici islands, W of Kayoa (ibid.).

[23] The new king of Ternate was Babu (Baab Ullah), son of Hairun. CLERCQ (153) calls him Baboelah Datoe Sah. He reigned 1570-1584. See *Relação Vasconcelos* 210. He reproached his father for remaining friendly with the Portuguese as long as this, and, eager to take over, he was glad that he had been killed (*Relação Vasconcelos* 186; *Relación Dueñas* in COLIN-PASTELLS III 34; ARGENSOLA 73-74).

[24] In LEMOS 462, he is called Cachil Bungua, who is perhaps the same as Gapi Baguna. Irrespective of whether or not this identification is justified, CLERCQ's indication (154) that Gapi Baguna (Magoena, *sic*) began ruling in 1586 has to be corrected by advancing this date at least four years, since, as early as March 20, 1582, he wrote a letter to the governor of the Philippines, D. Gonzalo Ronquillo, signed « Quychil Guapebaguna, rey de Maluquo, desta sua ilha de Tidore » (Seville, *AGI, Filipinas 34 ramo 3 no. 60*).

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18. Chegando a Ternate o capitão-mor lhe adoeceo muita gente de febres, e os que morrerão assy de doença como da guerra chegarão a 80 portuguezes, e da gente da terra entre mortos e fugidos passão de tres mil. Mas nos ternates a mesma peste ou maior dizem que deu e lhe morreo muita gente, e o que agora hé rey está muy propinquo, se já não for falecido. Os imigos assy ternates como tidores estão mui faltos de gente e debilitados : se o Senhor Viso-Rey [25] prover esta terra com bom socorro, concertar-se-á pera não aver os trabalhos e desemquietações que teegora teve e a christan[da]de crecerá muito.

19. Na fortaleza [26] se padecerão mui grandes trabalhos e mui compridos, porque passante de 7 meses [27] estiverão sem o capitão-mor lhes poder socorrer, por não abrir mão desta christandade de Amboyno, e chegarão a tantas necessidades de fome que huma galinha valia vinte pardaos, e hum peixe bonito qui[n]ze ou vinte, e hum ovo pera alguma necessidade duas tangas ; cains e gatos nenhuns ficarão, hum rato no bazar [28] valia duas tangas [29] e muitos andavão a lhes armar, folhas de arvores e de aboboreiras não se davão de graça.

20. E dizem que se não fora o socorro que deu el-rey de Bachão à fortaleza, que se perdera ; porque tres vezes acodio, huma com tres caracoras e outra com cinco carregadas de mantimentos, e a derradeira com obra de quinze champanas em companhia do capitão-mor. E de todas ellas se aventurou a se perder por amor de nós e da fortaleza, porque qualquer destes socorros que os mouros lhe tomarão, não lhe ficava com que se defender. Rezão parece que este rey seja [124*r*] favorecido dos viso-reys, pois sempre o fez tão bem assy agora como dantes, e com sua gente e caracoras á-de acompanhar o capitão-mor nesta guerra. E de todas estas vezes que mandou socorro à fortaleza se não es-

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210 ovo *corr. fr.* ouro ( ? ) || 218 ellas] elles *ms*.

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[25] In 1571 the viceroy, D. António de Noronha (1571-1573), succeeded D. Luís de Ataíde (1568-1571) in the same function. (N.B., D. *António* de Noronha should not be confounded with his colleague, D. *Antão* de Noronha, 1564-1568).

[26] Of Ternate.

[27] From February to August.

[28] *Bazar*, from Persian *bāzār*, in Malay *pasar*, a permanent market (YULE 75-76 ; BAUSANI, *Note* 17 no. 129).

[29] The common *tanga* of the Portuguese authors in the sixteenth century was a silver coin of 60 reis, one fifth of a pardau. Some assert that in Goa it was not a coin but only a means of counting, an imaginary money. On its widespread name and various values, see YULE 896-898 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 561.



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quecia da charidade com os pobres, porque me disse pessoa que o vira que de todas mandou à nossa casa huma boa quantidade de sagu pera se repartir com os pobres, o que em tal tempo valia muito dinheiro. Deos Nosso Senhor lhe pague estas boas obras com lhe dar sua gloria e bem-aventurança [30].

21. Gelolo, que como yá saberão o ano passado ficava de cerquo, nem estavão mais na fortaleza que doze portuguezes, depois de se terem defendido muito bem e morta alguma gente aos ternates, não puderão ser soccorridos, e por estarem yá todos doentes e sem munição, e por os mesmos gilolos serem tredos e se lançarem com os mouros, se entregou o capitão, posto que os outros não quiserão e se meterão pollo mato e os matarão a todos, tirando hum ou dous [31].

22. Hum rei christão dos Celebes, o qual tem em nossa casa hum filho chamado Dom João [32], vindo-o ver o ano passado em huma caracora sua sem saber da gerra que se levantara, lhe sairão e correrão outras caracoras dos imigos, mas vendo-sse apressado se meteo em Gilolo com obra de oytenta homens seus. Os portugezes os receberão para ajudar com sua gente, o que lhe fes mui bem em todo [o] cerco. E depois que esta fortaleza se perdeo, se meteo este rei pollos matos com os portugezes e foy cativo pollos tidores, mas quis o Senhor que este dia passado dos Reis [33] fugio de noyte em hum parao pequeno. E pollo escuro ser grande não pode acertar com a nossa fortaleza, e assi a passava yá e estava perto dos mouros. Neste tempo os portugezes que vigiavão virão ao mar huma estrella mui resplandescente e grande que cuidavão ser fogo dalgum parao nosso que não acertava com a fortaleza. Fizerão-lhe logo hum fogo da fortaleza, o qual elle vio e tornou entendendo ser alli; e desta maneira o quis Deos salvar e guiar ao porto da salvação como fes aos Magos. Espera-sse que por meio deste rei e com o fa-

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236 Celebes] Calebes *B*, *add.* que ha pouco que se fez christão com toda sua gente *B* || 237 filho *add.* mais velho *B* || 240 Os . . . para] lançarão mão delle pera os *B* || 241 lhe] elle *B* || 244 dos] dous *B* | fugio] fugirão *B* | parao] parò *B* || 246 perto *add.* das *B* | Neste tempo *om.* *B* || 249 tornou *add.* a elle *B* || 250 alli *add.* nossa fortaleza *B*

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[30] Not long after, the loyalty of the king of Bacan, under pressure from Babu, began to waver. See *Relação Vasconcelos* 236-237; LEMOS 468.

[31] Though no document evidences a Portuguese fortress and garrison in the kampong Jailolo in Halmahera, we are constrained by this passage to admit that there was some military installation in a kind of retrenchment or blockhouse, depending presumably on the fortress of Ternate.

[32] The king of Siau had sent his son with Fr. Mascarenhas to Ternate (D 162, 27).

[33] January 6, 1571.

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vor divino se fará nos Celebes muita cristandade, por este ser o principal daquellas partes. E por esta mercê grande que de Deos recebeo neste dia dos Reis quer fazer huma igreja na sua terra da mesma vocação. O capitão-mor lhe faz muitas honras e gazalhados, e assy elle como os portugezes entre sy lhe tirarão de esmola alguns quinhentos pardaos ou mais pera suas necessidades.

23. A christandade do Moro posto que foy mui perseguida está boa, louvores a Deos, e tem mostrado muita constancia. No Morotai ainda que forão alguns lugares destruidos e entreges aos inimigos, todavia os mais e mais principais tem dado mostras de bons cristãos com não somente se defenderem, mas offenderem aos inimigos. Alevantando-sse a guera, avendo de ir hum cristão principal com outros a dar em hum lugar dos contrarios, lhe fez huma pratica animando-os a peleijar polla lei de Christo e detestando a de Mafamede, dizendo que se querião alcançar vitoria que todos se reconciliassem tirando os odios e arrependendo-sse de seus peccados, porque desta maneira os ajudaria Deos e lhes daria vitoria. E assi foy porque, posto que o lugar era forte, o cometerão com muito animo ajudados de alguns portugezes que com elles hyão, e o entrarão não morrendo na briga mais que hum soo christão que sempre foy chamando pollo nome de Jesus.

24. Outro lugar entrarão os inimigos de sobresalto, onde hum christão mais esforçado se foy pera a crus determinando de morrer ao pee della, e ally pelleijando mui e[s]forçadamente e chamando pollo nome de Jesu o fizerão em pedaços; e de tal maneira peleijou que dizião os mouros que se alli ouvera sete homens como aquelle não puderão tomar o lugar.

25. Passado seis meses depois da guerra alevantada, indo o Irmão [34] com alguns portugezes da Morotia, onde então residia, visitar os lugares de Morotai, tanto que os christãos que estavão no mato por rezão da guerra o souberão, acudirão logo todos os principaes e o abraçarão com muito amor e aos portugezes, dizendo quam grande alegria recebião com sua visitação e vista por aver tanto tempo que os não virão nem sabião parte delles; e disserão ao Irmão que os meninos que ainda não erão christãos que yá vinham por chaminho dos matos pera que alli os bautizasse, que podião ser 30. [124*v*] Depois lhe fez o Irmão huma

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252 Celebes *B* || 253 E por esta] E em conhecimento desta *B* | grande *om. B*

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[34] Br. Manuel Gomes (D 182, 2). This is the last notice on mission work in the Moro area for the period of this volume.

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pratica em que os animou muito a perseverarem e morrerem polla lei de Deos.

26. Aos christãos da Morotia, onde os portugezes residem [35], tem o Senhor dado muitas vitorias contra os mouros porque, alem de destruirem o lugar de Çamafo que era mui grande [36], do qual esta cristandade tinha recibido muito dano, lhe destruirão outros pequenos e tomarão doze caracoras aos ternates com cinquo berços matando-lhe alguma gente, o que foy mui grande perda pera elles e isto tudo fizerão com o favor dos portugezes.

27. No lugar do Tolo ouve mui grande ceca, e sendo yá chegado o tempo de samearem, se foy o regedor, que hé hum homem velho e antigo cristão, e começou de bater muito nos peitos pedindo a Deos que lhes desse agoa, e depois levando huma porsolana d'aseite. Depois mandou deitar pregão por todo o lugar que se querião que Deos lhe desse chuva que todos fossem levar azeite à igreja, o que fizerão. E vendo o Senhor a sua muita fee foy servido de lhes dar o que pedião. Este mesmo regedor, que se chama Tristão de Taide [37], depois da guerra alevantada chamou todos os do lugar e lhes fes huma pratica lembrando-lhes por quem avião de peleijar, que era polla lei de Deos, que todos estivessem mui firmes, porque bem vião que Deos ajudava sempre aos christãos, que os portugezes ainda que tivessem trabalhos, por deradeiro sempre ficavão em pee e com a milhor. Juntamente lhes lembrava a lealdade que devião ter a El-Rei de Portugal, ao que todos responderão que prestes estavão para porem suas vidas por sua lei e por seu rei, e assi são estes mui fieis em tudo [38].

28. Outro christão honrado que reside na fortaleza, chamado Dom Anrique [39], primo com-irmão d'el-rei de Tidore, que foy seu capitão-

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291 Camafo *ms.* || 296 ouve mui *d. r.*

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[35] In Tolo.

[36] Consult D 178, 10.

[37] Obviously named after Tristão de Ataíde, Captain of Maluku, 1533-1536, who favoured the first conversions in Moro (CASTANHEDA VIII 91 ; SÁ I 316-318).

[38] According to LEMOS (464), Gonçalo Pereira sailed to Moro from Ternate on December 28, 1570. Evidently Olmedo, writing in Ambon, had not yet received any notice of this expedition.

[39] Earlier he was named Labusasa (LEMOS 472 ; COUTO VII 4 7), and he had waged many wars against the Portuguese. In 1574 he sailed to Malacca where he became *bandara* (*bendara, bandahara,* « a title of one of the higher ministers of state », YULE 84), which in Malacca meant the second man after the captain (D 213, 44 ; *Relação Vasconcelos* 272).

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-mor do mar, homem mui esforçado e prudente e sobretudo mui bom christão, nesta guerra o tem feito muito bem e com muita lealdade. O qual tendo 4 filhos meninos, foy Deos servido de lhe levar pera sy os tres e, levando elle mesmo o deradeiro a enterrar, o consolavão alguns portugezes dizendo-lhe que se alegrasse que Deos lhos levava pera sua gloria ; ao que elle respondeo como hum Job : que o Senhor lhos dera e elle lhos levava, que fosse seu santo nome bendito [40], que aparelhado estava pera o outro que ficava lho entregar alegremente se assi fosse sua santa vontade. En Ternate residirão no tempo da guerra. Isto se oferece de que dar conta a V.R.

De Amboino, a 12 de Maio de 1571 annos.

Servo de todos em o Senhor,

Hieronymo d'Olmedo.

## 185

## CATALOGUE OF THE JESUIT PROVINCE OF INDIA

GOA, NOVEMBER 16, 1571

I TEXT : DI VIII 413-418 [418]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 61*r*-64*v*. Original in Portuguese.

II NOTE : The Catalogue first gives the « Lista dos Padres e Irmãos do collegio de Goa » ; after that a series of the rolls of Jesuits in other places, generally introduced by « Os que estão no collegio de . . . », or « em . . . ». The words « Os que estão » in the title of our fragment are taken from the list of the Jesuits in Japan immediately preceding this one. The catalogue was occasioned by a request of Fr. General for complete lists of all members ; see DI VIII 306 no. 83.

### *Text*

*The names of twelve Fathers and two Brothers stationed in Maluku.*

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315 com . . . lealdade] se tem mostrado muy leal em muitas cousas *B* || 319 Job] Yob *B* || 322-326 En Ternate . . . Olmedo *om. B*

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[40] Job 1 21 : Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, . . . sit nomen Domini benedictum.

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## Rol de todos os Padres e Irmãos desta Provincia da India

[...]

[Os que estão] em Maluquo [1]

O. Pe Luis de Guoes, superior [2]
O P.e Marcos Prancudo [3]
O P.e Pero Mascarenhas
O P.e Dioguo de Magalhães
O P.e Fernão Alvarez
O P.e André de Cabreira [4]
O P.e Paulo Guomez
O P.e Nicolao Nunez
O P.e Jeronimo d'Ulmedo
O P.e Bertolameu Rodriguez
O P.e Dioguo Mascarenhas [5]
O P.e Jeronimo Rodriguez [6]
O Ir. Antonio Gonçalvez
O Ir. Manoel Guomez [7]
[...]

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[1] This is the first catalogue of Maluku after the one of 1565 (D 142). It enumerates fourteen names just as that one did, but also this time the actual number of men presently in Maluku was less, that is, only ten. The sequence of names seems to be rather arbitrary.

[2] Góis had sailed to Malacca in May 1571. He died there before being able to return, in August, to Ternate (D 186, 2).

[3] Prancudo had left Maluku in May 1571 for Malacca and India (D 194), but not definitively, only to request help ; so he remained applied to the Maluku mission.

[4] Cabrera had already died in Ternate, probably in May 1571 (D 186, 2 ; not yet mentioned in D 184, 18).

[5] For Diogo Mascarenhas, see *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 38. He is missing in Wessels, *Catalogus*.

[6] For Jerónimo Rodrigues, see *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 37.

[7] Manuel Gomes was already on his way back from Maluku, sailing together with Prancudo and Góis ; in November 1572 he is to be found in the college in Goa (DI VIII 590). — Br. Vicente Dias, who was still mentioned as stationed in Ternate in 1570 (D 178, 2), is lacking ; which is the more curious, as in the catalogues of 1576 (DD 215 and 218) he reappears.

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## 186

# FR. CHRISTOVÃO DA COSTA SJ TO FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 11, 1571

TEXT: DI VIII 456-462 [460-462]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 91*r-v* and 94*r-v*. Original in Portuguese.

### *Text*

1. *News from Ternate and Ambon. Murder of the king. War broke out ; Portuguese in fortress of Ternate besieged.* — 2. *Death of Fr. Góis in Malacca and Fr. Cabrera in Ternate.* — 3. *In Malacca the new governor with his fleet is expected ; Malacca has been constituted a State of its own, separated from that of India. Great expectations for commerce and for the spreading of the faith.* — 4. *Fr. Visitor, who is expected to arrive in May* 1572, *is likely to erect a new Jesuit Province of Malacca, distinct from India. Advantageous prospects of such a separation and of a great college to be created in Malacca for both Japan and Maluku.*

[. . .]

1. Tambem tivemos novas de Maluquo, de nossos Padres de Maluquo e Amboino, onde, ainda que não se fez christaandade este anno, tiverão os Padres muita materia de merecer polos muitos trabalhos que lá passarão. Porque a vinte de Fevereiro [1], na era de 70, asertou hum soldado portuguez [2] de matar a ell-rey de Maluquo, mouro poderoso, e sem entrevirem nisso os capitães [3]. Ainda que tinha feito muitos males contra a christaandade, e merecia ser disto castiguado, não se punha en execução assy por não revolver a terra, como por outras guerras que os portuguessez tinham [4]. Finalmente se seguirão grandes inconvenientes por ser feito en hum tempo e conjunção que os nossos tinhão muito pouquo mantimento e alguns andarem derramados pola

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[1] On February 28, according to D 178, 8.

[2] Martim Afonso Pimentel.

[3] Diogo Lopes de Mesquita, captain of the fortress, and Gonçalo Pereira, commander-in-chief of the fleet.

[4] With the Spaniards under Legazpi in the Philippines, and with the Hituese and Javanese in Ambon.

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terra [5] : porque loguo se alevantou guerra contra os nossos e estiverão num serquo muito apertado, e ainda não sabemos em que estado estarão aguora, porque foy lá o capitão-mor [6] que estava em Amboino e daqui lhe foy tambem algum socorro [7]. Morreo muita gente polos trabalhos e fomes de guerra. Aguora esperamos em Nosso Senhor que ficarão as cousas de Maluquo e Amboino milhores asentadas do que nunqua estiverão, porque este rey era [o] maior inpedimento que tinhão [8].

2. Falecerão dous Padres, scilicet, o P.e Luis de Guois, superior daquelas partes, que querendo passar de Amboino a Maluquo, que será jornada de quinze ou vinte dias, pola causa da guerra não pode [9] e se veio na nao da carreira a esta cidade pera daqui se tornar no gualeão d'El-Rey pera Maluquo [10], porque hia mais seguro, e aqui ado[e]ceo e foy Noso Senhor servido levá-lo pera sy [11]. Tambem faleceo lá em Maluquo o P.e Amdré de Cabreira com os trabalhos do serquo [12], que foy pera aquelas partes grande perda, por serem pessoas de calidade e muy necessaria[s] pera aquela christaandade.

3. Aguora esperamos com a vinda do Governador [13] que a guerra desta cidade e a de Maluquo teram bom succeso : é que não foy mandado d'El-Rey pera outra cousa senão pera destroir o Achem, rey de Samatra [14] ; e em Maio esperamos em Nosso Senhor que virá com sua

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[5] The entire passage obviously reflects the common opinion of the Portuguese that Hairun fully deserved to be killed, but that the murder politically was a blunder.

[6] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque came to the rescue of the fortress in August 1570 (LEMOS 462).

[7] Ibid. 463-464.

[8] These optimistic hopes were not fulfilled, the new king, Babu, being at least as fanatically anti-Portuguese and anti-Christian as his father had been.

[9] He sailed from Ambon in May 1571. While Gonçalo Pereira remained with a fleet in Moro (LEMOS 464 and 467), the Ternatans appeared to rule the waters between Ambon and Ternate.

[10] The scheduled time for sailing from Malacca by the Borneo route was about August 15.

[11] So he died between late June and mid August, 1571.

[12] See D 185 note 4.

[13] António Moniz Barreto, who sailed from Lisbon in 1571. « Levou titulo de governador de Malaca, que não teve effeito por succeder no governo da India » (Paris, *Bibl. Nat. MS portugais* 8 f. 226*r*). He was Governor of India, 1573-1577 ; he was not interested in Maluku (*Relação Vasconcelos* 313-314).

[14] The sultan of Aceh, a constant thorn in the side of Portuguese Malacca. The actual ruler was Ali Riayat Syah, September 1571-1579 (LOMBARD, *Le sultanat d'Atjeh* 186).

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armada e daqui proverá a Maluco, porque este Estado de Malaca estaa já diviso da India e absoluto [15]. Esperamos em Noso Senhor que se seguirá disto muy grande fruito, porque há nestas partes muitas naçoens com que podemos ter comercio, e muitas destas naçoens pedem Padres e deyxão fazer christaandade em sua terra, ainda que seu intento hé por terem paz e amizade com os portuguesses e para que vão a seus portos as nossas naos.

4. Ho P.e Visitador me escreveo [16] que avia de vir nesta moução, que vem de Maio de 72, creio pera visitar esta Provincia da banda do sul; e porventura lhe parecerá bem que Malaca, com todas est'outras partes do sul, sejam outra Provincia destincta da India [17], porque poderá assy milhor prover as necessidades que hay nestas partes de obreiros, e não esperarão tanto tempo pola reposta de seus neguoceos, que comummente passão dous annos e às vezes tres que não têm reposta de seus neguoceos da India, porque não se navegua em todo anno senão en sertos tempos per'a India, scilicet, desde Dezembro até a entrada de Fevereiro se pode partir, nam mais. E se nesta cidade ouvesse hum collegio de 50 peçoas [18], o que creo El-Rey faria, facilmente poder-se hia soprir e prover Maluquo e Japão em menos de 4 ou 5 mezes, quando muito, com viagem e tudo, porque seria grande aviamento para o que se pretende; e poder-se hia do Reino ajudar esta Provincia, porque an-de vir polo menos cada anno duas naos do Reino dereitas a esta cidade; e poder-se hião tomar outras muitas emprezas, porque há nestas partes muy grandes reinos e muitas provincias assy de mouros como de gentios e muy prosperos, e podia-sse a christaandade dilatar muito. Na benção de Vossa Patrinidade todos nos emcomendamos.

De Malaca, a 11 de Dezenbro de 571.

Filho indigno de Vosa Paternidade em Christo,

Cristovão da Costa.

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[15] King D. Sebastião, in 1571, divided the Portuguese State of India into three states or administrative units, each with its own governor. Malacca and the Far East would be one of them (Couto IX 1). This project was stillborn. Cf. D 188, 2; Couto IX 11.

[16] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares. His letter was lost.

[17] This wish did not materialize either. Cf. D 188, 1.

[18] A small college was created in Malacca in 1576 (DI X 763).

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## 187

## CATALOGUE OF THE REVENUES OF THE JESUIT PROVINCE OF INDIA

GOA, LATE 1571

TEXT: DI VIII 480-482 [481]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* f. 67*v*. Original. Portuguese.

### *Text*

*Maluku receives yearly six hundred pardaus.*

LISTA DA ESMOLA E REMDA QUE AS CASAS E COLEGIOS DA COMPANHIA TÈM NA YMDIA

[...]

Maluquo tem d'esmola de Sua Alteza cada ano, que se lhes pagão em Mallaqua, seiscemtos pardaos d'ouro [1] . . . . . 0600 [pardaos]

[...]

## 188

## FR. JORGE SERRÃO, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL, TO FR. FRANCISCO DE BORJA, GENERAL, ROME

COIMBRA, OCTOBER 9, 1572

TEXT: DI VIII 562-565 [564-565], taken from *ARSI, Lus. 65* ff. 36*r*-37*v*. Holograph. In Spanish.

### *Text*

1. *Plea for a distinct provincial in Malacca, governing the Jesuit missions of Maluku, China [Macao], and Japan, and for a big college there comparable to the Goa college.* — 2. *This provincial could in many things be dependent on the Indian provincial in the same way as the new governor of Malacca has to be dependent on the viceroy.*

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[1] This catalogue does not take into account the new regulation made by King D. Sebastião in 1571; see D 183. A golden pardau was 360 réis. We find the arrangement confirmed in a document of 1575: « Maluco: Seiscientos pardaos de oro, que son quinientos y quarenta cruzados: 540 cruzados » (DI X 60).

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[...]

1. Para las cosas de Jappón y China y Maluco, y la christianidad en aquellas tan grandes y riquas partes del Sud y amplíssimos reinos ser dilatada o plantada de nuevo, parece que importará mucho lo que ya otras vezes de allá escrivieron, aver un provincial en Malaqua que governase aquellas partes del Sul y las proviese de gente, y que para esto se hiziese en Malaqua un collegio grande de 50 o 80 personas que fuese como seminario de aquellas partes, como el de Goa es de las partes del Norte, porque de la India y de Goa no pueden tener recaudos y cartas a las vezes sino en dos años por causa de los tiempos.

2. Y ésta fue la caussa también que movió al Rei azer allí un Governador nuevo, mas subjecto y subor[de]nado al Visrei de la India: y ansí el provincial de aquellas partes del Sud podría estar subordenado en muchas cosas, o como pareciese, al de la India y Goa, y con esto los nuestros de Japón, Maluco, Malacca, China, serían más visitados, proveídos y consolados, y la gentilidad de aquellas partes, que es la de mejores ingenios y policía y menos contaminada de moros, más proveída de operarios para su conversión. V.P. verá lo que en esto conviene [1].

[...]

De Coímbra, 9 de Otubre de 1572.

De V.P. hijo indigníssimo,

Jorge Sarrano.

## 189

## FR. DUARTE LEITÃO SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR JOÃO BRAVO, TO FR. FRANCISCO DE BORJA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 5, 1572

TEXT: DI VIII 574-588 [580-581]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 269*r*-274*v*. Autograph (at least for our part) in Portuguese.

### *Text*

1. *Arrival of a Brother from Maluku who had worked there for twelve years. Death of two Fathers. Tractability of the Maluku people.* — 2. *Great expectations on account of relief ships sent to Maluku by the viceroy.*

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[1] Cf. D 186, 3-4; D 192, 3.

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[. . .]

1. De Maluco veo hum Irmão que avia doze annos que lá andava [1], e por a terra andar toda revolta com guerras não foi este anno Padre nenhum pera laa, tendo ho anno passado fallecido dous Padres [2] dos milhores obreiros que lá andavão. N. Senhor por quem hé a ponha em paz e quietação, ho qual se acontecer (como esperamos) não basta todo este collegio pera ha messe que em Maluco há, porque, segundo dizem os que de lá vêm, alem de ser infinita, hé a mais domavel gente e sogeita aos Padres que quá há, e huma das milhores emprezas que nestas partes os da Companhia têm.

2. Prazerá a Nosso Senhor que, com ho soccorro que este anno daqui mandou ho Viso-Rrey [3], e com a gente que lá trás ho capitão-mor Gonçalo Pereira [4], se acabará de concluir este neguoceo, ho qual estaa em termos que merece ser encomendado a Deos N.S. por ser huma das maiores necessidades que ao presente há neste Estado pello muito que importa ao serviço de Deos N.S.

[. . .]

Deste collegio de S. Paulo de Goa, oje 5 de Novembro de 1572.
Por commissão do P.e Reytor.
Servo de todos em ho Senhor,

Duarte Leitam.

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[1] Br. Manuel Gomes had arrived in Maluku in 1561 (D 101, 2) and he left it in May 1571 (Cf. D 185 note 7).

[2] Frs. Luís de Góis and Andrés de Cabrera.

[3] D. António de Noronha, in April 1572, dispatched Fernão Ortiz de Távora and Pero Lopes Rebelo with a fleet to Ternate (Couto IX 7 [p. 27]). Taking the Borneo route, they arrived in October and sailed off again the next May (Couto IX 12 [p. 59] ; *Relação Vasconcelos* 245-246). NB, Couto is full of inconsistencies : whereas in chap. 7 [p. 28] he asserts that the ships got scattered and the Maluku islands remained without succour, in chap. 12 [p. 59] he reports their arrival and their departure from Ambon. Moreover, in this latter passage he recounts that it was D. António de Noronha who dispatched this fleet in April, which cannot be before 1572 as Noronha did not arrive in Goa until September 1571 (Couto IX 1 [p. 2]), but that it made its retreat from Ambon in May 1572, which is plainly impossible.

[4] Out of the six hundred Portuguese soldiers he brought from India, Gonçalo Pereira had lost many, both before Cebu and in Ambon ; the small group that survived was debilitated by illness, and finally the situation is depicted in these words : « Não tinha gente » (Cf. *Relação Vasconcelos* 173, 175, 180, 236).

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## 190

# CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

GOA, [NOVEMBER] 1572

TEXT : DI VIII 588-594 [593]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 71*r*-72*v*. Spanish contemporary translation.

### *Text*

*Names of ten Jesuits stationed in Maluku.*

COPIA DE TODOS LOS PADRES Y HERMANOS QUE ESTÁN EN LA INDIA

[. . .]

[Los que están] en Maluco

El P.e Hernán Alvarez, superior [1]
El P.e Pedro Mascareñas
El P.e Diego de Magellanes [2]
El P.e Paulo Gómez
El P.e Nicholás Núnez [3]
El P.e Hyerónimo de Olmedo [4]

---

[1] From this it is evident that, after the death of Fr. Luís de Góis in 1571, Fr. Fernando Álvares was appointed superior. Fr. Marcos Prancudo is lacking here ; in the same catalogue his name occurs under Malacca (DI VIII 593), where he sojourned on his way to India (Cf. D 194).

[2] Fr. Diogo de Magalhães, because of bad health, had already left Maluku (MARTA 98), and had sailed to Goa where he died in 1573 (SACCHINI, *Hist. Soc.*, *Everardus* I 136). In the Bartoli version of Duarte Leitão's letter of December 27, 1573 (Cf. D 194), it is said « Il Pe Fr. Roiz . . . die 17 sept. 73 obiit. Alguni dì appresso morì il P. Diego Magaglianes, che fu nel Moluco ; contrasse colà mal di goccia coral » [Portuguese : *gota coral*, epilepsy] (*ARSI, Hist. Soc. 116* f. 147*r*). So he died in the second half of September 1573. His name was listed among the deceased in India in Rome in August 1574 (*ARSI, Hist. Soc.* 42 f. 25*v*).

[3] Nunes' name here proves that by November 1572 he had not yet arrived in Goa.

[4] In the war of the Portuguese against the rebelling Hituese, Olmedo, while animating the soldiers in a sea battle, was wounded somewhere between Ambon and Seram, and died (*Relação Vasconcelos* 230, where he is called Lomedo). COUTO (IX

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El P.e Bartholomé Rodríguez
El P.e Diego Mazcareñas
El P.e Hierónimo Rodríguez
El P.e Antonio González [5]

## 191

## THE BISHOP OF MALACCA [D. JORGE DE SANTA LUZIA] TO POPE PIUS V, ROME

MALACCA, JUNE, 1573

I AUTHOR: WICKI, DI IX 311 note 18; ID., *D. Jorge de Santa Luzia*, especially 280-281.

II TEXT: Rome, *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Nunziatura di Portogallo 2* ff. 173*r*-174*v*, formerly pp. 188-190. Original with autographical signature; in Latin. On f. 174*v* one finds the address and an archivistic note « Episcopus Malachanus ». At the top of it a hole in the paper marks the place of the seal; it renders the reading of some words on f. 174*r* doubtful. Obviously the bishop first intended to finish his letter after no. 5; then he added nos. 6-8.

III ADDRESSEE: The letter is addressed to the pope. From no. 2 it is clear that Pius V was meant, who was a Dominican like the bishop himself. That Pius had died on May 1, 1572, could not be known in Malacca until the end of 1573 at the earliest. So it was his successor, Gregory XIII, who received the letter.

IV NOTE: It is a remarkable and somewhat startling statement on the Maluku Jesuits which justifies the publication of this document in this collection. Moreover, it reflects some interesting ideas and expectations of the Asian Portuguese and Christians of that time. It is not likely to have been published entirely.

V OUR EDITION: We print the text from the Vatican Archives.

### *Text*

1. *He received the Pope's letter and a book on the Council of Trent just now; therefore he could not answer earlier.* — 2. *His hopes: destruction of the Turkish power,*

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7 [p. 35-36]) relates the same occurrence, calling him incorrectly the Italian Jesuit Lomedo. Because of the deficient and confused chronology in both these authors, the date of his death cannot be established. SOUZA (II III 1 46) states that it happened undoubtedly in 1573, not forgetting to stress that he was a Portuguese and a chaplain of « our fleet ». In the catalogue of December 1574 (D 203), Olmedo is no longer mentioned.

[5] António Gonçalves was not a « Padre », but a lay brother.

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*reconquest of Jerusalem, the spreading of the faith in his own diocese. — 3. God assisted the Portuguese miraculously when they were attacked by Muslims, as He did also at the siege of Chaul. — 4. In fourteen years he won 600.000 Christians. The defeat of the Turkish fleet and the jubilee given on account of the League justify the hope that Islam will be destroyed and Constantinople and Jerusalem will be conquered. — 5. May the forces of the Turk and of the Aceh people be smashed. — 6. Complaints of disturbing activity of the Jesuits ; they caused the king of Maluku to be murdered. — 7. Proposal of severe measures against the Chinese. — 8. Disagreement between bishop and Jesuits on the property of a church.*

† Domine Sancte Pater

1. In mense Iunio anno a Nativitate Domini millessimo quingentessimo septuagessimo tertio quasdam a Vestra Sanctitate simul cum parvo Concilii Trydentini volumine literas accepimus ; binae enim literae et volumina Archiepiscopo Guoae [1] et Episcopo Cochim [2] venere ; nostrae autem ubinam detentae fuissent quominus eas nobis non tradidissent, omnino ignoramus. Quoniam hoc tempore quas Chinae et Japão Episcopo [3] literas misistis, statim ubi primum pervenerunt ad has partes, ipsi traditae fuerunt, nobis vero minime nisi anno mense ut supra, et ob hanc causam Sanctitati Vestrae non rescripsimus.

2. Quandoquidem Divi Dominici ordinem insignem profiteamini quem et nos ipsi [4], et propter hanc nostri memoriam beneficiumque a Vestra Sanctitate in nos collatum literis missis, et propter nuncios in has partes delatos Vestram scilicet Sanctitatem (quod tot pontifices praeteriti maximis laboribus maximisque sumptibus efficere minime valuerunt) adversus Turcas, nostrae fidei catholicae hostes immanissimos, vigilantia incredibili fortunisque ligam iunxisse [5], qua ut in Domino fidimus pessimam mahometanam sectam Turcasque cunctos destruendos, domumque sanctam Jherusalem recuperandam et a christianis posessam iri, et in istis hisque partibus favente Spiritu Sancto fidem nostram longe lateque propagandam speramus.

---

11 profieteamini *ms.*

---

[1] D. Gaspar de Leão.

[2] D. Henrique de Távora, OP.

[3] D. Melchior Carneiro, SJ, who, from June 1568 on, lived in Macau.

[4] Both Pope Pius V and Bishop de Santa Luzia were members of the Dominican Order.

[5] Pius V united the Catholic rulers against the Turks in a league whose assembled armada defeated them at Lepanto (Cf. PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste* VIII 539).

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3. Quamvis anno praeterito 1572 magnis praeliis fuimus oppraessi, quoniam omnes istarum partium Agareni [6] concilium fecerunt in unum ut nos bello ab istis Indiae partibus fugarent et expellerent [7]; verumtamen cum Deus Optimus et Maximus, cuius nutu et providentia gubernamur quique unum pastorem et unum oville fieri desiderat, crebris nos miraculis adiuvit, custodivit, protexit, visitavit atque defendit, praesertim in oppugnatione urbis cuiusdam quae vulgo dicitur Chaul [8], ubi intemerata et in aeternum benedicta ipsius Mater, divus Petrus et Franciscus apparuere, cuius rei admirandae triginta millia hominum qui eam undique circumdederant usque nunc perhibent [173*v*] obstupefacti testimonium.

4. Orthodoxa fides in his partibus magis in dies magisque crescit et pullulat, quoniam a primo anno usque ad praesentem decimum quartum episcopatus nostri annum [9] sexcenta hominum millia [10] christianae ditioni subiecimus. In Domino fidimus (quo certe nullum melius, nullum salutarius praesentiusve hisce malis remedium reperiri potest) bella, quae harum partium reges nobis inferunt, citius quam exoptamus cum ipsius maxima gloria finienda, qui spe Turcae suorumque ducum favore suffulti nos undique oppugnabant et delatis modo circa classem Turcarum subversam his bonis nunciis [11] (Deus faxit ut in posterum sint meliores) spem amittunt. Quod quidem Vestrae vigilantia Sanctitatis praecibusque nostris his in partibus fusis propter iubileum circa ligam concessum [12] Domino nitimur, qui tamquam caelestis medicus in singula quaeque vitia obviantia confert medicamenta, et bono vestro ordine christianorumque principum mahometicae sectae finem dandum expugnandamque Constantinopolim recuperandamque domum sanctam [13], quae tot sumptus orthodoxorumque sanguinem et vitas consumpsit.

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38 quae *corr. fr.* que

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[6] The descendants of Hagar (Gen 16); hence, the Muslims.

[7] Cf. DI VIII 488 no. 7.

[8] Cf. DI VIII 490-491 no. 10.

[9] Counted from the day he sailed from Lisbon, that is, March 28, 1559 (Wicki, *D. Jorge de Santa Luzia* 272).

[10] In Latin *sexcenti* is often used to indicate a countless multitude, « thousands ».

[11] The Christian victory of Lepanto, October 7, 1571.

[12] A papal bull of March 9, 1566, had granted special indulgences to those who prayed, gave alms, and received sacraments for the special intention of the war against the Turk (Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* VIII 540).

[13] That is, Jerusalem (no. 2).

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5. Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres Domini ; via, veritas et vita [14], Vestram sanctam personam et statum in suo sancto servitio conservet, ut eclesia catholica et omnes Christi fideles bene gubernentur, nostraque fides in terrae usque cardines dillabatur [15], pseudoque et pessima infidelium saevissimorum secta Turcarum et Agarenorum exantletur et ad nihilum redigatur. Vale in aeternum faelix cui ius datur uni claudere caelestes et reserare fores.

6. His expletis sequentia nobis in mentem subiere, et haec sunt. Apostoli ex Societate Iesu, quos Concilium Trydentinum reformatos vocat, suis fisi privilegiis his in partibus maxime perturbant, praesertim in hac nostra Malacha, quoniam in omnibus se intromittunt, praesertim in casibus per nos in hac nostra diocaesi reservatis et multis aliis a quibus non possunt in foro exteriori absolvere [16] et in suis eclesiis et monasteriis interdicta nostra servare nequeunt [17]. Nam ipsi istis in partibus parum aut nullum fructum faciunt, verum etiam suis consiliis multa regna harum partium perturbant, quemadmodum in Maluco ubi ipsi fuerunt in causa ut interficeretur rex qui nobiscum pacem habebat [18]. Ex qua re tantum incommodum his partibus venit quod vix

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[14] Jn 14 6.

[15] Meant is probably *dilatetur*.

[16] The Jesuits had received the privilege of absolving in reserved cases (DI III 454 ; *Compendium Indicum* pp. III-IV).

[17] The privilege of saying mass, in time of interdict, « ianuis clausis, excommunicatis et interdictis exclusis, submissa voce » was granted to the Jesuits by Paul III in 1549, and confirmed by Gregory XIII in 1572 (*Institutum Societatis Iesu* I 16 ; *Compendium Indicum* pp. XLII-XLIII). Obviously the bishop had no knowledge of these privileges.

[18] This is a grave imputation. Rumours of the kind were circulating in those days (D 212). Partly they can be explained by the general trend of guilty people to exonerate themselves by throwing the responsibility on others ; partly they may have been occasioned by the Jesuits themselves, who more than once showed that they shared in the common opinion that Hairun, by many deeds of disloyalty and treachery towards the king of Portugal, manifested especially in persecuting and killing the Christians, had fully deserved to be destroyed. (On the favourable opinion of Rebelo and Couto, consult SOUZA II III 1 36). Cf. D 186, 1. It was a Jesuit who tried, without success, to divert the Captain of Maluku, Diogo Lopes de Mesquita, from his implacable hatred towards Hairun (COUTO VIII 26 [p. 209] ; see D 177 note 14). When COUTO (ibid. p. 212) recounts that a religious (a Jesuit) gave Pimentel a note saying that for slaying Hairun the king of Portugal would award him with the captaincy of Ormuz, he adds that he knows this only from hearsay, that he holds



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explicari potest et usque nunc non potest recuperari in quod quotannis ducenti mittuntur millites et nullus revertitur, quoniam aut fame aut bello pereunt nihil omnino proficiendo. Consuluerunt enim cuidam adolescentulo ut ipsum regem interficeret, praedicando sic : [174*r*] qui regem Maluci occiderit [opti]me Regi Portugaliae serviet [19]. Quo consilio commotus atque i[ncitat]us adolescens, qui suo Regi servire maxime desiderabat, regem ipsum maluchensem interfecit.

7. Hoc unum Vestrae Sanctitati scribi debere semper existimavimus quod valde his in partibus est necessarium, scilicet, ut omnes Chinae habitatores sint captivi, quoniam triginta iam anni sunt lapsi et numquam evangelium Christi suscipere voluerunt neque spem ipsius suscipiendi praebent, sed ita se improbo et nephando sodomitarum peccato tradunt quod id ferre Deum demiror. Quantum ad Japão, in ipsa regione multi efficiuntur christiani.

8. Est praeterea quidam clericus canonicus in nostra diocaesi, cognomento Ioannes Rodericus a Sousa, qui de nostra licentia eclesiam

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73 optime *d. r.* (*paper damaged*) || 74 incitatus *d. r.* (*paper damaged*)

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it to be dubious, and that it appears even impossible, for the religious would become irregular (that is, according to Canon Law, unable to exercise henceforth any priestly function). Moreover, it must be stated that, even supposing that a Father had favoured the murder, it is highly improbable that he was so imprudent as to give this opinion in writing. After all, the nameless imputation, made by the bishop of Malacca, does not seem to be founded on strong proofs. Add to this that, from no. 8, the bishop appears to be prejudiced against the Jesuits. As to the moral aspect of the murder, we have a very interesting witness of contemporary opinion in the report of João da Fonseca, captain or *veador* in Cochin, of 1568, « El-rey, que ora hé de Maluquo, naturalmente é má cousa e sempre o ffoy, aimda que alguns digão o comtrairo, e hé mais mouro do que era o mesmo Mafamede. Não hé comtra a ley de Deos mamdar matar per alguma via este, ou pubrica ou secreta, que de toda maneira se pode fazer, e jumtamente seu filho ou filhos, e pola vemtura se fará o povo cristão, e ao menos o rey que se fizer será cristão. Algumas cousas desta calidade sam às vezes neceçarias na Imdia, que se não fazem, o qual eu não digo que sam virtude, e lhe dou outro nome : porque emforcar ao ladrão hé cousa virtuosa e samta, e perdoar ao malfeitor hé crueza. E pera el-rey de Maluquo merecer mãodá-lo matar e seu filho, suas obras o dizem asi, as pasadas como as presemtes ; e sempre asy as á-de fazer até que moura, e soo o que faz em Amboino o merece » (Wicki, *Duas relações* 141-142).

[19] This may derive from the same source that likewise informed Couto (who, in 1571, had arrived in India for the second time) (Couto VIII 26 [p. 212] ; IX 11 [p. 51]).

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divo Jheronimo dedicatam [20] edificavit sub hac conditione quod parrochia efficienda esset et de nostra manu esset ibi clericus qui eam curaret. Et quia ad nos pervenit ipsum hanc eclesiam apostolis supradictis [21] donasse et ipsos a Vestra Sanctitate confirmationem adipisci velle, in his omnibus provideatis necessum est et de hac confirmatione maximum incommodum nostrae diocaesi resultabit.

Datum Malach[ae], anno mense ut supra [22].

[*Autographic*] Episcopus malachanus.

[174*v*] † Sanctissimo Christi in terris Vicario.

## 192

## FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO SJ, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

VALENCIA, NOVEMBER 16, 1573

I TEXT: DI IX 19-26 [22-24]. Taken from *ARSI, Hisp. 119* ff. 245*r*-246*v*. Holograph in Italian.

II NOTE: Fr. Alessandro Valignano, the greatest Jesuit missioner of Portuguese Asia after Francisco Xavier, was appointed visitor of the Oriental missions by the new general, Fr. Everard Mercurian, in September 1573. In November, he was on his way to Lisbon, making projects and recruiting companions.

### *Text*

1. *He plans to erect, in Japan and Maluku, colleges or at least larger residences with sixteen to twenty Jesuits, of whom, by turns, one half should live in the residence and the other half in the out-stations.* — 2. *Japan needs fifteen Jesuits more, Maluku ten or twelve, Malacca ten at least.* — 3. *The king of Portugal promised the livelihood for a large college at Malacca ; this, however, is not sufficient to realize the plans on Japan and Maluku.* — 4. *For Maluku, the king would have to pay eight hundred ducats yearly.*

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[20] On the chapel of São Jerónimo, see TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* II 336.

[21] The Jesuits.

[22] « Anno mense ut supra » is a repetition of the end of no. 1, where it refers to June 1573.

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[. . .]

1. Per questo effetto andava considerando che era necessario non solo di fare in Malaca un seminario, che havesse da servire a quella provincia ultra Gangem [1], ma che era necessario anchora far casa o collegio nel Giappone et Malucco, o al meno fortificare di modo una di quelle case di residentia che vi sono, che vi potesse stare continuamente un superiore con otto o X al meno delli nostri, il quale havesse cura di rivocare et mutare li altri otto o X che fussero nel medesimo luogo in varie missioni, di modo che sempre otto o X fussero in missioni et altri tanto fussero sempre fermi nel corpo della casa per posserli, come si è detto, mutare ad vices.

[. . .]

2. Con tutto ciò non basta il numero per adimpire il disegnio che si fa di fortificare quelle case di residentia, perché nel Giappone è necessario che vi vadino al meno quindici, et altri dieci o dodici nel Malucco, et al meno altri X in Malacca, di modo che quella provincia ultra Gangem non ha bisognio di meno di 35 o 38 operarii, et questi già l'habiamo con la gratia di Nostro Signore tra quelli che V. Paternità mi ha nominati et quelli che mi darranno li Provinciali [2].

[. . .]

3. Quanto poi alla substentatione di queste persone et case, mi occorreva, se così parrà anche alla Paternità Vostra et alli Padri di Portugallo, con li quali tratterrò tutto questo, che si cercasse aiuto dal Re [3], dal quale per la sua liberalità et christiana bontà possiamo sperare di ottenere questo aiuto, quando sia fatto capace di questa necessità. Sua Altezza già si è determinata di fare il seminario in Malaca, il quale se ben sarrà sufficiente per creare li soggetti che possano aiutare et il Giappone et il Malucco, massime crescendolo fin alla summa di 60 persone, nondimeno non è bastante per rimediare alli inconvenienti che nascono da queste missioni, poiché Malacca è troppo lontana da l'uno et l'altro di questi dua [4] regni, perché vi sono più di mille et cinquecento legue. Laonde par necessario, per rimedio di questo inconveniente, che nelli istessi regni si facci corpo di gente della Compagnia.

4. Il Giappone già tiene seicento scudi di intrata et ha alcuni altri

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[1] From Bengal eastward. Valignano still thinks that a new Jesuit province will be erected in Malacca.

[2] Valignano will finally sail from Lisbon, in March 1574, with 41 companions (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 132-173).

[3] D. Sebastião.

[4] Read *due*.

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migliaia da spendere in compre, di modo che con altri cinquecento scudi che gli desse il Re annui, si potria commodamente sostenere con questo numero. Resta il Malucco, al quale, se Sua Altezza provedesse di un ottocento ducati, potrebbe mantenere anchora il numero di 20 che bisognia in quel luogo.

[...]

Da Valencia, li 16 di Novembrio del 73.

Di V. Paternità servo indegnio et figliolo in Christo,

Alessandro Valegnano.

## 193

## FR. CHRISTOVÃO DA COSTA SJ TO FR. GENERAL FRANCISCO DE BORJA, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 15, 1573

I TEXT: DI IX 293-296 [294-295]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 158*r-v* and 161*r-v*. Original with autographical signature. Portuguese. First *via*.

II ADDRESSEE: The Jesuit General, Fr. Francisco de Borja, died in Rome on September 30, 1572; his successor, Fr. Everard Mercurian, was elected on April 23, 1573. At the time of writing, Fr. Da Costa could not yet know this.

### *Text*

*1. Maluku, Japan, and Malacca require distinguished and well-instructed Jesuit superiors, who have more power than a simple rector. — 2. Great distress of the Fathers and Christians of Maluku and Ambon.*

[...]

1. Esta Provimcia, como hé huma das importantes, tem o guoverno muy dificil e nem basta o Provimcial, por serem muitas provimcias e aver muitas novidades e as pesoas, que têm o mando, comonicarem suas cousas com os da Companhia. Asi que hé necessario que aja nestas partes pesoas graves e doutas, ao menos em Maluquo, Japão e Malaqua, porque disto se segue grande fruito e serviço de Nosso Senhor, e se empedem muitos peccados. E estas pesoas comveria terem mais poderes que de reytores, porque se não podem socorrer ao Provimcial

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senão em hum ano ou dous e, como estas terras sejão novas, têm muitas novidades.

[. . .]

2. Os Padres de Maluquo e Amboino e a christamdade estão em muito trabalho e periguo pola continua guerra que têm á tantos annos, onde já acabarão alguns [1] e os outros são emfermos das muitas vigias, fomes e outros trabalhos que a guerra trás comsiguo, e a christamdade hé muyto menos porque consumio a guerra muitos christãos. Têm necessidade de serem emcomendados a Nosso Senhor.

[. . .]

De Malaqua, 15 de Dezembro de 1573.

Filho de Vosa Paternidade em Christo,

Christovão da Costa.

## 194

## FR. DUARTE LEITÃO SJ TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 27, 1573

I TEXT: *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 116* (*Selva di Bartoli*) f. 147*r*, formerly 119, first column. Short summarizing notes in telegraphic style, in Italian, made by Bartoli after a copy of the now lost original. Except for our fragment, the entire text has been cancelled by a vertical line, which obviously was the way in which Bartoli noted that he had utilized the passage in his work on Asia.

II NOTE: A contemporary Portuguese copy of this letter is to be found in Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 4532* f. 125*r-v*, and has been published in DI IX 302-307. A collation of that text with our Italian extracts shows that the Portuguese copied only a part of the original letter and that particularly the passage on Fr. Prancudo has been omitted. As no other copy is known to be extant, we have to rely for this important information on the Italian extracts in the MS of Bartoli.

### *Text*

*Complex journey of Fr. Prancudo from Maluku to India and back.*

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[1] Frs. Luís de Goís and Andrés de Cabrera, both in 1571.

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Lettere di Goa del [15]73/ 27 Dec. / Duarte Leiton

[...]

P. Marco Prancudo era venuto dal Moluco [1], e da Malacca a Goa venne. Il Visitatore [2] il mandava iterum al Moluco rettore [3]. Venner male nuove mentre era in viaggio [4]. Tornò a domandar soccorro all'India. Tornò alla motion dell'Aprile [5].

[...]

## 195

## FR. JOÃO DE MESQUITA SJ TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 30, 1573

I TEXT: DI IX 308-312 [310-311]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 I* f. 245*r-v*. Holograph in Portuguese.

II DATE: From internal evidence it is deduced that the letter, dated 1574, was written in December 1573, and that, consequently, Mesquita used the « stilus Nativitatis », beginning the new year on December 25.

III NOTE: Fr. João de Mesquita had sailed to India in 1556 (DI IV 119-120; WICKI, *Liste* no. 61); he worked in many posts of the Indian Jesuit province.

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[1] For Prancudo's voyage to India we have the following indications: his absence from the catalogue of 1572 (D 190); D 217, 2; SACCHINI, *Hist Soc.*, *Everardus* I 144; SOUZA II III 2 13. As a matter of fact, Bartoli does not mention Prancudo's journey in his printed *L'Asia* (Cf. Introduction to this document).

[2] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares.

[3] Obviously Fr. Fernando Álvares had been appointed an interim superior only (D 190).

[4] From the following « Tornò ... all'India » we conclude that it was in Malacca that he learned the bad news.

[5] So Prancudo left Goa for the second time in April 1573; and, in consequence, he arrived in Ternate in October of that year. His entire route was: Ambon - Malacca - Goa - Malacca - Goa - Malacca - Ternate. Figuring back in accordance with the scheduled time of the ships, we have to infer that he left Ambon in May 1571, that is, together with Fr. Luís de Góis (to whose death in Malacca he was able to bear witness in Goa) and with Br. Manuel Gomes. That he sailed from Ambon accompanied by Fr. Nicolau Nunes, as SOUZA (II III 2 13) contends, does not seem correct. It is, however, imperative to remember that the scheduled sailing times are not altogether exclusive, and that, consequently, our calculations have no absolute value.

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## *Text*

*1. In Maluku Christianity is ruined; the assistance sent from India and Malacca is insufficient. — 2. A sister of Fr. Paulo Gomes wishes her brother to move from Maluku to Malacca.*

[. . .]

1. De Maluquo e Amboyno as novas são estarem em continua guerra, e está a christandade toda aroinada. O soccorro que da India lhe mandão e daqui hé tam pouquo ou nenhum, que temo que se perqua totalmente Maluquo.

[. . .]

2. Está aqui huma molher viuva por nome Madannela Tiznada. Tem na Companhia há muitos annos hum irmão sacerdote por nome Paulos Gomez. Anda nas partes de Maluquo. Deseja pera sua consolação ser-lhe dada licença de V.P. pera que resida aqui. O P.e Visitador quando por aqui passou [1] desejou consolá-la, mas por as cousas de Maluquo não estarem assentadas o não fez, dando-lhe sperança que à tornada o faria [2]. Ella como hé pessoa a quem devemos muito, deseja muito que venha isto por V.P., e posto que o Provincial [3] o pode fazer, não lhe parece a ella que está segura senão com a licença de V.P. Bem creyo que se entendesse o muito que lhe devemos e as grossas esmollas que de continuo nos faz, que seria cousa facil conceder-sse-lhe isto: presertim nom se atravessando inconvenientes, antes serviço de Deos, porque sabe o P.e Paulos Gomez a lingoa desta terra [4] e pode fazer muito fruito, e o Bispo de Malaqua [5] pera este effeito o deseja muito.

[. . .]

De Malaqua, a 30 de Dezembro de 74 [6].

Filho de V.P. em o Senhor,

Joam da Mizquita, reitor de Malaqua.

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[1] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares, in May 1572, sailed from Cochin in order to visit Malacca, Macau and Japan (Cf. D 171, 1); consequently in June he stayed in Malacca (D 186, 4).

[2] As Álvares died near Japan in 1573, he never returned to Malacca.

[3] Fr. António de Quadros died on November 21, 1572; his interim successors were Fr. Francisco Rodrigues and Fr. Manuel Teixeira (DI IX 2*).

[4] That is, Malay.

[5] D. Jorge de Santa Luzia, OP.

[6] See introduction to this letter.

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## 196

## FR. JERÓNIMO COTA SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

ALMEIRIM, DECEMBER 31, 1573

I TEXT: DI IX 47-49 [48]. Taken from *ARSI, Lus. 65* ff. 303*r*-306*v*. Holograph in Spanish.

II NOTE: Fr. Jerónimo Cota was *socius* (secretary) of Fr. Provincial of Portugal.

### *Text*

***The king promised Fr. Valignano to found a college with sixty to seventy Jesuits in Malacca, as headquarters for Japan, China, and Maluku.***

El Padre Alexandre Vallignano, visitador de las Indias, fue recebido del Rey [1] y Cardenal Infante [2] con grande amor y favores que le hizieron. Y quando su alteza del Rey supo que passavan a la India este año muchos de los nuestros se alegró mucho, y assý concedió al P.e Visitador quanto le pedió mui complidamente; y mandó fundar un collegio de 60 hasta 70 personas en Malaca, que es ciudad ultra Gangem y emporio mui principal en Oriente, pera ser cabeça de los collegios o residencias que por tiempo avrá en Maluco, China y Jappón.

[. . .]

De Almerín, al último de Deziembre de 1573.

Por commissión del P. Provincial.

De V.R.P. hijo indigno en el Señor,

Jerónymo Cotta.

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[1] D. Sebastião, who was then a young man of nineteen.

[2] D. Henrique, who would be king of Portugal 1578 to 1580.

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## 197

## FR. JORGE SERRÃO, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

LISBON, FEBRUARY 11, 1574

TEXT: DI IX 177-185 [183-184]. Taken from *ARSI, Lus. 66* ff. 55*r*-58*v*. Holograph. Spanish.

### *Text*

*Dissatisfaction in Portugal at the large number of Spanish Fathers Valignano is taking with him to India.*

[. . .]

[El Padre Visitador Alessandro Valignano] lleva consigo este año hasta 40 : 5 ó 6 italianos y otros tantos desta Provincia, los más, que serán cerca de 30, son espanholes [1]. Algunos inconvenientes hallavan quá estos Padres todos, nemine excepto, por parte del Rei y sus officiales y gente de fuera, de iren tantos espanholes, porque, como V.P. sabe, el Rei de Portugal tiene dubdas y pleito con el de Castilla sobre las Malucas, etc., y por esta causa el Rei Don João 3º, y aun la Reina governando [2] y Don Julián d'Alva [3], su privado, aunque castellano, dieron aviso que a las Indias no mandásemos muchos espanholes, porque algunos se despiden o sálense de la Compañía [4] y después pueden dezir que aquellas islas son del Rei Philippe. Y el P. Torres [5] nos dixo

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[1] According to WICKI, *Liste* nos. 132-173, the group, Valignano included, consisted of 42 Jesuits, of whom eight were Italians and nine Portuguese, all of the rest being Spaniards (Cf. DI IX 18*-32*).

[2] D. Catarina, widow of D. João III and regent for young D. Sebastião.

[3] D. Julián de Alva, bishop of Portalegre (Portugal) and chaplain to Queen D. Catarina. NB : Catarina, a sister of Charles V, and Alva were themselves Spaniards.

[4] An instance of this is Fr. Vicente Tonda ; cf. DI VIII 13*.

[5] Fr. Miguel de Torres, one of the outstanding members of the Portuguese Jesuit province, was a deputy to the Third General Congregation held in Rome in 1573.

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aquá que en la Congregación de los deputados en Roma se trató que a las Indias Orientales por esta causa no fuesen muchos espanholes.

[...]

De Lisboa, oy 11 de Hebrero de 1574.

De V. Paternidade hijo mínimo y indigno en el Señor,

Jorge Sarrano.

*Lost Letter*

197*a*. — *The Maluku Jesuits to Fr. Provincial, António de Quadros, India ; February-May 1574.*

Valignano to Fr. General, December 30, 1575 : « Perché l'anno passato ce scrissero quelli Padri che stavano in tanta strettezza, che tanto di pesce che bastava a un pasto, si vendeva un scudo » (D 210, 1). Valignano to the provincial of Portugal, December 31, 1575 : « El año passado tuvimos nuevas que [Maluco] estaba quasi in extremis » (D 211, 1). Gomes Vaz to Mercurian, January 20, 1576 : « [The Jesuits of Maluku] escrivieron el año passado que padecían allí grandíssimas hambres » (D 214, 1). « Por falta de los quales [remedios] escriven que probablemente [el P. Bartolomé Rodríguez] murió » (D 214, 3).

## 198

## FR. JORGE DE CASTRO SJ TO A CLOSE COLLABORATOR OF FR. GENERAL, ROME — GENERAL SURVEY OF THE INDIAN MISSIONS —

ROME, SUMMER 1574

I TEXTS : No original is extant.

A. *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 257*r*-264*v*, contemporary Italian copy, apparently translated from a Portuguese original. Published in DI VIII 739-763, our fragment, 760-761.

B. Évora, *Biblioteca Pública, Jesuitas, 108/2-2* ff. 451*v*-455*v*, formerly 417*v*-421*v* ; our fragment 454*v*-455*r*. Shortened and arbitrary version in Portuguese, titled « Informação das cousas da India a qual deu hum Padre da Companhia que muitos annos se occupou na conversão dos gentios della, vindo a Roma no anno de 72, donde loguo se tornou para ella ». Especially as to numerals, it shows many and great deviations from text A (See DI X 921 note 2).

C. Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 100 sup.* ff. 282*r*-285*r*, our fragment 284*v*. Contemporary shortened and free version in Latin, headed « Quae retulit sacerdos e nostris qui plures annos convertendis gentibus

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operam dedit in Orientali India, ex qua septuagesimo secundo huius seculi anno solvens, hac aestate ad Urbem venit, unde et paulo post ad eandem Indiam navigavit ».

D. Munich, *Hauptstaatsarchiv, Jesuiten 100* (formerly 82*a*) ff. 90*v*-93*r*. Exactly the same Latin text as that of Milan. Here it appears to be inserted into an Annual Letter of the Professed House of Rome (ff. 90*r*-95*v*), dated « prima ipsa die anni 1575 » and signed by Fr. Antonio Possevino, Polanco's successor as Secretary to Fr. General.

E. *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 5a* ff. 175*r*-176*r*. Short extracts in Latin, headed « Ex relatione nostri sacerdotis qui diu in convertendis gentilibus operam dedit in Orientali India, ex qua anno 1572 solvens anno 1574 ad Urbem venit ».

II Author: Writer of this report is Fr. Jorge de Castro as text A testifies (see DI VIII 739 I, also 741 and the signature, 763). The other texts call him merely « a Father of the Society » or « one of our priests ». The Portuguese Fr. de Castro entered the Society in India, December 1560, and had been dismissed from it and sent to Portugal on board ships that left Cochin January 1573, arriving at Lisbon in September of that year (see DI VIII 46*, also 669 no. 2 and note 4). Next year he went to Rome where Fr. General, Everard Mercurian, and his assistants asked him to write this report on the state of affairs of the Indian Mission, and, annulling his dismissal, sent him back to India; all of this is testified, directly or indirectly, by the different headings of our texts. He was born in Porto in 1541 or 1542, and returned to India in 1575, where he worked for twenty more years.

III Time: The superscriptions of our texts clearly show that Fr. de Castro wrote his report in Rome in the summer, or shortly after, of 1574. But as he left India in the very first days of 1573, it is clear that his account views the Indian Mission of the year 1572, at the outside.

IV History of Texts: Fr. Castro, a native of Porto, cannot be supposed to have written his report in Italian, so his Portuguese script which apparently was lost was translated. The Roman Fathers of the Professed House (where Fr. General also lived), in their Annual Letter to the other houses of the Society, wanted to communicate the account of Fr. Castro on India, but holding it to be too extensive, had an extract letter made from it (texts C and D) which in Portugal was translated into Portuguese again (text B).

V Our Edition: We print the fragment on Maluku from text A, already published in DI VIII. The apparatus points to some variants in other texts.

## *Text*

1. *Sailing from Malacca, the first island of Maluku to arrive at is Ambon, where once there were 70,000 Christians. In a persecution it had many martyrs, among whom was Fr. [Afonso] de Castro.* — 2. *Some years ago a strong fleet was sent there and a fortress was built on that island. Ternate, Moro, and Buru number more than 50,000 converts, cared for by only 8 or 10 Jesuits.*

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[. . .]

1. Navigando di qua (lasciando diversi porti et capitanie di trafigo, come dir Sunda, Banda, Timor et altri reami, nelli quali trafigano li portughesi), si arriva all'isole di Malucco, la prima delle quali si chiama Amboino, la quale è molto grande, et secondo ho inteso dal P. Provinciale Antonio de Quadros, di bona memoria, avanti che li giaii [1] molestassero questa terra erano battezzati settanta milia anime [2], et adesso si battezzarebono molto più se vi fossero operarii. Qui, secondo ho inteso dalli Padri che vanno in quella conversione, fu martirizzato il P. Crasto [3], et morirono martiri molti christiani constantemente in una persecutione che hanno havuta per la fede di Christo.

2. Sono già alcuni anni che è stata mandata una bona armata [4] per acquistare et fortificar meglio di quello che erano quelle terre, et si è già fatto molto servitio a Dio, et si è fatta una fortezza in quell'isola [5]. Nella fortezza di Ternate, dove si dà il garofalo, et nell'isola del Moro, nel Buro, et in altre molte fortezze ho inteso, da quelli che ivi si ritrovano, sono più di cinquanta mila convertiti, quali si vanno perfettionando per mezzo di 8 o 10 della Compagnia [6] che là vanno, li quali patiscono molti travagli; et per mancamento d'operarii si perdono molte migliaie di anime per quelle molte et grandi isole.

[. . .]

De V.[R.] servo nel Signore,

P. Crasto.

---

6 settanta] sete *B* || 15 Buro] Bucco *B*, Buceo *D* || 16 cinquanta] sinco *B*

---

[1] The Javanese.

[2] Cf. D 135, 18.

[3] Fr. Afonso de Castro had been killed in late 1557 or in early 1558 (D 69 note 6).

[4] The fleet of Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque sailed from Goa in 1566.

[5] In 1569.

[6] Cf. D 190.

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## 199

## FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

MOZAMBIQUE, AUGUST 7, 1574

TEXT: DI IX 394-410 [407-408]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 195*r*-199*v*. Original. Italian.

### *Text*

1. *In Maluku the murdering of the king caused the greatest damage, such as to ruin the Church entirely ; an eyewitness told him so.* — 2. *How the murdering took place. Revolution of the whole country. For the king of Portugal only one fortress with 50 men remains ; among them 4 Jesuits. 200,000 Christians are said to have apostatized, willingly or pretendedly.* — 3. *Not even 1000 soldiers would suffice to bring Maluku back under Portuguese rule.*

[. . .]

1. Solo in Malucco è successo in questo triennio un grandissimo danno, poiché per una pazia d'un nepote del capitano, che per il Re di Portugallo stava in quel regno, si è perduto quel gran paese con uno quasi infinito numero de christiani [1], del qual caso io sono stato pienamente informato da un cavalliero che si è ritrovato presente et va per dare di questo rilatione al Re di Portugallo.

2. Il successo fu di questa maniera, che essendo il re di Ternate [2], che è il maggiore et suppremo in quel regno, et non molto nel intrinseco della christianità, ancorché vivesse in pace con le gente di Portugallo, andato un giorno a visitar il capitano del Re, fu dal nepote del detto capitano senza altra causa, se non che putabat se obsequium prestare Deo [3], ammazato. Del che ne successe la rivolutione di quel regno, perché tutti li principi ribellati piglorno l'arme contro li portughesi, et con morte et destruttione di molti si sonno fatti signori di quella terra, non rimanendo per il Re di Portugallo se non un sol forte [4],

---

[1] Cf. D 178, 8.

[2] Hairun.

[3] Jn 16 2: « Venit hora ut omnis qui interficit vos arbitretur obsequium se praestare Deo ».

[4] The fortress of Ternate.

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dove stanno cinquanta portughesi assediati, tra quali ancora sonno 4 Padri de nostri [6], poiché gl'altri che vi erano o sonno morti [8] o sonno venuti all'Indie [7] per dimandar soccorso. Et quel che è peggio, non solo si sono ribellati dal Re ma da Iddio, perché tutta quella christianità che era, per quanto me dicono, più de 200.000 [9] persone, parte per voluntà, parte sotto pretesto di forza che gl'altri li facevano, hanno lasciato la fede et sonno ritornati o alla setta de mori o alla gentilità, il che certo solo a sentirlo contare dà materia di piangere, poiché l'inprudentia et pazia d'un homo solo è stata causa de si grande ruina.

3. Il capitanio, zio del malfattore, sta pregione in India et nega d'esser stato consapevole di questo fatto; il nipote se ne fugì et non l'ha il Viceré possuto haver nelle mani: basta che comunque sia la cosa, il male si è fatto. Il forte che tengono li portughesi sta, per quanto dice questo gentilhuomo, sicuro et si potrà lassare o difendere come meglio al Re parerà, ma quanto a farse signore di quel paese come prima erano, egli la tiene per cosa desperata, perché non bastarebeno per ripigliarlo ancorche ci fussero mandati mille huomini, il che alle forze et bisogni che il Re tiene nell'Indie si giudica per inpossibile. N. Signore lo rimedii per la sua infinita bontà.

[...]

Da Mozanbiche, li 7 di Agosto 1574.

Valignano.

---

[6] At the moment of the assassination three Jesuits were present in the fortress: Andrés de Cabrera, Diogo de Magalhães, and Vicente Dias. But of which moment is Valignano speaking? He got his information from an eye-witness, a «cavalliero» (no. 1), who must have left Ternate at least one year before arriving in Mozambique.

[8] Frs. Luís de Góis, Andrés de Cabrera, Jerónimo de Olmedo, and Bartolomeu Rodrigues.

[7] The following returned to India: Fr. Marcos Prancudo, Br. Manuel Gomes, Fr. Diogo de Magalhães (MARTA 98), and Fr. Nicolau Nunes.

[9] In the MS the second zero has been cancelled and then added again interlinearly.

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## 200

## FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

MOZAMBIQUE, AUGUST 7, 1574

TEXT: DI IX 410-427 [426]. Taken from *ARSI, IapSin 7 III* ff. 223*r*-226*v*. Original with autographic signature. Italian.

### *Text*

*According to what many tell him, Malacca is not suited for a big college. From Goa or Malacca he will be able to make a more positive statement on that question.*

[...]

Quanto alle cose di Malacca, et dal P. Battista [1] et da molti, che di là vengono, ho havuto relatione che è cosa inutile et male disegnato di fare ivi colleggio di tanto numero [2], perché per la terra ferma et al circuito sono le genti incapaci di nostra legge et inimici della fede et degl'huomini christiani, et Malacca in se stessa è cosa tanto piccola et poco sana, per stare ad un grado et mezzo o doi dalla Linea [3], che non pare questo a proposito fare ivi collegio, tanto più che hora che il Malucco va così male, come V.P. intenderà, che è al tutto o quasi al tutto perduto, et vi saranno o pochi o niuno delli nostri [4], meno commodo ritorna il colleggio in Malacca che si disegnava per soccorrere al Giappan et Malucco. Questo me dicono, ma io tengo che non senza causa hanno li Padri dell'India fatto sempre instantia che si facci questo colleggio così grosso in Malacca; pur di Goa o quando sarò in Malacca io potrò scrivere a V.P. sopra di ciò più certamente.

[...]

Di Mozambiche, alli 7 d'Agosto 1574.

Di V. Paternità servo in Christo et figliolo indignissimo,

Alessandro Valegnano.

---

[1] He is speaking of Fr. Juan Bautista de Ribera, who was on his way to Portugal from Goa, and whom Valignano met in Mozambique (Cf. DI VI 17*).

[2] Cf. D 192, 1-3.

[3] Malacca is situated at 2° N.

[4] The situation was not that bad; see D 203.

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*Lost Letter*

200*a*. — *Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Goa, to the Jesuits in Maluku ; September 1574.*

Valignano to Mercurian, December 25, 1574 : « Subito che fui qui gionto [on September 6], colle navi che stavano allora per partire verso Malacca [in the monsoon of September] inviei un Padre . . . Ma . . . perché le navi partirono più tardi che non dovevano, non poterono passare innanzi . . . et furono forzati a tornare, di maniera che né il Padre con un Fratello, né le lettere che in Malacca, Malucco, Cina et Giappone andavano, alli quali io tutti scriveva, poterono andare » (DI IX 518).

## 201

## FR. NICOLAU NUNES SJ TO AN IMPORTANT JESUIT IN EUROPE

GOA, DECEMBER 14, 1574

I TEXT : *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 116* (*Selva di Bartoli*) f. 147*r*, formerly 119, second column. Very short, summarized text of a letter in the form of brief notes in Italian, and sometimes in Latin. The original Portuguese text did not appear in the archives. This text has not been stricken out with a vertical line (see at D 194) and does not seem to have been utilized by Bartoli in his *L'Asia*. Where Nunes must have used the first person, Bartoli uses the third.

II ADDRESSEE : No addressee is mentioned. That Nunes gives notice of a new Indian Provincial, and also makes strictures upon the proceedings of Fr. Valignano, points at an authoritative person in Europe. Bartoli did not make use of Portuguese archives, only of Roman ; from the fact that he found the letter there, it may perhaps be induced that the addressee lived in Rome : Fr. General or the Portuguese Assistant.

III OUR EDITION : We print the short extracts as found in the *Selva* of Fr. Bartoli.

### *Text*

1. *Fr. Nunes's course of life.* — 2. *Some instances of his apostolic life and work.* — 3. *A new Provincial. Criticisms of Valignano's doings.*

74 Goa / Nicolò Nugnez 14 Xbre

1. Entrò nella Compagnia in Coimbra 1545. Anno seq[uen]ti missus in Indiam [1]. S[an] Fr[ancesco] Sav[erio] il mandò al Moluco [2]. Loda il

[1] WICKI, *Liste* no. 15.

[2] D 9, 3. Nunes arrived in Ternate in October 1547.



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Santo [3]. 600 leghe da Malaca. Viaggio di due mesi. Stette nove anni al Moluco. Chiamato a Goa. Fatto sacerdote è rimandato al Mol[uco] [4]. Vi sta più di 17 anni [5]. Perchè le cose colà eran mal in essere, sempre in armi, petit et redit [6].

2. Vi fu mese che battezzò 900 fanc[iulli] di due anni in giù. Fu colà 26 anni [7]. In un anno 200 morti di bamb[in]i. Dice che in tanto tempo non mangiò pane, nè carne, nè bevve vino.

3. Il nuovo Provinciale è il Padre Rui Vincente [8]. Nota alcune cose contra il Padre Valignano Visitatore [9].

## 202

## FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 25, 1574

TEXT: DI IX 480-532 [519-520]. Taken from *ARSI, IapSin 7 I* ff. 295*r*-310*v*. Original in Italian with autographic signature.

### *Text*

1. *On account of the murder of the king, Maluku rebelled. Kingdom and Christianity are lost. Only a few Fathers remain in the fortresses of Ternate and Ambon. They are more occupied in suffering than in activity.* — 2. *Income of the Fathers of Ternate : 1000 pardaus.* — 3. *Income of the Fathers of Ambon : 380 pardaus.* — 4. *In case*

---

[3] Obviously, the title *santo* was added by Bartoli, certainly not yet given by Nunes when writting in 1574.

[4] In 1556 he sailed to Goa, was ordained a priest there, and returned to Maluku in 1557.

[5] The date of this letter proves that Nunes, in December 1574, was in Goa (Cf. also DI IX 475). So he left Maluku, at the latest, in May 1573. Consequently he did not live in Maluku, the second time, for seventeen clear years. See D 213 note 99.

[6] He asked permission to return to India, and he did so.

[7] See note 5.

[8] From November 1574 on (DI IX 2*).

[9] Who had arrived in Goa on September 6, 1574 (ibid. 19*).

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*Maluku were lost entirely, those revenues should be destined to the future college of Malacca or Japan.*

[...]

1. Malucco è un regno diviso in molte isole et molto grandi, dove era un grossissimo numero di christiani; ma perché colla morte del re di Tarnate che ammazzorono i portuesi, si rebellò quel regno, s'è perduto in un tempo il regno et la christianità, et li nostri si sono redotti in due loci o fortalezze piccole che sono ivi remaste a portuesi, l'una è nell'istesso Ternate dove stan adesso doi Padri et un Fratello de' nostri, l'altra è Amboino dove stanno medesmamente un altro Fratello et doi Padri [1]. Occupansi adesso più tosto in patire che in fare et più trattano de cose di guerra che di devotione, perché, come sono là assediati, non tengono altro che fare che dar animo et esforzare a quelli soldati.

2. In Tarnate tengono i nostri una chiesa [2] con una casa con cinque camere et sue officine, et tengono circa mille pardai ciaschun'anno che il Re gli dà d'elemosina per la sostentatione di quelli ch'ivano in dispersionem per quelle isole di Malucco, delli quali era questa casa come capo. Di questi mille pardai se gli pagano in Malacca seicento et l'altri 400 cavano di una certa quantità di garofani che possono senza pagar gabella al Re di là cavare [3].

3. Amboino, poi, ch'è discosto da Tarnate per molte legue, tiene anch'esso trecento ottanta pardai che gli dà il Re ciaschun'anno d'elemosina per la sostentatione di quelli che discorrevano per quelle parti [4].

4. Io scriverrò al P.e Provinciale [5] che, in caso si sia del tutto perduto Malucco, scriva alli Padri di Portogallo per veder d'ottenere questi mille et trecento pardai o per il collegio che s'ha da fare in uno di questi doi luoghi: o per il Giappone o per Malacca.

---

[1] That makes six Jesuits in all. The catalogue likewise written in Goa and at the same time, contains seven names (D 203). On their location in Ternate or Ambon at the moment of the surrender, December 1575, see D 219 note 7.

[2] The building of it had been begun in 1568 by Fr. Luís de Góis (D 161, 4), but it was not yet finished (D 205, 1). It was named the Church of Saint Paul (LEMOS 463; COLIN-PASTELLS III 55).

[3] From this passage it appears that the additional arrangement made by D. Sebastião in 1571 (D 183) in actual fact realized about four hundred pardaus, which were added to the six hundred established earlier (D 87, 1; D 187).

[4] This seems to be an entirely new and recent regulation.

[5] Fr. Rui Vicente.

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[. . .]

Di Goa et dalla casa dove stanno gli infermi s'è finita questa così lunga lettera nel proprio giorno di Natale 1575 [6].

Di V.P. servo et figliolo indignissimo in Christo,

Alexandro Valegnano.

## 203

## CATALOGUE OF THE JESUITS OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

[GOA, DECEMBER 1574]

I TEXT: DI IX 474-480 [479], taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 81*r-v* and 84*r-v*. Original. Portuguese.

II NOTE: The Catalogue consists of three parts: The Jesuits of Goa, the Jesuits in the « partes do Norte », and the Jesuits living in the « partes do Sul »; these last comprise the whole of Southeast Asia from Cochin up to Japan and Maluku. Maluku forms the seventh subdivision of that part.

*Text*

*The names of six Fathers and one Brother living in Maluku.*

CATHALOGO DOS PADRES E IRMÃOS QUE RESIDEM NAS PARTES DO SUL

[. . .]

Maluquo

P. Marcos Pranqudo, superior
P. Fernãod'Alvarez
P. Paulo Gomez
P. Bartolomeu Rodriguez [1]
P. Jeronimo Rodriguez
P. Pero Mascarenhas
Ir. Antonio Gonçalvez

[. . .]

---

[6] According to WICKI (DI IX 532) this has to be read « 1574 », since Valignano usually was counting the new year from Christmas day on.

[1] He had died before May, 1574 (D 206; D 214, 3).

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*Lost Letter*

203*a*. — *Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Goa, to King D. Sebastião, Portugal ; late 1574 or January 1575.*

Nicolau Nunes to Martim da Silva, January 4, 1576 : « Encomendo a V.R. que lá se alembre de Dom Francisco, neto d'el-rrei de Maluquo, que eu trouxe de lá, sobre o quoal o P. Visitador tem escrito o ano passado a El-Rrei » (D 213, 42).

## 204

## FR. JUAN BAUTISTA DE RIBERA SJ TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

LISBON, OCTOBER 18, 1575

TEXT : DI IX 690-708 [701]. Taken from *ARSI, IapSin 7 I* ff. 285*r*-290*v*. Holograph. Italian.

### *Text*

1. *Utter desperateness of the situation in Maluku. The Portuguese, and with them the Fathers, will be starved into surrender or be defeated. India gives no help.* — 2. *The Christians, who were about 500,000, returned to their former creeds.*

[. . .]

1. Del Maluco dirò solamente, rimettendomi agli avvisi più freschi, che alla mia partita dall'India [1] se ne havevano, ch'erano le cose in ultima desperatione ; cioè quei nostri Fratelli che ve n'erano assediati con pochi soldati portughesi da infiniti mori, che giorno et notte con perpetui assalti gli tenevano desti, non havendo speranza di soccorso, né da mangiare cosa che gli mantenesse molti giorni in vita : sì che si temeva, che o per fame o per ferro havessero a durar pocco, né a questi mali si porgeva dall'India rimedio alcuno, perché dapertutto omnes quaerunt quae sua sunt [2].

2. I christiani con queste calamità dispersi sunt, et, come gente pocco ferma nelle cose della fede, tornarono al recidivo delle loro superstitioni per mal governo de' capitani, dum inhiant sibi ipsis ditandis ;

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[1] He left Cochin in early 1574.

[2] Phil 2 21.

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i quali non erano in manco numero che di 500 o 550 milia [3]. Sit nomen Domini benedictum [4].

[...]

Di Lisboa in questa Casa Professa di Santo Rocco, dì del glorioso evangelista San Luca, 18 d'Ottobre M.D.LXXV.

Di Vostra molto Reverenda Paternità indignissimo servo et figliolo nel Signore,

Giovanni Battista di Ribera [5].

## 205

## « CATALOGUS TERTIUS » OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA], OCTOBER 1575

I TEXT: DI X 50-59 [57-58]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 99*r*-102*v*. Original. Spanish.

II NOTE: For the different kinds of statutory catalogues, see DI IX 722 nos. 32-35.

### *Text*

1. *Ternate : Fathers, work, house, church, income.* — 2. *Ambon : Fathers, work, house, church, income.*

SUMARIO DE TODOS LOS COLLEGIOS Y RESIDENCIAS, PERSONAS, ESTUDIOS, ESTUDIANTES DE FUERA, RENTAS, MISSIONES DESTA PROVINCIA DE LA INDIA ORIENTAL, HECHO EN OCTUBRE DE 1575

[...]

1. 16. Residencia de Ternati, que es en Maluco.

En Maluco residen seis de los nuestros [1], los quatro son Padres y uno dellos professo de tres votos [2]. Está esta tierra de cerquo seis años

---

[3] In the Jesuit letters from Maluku such a high number is never given.

[4] Job 1 21.

[5] On him, see DI VI 17*; IX 12*-13* (where in the first line 1573 is a misprint for 1574; see DI IX 705 note 74).

[1] Both the catalogues closely preceding and following this document (DD 203 and 215) list seven Jesuits. Fr. Bartolomeu Rodrigues had died (D 206 and 214, 3).

[2] Fr. Marcos Prancudo (DI VII 311; X 26), who was also the rector or superior.

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ha. Occúpanse los nuestros en padecer muchos trabajos por amor de Dios. Tenemos casa propria y yglesia, la qual no está acabada y sirve agora de fortaleza y defensa contra los enemigos. Susténtanse de quinientos y quarenta cruzados que tienen por el Rey pagados en Malaqua [3].

2. 17. Residencia de Amboino.

Aquí residen dos de la Compañía subiectos al Rector de Ternati, uno dellos sacerdote. Occúpanse en los ministerios de la Compañía porque la conversión está vaqua por causa de las guerras. Tenemos casa propria y yglesia al modo de la tierra vil y de poca estima. Susténtanse de la misma renta de Ternati [4].
[. . .]

## 206

## FR. GOMES VAZ SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 15, 1575

TEXT: DI X 66-103 [71]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 47* ff. 5*r*-12*v*. Copy. Latin.

### *Text*

*On the death of a Father [Bartolomeu Rodrigues] in Maluku.*

[. . .]
[*During the past year four Fathers and one Brother of the Indian Province died*]:

E quibus primo qui decessit sacerdos ille quidem omnium animis ob virtutis praestantiam vitaeque probitatem acceptissimus [1], novem prope annos fideliter est semper versatus, partim in Promontorio Co-

[3] The gold pardau being 360 réis, and the cruzado equalling 400 réis, 600 pardaus represent the same amount as 540 cruzados (D 187).

[4] See, however, D 202, 3.

[1] It appears from D 214, 3 that this was Fr. Bartolomeu Rodrigues.

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morini, partim apud Malucos [2], ubi etiam diem suum obiit [3], medici et medicamentorum (ut perlatum est ad nos) auxiliis destitutus, vel etiam rerum aegroto necessariarum, vel fame denique enectus. Non enim communibus necessitatibus urgentur nostri apud eos.
[. . .]

## 207

## FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

ON BOARD BETWEEN COCHIN AND GOA, DECEMBER 4, 1575

TEXT: DI X 143-219 [164]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 47* ff. 42*r*-58*v*. Original. Italian. No signature. Three seals of Valignano.

### *Text*

*The Jesuit residence of Maluku, like those of other posts, is maintained by yearly royal alms. Difficulty in getting them from the hands of officials. Yet they cannot be turned into another kind of contribution.*

[. . .]
Le residenze che sono in Tanà et in Damano, con quello di Coulam et della Costa di Travancor et Malacca, Malucco et Giappone vivono tutti d'una elemosina che li dà il Re di Portogallo ogn'anno, la quale, come che si ha da riscuotere da mano delli fattori et officiali de Sua Altezza, sono ordinariamente mal pagati et ci danno che fare, et con questo si sostentano gli Padri che ivi stanno, come largamente scrissi a V.P. l'anno passato [1]. Et anchor queste elemosine siano perpetue et pagate in questo modo, tuttavia ci veggio poco remedio per posserle mutare, perché, come che il Re tenga in questa India assai poco, non tiene altro che dare che queste intrate che si hanno da riscuotere dalle gabelle o doane dalle mane delli suoi fattori; et di questa maniera si pagano ancora tutte l'intrate delli Vescovi et delli canonici et clero et

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[2] He arrived in Maluku in 1571 (D 185).

[3] By our calculation, before May 1574. Fr. Provincial, Ruy Vicente, wrote on December 4, 1576, from Goa to Fr. General: «Los defuntos que N.S. ha llevado este año, después de las monsiones passadas, fueron . . . en Maluco el Padre Bortolameu Roiz» (*ARSI, IapSin* 8 *II* ff. 59*r*-60*v*, original in Spanish; our quotation on f. 60*r*).

[1] Cf. D 202.

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delle altre Religioni, che tutti sono dal Re aggiutati, et sin'ora noi ne habbiamo hauto la meglior parte per le posessioni che ha dato al collegio di Coccino et Goa.

[...]

Scritta nella nave andando da Coccino in Goa, alli 4 di X.bre 1575.

## 208

## DELIBERATIONS OF FR. VALIGNANO AND SOME *PATRES GRAVIORES* ON PROBLEMS OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

CHORÃO, DECEMBER 6-18, 1575

TEXT : DI X 228-315 [274 ; 294]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 47* ff. 17*r*-35*v*. Original in Spanish. Signed by Fr. Visitor and Fr. Provincial. Issues to be treated in the first Provincial Congregation.

### *Text*

1. *27th Question, as to whether or not some Jesuits will have to be removed from Maluku, and whether the Maluku Jesuits should be forbidden to take part in fighting : all agree that they may safely take part in fighting, and all but one of them think that they should remain there, except perhaps Paulo Gomes.* — 2. *45th Question, as to whether or not the Fathers of Maluku should give up the clove-trade. First opinion : they should rather sell the license ; second opinion : they can safely do business with the four* bahars *of clove granted to them.*

Jesus

A 6 de Deziembre de 1575 el P.e Visitador Alexandro Valignano començó la Consulta con los Padres antiguos y superiores de la Provincia [...] y en ella fueron por el P.e Visitador propuestas las siguientes dudas o preguntas :

[...]

1. Pregunta 27 [1]

Si conviene quitar de Maluco algunos Padres y si se les deve escrivir que no peleen.

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[1] For the names of the Fathers who sustained the different opinions, see DI X 274 and 294.

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Todos fueron concordes que pueden pelear [2], porque están obligados por la necessidad en que están, a la qual no acudiendo se perdería la fortaleza, mas que usen de moderación tomando las armas quando fuere necessario.

Quanto al haverse de venir fueron dos opiniones: la primera, que viniessen solamente algunos que se pudiessen allá escusar, porque ya que no hazen nada quanto a lo spiritual, es bien que queden los que no se pueden escusar.

La 2ª opinión es, que no se quitasse ninguno, excepto el P.e Paulo Gómez si al superior pareciere por ser necessario en Malaca [3], y quitándose, descorazonarían los nuestros que allá quedan y los portuguesses lo tomarían mal.

[...]

## 2. Pregunta 45

Si se ha de quitar del todo el trato que los nuestros tienen en Malucho del clavo y el de la seda que los nuestros tienen en Japón.

Acerca del trato de Malucho uvo dos opiniones: la primera que los nuestros vendiessen la licencia que el Rey les da para poder traer quatro bares de clavo forros, mas que no embíen ellos el clavo, como algunas vezes solían hazer, porque el primero modo es renta; el segundo es negociatión, con que se da occasión de escándalo y murmuración.

La 2ª opinión fue que, vistas las necessidades que allí ay, devían los nuestros mandar el clavo como hazían antes, porque con este trato se sustentan y socorren a muchos christianos, y no es escándalo dado, pues esto les concede Su Alteza para se poder sustentar.

Item, porque esto se ha hecho mucho tiempo y se haze con S. Roche, que es Casa de professos [4], y es trato común de todas las religiones,

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[2] To understand and judge this problem one has to view the situation as it is depicted in D 204, 1 : three or four Jesuits in the fortress of Ternate, together with a small garrison, daily attacked by an overwhelming number of the enemy, and without help from India. So it became simply an imperative necessity for the Fathers to take part in the defense.

[3] Cf. D 195, 2.

[4] São Roque was the name of the Jesuit Professed House in Lisbon. For royal alms in the form of spice, see Brussels, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS* 4072, formerly 3974 : *Bullae et diplomata pontificia et placita regum ac principum Societatem concernentia. Pars I^a*, pp. 10-29 : « Donation par Sa Majesté Don Sébastien, Roy de Portugal, d'aucunes especeries à certaines provinces de la Société, Anno 1573 » (trans-

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que por no tener el Rey tanto que dar en dinero, les da estas licencias, las quales ellos venden o usan deste trato por interpuestas personas, como los de Malucho hazen.
[...]

Ita est. Alexander Valegnanus.
Ita est. Ruy Vicente.

## 209

### I

### PROPOSALS MADE BY THE FIRST PROVINCIAL CONGREGATION OF INDIA TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN

CHORÃO, DECEMBER 28, 1575

TEXT: DI X 315-358 [327 ; 336-337 ; 347]. Taken from *ARSI, Congr. 42* ff. 324*r*-334*v*. Original, written in Latin by the Congregation's Secretary Fr. Bernardino Ferrario.

### II

### ANSWERS OF FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE FIRST PROVINCIAL CONGREGATION OF INDIA

ROME, JANUARY 31, 1577

TEXT: DI X 316-360 [327 ; 337 ; 347]. Taken from *ARSI, Congr. 93* ff. 197*r*-204*v*. Original file copy of the Roman Jesuit Curia, in Latin.

#### *Text*

1. [Congreg.] *As to running parishes, in Maluku and Japan, nothing should be changed.* — [General] *Running parishes should always be avoided if possible, but in Maluku and Japan it may be tolerated until the Visitor gives a different advice.* — 2. [Congreg.] *The Fathers who are besieged in Maluku are not to be recalled nor to be obliged to renounce fighting.* — [General] *He agrees with the Congregation.* — 3. [Congreg.]

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lated from the Portuguese). These spice alms were not only granted to São Roque but to Jesuit colleges all over Europe.

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*Approves the second opinion [of D 208, 2] because the Maluku Fathers do not trade for lust of gain but as a work of charity. Fr. Visitor may examine the affair. —* [General] *Another settlement would be desirable. Yet the Maluku Fathers will continue to trade, if possible utilizing laymen for it.*

[...] I 10

1. — Quantum ad paroeciarum neophitorum gubernationem, placuit Congregationi in insulis Maluccis et Japponii nihil immutandum esse, sed P. Visitatoris examini cum illas regiones inviserit relinquendas [1].

[...] II Ad 10[m]

De gubernatione paroeciarum illud primum intelligi debet, non esse eam nostris Constitutionibus consentaneam, sive illa ad ecclesiasticam iurisditionem sive ad secularem pertineat. Proinde ubicunque ea sine incommodo neophytorum relinqui posset, melius nobis ministeriisque Societatis consultum putaremus. Dum tamen tempora id non permittunt quod quidem attinet ad Malucas insulas et Iaponiam, nihil innovetur quoad ex Visitatione Patris Alexandri intelligamus quid facto opus sit, nisi quid moderandum absque novae illius vineae detrimento videretur.

[...] I 25

2. — Actum est etiam de nostris Patribus qui in Maluchis insulis obsessi sunt; et visum est avocandos non esse (uno excepto qui Malachae necessarius est [2]) neque scribendum illis ut a prelio abstineant, cum non solum ad propriam sed ad aliorum defensionem pugnare videantur, praesertim cum si ipsi a prelio abscesserint idem caeteros esse facturos dubitandum non sit.

II Ad XXV

Recte censent. Interim per orationes et sancta sacrificia opem obsessis praestare non desistimus.

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[1] Cf. DI X 251, Pregunta 12. It must be remarked that there is no evidence whatsoever that parishes were formally and canonically erected in Maluku.

[2] Paulo Gomes.

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[. . .] I 44

3. — Circa dubium illud quod nostri in Maluchis insulis negotiatores esse videbantur, approbat Congregatio posteriorem sententiam in responsione ad 45 interrogationem P.V., nam revera non turpe lucrum illud est, sed opus charitatis quo nostri sua se alunt industria et templum aedificant et pauperibus illius insulae subveniunt. Commodius tamen sine dubio nostris esset si Rex omnia necessaria suppeditaret, sed quoniam hoc fieri nequit contenti esse debemus eo quod potest, cum hoc etiam modo aliis religionibus a Rege subveniatur; nihilominus ut hoc, ita etiam nostrorum negotiatio ex Cina ad iapponios, P. Visitatori examinanda remittitur cum illas domos inviserit, ut quod rectum fuerit decernat ad proximorum aedificationem.

II Ad 44

Optandum esset ut alia ratione nostri alerentur[3]. Quod quando hactenus fieri non potuit, sperandum est et a divina Providentia petendum, ut aliam nostro Instituto propriorem rationem ostendat. Interea quod attinet ad eos, qui in Malucis insulis versantur, nihil immutetur, nisi quod tentandum videretur num id fieri possit per externos, quod tamen arbitrio superiorum relinquimus.

[. . .]

## 210

## VALIGNANO'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE CHORÃO PRE-CONGREGATIONAL DELIBERATIONS, SUBMITTED TO FR. GENERAL

CHORÃO, DECEMBER 30, 1575

I TEXT: DI X 360-387 [375-376; 383]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 47* ff. 103*r*-108*v*. Original in Italian with autographic signature of Fr. Valignano.

II NOTE: For the deliberations held in Chorão near Goa, see DI X 228-315; our D 208.

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[3] The superiors of the Society appear well aware of the drawbacks and dangers of any kind of trading, or even appearance of it, for the Jesuits themselves and for the effective missionary activity of the order.

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## *Text*

*1. Recalling the Fathers from Maluku would cause grave scandal. It is to be hoped that Maluku is not yet completely lost. For sheer carelessness of the government, succour, in the monsoons of both April and September, has been dispatched too late, and the ships had to return. — 2. It would be best if the Fathers dropped any kind of trade altogether, but as they stand in utter need, for the present it may continue.*

[. . .]

1. Quanto alla 27 [1], mi par bene et necessaria la resolutione che si diede circa delli Padri di Malucco, perché non si possino di là richiamare senza grande scandolo et, anchor gli chiamassimo, senza forse che non gli lasciarebbono venire. Ma piaccia a N.S. non si siano già persi o che non si perdano questo anno [2], perché per mera negligenza nelle due motioni, colle quali si va in Malacca l'Aprile et il Settembre, si tardò tanto a mandar il soccorso che non han possuto passare, perché già era passata la motione [3] et fu il galeone con tutta l'armata forzato a tornare. Et non bastò l'esperienza che di questo si hebbe l'Aprile, per far che si mandasse a tempo a 7$^{bre}$ [Settembre] : tal va il governo di questo misero Stato [4] ! Et perché l'anno passato ce scrissero quelli Padri che stavano in tanta strettezza [5], che tanto di pesce che bastava a un pasto, si vendeva un scudo, non havendo hauto questo anno soccorso, può facilmente essere che si siano persi. Ma da Coccino [potrà] forse V.P. di questo [aver] alcuna nova [6], perché sogliono ivi arrivar le navi che vengono da quelle parti alle volte prima che si partano le navi per Portogallo.

[. . .]

2. Quanto alla 45 [7], circa del primo ponto, nel quale si parla del tratto di Malucco, mi par migliore la prima opinione, perché desidero in quanto possiamo che ci retiriamo da ogni sorte di tratto, perché così ci conviene ; tuttavia per hora, perché stanno in estrema necessità,

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[1] Pregunta 27 of D 208.

[2] One sees that even in India the fall of Ternate was expected.

[3] The monsoon, that is, the scheduled sailing time.

[4] More than once Valignano shows that he is well aware of the declining power of Portugal in Asia. See his extensive lamentation in DI X 387-411.

[5] Lost letter. See D 197*a*.

[6] Letters from Maluku of the year 1575 have not been preserved.

[7] Pregunta 45 of D 208.

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può passare la cosa come fin hora ha passato, benché d'alcuni anni in qua usano poco di questo tratto, perché stanno assediati.

[. . .]

Dell'isola di Cioram, alli 30 di X^bre 1576 [a].

Di V.P. servo et figlio inutile nel Signore,

Alexandro Valegnano.

## 211

## FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO TO FR. MANUEL RODRIGUES, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

GOA, DECEMBER 31, 1575

TEXT: DI X 387-411 [390; 394]. Taken from *ARSI, Iap.Sin 7 I* ff. 311*r*-318*v*. Authorized Spanish translation from the Portuguese, sealed by Valignano.

### *Text*

1. *Maluku withstands siege for some years. Worse news is to be expected.* — 2. *[The fourth reason for the ruinous state of Portuguese India is illustrated by the following:] When fortresses stand in need, the government is not diligent in succouring them, and so they are lost. He moved heaven and earth for help to be given to Maluku in due time, but it was no use: three times within a year the ships departed too late and had to return.*

[. . .]

1. Maluco está ha tantos años de cerco [1], y el año passado tuvimos nuevas que estaba quasi in extremis [2]: y paresce probablemente que las nuevas deste año serán peores, por quanto en ninguna manera fue socorrido.

[. . .]

2. Lo 4º, porque, [quando] están las fortalezas en algún aprieto no se usa de la diligencia devida en las socorrer, por lo qual o se pierden o padecen grandíssimo detrimento: esto vimos claramente en Chale que, pudiéndose facilíssimamente socorrer, se hizo tan devagar que se

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[a] I.e., 1575, since Valignano begins the new year on Christmas day.

[1] From March 1570 on.

[2] Ternate surrendered just in the days this letter was finished and signed.

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perdió y no llegó el socorro a tiempo [3]; esto se vio este año en Maluco que, estando en tanto aprieto y usando yo de toda la solicitud que pude para que se socorriesse con buenas y malas palabras, nunca pude alcançar que se mandase el socorro a tal tiempo que no tornasse a arribar : y esto no una vez sola, mas tres vezes en un año [4], contando desde Setiembre que llegué a esta tierra hasta éste passado [5], ni bastó el primero ni el segundo escramiento para no dexar en el tercero, de tal manera que queda Maluco sin ayuda humana porque Malaca está también de cerco y no lo puede socorrer.

[. . .]

De Goa, el postrero de Deziembre de 1575.

De vuestra Reverencia siervo en Christo,

Alexandro Valignano.

*Lost Letter*

211*a*. — *Fr. General Everard Mercurian, Rome, to Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Goa ; late 1575 or early 1576.*

Valignano to Mercurian, September 16, 1577 : « Por lo que me escrivió V.P. el año passado, y por el parecer de todos, se ha mandado llamar que venga a Goa el dicho Padre [Marcos Prancudo] » (DI X 895).

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[3] The Portuguese fortress of Chale (Chāliyam) in India surrendered to the ruler of Calicut on November 4, 1571. See Couto IX 2.

[4] In D 210, 1 he mentions « twice », that is, during the year 1575 ; counting the departure of ships in September 1574 (the month Valignano arrived in Goa) there are three sailing times in all.

[5] These words prove that the letter was indeed written in 1575, and that, consequently, the final date, appended not by Valignano himself but by the translator, should not be interpreted according to Valignano's usual manner of dating from Christmas. Cf. D 202 note 6.

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## 212

# FR. VISITOR ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO AND FR. PROVINCIAL RUI VICENTE TO FR. MARTIM DA SILVA, GOA

INSTRUCTION

[GOA, JANUARY 1576]

I TEXT: DI X 412-428 [416]. Taken from *ARSI, Instit. 117 II* ff. 377*r*-381*v*. Original in Spanish with autographic signatures.

II NOTE: Fr. Martim da Silva sailed from Goa to Portugal and Rome in January 1576 as a «procurator» or agent of the India Province (Cf. DI X 7*-8*; 319 note 4). See introduction to D 213.

*Text*

*Fr. Silva must inquire whether possibly some wrong information has been given to the king against the Society on account of the murdering of the king of Maluku and other events, and he must rectify them.*

[...]

Sepa de los Padres si fue dada alguna mala información a Su Alteza contra la Compañía por causa de la muerte del rei de Maluco [1] y de la guerra que de allí resultó, o por causa de aver quitado los Padres que ivan a la conquista de Moçambique [2], y dará razón a Su Alteza si fuere necessario acerca de lo uno y de lo otro.

[...]

Alexander Valignanus.
Ruy Vicente.

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[1] This obviously refers to some rumours, expressed also by the bishop of Malacca, that the Jesuits in Ternate had supported the murder of King Hairun; D 191, 6.

[2] On the Jesuits leaving Mozambique, see DI X 655-656.



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## 213

# FR. NICOLAU NUNES' GENERAL SURVEY OF MALUKU BY REQUEST OF FR. MARTIM DA SILVA SJ, GOA

GOA, JANUARY 4, 1576

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 177 Nuñez no. 3.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 62-63 (no. 38); SCHURHAMMER, *Ges. Stud.* IV 159-160 (nos. 28-29).

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 47* ff. 117*r*-122*v*, formerly no. XIV. In left lower corner of f. 117*r* a secretary's note reads « Silva Maluco 76 »; f. 121*v* is blank; f. 122*r* contains only the words « † Emformação das terras de Maluco », f. 122*v* nothing but « Emformação das terras de Maluco pera ho P^e^ Martim da Sylva ». Original report in Portuguese, written by an amanuensis. The last two paragraphs (nos. 45-46), a post-script after the dating, are autographic. Both are preceded by a sign in the margin which is to be read as « item ». There is no signature, no seal, and no address.

IV NOTE: Nunes wrote this report by request of Fr. Silva and finished it shortly before the latter sailed from Goa to Europe. Fr. Martim da Silva, born in 1538, joined the Society about 1554 in Goa, was ordained in 1561, and was sent as a « procurator » of the First Indian Provincial Congregation of 1575 to Portugal and Rome. For the detailed instruction of January 1576 that he received from the Congregation, see DI X 412-428 (from which D 212 was taken). Our document proves that Silva wanted to be informed particularly on Maluku. His mission to the authorities of Portugal and to Fr. General and Pope Gregory XIII emphasizes its importance.

V OUR EDITION: We print the only extant MS text. As the amanuensis committed many mistakes and irregularities, especially in the spelling of proper names, but also of ordinary words, we are obliged to correct them, always mentioning the erroneous orthography in the apparatus.

### *Text*

1. *By request of Fr. Silva he will write an account of Maluku where he has spent 26 years. Items to be treated.* — 2. *Sailing route from Goa to Maluku via Malacca, Brunei, and Mindanao: distance, duration, useful winds.* — 3. *Journey's terminus: fortress of Ternate. The island's volcano.* — 4. *Time of arrival. Route and duration of return to India.* — 5. *The equator. Other sailing time and route from Goa in September via Malacca, Java, and Ambon.* — 6. *The five Spice Islands; most important is Ternate. Description of the clove tree.* — 7. *White grapes. No seasons. Evergreens.* — 8. *Snakes.* — 9. *Lizards. The « kusus ».* — 10. *Kind of wild chicken.* — 11. *Turtles.* — 12. *Hot springs. The milk-yielding he-goat.* — 13. *Cowfish; other fish; crabs.* — 14. *Spring-tide and earthquake.* — 15. *Other clove islands and their kings. Jailolo.* —

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*16. The Papua countries. Four kings. — 17. Trend to fetishism of Papua people. Their irreverence towards their idols. — 18. Gold. Birds, especially parrots, of Papua country. — 19. People of [North] Selebes ; two or three Christian kings. — 20. Good qualities of the Selebes people and their country. — 21. Ambon and Banda Islands. Products. The « durian ». — 22. The Portuguese fortress of Ambon. Ambon people is pagan and rude. Remnants of cannibalism. — 23. Timor, Aru, and other islands. — 24-25. Victuals of Maluku, especially « sagu » ; its manufacture. — 26. Some curious trees and herbs. — 27. Tree from which « tuaka » is produced. Drink made out of sugar-cane. Other canes. — 28. Nine men from unknown island landed in Morotai. Their victuals. Turtles. — 29. The curious luminous carbuncles. Plan to sail to that island came to naught. — 30. The inhabitants of the five Maluku Islands are Muslims. They learnt the alphabet and the Muslim creed from the Arabs, and the use of fire arms from the Portuguese. — 31. Description of vessels. — 32. Their kings are tyrants ; people are superstitious and wizards, pirates and slavers ; they cut heads of their enemies. Great difference of tongues. — 33. As to the Christian faith : in Selebes some kings with their numerous peoples are now abandoned on account of the war. — 34. In the fortress [of Ternate] the number of nearly five thousand Christians shrank to scarcely four hundred. During the war almost five hundred Portuguese died, among them Gonçalo Pereira. — 35. The king and people of Bacan were Christians ; now, oppressed by the king of Ternate, they are dominated by the Moors. — 36. Christianity of Moro, where Francisco [Xavier], Afonso de Castro, Juan de Beira, and Nunes himself worked, once flourishing, is destroyed and the Christians are massacred. — 37. Ambon contained the most numerous Christians. On Buru there were many Christians ; they compulsorily submitted to the Ternatan Moors. — 38. On Ambon some villages with perhaps four or five thousand souls give obedience to the Portuguese fortress and to the Fathers. — 39. A curious item : people with a kind of tail. — 40. Actual situation : if Malacca has been conquered, as it is rumoured, Ternate and Ambon are sure to be lost too. Only a hundred Portuguese were left in the two fortresses, with six or seven Jesuits. — 41. The only remedy consists in sending an army there of a thousand or at least five or six hundred Portuguese. — 42-44. He proposes to appeal to the king of Portugal for favours on behalf of determined persons. — 45. The same on behalf of a daughter of the king of Tidore. — 46. He asks for some religious objects to be brought from Rome for himself.*

† Jesus

## Emformação das terras de Maluquo pera o Padre Martim da Silva

1. Por V.R. me pedir por escrito lhe dese a emformação das terras de Maluquo, pera em Europa (aonde polo amor do Senhor e por obediencia vai tomar tantos trabalhos) dar relação daquelas remotissimas partes, determinei de ho fazer posto que ho estilo e modo de falar seja rude, todavia será na verdade como pessoa que á vinte e seis annos

6 modo] mode *ms.* || 7 á *interl., d. r.*

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andou naquelas terras [1] perigrinando debaixo da obediencia da Companhia. Serei breve dando relação primeiro das terras e da distancia e nome delas, despois dos reis e gentes delas, e dos seus tratos e lingoas diverssas [2], e por derradeiro da christandade delas e do estado em que esteve e agora estaa.

2. Primeiramente, desta cidade de Goa às terras de Maluquo averá como mil e duzentas legoas, e Malaqua hé o meio do caminho ; e poen-se nestas mil e tantas legoas, ida por vinda, sem lá emvernarem, dous annos, pouquo menos, por causa das monsõis e ventos não servirem senão em sertos tempos. Daqui [3] a Malaqua poem comummente hum mes e meio, e haí estão hum mes ou mais e partem em Agosto pera Maluquo passando polo estreito de Symcapura, que estará trinta legoas de Malaqua, e dahí vão sua rota a demandar o reino de Burneo [4] que hé grande escala, scilicet, de galinhas, cera, sagu, canfora, ouro, escravos e algumas pedras preciosas e outras cousas boas que aqui não aponto. Daí vão demandar as terras de Mindanao perto de Sabuica [5], onde matarão o Magalhãis [6]. Perto dahí nos Luçõis (que hé terra de muito ouro) estão os castelhanos há muitos annos [7] e dizem que vão demandar a China ou Japão, que estará donde elles estão algumas cento ou duzentas legoas, e menos de cento e simquoenta segundo que vi nas cartas de marear. De maneira que a nao de Maluquo [8] passa por estas terras, que serão delas a Maluquo cento e simquoenta legoas, e daqui desta Mindanao que digo vão com outros ventos, com se deterem pouquo, que são noroestes ou oestes, a demandar Maluquo que me parece que está ao leste.

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8 andou *interl.* || 12 estaa *del.* a . . . a [ ? ] || 24 Luçõis] Triçõis *ms.* || 28 nao] não *ms.* (*so more often*)

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[1] Cf. D 201, 2.

[2] Nunes' report on languages is very concise ; see end of no. 32.

[3] The scheduled time for sailing from Goa was in April.

[4] Brunei.

[5] Probably Sibuguey is meant, i.e., the westernmost peninsula of Mindanao. It is there, by the Basilan Strait, that the ships had to pass.

[6] Fernão de Magalhães (Magellan) was killed near Cebu on April 27, 1521. Apparently, Nunes is confusing Sibuguey and Cebu.

[7] Though Legazpi, in 1565, had first settled in Cebu, he transferred his headquarters to Manila, on the island of Luzon, in 1571, transforming a small native village into a Spanish town. (See, e.g., MORGA 546).

[8] The « nau da carreira », the royal clove ship, in nos. 3 and 4 called « a nosa nao ».

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3. E vai a nosa nao à nosa fortaleza de Maluquo, que pelo seu nome proprio se chama Ternate, huma terra mui alta, que será de quoatro ou simquo legoas de roda. No alto deste monte está huma cova mui grande de fogo que sempre arde e bota fogo e mui grandes pedras, cousa mui temoroza ; e bota muita cinza que eu a vi chegar à povoação dos purtugezes, e faz este fogo grande aroido dentro que se ouve mui longe.

4. De maneira que a nossa nao chega a Maluquo em Outubro e Novembro, e poem às vezes de Malaqua tres mezes em chegar a Maluquo, e despois que chega está à carrega de cravo avendo-o e, se não, emverna hum anno, e assi põe tres annos quoando enverna. E se logo acha cravo, carrega e vai-se por todo Fevereiro a emvernar à outra fortaleza nossa que está em Amboino [9], e estará da de Ternate obra de cem legoas à banda do sul, e aí está tres mezes esperando tempo pera ir demandar a terra de Timor aonde há o sandolo [10]. E passa polas teras de Java, terras de muita fartura e gente maa e pessima, e dahí se vai a Malaqua outra vez aonde emverna quoatro mezes ou mais, e en Dezembro parte pera a India.

5. Trinta legoas de Malaqua está a Linha, no estreito de Syncapura [11] ; e vinte legoas de Ternate pera Amboino tãobem passão pola Linha, a quoal corta polo reino [117*v*] de Bacham [12]. Tãobem há outra monção pera Maluquo, que hé partindo de Goa em Setembro, assi como vai a nao pera Banda a busqar a nos e massa [13], e passa por Malaqua e Java e Amboino, e chega em Maio a Maluqo [14] e torna polo mesmo caminho pera Goa, e por esta via se poem mais mezes. E isto hé quoanto ao que toqua à viagem de Maluquo.

6. Quoanto às terras de Maluquo, são simquo ilhas principais aonde

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44 em *rep.* || 46 aonde] aonda *ms.* || 50 *corr. fr.* Sincapura

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[9] In the meantime the Hitu fortress had already been transferred to the Bay of Ambon, onto the N coast of Leitimor (Cf. D 164 note 17).

[10] Certainly not every royal clove ship touched Timor on its return journey ; presumably the one in which Nunes sailed did. Timor was famous for and much visited by reason of its sandalwood.

[11] The Singapore Strait is situated more than 1° N.

[12] The equator does not cut through Bacan but runs farther north, passing through Kayoa.

[13] Nutmeg and mace.

[14] That is to say, the Banda ship itself did not sail to Ternate, but men and goods could be sent there from Ambon, where it arrived in mid-February, with the rising SE monsoon in May.

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há o cravo [15], e posto que aja outras muitas ilhas a estas se reduzem todas. A nossa fortaleza estaa na principal ilha, que se chama Ternate, aonde está o rei principal que tem mais poder que os outros tres reis [16]. Esta ilha hé alta mais que as outras [17] e tem fogo, como assima digo. Tem e dá muito cravo. Terá em si mais de dous mil homes e por ser pequena hé mui povoada. Tem algumas fruitas e laranjas das boas que há no mundo. As arvores do cravo sam grandes e altas : o pao hé durissimo, à maneira de vermelho ; a folha do cravo hé como ha do louro da nosa terra [18] ; dá o cravo nas pontas dos ramos. Quoando o cravo está com a frol cheira quasi como peros repinaldos [19]. Este cravo às vezes vem cada tres annos, às vezes de 4 em 4, e às vezes menos de 3.

7. Há nesta ilha e nas outras uvas branquas em parreiras e em ramadas, e vem a novidade cada 3 mezes e meio em todo o tempo do anno : e em huma parreira em hum pee já se vio (segundo as podão) estar em huma vara uvas maduras e na outra verdes, e na outra podadas. Saem as uvas boas se não chove muito [20]. Na terra não há verão nem inverno ; sempre chove e faz sol. Há arvores de immensa grandeza e sempre estão com folha e se lhe caiem, vem outra antes que caia.

8. Há nesta ilha e nas outras mui grandes cobras. Eu já as vi mas não tão grandes como disserão quem as vio, porque são algumas de sete ou oito braças [21] e a boqua de dous palmos [22] de alto. Quoando não achão porquos que comer comem gente. Ellas não fogem mas esperão, como bestas que são, e assi matão algumas quem tem bom estamago, porque a mim me disse hum cavaleiro purtuges que vira huma que estava em sima de huma arvore com o rrabo e a cabeça em baixo, e que lhe matara hum libreo [23] e que nunqua tivera animo pera lhe tirar

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59 reduzem] rudezem *ms.* || 68 *corr. fr.* rapinaldos || 76 e[1] *del.* a || 78 vio *vt. corr.* | algumas *interl.* || 80 mas *corr. fr.* mais || 82 que *del.* estava em sima

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[15] Ternate, Tidore, Moti, Makian, and Bacan.

[16] The rajas of Tidore, Jailolo, and Bacan.

[17] According to modern measurement, the Peak of Tidore is higher than the Peak of Ternate, resp. 1,730 and 1,715 m.

[18] The *Treatise* (41) also compares the clove tree with the Portuguese laurel.

[19] « Certa variedade de peros oblongos e doces » (Morais s.v.) ; a kind of apple.

[20] The vine was brought to Ternate by António Galvão in 1536 ; see *Treatise* 48-50.

[21] The Portuguese *braça* (fathom) measured 2.18 m.

[22] The *palmo* (palm) was 0.22 m.

[23] Less common form of *lebrel*, a sporting dog.

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com hum arcabuz, e que fugira que tamanha serpente era ; e isto dizem todas as gentes daquelas partes asi purtugezes como os da terra.

9. Tãobem nestas partes há lagartos [24] polos rios mui grandes de duas braças e meia e comem gente, e eu vi muitos. Em os matos destas terras não há senão porquos [25] e humas alimarias pequenas à maneira de furõis, que se chamão cusos [26], os quoais eu vi, e trazem os filhos ou os gerão em hum bolso debaixo da barriga da banda de fora e haí os crião. Há muitos destes cusos e se comem, e andão por sima das arvores mais altas que achão por que os não tomem. Estes matos destas terras são mui espesos de ervas mui altas que emcubrirão hum homem a cavalo. Não há outras alimarias ; dizem que há huns animais pequenos como lebres e hé certo.

10. Na terra não há vaquas nem bufiras [27], salvo se as trazem da terra da Java, e dão-se bem as vaquas e gado por ser terra mui fertil pola contemperança dos ares. Há galinhas do mato pequenas, as quoais poem ovos tão grandes, mui maiores que de pata, que hum homem faz muito em comer dous, e eu os vi. E poen-nos as galinhas en terra fofa mais de meia braça ou em area [28], e dahí a sertos dias saiem os pintãos e furão a terra, e fogem como perdigotes que não há couza que os alcance : de maneira que a galinha fura a terra e lá poem os ovos até que se grosão [29] e saem como digo, que parece couza incredivel salvo a quem os vio, que fui eu e outros muitos da Companhia que lá andamos. E já comi destas galinhas e são boas, senão que são duras.

11. Tãobem há outras alimarias ou peixes que andão no mar e na terra, os quoais são as tartarugas e há muitas, e poem os ovos em terra na area solta que está perto do mar aonde não chega agoa do mar. E cavão e poem cada huma perto de quinhentos ovos, os quoais são redondos e moles, e as tartarugas os metem ou poem em covas ; [118*r*]

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85 isto *del.* to[das]

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[24] On snakes, crocodiles and lizards, see *Treatise* 60.

[25] Wild pigs are among the few mammals found in the Maluku region (WALLACE 11).

[26] Ibid. ; *kusu* is the Moluccan form of the Malay *kuskus*, designating a marsupial related to the kangaroo. Description and picture : WALLACE 301-302.

[27] Read *búfaras*, buffalos. « He dizem que ouve aqui buffaras he polas guerras se despovoou a ilha delas » (*Treatise* 60).

[28] On the Megapodidae, see *Treatise* 64 ; ENI II 621 (Loophoenders) ; MARTIN, *Reisen in den Molukken* 38-39 ; WALLACE 304-305.

[29] Stands for *se engrossão*.

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e dizem que se marcão por hu[m]a arvore, e dahí a certos dias vem tirar os filhos, cuja carne e ovos eu comi.

12. Hai nestas partes muitas agoas quentes [30]: e per hum mato destes hia hum portuges atrás de hum porco e fo[i]-se-lhe meter em algumas caldas, e logo pelou e morreo o porco, que tão fervente era a agoa. Há tãobem na terra galinhas e cabras, e hé certo que Fernão de Sousa de Tavora [31], quoando veio de Maluquo, trouxe hum bode que tinha teto que dava leite natural cada dia, cuido que huma canada; e há Padre que, ainda oje na Companhia quá na India, que vio o dito bode, que foi cousa maravilhoza, e eu falei com muitos portugezes que me disserão que era verdade [32]. E isto baste quanto às alimarias da terra.

13. Quoanto aos pexes do mar, naturalmente não são terras de muito peixe como as de Portugal, nem sae [!] sabrozo como o de lá. Há peixes de muitas maneiras, entre os quoais eu vi huns peixes grandes que emcherão quoatro ou simquo jarras, aos quoais chamão peixes vaquas [33]. E certo que sabem como vaqua, e hai macho e femia: e as femias têm tetas como molher e o mais de peixe, o fosinho com sedas como de vaqua; quem os come bem pode escuzar a vaqua. Ahi outros peixes pequenos nas terras d'el-rrei de Bachão segundo me contarão, os quoais no mar, se achão algum a nado, cometem-no e são muito mais pequenos que tubarõis. Há huns cangrejos que comem da fruita da terra e andão na terra, e têm huns papos aonde têm ovos de muito bom sabor, e são estes cangrejos de preço.

14. Já se vio crecerem as agoas do mar tanto, que botavão muito longe por sima da terra e em algumas partes, o que era cequo, estar agora com muitas braças d'agoa. E isto com o tremor daquelas ilhas, que em hum dia de Pascoa foi tão grande o tremor da terra, que a gente fogia e se acolhia ao mar, e caião muitas serras e eu as vi caidas. E outra serra alta abrio por sima huma grande serra de fogo, e foi tão grande o terremoto e a força do fogo que emtupio (huma parte daquela serra que se abrio) o mar, e destas serras de fogo hai muitas.

15. Quoanto à divisão daquelas terras e ilhas, estará obra de mea legoa outra ilha mui alta junta desta de Ternate, a quoal se chama Tidoure, e hé mui alta, de quoatro ou sinquo legoas de rroda: e esta hé

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125 o *corr. fr.* os || 145 Fidore *ms.*, -u- *interl.*

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[30] The same is stated by the author of the *Treatise* (36).

[31] Consult D 3 note 18.

[32] D 3, 14.

[33] On this cow-fish, consult *Treatise* 66.

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a segunda do cravo, que tem o rei mouro, que se chama o rei de Tidoure ; e tem este rei outras terras junto de si e longe. Hai outras duas ilhas que se chama[m] Montel, Maquiem [34], sogeitas ao rei de Ternate, tãobem de cravo. Há outra ilha grande e junto desta outras ilhas mui grandes, que se chamão do rei de Bachão, e este hé o terceiro de Maluquo. O quoarto rei hé ho de Jeiloulo : este está tres legoas de Ternate, hé huma ilha grande de cento e sinqoenta legoas, e tem pouqua parte nela porque inclui esta ilha em si outros senhores, aonde hé a terra do Moro christãa e outras terras muitas que aqui não conto. Chama-se esta ilha nas cartas de marear a ilha de Batachina ; hé ilha de grande proveito e de muitos mantimentos que de lá vem pera as simquo ilhas do cravo.

16. Hai outras terras ao leste destas ilhas algumas sinqoenta legoas, que se chama a terra dos Papuas, terra de immensa grandeza e, segundo se diz, hai já descubertas della seiscentas legoas de costa. Estas terras dos Papuas que estão mais perto de nós são ilhas innumeraveis (segundo me contarão os que lá forão) e eu estive já à vista delas. E têm quoatro reis [35] sabidos ao mais perto, e hum destes reis veio a Bachão, estando eu haí [36], a tratar hum casamento com o rei de Bachão e a pedir christaandade. Hé gente como cafres [37] mui preta. [118*v*] O reizinho era como mulato, mais branquos são os gentios [38].

17. Todas estas gentes papuas são grandes feiticeiros e dão grande credito às sortes e ten-nas por seus deuzes, o quoal tãobem fazem todas as naçõis dos Maluquos ainda que sejão mouros, e não se movem pera quoalquer parte ainda que seja a pescar sem fazerem primeiro as sortes [39], as quoais são de diversas maneiras de alimarias e paos e folhas de arvores, e meden-se aos palmos [40] e são as mais parvuas sortes que eu vi. Trazião tãobem estes papuas nas proas das suas embarcaçõis estatuas de pagodes bem negras assi como o demonio, ho que asi faz

147 Fidoure *ms.* || 149 Montel, Maquiem *both. wt. corr.* || 156 *corr. fr.* Datachina || 175 pagodes] pagados *ms.*

[34] Moti and Makian.

[35] On the four Papuan kings, consult D 44 note 12.

[36] Nunes worked in Bacan in the years 1558 (D 79, 14), 1562 (D 115, 5), and 1563 (D 127, 6 ; D 125, 16).

[37] That is, like African negros.

[38] Here the meaning is not clear.

[39] Cf. *Treatise* 152-154.

[40] « Ysto á-de ser . . . em paos e ffolhas. Ffazem medidas aos palmos ou covados » (ibid. 152).

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fazer suas figuras. Esta gentilidade destas partes não hé muito devota dos pagodes, e ainda que lhes cuspão neles e lhos queimem dá-se-lhe bem pouco : e quoando lhes não fazem ou não socede o que elles querem, dizem-lhe [41] muitas pragas, e cuido que lhes dão muitas pancadas e outras injurias, e depois fazem pazes e logo o mesmo demonio se concerta com elles.

18. Há nesta terra dos papuas dizem muito ouro. Há tãobem muitos passaros assi nesta terra como em Maluquo de diversas maneiras, antre os quoais eu vi humas que não tem pees nem azas, senão biquo e rabo, e fazem os mais ricos penachos branquos que tomão mais d'amarelo e são mui prezados [42]. Há tãobem papagaios de muitas e diversas maneiras que os insinão, os quoais são as mais domesticas aves e palrreiras que eu vi. Parece-me que nenhumas chegão a Purtugal que se lá chegassem serião de grande estima por serem mui fermozos e de diversas maneiras.

19. À banda do sudueste destas ilhas de Maluquo há outras muitas ilhas, entre as quoais estaa hu[m]a mui grande que me parece que será mais de duzentas legoas, que chega ou hé a do Macassar. Há nestas ilhas, que se chamão dos Celebes, muitos reis que eu bem mal saberei contar, antre os quoais há dous ou tres reis christãos que os nosos Padres da Companhia baptizarão e doutrinarão, dos quoais eu deixei hum filho principe en nosa casa en Ternate de Maluquo, o quoal se chamava Dom João e se queria vir commigo pera esta India e sabia ler [43].

20. Hé esta gente dos Celebes bem desposta e de grandes e fermosos corpos, e pintão as pernas e corpos em gente vermelha, e toma pouquo dos negros às pernas direitas. Hé gente de boa condição e tudo quoanto lhes insinarem, tomarão simpresmente ; não há rezistencia a serem todos christãos. A terra hé das mais sadias que há no mundo de bons ares. Há aroz, alguns animais, scilicet, meirus [44], veados, bufaras,

176 *corr. fr.* estas gentilidades || 178 socede] socedem *ms.* || 179 dizem-lhe] dize-lhe-m *ms.* || 195 tres *corr. fr.* treis

[41] See app. crit.

[42] On the birds of paradise, allegedly footless and wingless, consult ENI III 337 : the Papuans, before drying their splendid skins, removed the feet and wings. See also PIRES, *Suma Oriental* I 209 ; VALENTYN III a 308-312 ; MUSSCHENBROEK, *Dagboek van Dr. H. A. Bernstein's laatste reis* 176-181 ; WALLACE 419-440.

[43] The kings of Manado and Siau had been christened by Diogo de Magalhães in 1563 (D 125, 6) ; the son of the king of Siau had sailed to Ternate with Fr. Pero Mascarenhas in early 1569 (D 162, 27).

[44] *Meru* (also *merum*), a kind of deer, Rusa aristotelis, occurring in E Africa and Asia, taller than the European deer (DALGADO II 50).

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cabras, galinhas, adens [45]; há alhos e sebolas que não há nas terras de Maluquo. Distarão estas ilhas das de Maluquo obra de quarenta legoas, que hé bem perto. Hé terra mais abastada que Maluquo e farta, onde há muitos porcos, os quoais são excelentes, e ribeiras frescas.

21. Da banda do sul destas ilhas de Maluquo obra de cem legoas estão as mui grandes e populozas ilhas de Amboino, e dahí a vinte e sinquo legoas estão as ilhas de Banda, ilhas pequenas donde há a noz e a massa, e tudo se pode reputar por terras de Amboino. Está aqui huma ilha mui grande [46], que será de obra de cento e sinqoenta legoas de roda, aonde há cravo e alguma noz e massa. Tãobem há o cravo nas outras ilhas ainda que não en todas, e cada ano largamente se pode carregar huma nao, porque há já morador que tem tres mil pees de craveiros. Estas ilhas são mui sadias e de bons ares e de grandes arvoredos, e as agoas excelentes e frias e de mui fresquas ribeiras. O peixe deste mar hé gordo e sabrozo, e as galinhas mui sabrozas; há alguns porcos. Há fruitas boas aonde há os duriõis [47], fruita das boas do mundo, e tãobem os há em Bachão e em Maluquo.

22. Há nesta terra huma fortalezinha d'El-[119*r*]-Rei de Purtugal bem mal negoceada e provida; terá obra de sesenta ou mais portugezes. A gente desta terra não hé negra, são homens cuasi como os maluquos vermelhos-amulatados [48], hé gente bem acondicionada. Comem gente quoando estão de gerra: isto faz gente de longe aonde a converçassão dos purtugezes não achega. São os mais destas ilhas gentios mui bestiais e os mouros são menos, e se en nós outros os purtugezes ouvera azo e favor já tudo fora christão. He esta terra hé mui povoada e pobre, mui tyranizada dos reis de Maluquo. Esta gente não tem reis, obedecem aos reis de Maluquo que nenhum direito tem neles, mas por força como a tyranos [49].

23. Estão perto destas ilhas Timor obra de oitenta legoas e Aru [50],

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228 menos *corr. fr.* mouros

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[45] On *adem*, duck, drake, see DALGADO I 10.

[46] Seram.

[47] The *durian* fruit, in Ternatan *duriang* (DALGADO I 373; CLERCQ 270).

[48] Mulatto-like, with the colour of a mulatto.

[49] A very interesting and clear-sighted political statement.

[50] The Aru islands, toward the southeasternmost part of Indonesia, between 134° and 135° E and at 6° S. Presumably the Portuguese had already sailed that far, or it may be Nunes had met Aru people selling birds of paradise. According to ENI I 62, the Aru islands were discovered in 1606 by the Dutch!

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e dizem que a ilha do ouro [51] e outras gentes branquas que confinão com estas terras, que tem trato com os portugezes. E há outras terras e ilhas por aqui perto de diversas gentes, que seria nunqua acabar se as ouvese de pôr em escrito : e certo que parece está cá outro mundo que está da banda do sul [52].

24. E tornando a falar nas terras de Maluquo, são de bons ares. Os mantimentos delas são : inhames, quocos [53], aroz, sagu e outros ligumes que há na terra, mas o principal mantimento hé sagu. Este sagu se tira de humas arvores como palmeiras, se não que são mais groças. Cortão estas arvores, sendo de vez que o são, até certo tempo que começão a botar huma certa espiga, e antes de a botar cortão estas arvores ; e ainda que não sejão tanto de vez, todavia aproveitão mas não dão tanto sagu. De maneira que cortadas estas arvores as abrem polo meio perto donde há agoa, e cavão aquele meolo dellas e fazem-no en casca, e lava[m]-no em huma como maceira de porcos e haí o esfregão ; e aquele meolo se desfaz em polme como de hostias e vai per huma calsinha abaixo e coa-sse per humas como estoupas de palmeiras por não cair noutra maceira que está mais abaixo o farelo. E nesta maceira más grande e baixa se ajunta este polme e o tirão e o põem em fardos e dahí se sequa ao sol, e despois de enxuto este polme se faz como farinha mui branqua e o peneirão e o supão em supos [54], e a mais delgada farinha no mesmo dia que a tirão da arvore.

25. Despois disto feito estão no fogo humas telhas grandes como grelhas fundas pera baixo, ali deitão esta farinha e sem mais se levedar dahí a mui pouquo espaço tirão estas telhas, a que chamão fornos, e botão esta farinha como digo demtro delas estando bem quente[s] como forno caldo, e dahí a pouquo espaço tirão o sagu feito como fatias de pão, que hé o mantimento de Maluquo e Amboino, e eu o comi vinta seis anos que lá andei lembrando-me pouquo o pão. Hé este sagu de muito

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235 com²] como *ms.* || 248 maceira *corr. fr.* maceiras || 254 a *interl.*

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[51] According to Barros III 3 3 (III/1 pp. 264 and 268), the Portuguese searched for the « gold island » S and W of Sumatra : « Diogo Pacheco . . . trouxera grandes informações das ilhas do ouro, de que havia geral fama na India estarem ao sul de Çamatra », but not in the far eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. Cf. ENI I 807*a*.

[52] A highly interesting remark on the suspected existence of the south land, Australia.

[53] The fruit of the coconut palm.

[54] For *supo*, a sieve or filter made from bamboo or leaves, and *supar*, to sieve, consult Dalgado II 330.

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boa disistão [55] e saboroso, e eu antes o comerei que bolos d'aroz ainda que fossem muito bem feitos. E isto hé quoanto ao que toqua ao sagu e aos mantimentos da terra [56].

26. Hai tãobem nestas partes hu[m]as certas arvores que as folhas pouquo e pouquo se vão tornando em bichos como sigarigas [57], e eu as vi. Tãobem hai outras arvores, e eu vi huma no reino de Bachão, debaixo da quoal quoanto há tudo se sequa e está limpo [58]. Tãobem há nesta terra as arvores dos grãos, que se chamão os grãos de Maluquo : tres deles é purgua e abastão pera purgar bem ; são quentissimos, parece-me que quem tomar vinte grãos destes juntos que morrerá [59]. Há tãobem nestas partes ervas odoriferas e de grandes mezinhas. Há muito gingibre [60], algum tamarinho [61], pimenta comprida e betre [62] de espiga mui quente.

27. Há tãobem humas arvores como palmeiras a que chamão sageiros [63] : estas em sima tem humas fruitas, as quoais pouqo a pouqo se vão cortando, e dão em certo tempo huma beberayem a que chamão lá tuaca [64], e esta bebe-[119*v*]rayem hé milhor e mais fria que a das palmeiras. Há tãobem outra beberajem que fazem do sumo das canas

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270 terra *corr. fr.* terras

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[55] Read *digestão*.

[56] Another description of the manufacture of sagu and of the baking of it in clay ovens is given in the *Treatise* 132-134.

[57] Read *cegarrega*, cicada, cricket (BLUTEAU Letter-S 547 writes *segarrega*). Nunes' biological observation may not be altogether scientific.

[58] The same in *Treatise* 52 ; neither is there given in that text a name for this tree.

[59] This is the Jatropha curcas, rather a shrub than a tree ; the fruit is a capsule containing three seeds that are highly laxative. ENI II 181*b* asserts that normally half a seed is taken as an aperient, whereas the *Treatise* (48) recommends, « Nom se am-de tomar muitas, porque ouve já homem que se nelas desmamdou e arrebemtou ». The seeds were known throughout SE Asia as *grãos de Maluco* ; hence the name *arvore dos grãos*. Consult DALGADO I 442.

[60] *Gengibre*, ginger, the root of Zingiber officinale. DALGADO I 429 ; YULE 374.

[61] The fruit or pod of the Tamarindus indica, used in medicine. DALGADO II 345 ; YULE 894.

[62] *Betre* or *betele*, the betel, leaf of the Piper betel, used for chewing. DALGADO I 121 ; YULE 89.

[63] With the word *sagueiro* the Portuguese indicated the tree Metroxylon sagu, from which the sagu foodstuff was manufactured. Cf. *Treatise* 42 ; DALGADO II 270.

[64] Malay *tuak*, palm wine, toddy. DALGADO II 388.

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d'asuquare fria e boa. Hai nestas terras canas de diversas maneiras e algumas são tam grossas como hum homem pola cinta, e eu as vi. Hai outras canas doutra laia que são mui altas e tem agoa serina natural e fria e boa, e eu a bebi [65].

28. Ao mar das ilhas do Moro, da banda da ilha que se chama do Morotai, ao leste delas vierão ter nove homens [66], e eu os vi, en tres parós, os quoais parós erão como maceirõis grandes de porquos com suas cangalhas [67]: erão homens, erão pintados, mui bem despostos e, segundo parece e elles dixerão depois, esta sua terra estava bem perto, dous ou tres dias de caminho, porque com hu[m]a trovoada e com as correntes grandes vierão dar nestas ilhas de Morotai [68]. E por ser a terra algum tanto doentia e elles fora da sua patria com pouqua esperança de tornar lá, morrerão em pouquos dias e escaparão dous mansebos que despois vierão a falar a lingoa da terra. E contarão que na sua terra não avia ferro, e que aqueles parós erão feitos con machados de ostras, e assi parece porque erão todos de hum pao inteiriço e cavados no meio e mal lavrados. Tãobem dizião que na sua terra não avia outro mantimento senão inhames e figos da terra [69] e cocos, galinhas; e as tartarugas erão tantas, por serem aquelas ilhas razas, que se não podião valer: parece que lhes ião à terra a comer as folhas dos inhames, e fazião-lhe sebes pera se defenderem delas.

29. Contavão tãobem huma cousa de admiração, que na sua terra avia humas pedras com as quoais se alumiavão de noite, as quoais, segundo se praticava entre os portugezes, erão cabrunquos e avia já purtugezes que querião lá ir, e Gonçalo Pereira tinha já dada a viagem a hum fidalgo pera ir lá [70]. Dizião que huma pedra destas darião por huma faqua, que tanto ferro avia entre elles como entre nós os cabrunqos.

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282 hum *interl.* || 289 e *corr. fr.* que || 304 praticava *corr. fr.* prativa | e *del.* eu

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[65] On different kinds of cane, see *Treatise* 54-56.

[66] To nos. 28-29, see D 79, 21.

[67] The outriggers; *Treatise* 156; DALGADO I 205.

[68] They came perhaps from the Caroline islands.

[69] Presumably bananas; cf. DALGADO I 395.

[70] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque. According to LEMOS (466-467), these men of Carbuncles Island turned up during the captaincy of Bernaldim de Sousa (1546-1549; 1550-1552); and Gonçalo Pereira, while he was in Moro from January to December 1571 (LEMOS 464 and 467), went himself, with others, on a vain search for the famous island. Fr. Vieira wrote in 1559 that efforts to find it had already been made earlier (D 79, 21).

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Esta viagem não ouve efeito porque morreo Gonçalo Pereira [71] e o fidalgo que avia lá de ir e huma das lingoas naturais de lá, de maneira que com a morte tudo se acaba.

30. E falando mais em particular destas gentes de Maluquo, nestas simquo ilhas cuasi todos são mouros [72], e era gente mui barbara e, com a [con]verçassão dos portugezes e com o que elles lhes insinarão, se fizerão mui polidos. Não tinhão letras nem escriptura [73]; tomaram-na dos arabios e a lei do Mafamede [74]: e forão muita parte disto os arabios que os portugezes trazem por marinheiros nas naos que vem busquar o cravo [75]. E tãobem avia tempo que fugião de huma espingarda e os purtugezes os insinarão a tirar e lhes venderão humas espingardas, e

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[71] According to SOUZA (II III 1 38), Gonçalo Pereira died in March 1571. COUTO (IX 9 p. 43), and the *Relação Vasconcelos* (237) report his death without indicating the year, whereas LEMOS (470) mentions only the month of March. That the true date has to be March 1572 is the inference to be drawn from the following considerations:

A. LEMOS recounts that Gonçalo Pereira set sail to Moro on December 28, 1570 (464); that he stayed there eleven months (January-December 1571) before sailing back to Ternate and to Bacan (467-468); that, in February, he left Bacan for Ambon (469; where a marginal note adds 1571 which is obviously a lapse for 1572; perhaps the cause of Sousa's mistake); and that the March following he died (470), which can only be in 1572.

B. According to COUTO (IX 13 p. 87) and the *Relação Vasconcelos* (251), the viceroy D. António de Noronha learned of the death of Gonçalo Pereira in Damão during Holy Week. But he was there in precisely 1573. For the date, see COUTO p. 84: March 18, 1573, Holy Week falling that year March 15-22. If Gonçalo Pereira had died in early 1571, this important news would beyond all question have been known in India long before; for instance, Fr. Prancudo had sailed to Goa from Ambon in May 1571 (D 194) and could have reported it.

C. Our D 189, 2 shows that Pereira's death was not yet known in Goa in November 1572; it certainly would have been if he had died in March 1571.

D. Fr. Jerónimo de Oimedo, writing from Ambon in May 1571, does not show to have any knowledge of the decease of Gonçalo Pereira (D 184, especially no. 3).

[72] PIRES, *Suma Oriental* (ca. 1515) 213: more than three quarters of them are heathen; XAVIER (in 1546): there are more pagans than Moors (D 3, 8).

[73] « Nom sabião ler nem escrever » (*Treatise* 76).

[74] Cf. *Treatise* 82-84: « Parceos e arabios ... os ffezerão mouros ... e bem o comffirma seu alfabeto he letra por ser mourissqua ».

[75] That the Portuguese in Asia used Arabs or « Moors » as sailors in their ships is more than once testified to in the DI, for instance, IV 279; VI 207, 606; VIII 246.

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agora são bons cavaleiros e pelejão muito bem contra nós [76], milhor que os malavares. Hé gente baça não muito preta, alguma hé branqua e de narizes direitos e pernas como purtugezes.

31. As suas embarcaçõis [77] são ligeirissimas, de cento e sinqoenta remeiros as maiores, e outras de menos; e não são de remo senão de pangaio [78], e com a mão o metem bem perto d'agoa; e são estas embarcaçõis razas e às vezes andão quoatro dedos em sima d'agoa; de maravilha se perdem e nunqua se vão ao fundo e, quoando se alagão, no mesmo mar a sabem desalagar. Trazem cangalhas [79] e baileos [80], e a gente da peleja anda nestes baileos e haí joga a artelharia, que são berços e falcõis, e os remeiros fiquão debaixo ao lume da agoa. O mantimento está nos baileos e polo corpo da corocora, que asi se chamão as pequenas, e as grandes lhes chamão joangas [81]. Trazem nas popas e proas cabeças de pao como serpentes e seus estandartes alevantados [120*r*] en canas altas e bandeiras e giõis. São mui temorosas embarcasõis e fantasticas, mas têm hum erro, que a gente de peleja está mui alta e pelejão em descuberto. Estas embarcaçõis como querem fugir de maravilha se tomão como têm quoalquer espaço, por serem ligeirissimas e leves e pao delgado, e os leames não são pregadiços mas por dentro se amarrão com huma maneira de cairo [82] preto (que as arvores que se parecem com as palmeiras, que dão aquela beberayem que asima dixe, dão de si): e trose[m]-no e fia[m]-no homens e molheres, e com estas cordas se servem os da terra e as naos dos purtugezes.

32. São estas gentes e estes reis naturalmente mal inclinados: abastan-lhes serem mouros, são de pouqua justiça e se alguma fazem hé com peitas; os reis mui tiranos e tem a gente como escrava, e por quoalquer cousa lhes tomão o fato e a fazenda pera ssi. Quoando estão doentes os reis e poderosos, se acertão de sonhar ou maginar em algum, logo

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323 remo *corr. fr.* remos || 335 em *add. h2* || 339 dixe *parenth. close here in ms.*

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[76] On the great change in the Maluku people's view concerning arms, see *Treatise* 170.

[77] On shipbuilding and several kinds of craft, see *Treatise* 156-162.

[78] Malay *pengajuh*, paddle. The craft was not rowed but paddled.

[79] Outriggers.

[80] Cabins or compartments on the upper deck.

[81] *Juanga*, obviously a Ternatan term, not to be found in Malay dictionaries, designating larger war ships: « Os primcypaes chamão joamguas; são como gualés reaes » (*Treatise* 160).

[82] *Cairo*, coir, a stiff fiber from the outer husk of the coconut, used for cords and cables (DALGADO I 173).

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o mandão matar, e dizem que aquele que se faz invizivel e que lhe entra dentro no estamago e que o come e lhe bebe o sange, e se acerta de sarar dizem e crêm que asi foi [83]. São mui augureiros e feiteceiros e tem livros disso. Continuamente andão no mar e são grandes ladrõis do mar, e vão a outras terras e furtão gente e trazem-na a vender aos purtugezes, e estes são os seus escravos. Quoando têm gerra e matão algem, aquele que cortou a cabeça ao morto já morto hé o mais valente, e trazem as cabeças dos mortos depinduradas por estandartes, e têm suas divisas e escritos e onrras das cabeças que cortarão [84]; outras muitas maneiras têm de ritos e custumes que não aponto por ser breve. Outra cousa vi nestas partes cuasi em todas, que em menos de huma legoa vi lingoa en lugares tão difirente como hé a de tudesca à espanhola, mas todos sabem a lingoa do rei de Ternate e Tidoure, por onde todos os onrrados se entendem e os mais dos plebeos [85].

33. Quoanto à christandade destas partes, era e hé muita, e já asima dixe como ao ssudueste de Ternate estavão os Selebes não muito longe, aonde estavão dous ou tres reis christãos que os nosos da Companhia fizerão e não lhes pode[m] acudir com as gerras, e está aquela christandade muyta e desemparada polos reis de Maluco estarem alevantados contra a fortalesa, ou a terão já tomada. O numero destes christãos não no scei mas a gente hé muita e não são feitos todos por não aver quem o[s] sostente.

34. Quoanto à christandade da fortaleza, serião como 4 ou 5 mil almas a nada de diversas naçõis, scilicet, ternates, alguns netos e parentes e irmãos e irmãs dos reis de Maluquo e outras naçõis. Tudo isto está destruido e aruinado e morto e cativo, e agora não averá quoatrocentas almas, que tudo é morto à gerra e à fome, e outros fugidos. Há seis ou sete annos que a gerra dura. São mortos perto de quinhentos purtugezes, os mais à fome polos vizo-rreis não quererem prover com mantimentos como hé rezão, entre os quoais purtugezes morreo de doença ou de fome o bom capitão-mor Gonçalo Pereira, varão por certo digno de memoria, que puramente morreo pelo serviço de Deos e de seu Rei com desgostos de não poder fazer o que queria [86]. Tãobem

359 fidoure *ms.* || 366 a³ *interl.*

[83] The person suspected in this way is called *suangi*; see *Treatise* 180; Rebelo 290; both authors point to vengefulness and greed as motives for killing him.

[84] Headhunting in war is likewise mentioned by the *Treatise* (169).

[85] On different languages, *Treatise* 74.

[86] For how Gonçalo Pereira complained of the viceroy D. Luís de Ataíde for not sending any help, see *Relação Vasconcelos* 237.



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morreo Dom Duarte de Menezes [87] e Lourenço Furtado de Mendonça [88], todos mui esforçados capitãis.

35. Estará obra de vinte legoas de Ternate, quasi à vista, el-rrei de Bachão que hé christão cuasi con todo o seu reino. Este está perdido porque o destruio [o] rei de Ternate estando Gonçalo Pereira no Moro [89], e despois se cá tornou a entregar a nós. E porque adoeceo e morreo Gonçalo Pereira, tornarão os mouros a prevalecer: o reisinho obedeceo e fez tudo o que os outros reis moros quiserão, de maneira que está aquela christandade perdida, em que os da Companhia e eu levamos muito trabalho em a sostentar e doutrinar com muitas doenças, por ser Bachão doentio. E hé lastima de ver gente que era capas dos santos e tão bem entendida, [120*v*] estar agora duminada de Mafamede. E o numero desta christandade (que era a milhor que avia nestas partes) não no scei mas, como o rei era cristão, que era hum dos mais antigos dos quoatro reis de Maluquo, facilmente o seria todo o seu reino, que pouqo avia já que fazer.

36. Obra de quorenta legoas de Ternate, correndo pola costa da ilha de Batachina que asima disse, na mesma terra está o Moro, aonde eu gastei minha mocidade e alguma parte da velhise [90] com muitos trabalhos, assi meus como do Padre bem-aventurado martir Afonço de Crasto e João da Beira. E era cousa muito de notar, e depois que o noso bem-aventurado Padre Mestre Francisco [91] foi ao Moro e os começou a lumiar, erão tão barbaros que era cousa de pasmo ver [a] deshonestidade que avia nas molheres; e o Padre Mestre Francisco deu principio e os mais acabamos com elles e os doutrinamos, de maneira que erão capazes já do Santissimo Sacramento da Eucaristia e pedião confissão por suas vontades e tinhão contrição e lagrimas, que era muito pera lovar ao Senhor a fé que tinhão, que alguns nesta gerra morrerão

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381 esforçados *add.* dos *ms.* || 382 estará *corr. fr.* esta | el-rrei *interl.* || 386 Pereiro *ms.* || 390 era *interl.* || 397 Batachino *ms.* || 401 começou] comeceo *ms.*

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[87] Consult D 164 note 14.

[88] Cf. D 162, 3 and 5. On his death, in or shortly after February 1572, see *Relação Vasconcelos* 217; LEMOS 469.

[89] That is, according to LEMOS (see note 71), in the year 1571.

[90] Nunes worked in Moro at regular intervals from 1547 to 1556. After his return from India in 1557, we find him again in Moro in 1558 (D 71), in 1560 (D 107, 3), in 1562 (D 116, 2), in 1563 or early 1564 (D 125, 17-18), in 1568-1569 (D 161), and in 1570 (D 169, 8; D 177, 5). These years are not necessarily exclusive, though of other years we have no notice.

[91] Xavier.

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martires assi destes como dos de Amboino e Ternate. E são estes pobres cristãos do Moro destruidos muitos deles : que nas gerras, quoando lhe entravão os lugares, lhes matavão as molhe[re]s, das prenhes lhes tiravão os mouros os filhos das barrigas ! [92] Tudo isto está destruido e obedecem, porque mais não podem, aos mouros.

O numero desta christandade não no sei, mas erão quorenta e tantos lugares, scilicet, na ilha grande [93] e nas outras 2 ilhas de Morotai [94] ; tudo está perdido.

37. Quoanto a Amboino, que estará obra de oitenta ou mais legoas de Ternate, digo que esta christandade hé tanta como toda a outra que nas outras partes digo, e hé muito boa gente, simpres e pouqo maliciosa. E à vista destas terras obra de doze legoas está huma ilha mui fermosa e mui povoada, que será de mais de sesenta legoas de roda, a quoal tem muitos christãos que tãobem estão desemparados e sojeitos aos mouros de Maluqo por mais não poderem, e toda a ilha será cristãa se se concertar Ternate. A esta ilha do Burro, que asi se chama, foi ter hum Irmão da Companhia [95] e os cristãos chorarão com ele, que perguntavão se avia hainda purtugezes ou se erão mortos.

38. Nestas ilhas de Amboino há muita cristandade, e certo hé tanta que bem mal a saberei contar, e cuasi toda está sojeita ao rei de Ternate mui tiranicamente. Alguns lugares de christãos obedecem a nosa fortaleza e aos nosos Padres que nela estão. O numero me parece que serão quoatro ou simqo mil almas. Esta gente de Amboino hé huma das boas impresas que a Companhia tem e de que se avia de fazer muita conta, e do muito fruito que se faz entre eles. E certo que a mim me aconteceo em obra de hum mes baptizar perto de novecentos meninos todos de menos de dous annos. E cada anno asi no Moro como em Bachão e Amboino onde andei, cada anno me morrerem mais de duzentos meninos, todos baptizados por estas mãos peccadoras, que estão gozando (segundo nosa fé) desa gloria que esperamos.

39. Esta hé, Padre meu, a emformação que daquelas partes do ssul lhe posso dar. E porque me alembrou huma cousa que pode ser

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423 Burto *ms.* || 425 hainda *d. r.*

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[92] Cf. D 169, 13.

[93] Halmahera or Jailolo.

[94] Morotai and Rau. On the Christian villages in Moro, see D 63, 23 ; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 773-782 ; map, 754.

[95] The first and only express mention, I think, of a Jesuit having visited the Christians of Buru. Who was he, and when did he go there ?

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que dê espanto a direi. Antre esta gente de Maluco se achão alguns homens que têm rabo na trazeira, mas não hé rabo como das alimarias, somente hé nozilhão [96] grande que têm na rabadilha agudo à maneira de rabo, e hai casta desta gente [97].

40. O estado em que agora está a terra não no sei por não ser tempo das novas de Malaqua, somente sei dizer que, se hé verdade que Malaca hé tomada (o que Deos não queira) como dizem [98], que tãobem Ternate e Amboino ho hé, que são as duas fortalezinhas [121*r*] de Maluqo, porque, acabado de não hir socorro de Malaca, Maluqo se perde à fome, porque doutra maneira não se pode tomar dos mouros. O estado em que eu deixei Maluqo o ano pasado [99], foi estar as fortalezinhas como digo com obra de cento e tantos portugezes em ambas, e seis ou sete Padres e Irmãos nosos nelas com asas de trabalhos e miserias de fome e o mais que não digo, e isto abaste.

41. O remedio que Maluquo pode ter pera se restaurar hé este : que para abalrroar as fortalesas dos mouros que têm contra nós, há

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[96] A word from the popular language, meaning a tumor, kind of protrusion.

[97] Here Nunes does not add, as he did in so many paragraphs, « E eu o vi ». Likewise GALVÃO has only hearsay evidence from tailbearing people in Jailolo (*Descobrimentos* 173).

[98] Malacca was besieged by Japara and Aceh fleets from October 1574 to February 1575, and narrowly escaped being captured (COUTO IX 27).

[99] An important though puzzling statement for answering the question : When did Fr. Nicolau Nunes leave Maluku definitively ? Neither FRANCO (*Coimbra* 456-458) nor SOUZA (II III 2 8), though mentioning Nunes' second departure from Maluku, give a year for it. In II III 2 13, SOUZA contends that he sailed together with Fr. Prancudo, which was in May 1571 (D 194 note 5). This date appears to be too early for Nunes according to his own indication. Now as to our present text : from D 190 it is clear that Nunes had not yet arrived in Goa in November 1572. Consequently, he could not land there earlier than February-March 1573, and therefore he could not have left Maluku before February-May 1572. From D 201 and from DI IX 475 it is evident that in December 1574 Nunes was in Goa. Consequently, he could not have left Maluku later than February-May 1573. So we are certain that he left Maluku definitively neither before May 1572 nor later than May 1573. As other years appear to be excluded we have to choose between these two. The present text, « deixei Maluqo o ano pasado », must be interpreted in the light of this chronological certainty. « O ano pasado » can very well have the meaning of « at the latest shipping opportunity ». The obvious meaning of Nunes' statement would be that he arrived in India at the latest possible occasion, that is, in March 1575, and that, consequently, he left Maluku in May 1574. But this is impossible as we have seen. Thus his words would cause us to choose the year 1573 rather than 1572. Our conclusion is : Nunes left Maluku in May 1573.

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mister mil purtugezes com hum capitão valeroso e fora de cubiça, como era Gonçalo Pereira ; e pera o irem tomando devagar há mister quinhentos ou seiscentos purtugezes com mantimentos que vão da India pera dous annos, e esta hé a verdade. E de lá de Purtugal há El-Rrei de mandar o capitão e dinheiro pera isto, como tãobem á-de mandar Vizo-Rrei perpetuo [100] com gemte e dinheiro pera dous annos ou mais de gerra, que a India há mister pera se conquistar de novo, se não elle a perderá.

42. Encomendo a V.R. que lá se alembre de Dom Francisco, neto d'el-rrei de Maluquo que eu trouxe de lá, sobre o quoal o P.e Visitador tem escrito o ano passado a El-Rrei, e este anno tãobem se escreve pera S.A. lhe faça mercê do abito de Christo [101] com sua tença aqui ou em Malaqua conforme a seu estado de filho principe. E tãobem con isto pede mercê pera sua mãi Dona Lianor, viuva e pobre, e pera huma irmãa que tem pera casar.

43. Tãobem está aqui outro neto do rei de Bachão, o velho que morreo [102], o qoal mansebo se chama Bastião de Ssaa, que certo merece o mesmo porque hé bom cavaleiro.

44. Tãobem em Malaca deixei a Dom Anrrique [103], neto do rei de Tidoure de Maluqo, que a cidade mo tomou por força, porque queria ir a Purtugal, e o fez bandara [104], que hé a segunda pessoa depois do capitão de Malaca, e agora com os jaos o fez valerozamente [105] como a todos hé notorio : que V.R. lhe aja d'El-Rrei o abito de Christo com a tença [106] que merece tão esforçado capitão. E Deos que hé poderozo

475 fidouro *ms.*

[100] The three-year term for most of the state offices in India was one of the principal reasons for the decline of Portuguese power. That the Portuguese were not blind to this may be seen, for instance, from the *Apontamentos do arcebispo de Goa D. Jorge Temudo pera El-Rey nosso Senhor*, in WICKI, *Duas relações* 188-192.

[101] Lost letter. See D 203*a*. « O habito de Christo » : insignia of a knight of the military Order of Christ.

[102] Consult D 72 note 4.

[103] Mentioned in D 184, 28.

[104] Ibid. note 39.

[105] In COUTO's description of the last siege of Malacca (IX 27, pp. 226-246), D. Henrique Bandara is not mentioned ; he is named as present at a later siege, in 1582, in which he rendered valuable service to the Portuguese (COUTO X 2 and 3, pp. 273-274, 284).

[106] « Item [El-Rei D. Filipe] lançou o abito de Christo com certa tença a Dom Anrique, primo del-rey de Ternate » (*ARSI, Goa 38 I* f. 128*r*). From DI XII 417-

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480 leve a V.R. a Roma e o traga a esta terra pera nosa consolação e de muitos.

Feita em Goa, oje 4 de Janeiro de 1576 annos.

45. Alembro a V.R. a Dona Briatis [107], filha d'el-rey de Tidore, que hé huum dos quatro reis de Maluco, a qual está em Malaca em casa
485 da irmã de Paulo Gomez, moça por casar : que lhe aja d'El-Rey huum officio, feitor de Malaca ou Maluco po[r] quatro annos pera quem casar com ella.

46. Faça-me V.R. charidade de me trazer de Roma ou mandar huma imagem piquena de Nosa Senhora à maneira das de São Lucas [108],
490 e algumas veronicas de cobre [109] de Roma que têm a imagem do Salvador, etc., e muitos Agnus Dey.

## 214

## FR. GOMES VAZ SJ, BY ORDER OF HIS SUPERIORS, TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

GOA, JANUARY 20, 1576

TEXT : DI X 450-496 [491-492]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 47* ff. 59*r*-67*v*. Original in Spanish. Annual Letter.

### *Text*

1. *There are six Jesuits in Maluku. On account of the war nearly the whole of Christianity was lost. The Fathers are more occupied in suffering than in activities.* — 2. *Their works of mercy. In the past year bringing relief came to naught.* — 3. *Death of Fr. Bartolomeu Rodrigues.*

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418 no. 29 it follows that it was in 1581 that Nunes' proposal was thus materialized. When COUTO (VII 4 7, pp. 332-333) contends that Kaicil Labuzaza, alias D. Henrique, was made *bandara* of Malacca and a knight of Christ by King D. João III (who died in 1557), he is obviously quite far from the mark. On the further life of D. Henrique, see DI XI 657.

[107] Read *Beatriz*.

[108] That is, of the 13th century picture of the Blessed Virgin « Salus Populi Romani » in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, which has been ascribed by popular devotion to St. Luke the Evangelist.

[109] Medals with an image of the Holy Face.

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[. . .]

5ª residencia, de Maluco

1. La 5ª residencia es de Maluco, donde residen agora seis personas de la Compañía, cinco de los quales son Padres y el otro Hermano [1]. Avían convertido en aquellos reynos los nuestros un grandíssimo número de christianos : passavan de cien mil, mas por las guerras que allí succedieron, son ya quasi todos perdidos y los nuestros con los portugueses están cercados hay quatro años y en muy grande aprieto, los unos en una fortaleza que llaman de Ternate, los otros en otra llamada Amboyno. Exercítanse allí los nuestros al presente más en padecer que en hazer, y assí escrivieron el año passado [2] que padecían allí grandíssimas hambres, porque tanto pescado quanto era necessario para comer una persona en una comida valía quasi un ducado.

2. Todavía no les falta exercicios de obras de misericordia, porque confiesan muy amenudo a los soldados y a los christianos que quedaron de la tierra, cúranlos en sus enfermedades y consuélanlos con palabras y obras, repartiendo con ellos lo poco que tienen, de lo que se les embía de Malaca o de aquí todos los años. Por no aver podido passar este año el galeón que iva allá a llevar mantinimientos por falta de tiempo, aunque acometió dos veses [3], y por aver estado también Malaca cercada de donde solían ser remediados, no hay dubda sino que avrán padescido y padescerán este año mayores necessidades.

3. Fallesció allí el año passado el P.e Bartolomé Rodríguez [4] que estuvo en la Compañía cerca de . . . años [5], y assí como siempre bivió con edificación, assí muriendo dexó a todos edificados por la paciencia que tuvo en padecer las necessidades y falta de remedios que allí hay, por falta de los quales escriven que probablemente murió. Quiera N. Señor embiarnos buenas nuevas de aquellas partes, porque no se pierda

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[1] The catalogue made in Goa at the same time mentions five Fathers and two Brothers (D 215).

[2] Lost letter. See D 197*a*.

[3] Cf. D 210, 1.

[4] Fr. Gomes Vaz knew about his death in November 1575 (D 206), so that Fr. Bartolomeu Rodrigues presumably died before May 1574.

[5] The numeral has been omitted in the MS. As he entered the Society in or about 1560 (DI VII 77 : in December 1566 he had been six years in the order), it has to be fourteen.

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todo el caudal que se puso en tanto tiempo y con tanto trabajo con aquellos christianos.

[. . .]

De Goa, oje 20 de Janeiro de 1576.

De V.P. hijo indigno en el Señor,

Gomez Vaz.

## 215

## CATALOGUE OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

GOA, JANUARY 23, 1576

TEXT : DI X 498-506 [505]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24* ff. 115*r*-116*v*. Original, partly in Spanish and partly in Portuguese.

### *Text*

*Names of five Fathers and two Brothers in Maluku.*

CATALOGO DE LOS PADRES Y HERMANOS DE LA PROVINCIA DE LA INDIA ORIENTAL, HECHO EN GOA A LOS 23 DE HENERO DE 1576

[. . .]

Maluco

o P. Marcos Prancudo, Superior [1]
o P. Fernão Alvarez
o P. Pero Mascarenhas
o P. Paulos Gomez
o P. Jeronimo Rodriguez
o Ir. Antonio Gonçalvez
o Ir. Vicente Dias [2]

[. . .]

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[1] Cf. D 194.

[2] Having been lacking in the general catalogues of 1565, 1571, 1572, and 1574, Br. Vicente Dias suddenly appears in this one, after having been mentioned in a list of names one year earlier (DI X 29). Had he sailed to India and returned ? WESSELS (*Amboina* 66) suggests this but cannot furnish any evidence for it ; our docu-

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*Lost Letters*

215*a*. — *Fr. Visitor or Provincial, India, to King D. Sebastião, Portugal ; January 1576.*

Nicolau Nunes to Martim da Silva, January 4, 1576 : « Dom Francisco, neto d'el-rrei de Maluquo . . . sobre o quoal . . . este anno tãobem se escreve pera S.A. » (D 213, 42).

215*b*. — *The Ambon Jesuits to Fr. General, Rome ; May 1576.*

Fr. Pero Mascarenhas to Fr. General, May 9, 1578 : « Bem creyo que estará V.P. sospemsso por aver annos que não vyo particulares cartas destas partes pera V.P., . . . porque se perderão ellas juntamente com a nao em que forão ora há dous annos » (*ARSI, Goa 12 II* f. 457*r*).

## 216

## FR. VISITOR ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

CHORÃO, OCTOBER 30, 1576

I TEXT : DI X 567-584 [569 ; 578]. Taken from *ARSI, IapSin 8 I* ff. 36*r*-39*v*. Original in Italian, with autographic signature.

II NOTE : As protests were heard from Portugal against the large number of Spanish Fathers in Portuguese India (see DI X 513-515), Valignano, who himself brought many Spaniards with him from Europe, refutes the objections made against those « strangers » (*forestieri*).

### *Text*

1. *In Maluku, a Spaniard from Valencia, Fr. Marcos Prancudo, has been acting as superior for about twenty years. Next April he will be recalled to India.* — 2. *The Spaniard Prancudo was appointed and confirmed as superior by Portuguese Jesuit authorities, though the Spaniards for more than ten years have settled down with obscure intentions in a place close by Maluku.*

[. . .]

1. In Malucco non ci è si no[n] un altro solo spagnolo, anchor egli valentiano ; il quale è ivi superiore cerca de venti anni [1], e chiamassi

---

ments, the DI, and the Portuguese historians are silent on this point. Or could it be that, having entered the Society in Maluku and being personally unknown in Goa, he was simply overlooked for many years ? See D 218 note 2.

[1] A strong exaggeration : Prancudo arrived in Maluku in early 1562 (D 116, 2) as the new superior of the mission ; but from 1566 to 1571, not he, but Fr. Luís

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il P. Marco Prancudo, il quale per gli avisi che di là hebbi l'anno passato desideravo, et era necessario, richiamarlo ; ma, per non havere chi potessi mandare in suo luogo, si è ivi lasciato, anchorché contra mia voluntà. Questo Aprile, che è il tempo della motione nella quale si scrive in quelle parti, serrà con l'aiuto di N.S. in ogni modo richiamato per queste parti [2].

[. . .]

2. In Maluco è stato tutta la vita superiore il P. Prancudo, e nondimeno è spagnolo, e vi fu posto dal P. Antonio di Quadros [3], e dopo confirmato dal P. Visitadore passato [4], e tuttavia stavano questi istessi castigliani, che procurano la conquista di quelle parti, nell'istesso luogo dove stanno hora [5], perché sonno più de nove o diece anni che ivi stanno [6] ; anzi erano tanto più suspettosi all'hora, quanto che si teneva per cosa certa che fossero per conquistare il Malucco, et non si erano all'hora dechiarati, che non pretendevano niuna cosa de Malucco, come hora si son dechiarati.

[. . .]

De Ciorano, alli 30 de Ottobre de 1576.

Di V.P. figlio inuttile nel Signore,

Alexandro Valegnano.

## 217

## FR. VISITOR ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO TO THE PORTUGUESE ASSISTANT, FR. PEDRO DA FONSECA, ROME

CHORÃO, NOVEMBER 6, 1576

TEXT : DI X 662-683 [671-672 ; 674 ; 675]. Taken from *ARSI, Iap-Sin 8 I* ff. 45*r*-50*v*. Original. Italian. Autographic signature of Valignano.

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de Góis was the superior ; whereas Prancudo, after his journey to Goa, and again succeeding him in this function, did not arrive in Maluku until October 1573 (D 194 note 5).

[2] Valignano's measure would not be put into effect, for Prancudo died in Ambon on January 29, 1578 (*ARSI, Goa 12 II* f. 475*r*).

[3] Provincial of India.

[4] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares.

[5] First in Cebu, then, from 1571 on, in Manila.

[6] Legazpi disembarked in the Philippines in February 1565.

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questo istesso era il parere del P. Antonio di Quadros et anchora del P. Visitatore passato [5], perché non solo mandorno in quelli luochi Padri castigliani, ma quasi sempre tennero tutti quelli luochi superiori de Castella ; e nondimeno stavano li castigliani della conquista nell'istesso luoco nel quale hora sono, perché son più de diece anni che ivi stanno [6], nel qual tempo — stando Malucco de una parte assediato dalle genti della terra e per l'altra molto sospettoso della vicinanza delli castigliani, che non si erano dechiarati di non volere andare al Malucco come hora sono — stette sempre per superiore in quelli luoghi il P. Marco Prancudo, che è di natione valentiano [7]. Et essendo egli venuto nell'India per domandar soccorso e facendo con il P. Visitatore tutto quel che poteva per excusarse di ritornare in quelli luochi, fu nondimeno rimandato dal detto Padre per superiore come era prima [8], et è stato et sta ivi sin'hora.

[. . .]

3. Né so perché al presente si augmentino le querele et il timore, poiché li superiori di quelle parti sono già tutti portughesi, exceptuando Malucco che si muterà anchor questo anno [9], né in niuna di quelle parti stanno castigliani, si no solamente alcuni in Giappone.

[. . .]

Di Chiorano, a 6 di Novembre del 76.

De V.R. servo em o Senhor,

Alexandro Valignano.

## 218

## CATALOGUE OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

GOA, NOVEMBER 10, 1576

TEXT : DI X 691-700 [698]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 117*r*-118*v*. Original. Portuguese.

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[5] Fr. Gonçalo Álvares.

[6] Cf. D 216, 2.

[7] Cf. D 216 note 1.

[8] Prancudo sailed to India from Ambon in May 1571 and returned in October 1573 (D 194).

[9] D 216, 1.

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*Text*

*The names of five Fathers and three Brothers residing in Maluku.*

CATALOGO DOS PADRES E IRMÃOS DA PROVINCIA DA INDIA ORIENTAL, FEITO EM GOA A 10 DE NOVEMBRO DE 1576

[...]

Maluco

o P. Marcos Prancudo, Superior
o P. Pero Mascharenhas
o P. Paulo Gomez } sabem a lingoa da terra [1]
o P. Fernand'Alvarez
o P. Geronymo Rodriguez
o Ir. Antonio Gonçalvez
o Ir. Vicente Dias [2]
o Ir. Gonçallo Teyxeyra [3]

[...]

## 219

## FR. GOMES VAZ SJ TO FR. MANUEL RODRIGUES, PROVINCIAL OF PORTUGAL

GOA, NOVEMBER 14, 1576

TEXT: DI X 700-775 [710; 717; 765-766]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 288*r*-305*v*. Original in Portuguese. Third *via*.

*Text*

1. *Fr. Nicolau Nunes died. His career.* — 2. *A Brother was sent to Maluku.* — (3-5. *Report on the Maluku Jesuit Residence*). 3. *There are five Fathers and two Brothers; four out of those seven are besieged at Ternate, and three live at Ambon with a*

[1] Malay, with local Maluku differentiations.

[2] This seems to be the last mention of Br. Vicente Dias; already in the register of names of November 1577 (DI X 934-937) his name is lacking.

[3] This is the Brother spoken of in D 219, 2 and 4; in January 1576 he is still listed as residing in the college of Cochin (DI X 503). See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 39.

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*somewhat greater freedom of work. — 4. Valignano dispatched a Brother to Maluku who, on his return, was to meet the Visitor at Malacca. — 5. Those invested at Ternate unexpectedly were succoured with food supplies by the king of Tidore who had dissensions with the king of Ternate.*

[...]

1. O 3º [1] foy o P.e Nicolao Nunez, tambem de nação portuguez, o qual esteve perto de trinta anos na Companhia [2]. Em Maluquo esteve perto de vinta quatro annos [3] fazendo muito fruito e baptizou grandissima quantidade de gentios, sabia muito bem a lingoa daquela terra, donde veio averá quatro ou sinquo annos [4] pera pedir socorro. Finalmente estando com grandissimo desejo de tornar pera laa e acabar com aqueles christãos sua vida, foy servido N. Senhor encurtar-lhe os trabalhos dando-lhe a coroa de seus trabalhos. Faleceo no mes de Mayo [5] de febres e camaras mui violentas que lhe derão, deyxando-nos com muita saudade na sua partida, porque era na verdade muito bom obreiro.

[...]

2. A Maluquo mandou hum Irmão [6] pera levar muitos mantymentos e consolar os Padres, que estão lá cercados á tanto tempo sem ver nenhuma pessoa da Companhia.

[...]

4ª Residencia, de Maluquo

3. Em Maluco estão 7 da Companhia, sinqo Padres e dous Irmãos, cercados da maneira que estavão o anno passado, e fazem os mesmos

---

[1] Two other deaths are reported in the foregoing numbers.

[2] He entered the Society in Coimbra in 1545.

[3] This seems a more correct number that the «twenty-six years» of D 201, 2 ; it leaves fifteen years for Nunes' second term in Maluku, which agrees fairly well with the time from October 1557 to February-May 1573.

[4] Before long, in early 1577, four years would have passed since Nunes left Maluku.

[5] So he died in May 1576. Some indications on Nunes' person and life are to be found in a catalogue of Goa of October 1575 : At that time he was fifty years of age ; he had been admitted to the noviciate in Coimbra in 1545 and took his first vows in 1546 ; before entering he had studied grammar, logic and philosophy for seven years, but to little purpose (DI X 32 no. 9).

[6] Br. Gonçalo Teixeira (D 218). WESSELS, who did not know D 218 (as is apparent from *Amboina* 67 note 3), assumes incorrectly that this Brother was Vicente Dias (*Amboina* 184 ; *Catalogus* 243).

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exercicios que então fazião, animando e consolando os portuguezes e o que fiqua dos christãos da terra. Delles, os quoatro estão na fortaleza de Maluquo e os tres noutro reino chamado Amboino [7], e estes como não estão no aperto daquelles vão vizitando os christãos que serão ainda perto de sete mil, consolando-os e detendo-os pera que não deixem a fé que tomarão, e fazem nisto não pequeno serviço de Noso Senhor e com não pouco trabalho.

4. Este Abril [8] mandou pera laa o Padre Vizitador hum Irmão [9] com os mantimentos e provisão necessaria pera os Padres do cerqo, com o quoal receberão todos aquelles Padres grandissima consolação assi por saberem miudamente novas da Companhia e do que aqui passa, como tãobem por verem o cuidado que se tem delles e chegar lá pessoa da Companhia que há já alguns annos que não virão. O quoal Irmão há-de tornar a Malaca pera esperar ali com as novas que trouxer daquellas partes ao Padre Vizitador, que este anno com ajuda de Deos irá pera lá [10].

5. Foy aquella fortaleza de Maluco socorrida com não menos particular providencia de Deos do que foy Malaca, porque tendo duas vezes arribado o galeão que hia de Goa a Maluco com os mantimentos [11], e não podendo ser bem provido de Malaqa, porque estava cercada, ordenou Noso Senhor que entre o rey de Maluco e o rey de Tidor, que erão ambos nossos ymmigos e nos fazião a guerra, ouvesse algumas dissenções, por onde o rey de Tidor mandou secretamente prover a fortaleza de mantimentos, e com isto e com o que lhe mandarão d'Amboino, que está daquella fortaleza oitenta legoas, se remediarão as necessi-

---

[7] Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, in a letter of May 9, 1578 (*ARSI, Goa 12 II* f. 457*r-v*), specifies this statement by saying that in Ternate, at the moment of the surrender in December 1575, there were two Fathers and two Brothers, and in Ambon three Fathers. Comparing this announcement with the catalogues D 215 and D 218, we infer that in Ternate there lived Frs. Prancudo and Paulo Gomes, and Brs. António Gonçalves and Vicente Dias; in Ambon Frs. Pero Mascarenhas, Fernando Álvares, and Jerónimo Rodrigues.

[8] In April 1576.

[9] Br. Gonçalo Teixeira. See note 6. He must have arrived in Ambon in 1577.

[10] Br. Teixeira had to return to Malacca in June-July 1577, but this plan was to materialize in a different way. He did not arrive at Malacca until July 1578 and there he met Valignano. See *Gen. Introd.* IV 4 no. 39. In 1577, no ship departed from Ambon (DI XI 294).

[11] In April and September 1575 (D 210, 1).

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dades daquella fortaleza de tal maneira que ateguora pode sofrer o cerco [12].

[. . .]

De Goa, oye 14 de Novembro de 1576.

De V.P. filho indigno em o Senhor,

Gomez Vaz.

*Lost Letter*

219*a*. — *The Jesuits of Malacca to Fr. General ; November 1576.*

Fr. Francisco de Chaves, Malacca, to Fr. General, November 22, 1578 : « No anno de 76 se escreveo a V.P. como polas estremas nesesidades, asim de fome como de gera, a que per lomguo serco tinha chegado a fortaleza de Maluco, se emtregara aos mouros » (*ARSI, Goa 12 II* f. 418*v*).

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## FR. FRANCISCO DIONÍSIO SJ TO FR. GENERAL EVERARD MERCURIAN, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 25, 1577

I TEXT : DI X 840-846 [844]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 384*r*-386*v*. Holograph. Spanish. Fourth *via*.

II NOTE : This letter contains the first notice documenting the fall of Ternate. On Francisco Dionísio, see DI VI 13*.

*Text*

1. *The fortress of Ternate has been conquered by the Ternatans ; a few Portuguese remained there, but most of them and the Fathers went to India.* — 2. *News on the Jesuits in Ambon, China, Japan, and Malacca.*

[. . .]

1. Estando esta nao [1] para partir llegó nueva que venían las naos de Malaca, y por no tener cartas de los nuestros [2] no mando a V.P. cosa

---

[12] In the meantime the fortress of Ternate had surrendered to King Baab Ullah (Babu) in December 1575.

[1] Which would carry this letter to Europe.

[2] Fr. Pedro Mascarenhas, on May 9, 1578, from Ambon : « Se perderão ellas [cartas destas partes] juntamente com a nao em que forão ora há dous annos » (*ARSI. Goa 12 II* f. 457*r-v*).

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cierta más que de Maluco. Dan nuevas que los portugueses que estavan de cerco en Ternate, por los tener cercado el hijo del rey que un portuguez mató [3], eran entreguados y tomada la fortaleza [4], y que el capitán della [5] con el feitor y doze soldados quedavan con los ternates [6], que quedan por señores de la tierra, y que todos los portugueses más y los Padres nuestros se venieron a la India [7] con licencia del rey de la tierra. Queda m[ás] un vicario, clérigo secular [8], con estos portugueses.

2. En Amboyno, que es otra parte de Maluco, que está bien, están algunos Padres nuestros, no sé quién ni quántos [9], y viénense quatro

---

[3] Babu, son of Hairun ; the latter had been murderously assaulted by Martim Afonso Pimentel in 1570.

[4] According to SOUZA (II III 2 2) the surrender took place on December 28, « dia do Protomartyr Sancto Estevão » [*sic*], 1575. On this surrender, see *Relação Vasconcelos* 313-318 ; COUTO IX 31 (especially pp. 285-290) ; *Relación Dueñas* f. 7*r* ; SOUZA II III 2 1-2.

[5] He was Nuno Pereira de Lacerda, who, in December 1574, had taken over the fortress from D. Álvaro de Ataíde. His royal *mercê* : SÁ IV 56-57. His journey to Ternate : *Relação Vasconcelos* 314-315 ; COUTO IX 31 (especially pp. 279-281) ; *Relación Dueñas* f. 6*v* (where he is incorrectly called Nuño Pereira de Oliver). He was the last Portuguese Captain of Ternate. (The title *Capitão de Maluco* will be used anew for the captains of the later Portuguese fortress on the island of Tidore).

[6] One of the conditions made by Babu was that the captain and some Portuguese should remain with him in Ternate (*Relação Vasconcelos* 317 : vinte portuguezes). The condition is formulated in the *Relación Dueñas* in these terms : « Que se avían de quedar doze portugueses con él para en guarda de la fortaleza, porque él no la tomava ni tiraniçava al Rey de Portugal, sino que la quería tener en prenda asta que le hiziesen justicia y lo desagraviasen la muerte de su padre » (f. 7*r*). But Babu had no idea of restoring the fort to the Portuguese : « Se lhe entregarão o proprio Diogo Lopes de Lima [= de Mesquita] . . ., não ouverão de emtregar a fortaleza » (*Relação Vasconcelos* 365). King Babu gave the house of the Jesuits (COUTO IX 31 p. 287) or the Jesuit church (*Rel. Vasconcelos* 317) as a residence to these Portuguese, who were a kind of hostage.

[7] The four Jesuits (D 219 note 7) sailed to Ambon (*ARSI, Goa 12 II* f. 457).

[8] Nuno Pereira de Lacerda, in his letter of March 22, 1582, to Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, Governor of the Philippines, mentioning the surrender, from sheer necessity, of the fortress, adds : « Ficando eu com doze casados e hum Padre » (Seville, *AGI, Filippinas* 34 *ramo* 3 *no. 62*). This is probably the same priest who, shortly after the murder of Hairun, was wounded in a skirmish with the Ternatans, « porque acodio elle com hum montamte nas mãos, peleiyamdo mui varonilmente » (*Rel. Vasconcelos* 219). In 1578 the group was ingeniously rescued by the Portuguese (See *Relação Vasconcelos* 365 ; *Relación Dueñas* f. 8*v*).

[9] Cf. D 219 note 7.



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para cá para la India [10]. De la China y Japão no tengo nuevas particulares, más que estar bien y no uve novedad. Los nuestros en Malaca están bien, y los que el año passado fueron mandados de Portugal para aquella fortaleza todos quatro están sanos, aunque llegaron enfermos y flacos de muchas dolienças passadas.

[. . .]

De Cochim, 25 de Enero de 77.

Hijo de V.P.,

Dionysio.

---

[10] The reports on what happened to the Jesuits in Maluku after the surrender of the fortress are few, succinct, puzzling (that is, mentioning Jesuits without recalling their names), sometimes a bit inconsistent, and to be found in later documents. From these documents, in part already published in DI X (see 851 ; 894-895 ; 1018-1019), and in part to be published in our second volume, the following sequence of events can be inferred. There were in Ternate four Jesuits : Marcos Prancudo, Paulo Gomes, António Gonçalves, and Vicente Dias. After the surrender they sailed to Ambon and joined the three Jesuits stationed there : Pero Mascarenhas, Fernando Álvares, and Jerónimo Rodrigues. Consequently, there were seven Jesuits in Ambon in the first half of 1576. The superior, Prancudo, dispatched Álvares and Dias to India in May 1576. Five Jesuits remained. Álvares and Dias arrived in Goa in March 1577, met Valignano, and reported to him on the situation. Valignano wrote to Prancudo that he and Gomes should also sail to India, and that Mascarenhas should be the superior. In the meantime Br. Gonçalo Teixeira had arrived in Maluku ; then the Jesuits numbered six. The king of Tidore requested that a Portuguese fortress be built in his island, which resulted in a war between him and Ternate. Portuguese soldiers assisted Tidore ; three Jesuits volunteered to accompany them : Mascarenhas (*Rel. Vasc.* 343 and 348), Jerónimo Rodrigues, and Br. Teixeira. Once the expedition was over, Rodrigues remained in Tidore where a fortress and a church were built ; Mascarenhas and Teixeira returned to Ambon. In October 1577, Valignano arrived in Malacca. In January 1578, Prancudo died on Ambon ; five Jesuits remained. A few days later, Valignano's beforementioned letter arrived. Gomes and Teixeira sailed for Malacca in May 1578, where they met Valignano just a few days before he set sail to Japan (DI XII 557). Three Jesuits remained in Maluku : Mascarenhas (superior) and Gonçalves on Ambon, and Rodrigues on Tidore.

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# GLOSSARY

## of Asian terms occurring in the Documents

*Alfaqui* – Muslim teacher of law.
*Algazarra* – furious clamour.
*Amok* – amuck; furious, desperate, and suicidal attack.
*Bahar* – measure of weight.
*Baileu* – village meeting house; cabin on upper deck.
*Baju* – jacket with narrow sleeves.
*Bambu* – bamboo.
*Bandara* (*bendahara*) – governor, treasurer; second man after the captain (in Portuguese Malacca).
*Betel* (*betre*) – a leaf, used for chewing.
*Boki* – Ternatan title: princess.
*Caciz* – Muslim teacher, preacher.
*Cairo* – coir, fibre of the coco-nut husk; rope made from it.
*Cangalhas* – outriggers of native vessel.
*Cara* (*tjara*) – manner, custom.
*Caracheo* (*karaceu* ?), *carrocheo* – war cry, boastful threat (unidentified).
*Carraeno* – (unidentified).
*Champana* (*sampan*) – native vessel.
*Charvisique* – spirits living in the woods, in Moro (unidentified).
*Chati*(*m*), *ceti* – member of a trading caste, now: moneylender, usurer.
*Corja* – score, set of twenty.
*Cotungos* – (unidentified).
*Durian* – delicious fruit.
*Fale* – Papuan term for a constellation (further unidentified).
*Fisa* – loin-cloth or other garment made of tree bark.
*Gunung* – mountain.
*Juanga* – large type of korakora.
*Junco* – junk, large Eastern ship.
*Juru bahasa* – interpreter, expert in language.
*Kaicil* – title of Ternatan princes.

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*Kakoya* – wicker work of pandanus leaves.
*Kalawai* – javelin with iron barb.
*Kelulus* – light and rapid craft.
*Korakora* – Maluku war craft.
*Kusus* (*kuskus*) – marsupial animal.
*Lara* – timber frame around neck, for offenders.
*Lascar* (*lascarim*) – soldiers, troops.
*Menteri* (*mandarim*) – a state official.
*Meru* (*meiru*) – kind of deer.
*Muta* (*mouta* ?) – kind of woven fabric (unidentified).
*Naicil* (*nachil*) – title of Ternatan princesses.
*Nitu* – spirit, worshipped in Ambon and Seram.
*Ny* (*nhi*) – (unidentified).
*Ola* – palm leaf, used for thatching.
*Padi* – rice plant.
*Pagar* – fence.
*Pagode* – idol ; also sanctuary.
*Pangaio* – kind of vessel with two masts.
*Pati*(*h*) – governor ; village chief.
*Patola* – woven fabric with various colours or patterns.
*Pengayuh* – oar, paddle.
*Perahu* – ship, boat.
*Raja* – king ; village chief.
*Sagu* – sago.
*Salah* – mistake, error, fault.
*Salawaku* (*solavaquo*) – buckler, shield.
*Sampan* (*champana*) – native vessel.
*Sembahyang* (*sumbaya*) – respectful gesture of submission.
*Sengaji* – title, head of district.
*Soa* – quarter of a town, hamlet.
*Suanggi* – (*suangi*, *soangas*, *joanjas*) – pernicious spirit, vampire.
*Supo* – sieve or filter.
*Tabaque* (*atabaque*) – Oriental drum.
*Tifa* – sort of small drum.
*Tuak* (*tuaca*) – palm wine, toddy.
*Tutangos* – (unidentified).
*Uli* – unit of villages in Ambon.
*Veniaga* (*berniaga*) – to trade, to do business.

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Gonçalves, António SJ, Brother, life 42* ; suffers from head-ache 522 ; is sent to Ambon from Goa 355 ; is in Ambon 61* 357 391 584 596 ; in Maluku

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476 480 630 638 660 696 701 ; in Hatiwi 442 ; in Liliboi 452 ; in Ulat 452 ; pulls down a tomb of cacizes 606 ; is shipwrecked near Bacan 554 ; in Moro 522 (Rau island) 562[1] ; in Ternate at surrender 703[7] ; after surrender 706[10] ; writes roll of Maluku Jesuits 18* 42* ; — 421[1].

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tians 185 ; joins the Portuguese in war 278-279 ; unloyal rebel and enemy of Christians 337 486 502[1] 508 590 (cuts off forage line) ; is arrested and sent to India 18 ; imprisoned by Duarte de Eça 219[8] 226 231 234 244 249 (for treason) 324[4] 342[8] ; freed 256 276[48] ; — and Christianity : expected to become a Christian 18 ; has to favour the mission 66-67 ; some relatives are converted 186 ; promises to have a son baptized 40 61 67 79, and to send him to Goa college 61 ; faithless 79 97 ; his tricks against Christianity 40-41[46] ; their worst enemy, hates and persecutes them 234 290 433 461 485 ; persecutes his Christian stepmother D. Isabel 186 ; is rumoured to have killed Ternatan worshippers 496 ; does not acknowledge the donation of Ambon to Freitas 157[1] ; calls Javanese to Ambon against the Christians 496 ; tries to bribe the king of Bacan in order to expel the Portuguese 223 ; tries to impede his baptism 233 ; kidnaps his grandchild, the princess of Bacan 233 269 ; meets expenses of funeral of old king of Bacan 233 ; threatens king of Bacan with death 234 ; tries to frustrate conversion of king of Banggai 434 486 ; conspires with king of Jailolo against Christians 122 125 ; hinders the king from becoming a Christian 91-92 ; joins the Portuguese in action against Tolo 108[9] 126 ; sails to Moro with Lopes de Sousa to separate Christians and Muslims 147 148[8] ; author of steady war and cruel persecution in Moro 79 92 105-106 113 565 566 ; islamizes N Selebes, spreads rumour that Castilian ships arrived 412 427 ; wants newly converted Tidorese to be expelled to India 434-435 ; makes islamizing counter-attack against Christian mission 484-485 ; — and the Jesuits : is not their friend 96 ; sees present destined to him deviated to Japan by Goa Jesuits 149[12] ; wants Xavier to be his friend 40 ; restitutes Xavier's chasuble to the Jesuits 313 ; orders Beira to be killed 200 ; is praised by Castro 147-149 ; orders Castro to be captured 236-237 ; hears witnesses of Castro's death in the presence of Franc. Vieira 262 ; is friendly to Mascarenhas, who sees through his tricks 438 ; should furnish boats for the Jesuits 17* 80[20] ; furnishes boats 148 312 (to Moro) 366 383 394 (with 40 oarsmen) ; does not furnish them 92 ; — his death would mean blessing for Christianity and the end of Islam 239-240 ; he is on his guard against Gonçalo Pereira 520[2] ; his political game with him 565 ; knows of deliberations about his murder 591 ; swears peace with Lopes de Mesquita 591-592 ; deserves to be killed 631-632 641-642[18] ; is killed by the captain's nephew 576 580 585 (ordered by captain) 587 592 615 618 631 (on Febr. 20, 1570) 642 654 659 705[3] ; death compared with that of first-born in Egypt 585, gives cause for hope to Christians 632 ; death imputed to the Jesuits 641-642 ; rumours about this 673 ; — writes to D. João III 58 ; to Muslims in Ambon 354 369 ; — 70[1] 368[19] 460[1].

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Manuel of Hatiwi, village chief, as a

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Mascarenhas, Pero SJ, priest, life 37*-38* ; sails to Maluku 334 ; lives in Maluku 339 356 381 476 480 630 637 660 696 701 ; works in Ternate 367 417 419 ; preaches 365-366 382 521 ; visits Hairun 438 ; visits Moro, falls ill 466 ; — in N Selebes 63* ; sails there with Gonçalo Pereira 521 524 526 529-544 ; in Manado and Siau 532 538 ; in Sangi 534-538 ; makes use of an interpreter 536 598 ; in war against rebellious Siau people 541-543 ; returns to Ternate accompanied by prince of Siau 544 $626^{32}$ $682^{43}$ ; — in Ambon 61* 551 584 596 622 $703^{7}$ $706^{10}$ ; converts Muslim village 605-606 ; escapes from Hatuhaha and is saved by people of Oma 620-622 ; knows Malay 701 ; writes letters 332 344 410 431 436 527 548 593 ; — $216^{3}$ $352^{26}$ 405 $421^{1}$.

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Mendonça, Simão de, Port. captain, tries to reconcile Hairun with Lopes de Mesquita 591-592.
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## T

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Távora, D. Henrique de, OP, bishop of Cochin 639.

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Travancor, Jesuit residence 664.

*Treatise on the Moluccas* (1544), authoritative early account of Maluku 7* ; *et passim*.

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Trigault, Nicolaus SJ, author 94[1].

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*Tuak* (*tuaca*, *tuaqua*), explained 36[18] 220[12] 685.

Tuban, Muslim town and kingdom in Java, assists Muslims of Hitu 121[10] 173[11] 550[6].

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*Tutangos*, see *Colungos*.

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Vasconcelos, Sancho de, Port. captain in Ambon 61*.
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çalo Álvares, Alessandro Valignano, Luís de Góis.

Visser, B. J. J. MSC, historiographer of Maluku mission 83* ; utilizes printed Jesuit letters 72* ; — 143 152 170 300 $301^{8}$ $302^{4}$ $303^{7}$.

Vlekke, Bernard H. M., author $6^{*14}$.

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*Wali* (*ullah*), $11^{34}$.

Wallace, Alfred Russel, author $189^{30-31}$ $190^{36}$ $679^{25-26\ 28}$ $682^{42}$.

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Wessels, C. SJ, historiographer of Maluku mission 83* ; utilizes ARSI 72* ; his lists of Maluku Jesuits 18* ; *et passim*.

Wetar, island, cannibalism $12^{27}$.

Wichmann, Arthur, author $130^{11-12}$.

Wicki, Josef SJ, editor of EX and DI, author 19*-48* *repeatedly*, 81* ; calculates date of document 215 ; *et passim*.

Women, native, newly converted wives of Portuguese, zealous for the faith 62 ; old women teach prayers to youth 199 ; zealous in Ambon 400 ; suffer for the faith 518 ; — native women healers 255.

## X

Xavier, Francisco SJ, co-founder of the Society of Jesus, first Jesuit in SE Asia and in Maluku, papal nuncio, first provincial of India, founder of Maluku Jesuit Mission 15*-16* 19* ; stays in Cape Comorin 29 ; decides to sail to Maluku 3-4 322 ; stops for three months in Malacca 7 10 ; assisted by young Paulo Gomes 211 ; writes Malay catechism 14 $35^{14}$ ; sails to Maluku $29^{7}$ 516 ; lives there 32 48 77 ; in Ambon 59* 8 (three months) ; visits Christian villages 7 16 17 34, converts many 557 ; instructs Manuel of Hatiwi 311 349 ; erects cross 400 ; meets Cosme de Torres 55 ; in Ternate 35 45 ; determines to sail to Moro, refuses antidotes 9 ; visits Moro and makes conversions 38 106 113 125 193 690 ; calls it ' Islands of trusting in God ' 36 178-179, and ' Martyrs Islands ' 57 ; his crucifix there 229-230 ; in Ternate again, three months 38 ; promises to send Jesuits 48 ; knows from afar death of a captain in Ambon 49 ; gives instructions for pastoral work 39 ; tries to convert Hairun 40 ; receives his promise to have a son made Christian 61 ; and conversion of D. Isabel 186 ; leavetaking from Ternate 38-39 ; in Ambon again, sails to Malacca 38

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177 ; meets Beira in Malacca 28 47 ; sails back to Goa 44[6] ; decides to erect Jesuits residence in Maluku 11 ; sent first Jesuits there 60 105 113 (Beira and companions) 657 (Nic. Nunes) ; gives instructions on their work 62 125 198 ; orders Beira to write yearly 41, and to address certain personage in Ternate 62 ; receives Afonso de Castro into Society and sends him to Maluku 235-236 ; sails to Japan 65[1] 66 73 81 ; meets Jesuits assigned to Maluku in Cochin 72 ; gives instruction to Francisco Pérez 71 ; recommends Jesuits of Maluku and Japan 179 ; reports at greater lenghth on Japan and China 116 ; goes accompanied by António China 145 ; dies 19* ; body exhumed in Malacca and brought to Goa 30* 144[2] 550[5] ; his chasuble 313 ; is called Padre Sancto 230 ; his first biographer 47 ; — writes to D. João III 19 45-46 ; to Ignatius Loyola 1 42 ; to Simão Rodrigues 22 42 55 ; to Gaspar Berze 93 94 97 ; to Juan de Beira 46 65 95 ; to other Jesuits 2 3 5 15 33 63 94 ; to friends 22 28.

Xulas, Sula islands or Sulu archipelago ? 202.

## Y

Yule, Henry, and A. C. Burnell, lexicographers 11[34] 21[9] 148[11] 154[5] 221[14] 229[13] 280[62] 304[14-16] 348[10-11] 495[5] 625[26-29] 628[29] 685[60-62].

## Z

Zaragoza, Treaty 11* 699[4].

Zinner, Ernst, author 131[18].

## CORRIGENDA

Page 39 note 31 : for *vigário* read *vicario*.
Page 106 note 4 : for *Gen. Introd.* V 5 read *Gen. Introd.* V 6.
Page 345, in no. 5 : *for* equally *read* likewise.
Page 595, in no. 16 : *for* massacrated *read* massacred.
On Map (2) : *for* Romohoni *read* Rohomoni.

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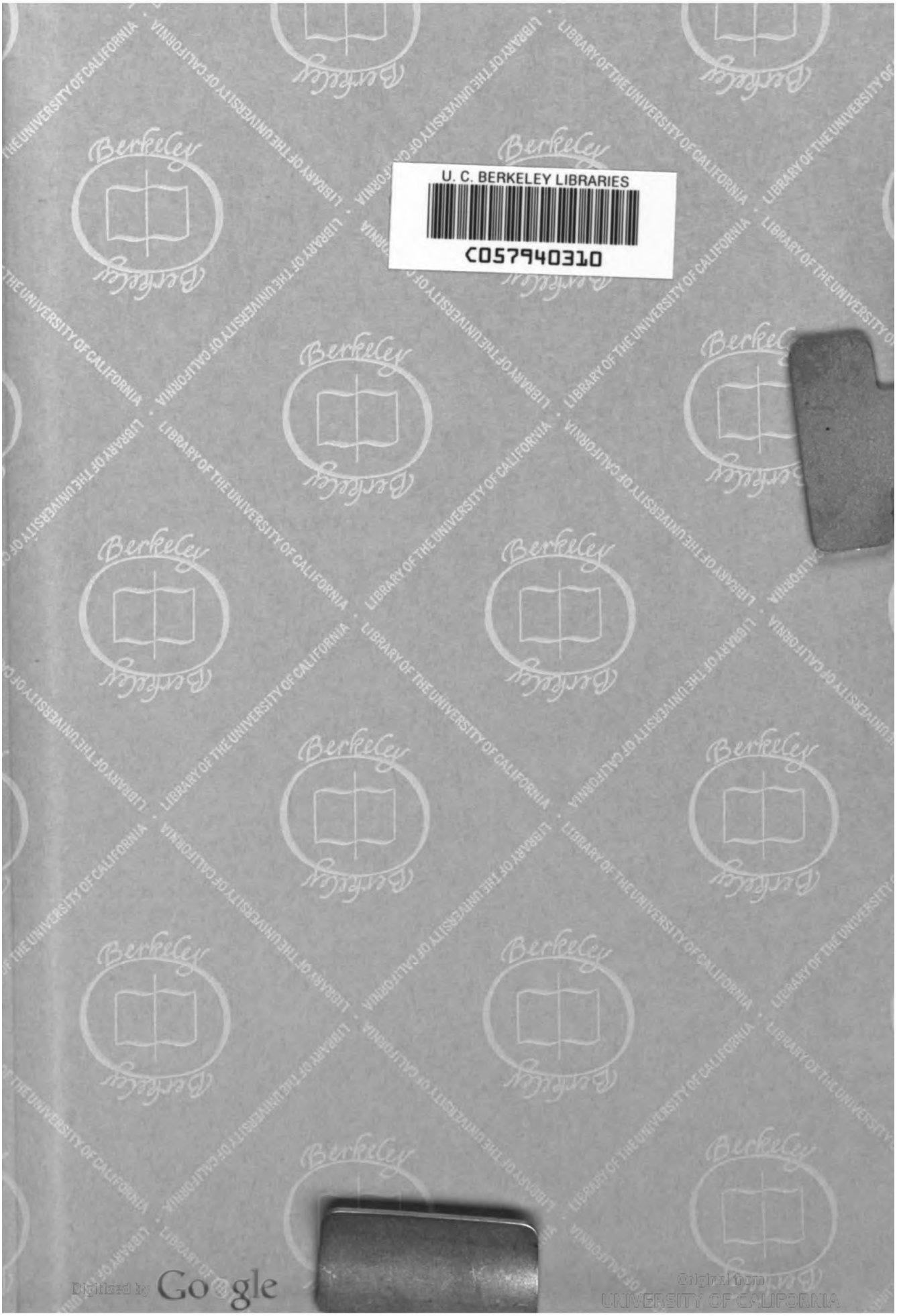
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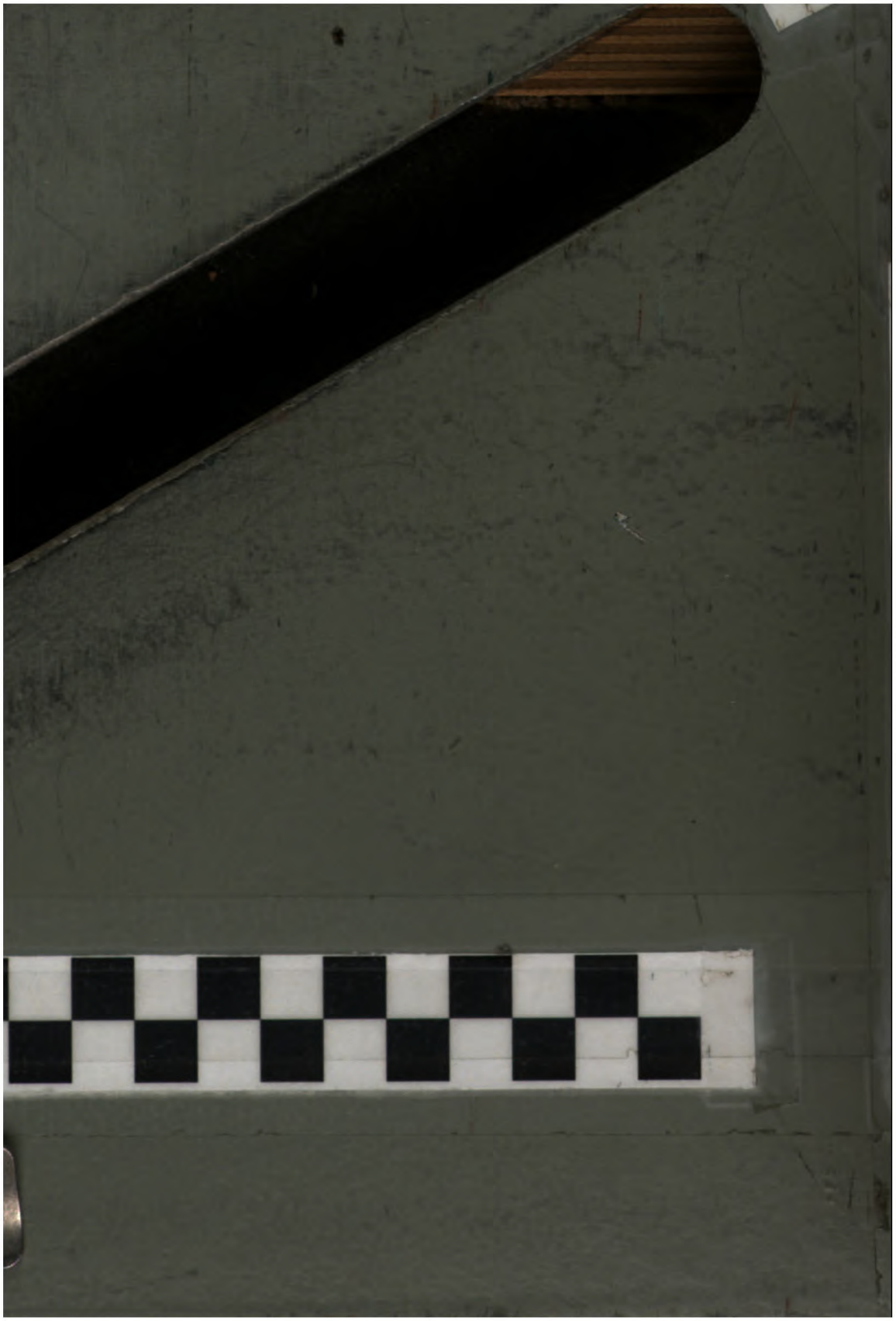

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