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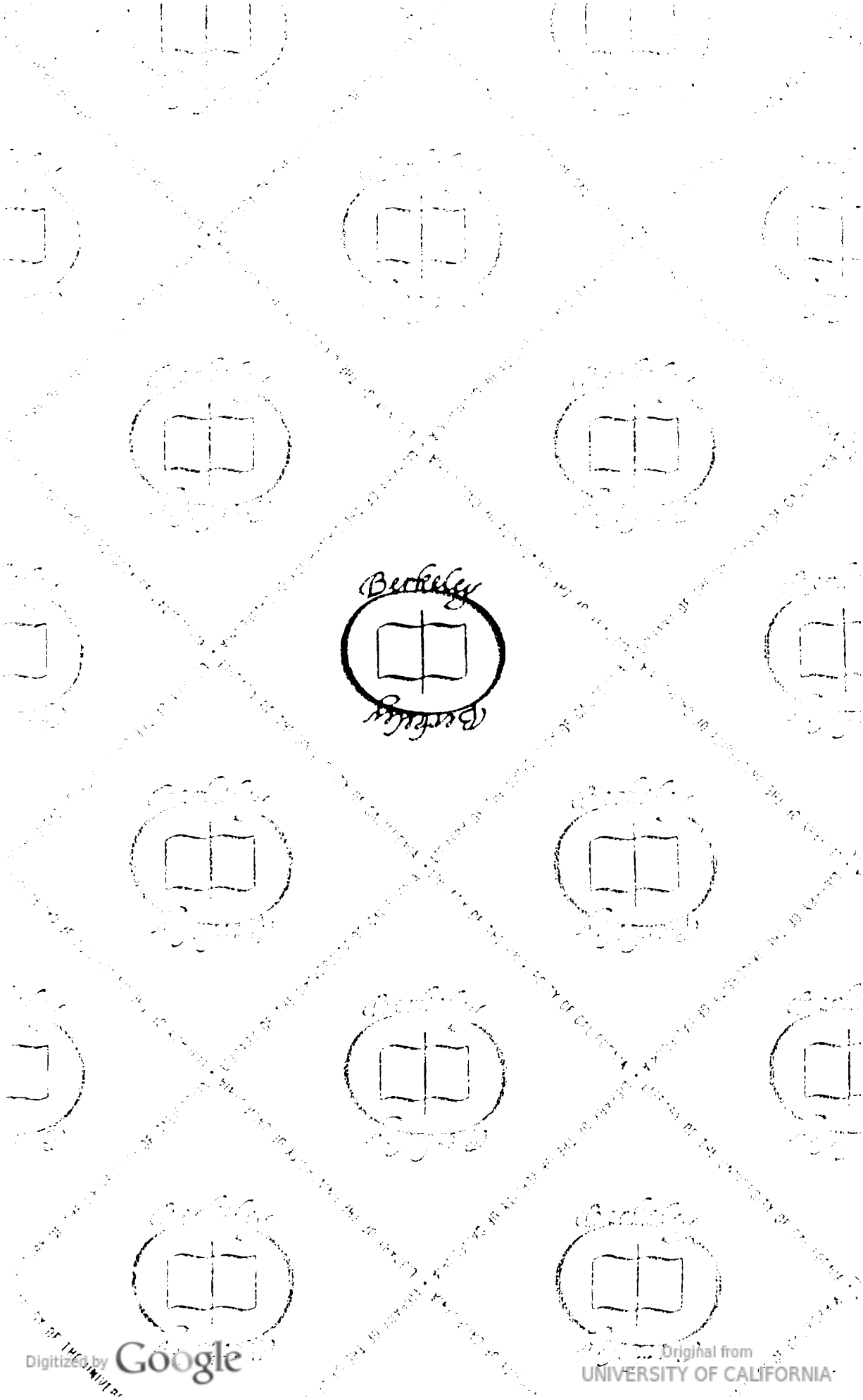

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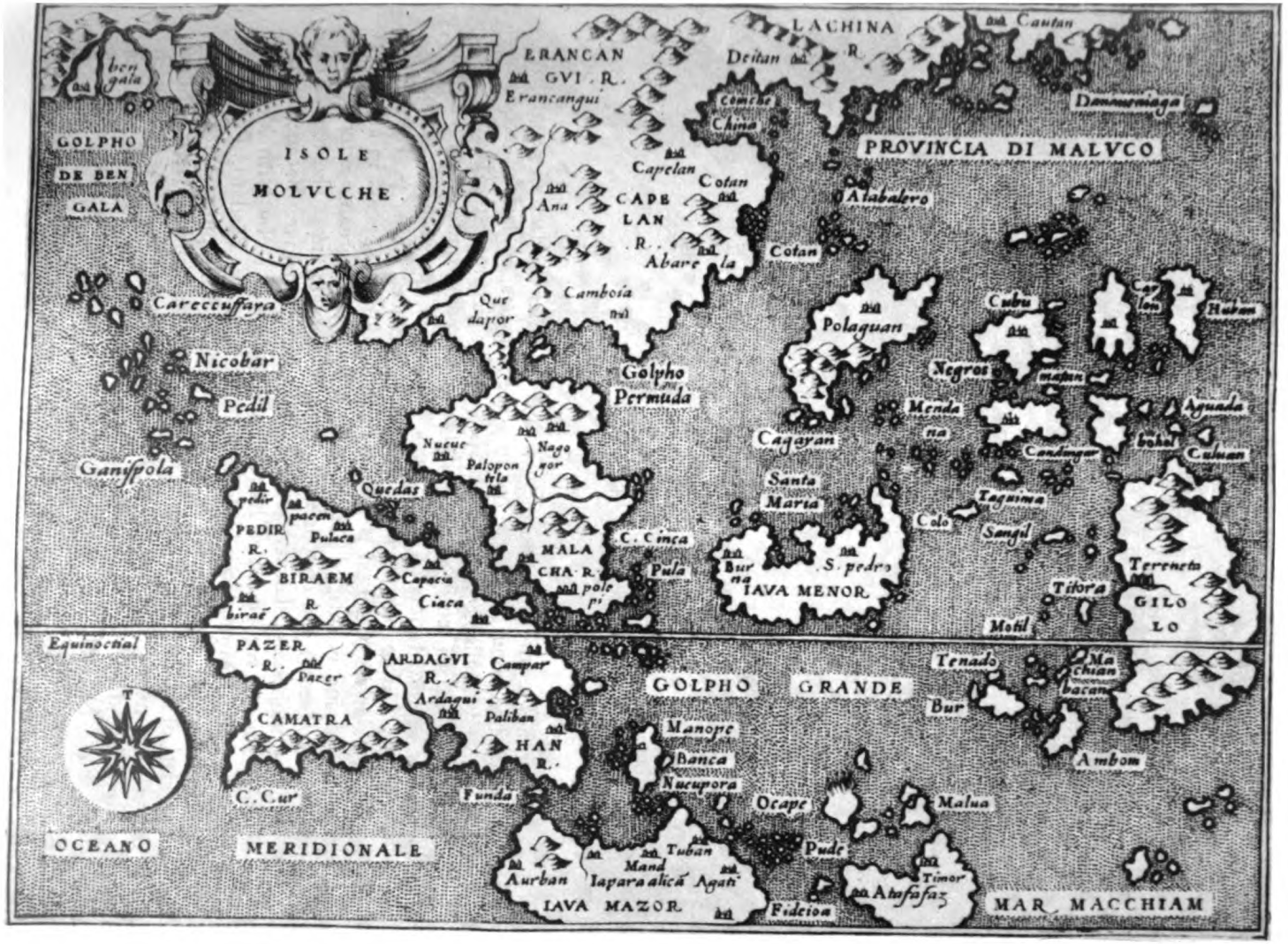

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Sometimes a note to a document points to either the lack of geographical knowledge about SE Asia, or, in some copyists, to lack of acquaintance with the available knowledge. The present picture of the Indonesian and Philippine area, entitled *Isole Molucche,* shows a quite primitive and erroneous representation of it. It was printed in the atlas of Thomaso PORCACCHI, *L'isole più famose del mondo* (Venice, 1576) p. 189. The island of Sulawesi (Celebes) is simply missing. Borneo appears in a rather reduced size and is entitled *Java menor.* Gilolo has a greater extent than Java (*Java mazor*!) and contains the town of Ternate (*sic*). The names of the East-Indonesian islands Sangi, Tidore, Moti, Makian, Bacan, Buru, and Ambon are recognizable; likewise the names of Cebu with Mactan, Negros, Bohol, Mindanao, Tagima (former name of Basilan), Palawan, Cagayan, and the Sulu (*Colo*) archipelago in the Philippines. Luzon does not exist, of Manila not a trace. On Java one distinguishes Japara, Mandalika (islet near the N coast at *c.* 111° Long. East), Tuban, Agati, which is Gresik, and *Fideioa*, which is the Portuguese *Fim de Jaoa*, the end of Java. *Pude* is Sapudi, *Ocape* is a deformation of Gunung Api, *Malua* is a former name of Alor. When this map was printed, the Portuguese already used much more accurate charts, but they preferred not to publish them.

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To this picture, consult D 73 note 110. It represents the E side of the island of Tidore, N being toward the right. In the centre it shows the town of Tidore (at present Soasiu), with the mosque in the foreground and behind it the royal dwelling. To the right are the Portuguese church and fortress. All of this, as also the bay, the hill on the left, and another hill behind the palace, have been depicted in an exaggerated size. The scene represented here is the conquest of the fortress by the Dutch in May 1605 (D 179, 3-10) and the explosion of the gun-powder. In the roadstead are five Dutch ships in a double position and, in the foreground, the two Portuguese galleons set on fire. (*India Orientalis,* pars VIII, Francofurti 1607, picture XVIII).

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XVI.

DELINEATIO CIVITATIS ET CASTELLI AMBOINAE.

CVm Hollandi ad ciuitatem Amboinam appulissent, missis ad eos Gubernator duobus ministris percunctatus est, quam ob causam eo venissent, & quid ex Castello, cui ab Hispania Rege praefectus datus esset, desiderarent? Qui missos sese à principe Mauritio Castellum illud expugnatum, professi sunt. Responso igitur hoc stupefactus Gubernator, Castelli ipsis statim deditionem fecit, hac tamen lege & conditione, vt omnibus, qui manere eo loco nollent, cum armis suis decedere permitteretur. Quam cum ratam haberent condstionem Hollandi, Castello hoc absq; vllo labore & pugna potiti sunt.

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Schematic but realistic plan of the Portuguese town of Ambon as it was in 1605, when the Dutch took it. In the left centre is the fortress, behind it the main church. The rivers are easily recognizable: at the extreme left is the mouth of the Wai Batumerah, next to it the Wai Tomo, in the right centre the small Wai Titar, and at the right the Wai Batugajah. The four monumental crosses, erected in public squares, clearly show that this is Ambon before the Dutch transformed it (Cf. D 178A note 6). The two Jesuit churches and the church of the Misericordia are not distinctly recorded. (*India Orientalis,* pars VIII, picture XVI).

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The Portuguese fortress of Ambon, seen from the land. It is a colcured drawing, somewhat akwardly done but most probably true, as it shows an authentic E Indonesian pattern in the roof construction (Cf. RIEDEL, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen,* pictures facing pp. 7, 236, 437, and 458). As the first thing the Dutch did after the conquest was digging a ditch around the wall (*Bijdragen en Mededeelingen Hist. Gen. Utrecht* VI, 1883, 344), and as such a ditch is clearly lacking in the picture, this may be supposed to represent the fort in its Portuguese shape as it existed in 1605 or not much later. This supposition is confirmed by the almost identical picture printed in *Atlas historique* with the title « Le fort d'Amboine tel qu'il étoit l'an 1607 » (Amsterdam 1732, tome V no. 48, after p. 128). Cf. the description of the fortress in VALENTYN II a 129. In the picture in VALENTYN II a, no. XXXI, after p. 96, the Portuguese fort corresponds to the inner square construction. The drawing is in the British Library, Map Library, The King's Topographical Collection, vol. CXVI, map 51. (*By permission of the British Library*).

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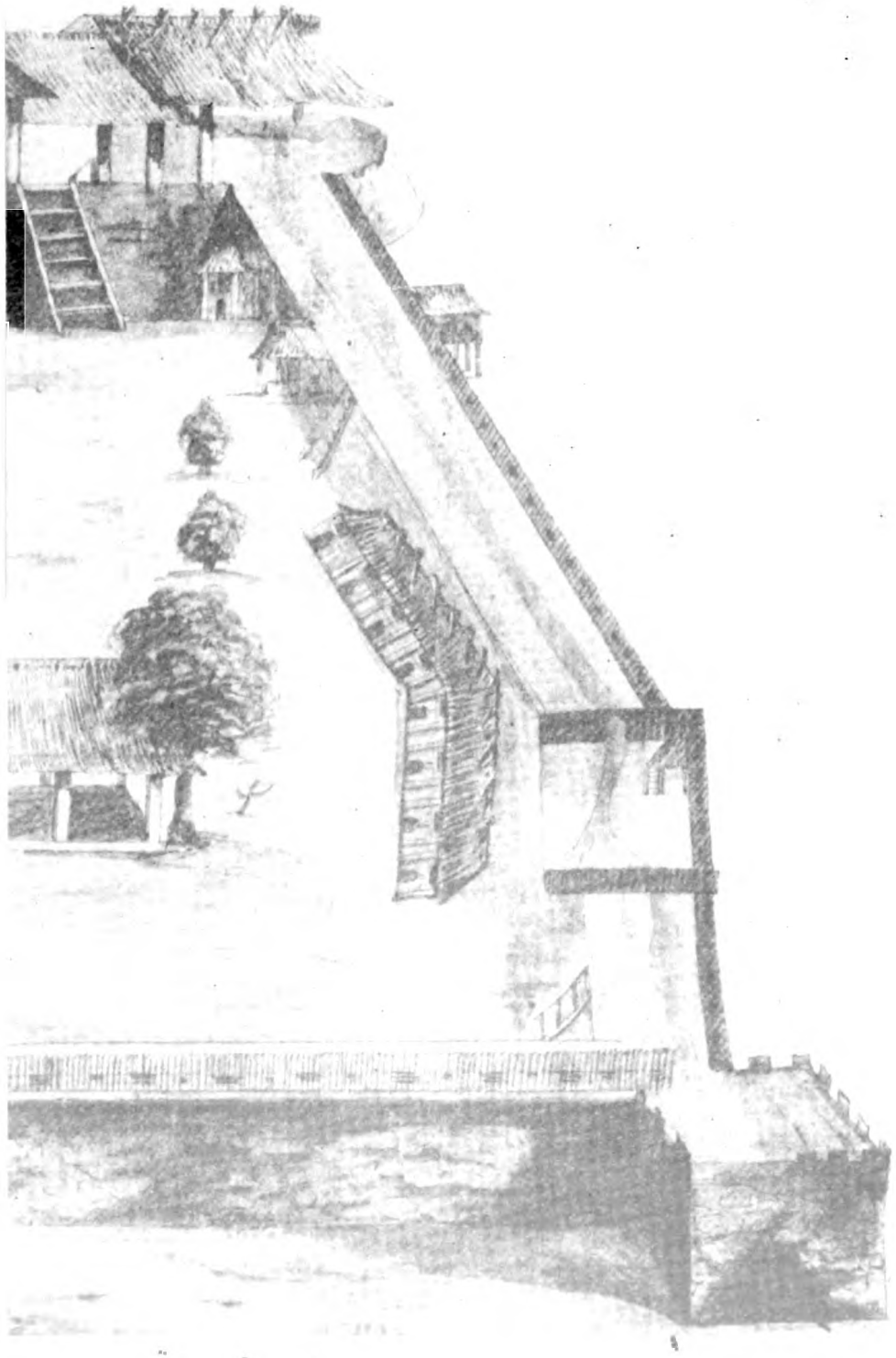

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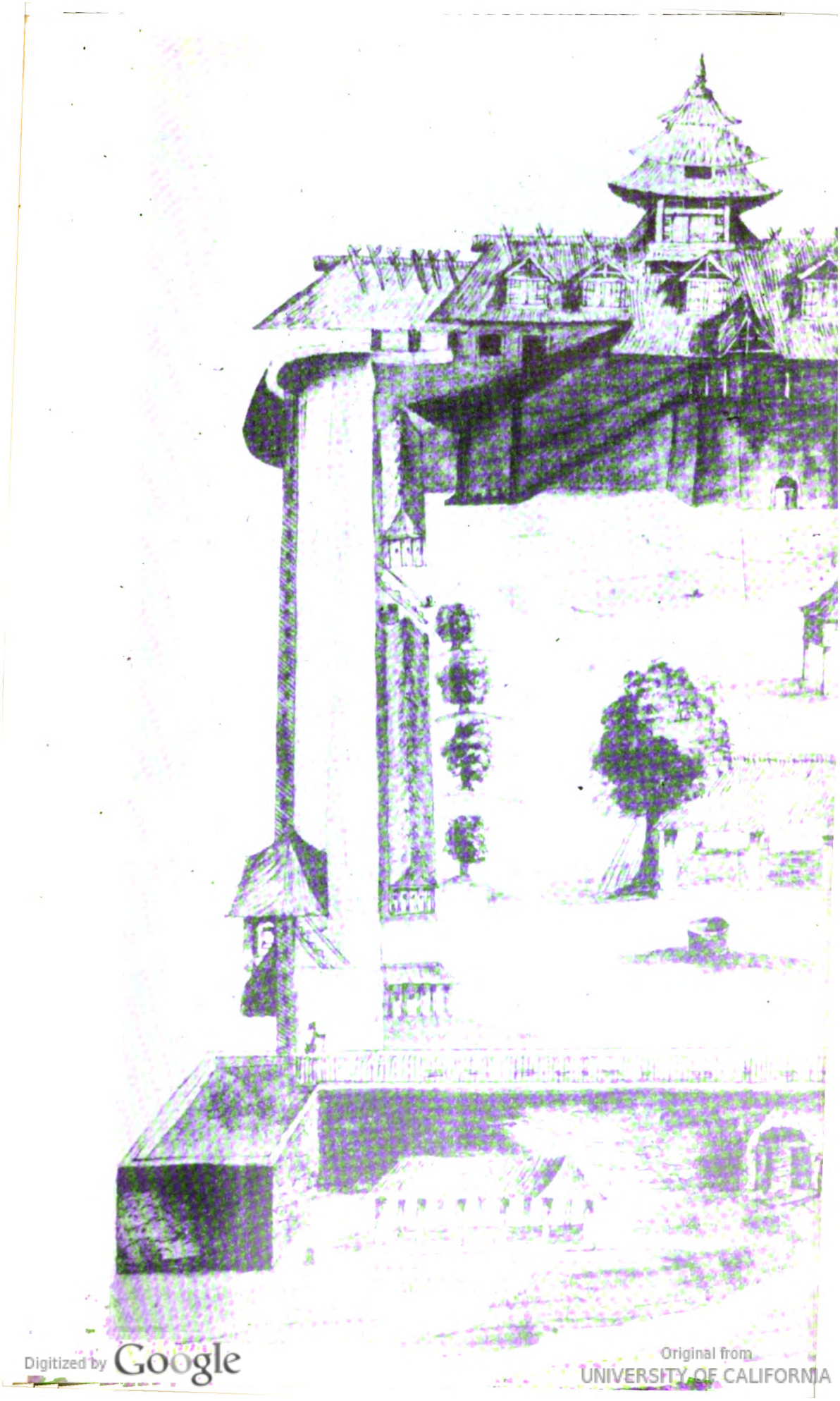

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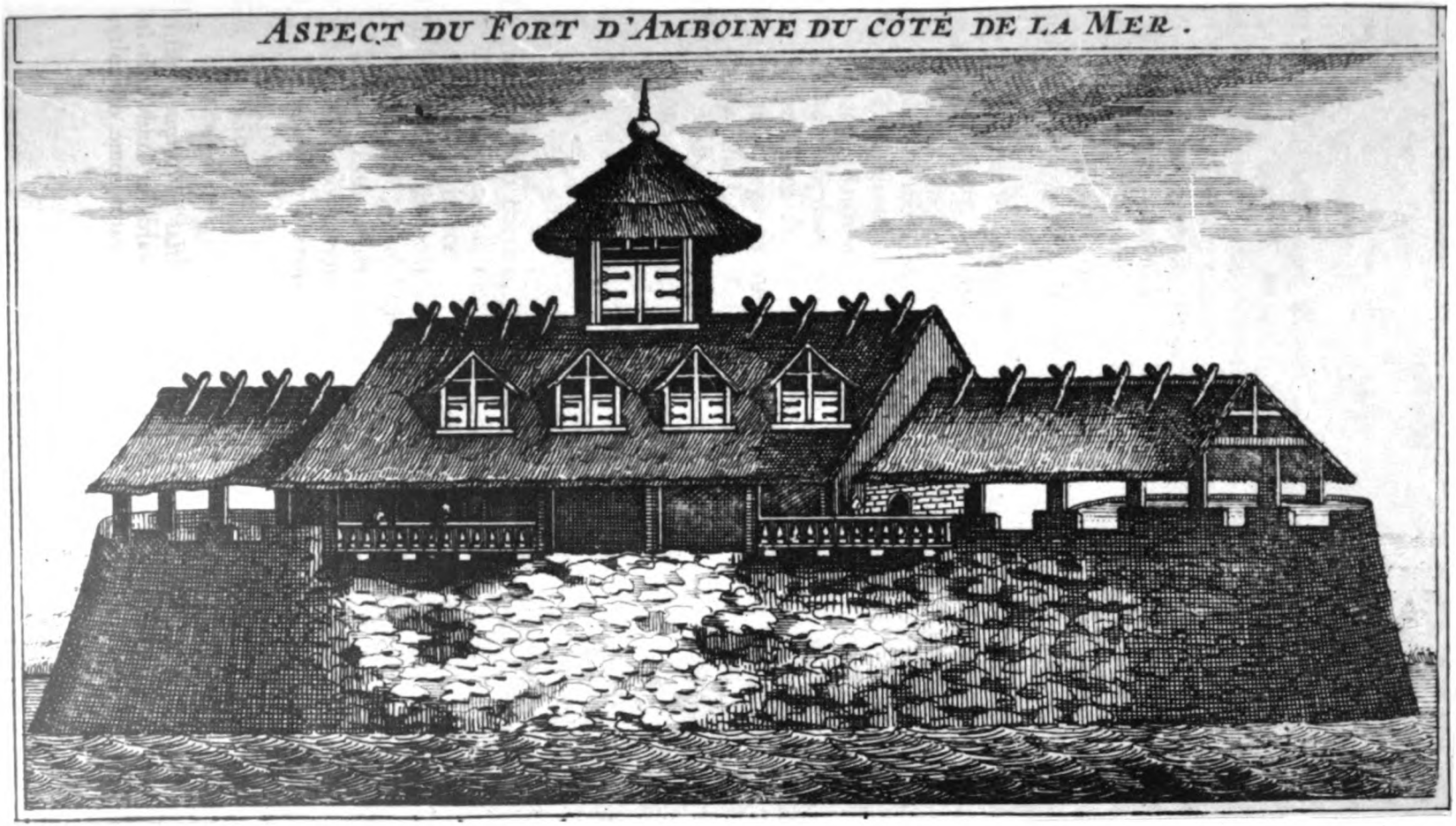

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The Ambon fortress seen from the sea side (*Atlas historique*, ibid.). That the two bulwarks are protruding rather sidewards or landwards in stead of forwards or seawards (as in picture 3) creates some difficulty, and is perhaps due to the inability of the designer.

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Waerachtigh verhael van de schipvaerd op Oost-Indien ghedaen by de acht schepen in den jare 1598, van Amsterdam uytghezeylt onder 't beleyd van den Admirael Jacob Cornelissoon van Neck ende Vice-Admirael Wybrand van Warwijck, in *Begin ende Voortgangh*, I no. 3. (A'dam 1646).

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

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

add. = adds, added, addition.
Br(s). = Brother(s).
corr. fr. = corrected from.
D, DD = Document(s) of DM.
D. = Dom, Don, Dona.
del. = deletes, deleted.
d. r. = doubtful reading.
f., ff. = folio(s).
Fr(s). = Father(s); Frater.
H. = Hermano.
h2, h3 = second, third hand.
illeg. = illegible.
ins. = inserted.
interl. = interlinear.
Ir. = Irmão.
m. = (in the) margin.
M. = Mestre.
ms. (in app. crit.) = manuscript.
N.P. = Nosso Padre.
N.R.P. = Nosso Reverendo Padre.
N.S. = Nosso Senhor.
om. = omits, omitted.
P., P^{e} = Padre.
r = recto.
Rdo = Reverendo.
rep. = repeated.
R.P.N. = Reverendo Padre Nosso.
R.V. = Reverentia Vestra.
S.A. = Sua Alteza.
Schol. = Scholastic.
underl. = underlined.
v = verso.
V.A. = Vossa Alteza.
V.M. = Vuestra Majestad.
V.P. = Vossa Paternidade.
V.R. = Vossa Reverencia.
V.R.P. = Vossa Reverenda Paternidade.
V.S. = Vossa Senhoria; Vuestra Señoría.
w. corr. = with correction.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The first volume of these *Documenta Malucensia* collected the sources of the Jesuit Maluku mission from its origins in the 1540s up to the loss of the fortress of Ternate in late 1575, covering just over thirty years. It left this mission almost extinct, reduced to just one residence with only two Fathers and one Brother. The end seemed imminent. This second volume reveals that the work went on. It equally comprises a period of thirty years and goes as far as the loss, in 1605, of two other fortresses, of Ambon and Tidore. This loss put a definite end to Portuguese control of Maluku in favour of the Dutch, and brought the Jesuit mission to a low level once more. For the time being, only two less important residences, each with a single Father, remained.

The volume opens with a document of September 1577, i.e., a letter of Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Visitor, the first in which he deals with the new situation of Maluku after the fall of Ternate. And its last document, D 187 of January 1606, is in our collection the very one just not yet speaking of the Spanish attack on Maluku in March-April 1606 that opened a completely new period for the Maluku Jesuit Mission.

The 187 documents reflect a rather sad period of the mission history, a period without glory or success, with on the contrary an uninterrupted and almost hopeless striving for some freedom and possibility of apostolic work, which was always hampered both by opposition on the part of the political and religious adversaries (Ternate and Islam), and by lack of manpower and succour, due as it looks to neglect on the side of the Jesuit headquarters in Goa. In many documents the missionaries complain of being abandoned, neglected, not taken care of, not answered, not supported in their needs, never visited either by a Provincial or by a Visitor who personally reported to the Province authorities. A few of them seem to have been morally or religiously shipwrecked (D 62, 10), but on the whole one cannot deny deepest respect to this small solitary bunch of men who, in spite of so many hardships and distresses, of illness, hunger, danger of life, and of countless psychological sufferings, wrote that they would not abandon their flock, nor give up the mission, nor refuse to go where obedience sent them, nor decline to bear the cross after Jesus (See, e.g., DD 94; 154, 9; 169, 3;

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177, 8). Therefore, the mission history cannot point to a great success in this volume, but the Jesuit history boasts some heroic examples of the true spirit of St Ignatius and his Society.

As the only way we can understand these documents is by reading them within their historical political, religious and Jesuit surroundings, we will first give a survey of the political, ecclesiastical and Jesuit background of the mission during this period.

Chapter One

POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MALUKU MISSION

1. European Background

a) *Portugal*

The mission was dependent on the Padroado of the Crown of Portugal. Its bearer was, until 1578, the young King D. Sebastião, and after his defeat and death in Morocco (August 4), his uncle, the aged Cardinal-King D. Henrique, 1578-1580. The latter was succeeded by Philip I (II of Spain) who died in 1598 and was followed by Philip II (III of Spain). The first Philip met with some opposition headed by D. António, Prior of Crato, who claimed the crown for himself, but who was soon expelled from the country. When the Dutch appeared on the Asian stage, they sometimes paraded with D. António's son, D. Manuel, married to a sister of Prince Maurice, as if they wanted to make him king over the Portuguese Asian possessions, but there was no serious scheme of the kind (DD 176,8; 178,4; 179,6).

Contrary to what often has been written, Philip I kept the Crown of Portugal strictly separated from Spain, maintaining only the personal union and respecting the Portuguese laws, included the Portuguese padroado. For many years he interdicted all commerce between the Spanish Philippines and the Portuguese ports of Maluku (D 49,12), Malacca, Macao and Japan. Likewise he vetoed the sailing of Spanish priests from New Spain and the Philippines to the mission fields of China and Japan, considered to belong to the padroado of Lisbon. All high officials civil and ecclesiastic in SE Asia were always Portuguese. But in case of need he would, of course, not hesitate to send Spanish troops and ships to defend the Portuguese State, as will be seen hereafter.

As the clove trade remained for the Portuguese Crown one of the principal sources of revenue, it could not help maintaining the con-

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trol of Maluku as an important scope of its policy. This was inculcated to every captain of Maluku. It is in the line of this policy that shortly after the fall of Ternate, while the fort of Ambon was the only foothold of the Portuguese in the area, its captain, Sancho de Vasconcelos, eagerly accepted the offer of the ruler of Tidore to construct a new fortress in his island as a substitute of the former « St John of Ternate » (1578). But the Tidore fort was just no more than a pied-à-terre for the Portuguese, without any wider significance or power (D 73,63). The king, though calling himself a vassal of Portugal, did not favour the Portuguese and the Fathers unless he could use them to play a trick on his enemy of Ternate (DD 25,2; 71,11), or — as a Jesuit wrote — « here we are no more than guests » (D 37,9). A spreading of Portuguese influence to surrounding islands was almost out of the question. Only Ambon continued to be a second foothold, but the number of villages submitting themselves to it was steadily decreasing.

As formerly in the fortress of Ternate, the king of Portugal had his commander, with the title of « captain », in the strongholds of Tidore and Ambon.

The Captains of the Fortress « dos Reis Magos » of Tidore

The captains of Tidore (Capitães de Maluco), 1578-1605, were:

— Diogo de Azambuja de Melo, early 1578 - October 1582[1].

— Álvaro de Castro, October-December (?) 1582[2].

— Diogo de Azambuja (second term), late 1582-February (?) 1586.

— Duarte Pereira de Sampaio, February 1586-1589[3].

— Rui Dias da Cunha, 1589-1592[4].

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[1] His letters to Francisco de Dueñas, Tidore, March 10, 1582, in *AGI, Patron. 46 ramo 14* f. 4*r*, and to Governor Ronquillo, April 3, 1583, in *AGI, Patron. 25 ramo 3*; COUTO X/I 308-317 505, X/II 46-64 285-291 351-357; SÁ V 63-64; RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 1264; *Rel. Vasc.* 365 368; LEMOS 473; *Bol. da Filmoteca* I 265; on the Azambuja family, see Luc. CORDEIRO, *Questões Histórico-Coloniais* II 147-149.

[2] COUTO X/I 314-316; RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 937; SÁ V 44; and Azambuja's letter of April 3, 1583, aforecited.

[3] RIBEIRO, *Registo* nos. 943 1446; COUTO X/I 480, X/II 46-51 285-291; SÁ V 10; *Bol. da Filmoteca* I 265, V 533 555 592 no. 193; D 50,3.

[4] RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 1017; SÁ V 269-275; *Bol. da Filmoteca* V 567 592; ARGENSOLA 150-153.

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— Tristão de Sousa, 1592-1595 [5].

— Julião de Noronha, 1595-November 20, 1598 [6].

— Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira, November 20, 1598-February 1602 [7].

— Pedro Álvares de Abreu, February 1602-May 19, 1605 [8].

— Manuel de Melo, designate, 1605; never entered upon his duties [9].

NB. We never met a printed list of the captains of Tidore. CLERCQ (*Ternate* 154 note 1) went so far as to say that, after Nuno Pereira de Lacerda, the last captain of Ternate, 1574-1575 (See DM I 705 note 5), the subsequent Portuguese captains were only commanders of troops. — A MS list of the captains of Ternate (to 1575) and Tidore (from 1578 onwards) is conserved in Lisbon, *Bibl. Nac., Fundo Geral, 1987* ff. 61*r-v*; by a mistake those of Tidore are said to be of Amboino.

The Captains of the Fortress « Nossa Senhora da Anunciada » of Ambon

The captains of Ambon Fortress, 1576-1605, were listed by RUMPHIUS, *Ambonsche Historie* I 11; VALENTYN II b 18-19; LUDEKING in BKI XIV (1864) 524; WESSELS, *Amboina* 194-195. RIEDEL (33) is likely to borrow the five names from Valentyn, suggesting however that they filled the period from 1512 to 1605. They were:

— Sancho de Vasconcelos, 1576-late 1590 or early 1591 [10].

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[5] RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 702; SÁ V 11; APO III 2 766.

[6] His letter to King Philip I, Tidore, July 9, 1597, in *AGI, Filip. 35 ramo 2 no. 28* ff. 2*r*-3*v*; Sequeira's letter of May 8, 1599 (next note); COUTO XII 129 (for Malaca read Maluco); *Brit. Libr., Add.* 28432 f. 11*r* (Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira succeeded Julião de Noronha in 1598).

[7] His letter to the governor of Manila, Tidore, May 8, 1599, in *AGI, México 1 ramo 2 no. 90*, 2°; RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 1221, *Brit. Libr.*, l.c.; COUTO XII 129; PASTELLS, *Catálogo* IV nos. 5478 5479 (mistakenly Gómez instead of Gonçalves); D 118,2 and note 5.

[8] DD 171,4: He arrived February 1602; 172, 173,5; RIBEIRO, *Registo* no. 1228; *Documentos remettidos* I 7; *Docum. Ultram. Portug.* I 148; APO I/2 242, VI 937-938 no. 208, 1030-1032 nos. 321-322, 1113 no. 416; BOXER-FRAZÃO 127.

[9] RIBEIRO, *Registo* nos. 1327 1864; *Docum. Ultram. Portug.* I 147; see also the *Relación de cosas de Maluco* in COLIN-PASTELLS II 515-516.

[10] *Relação Vasconcelos*, the whole of it, especially 286-287 318-320 445. On some captains of earlier wooden forts and Vasconcelos's appointment in 1571, and how he built the stone fortress in 1576, see JACOBS, *Wanneer werd de stad Ambon gesticht?* See D 82,12.

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— (Agostinho Nunes, appointed in 1579, but killed on the way off Surabaya in January 1580. Cf. D 21, 2-5 8; SOUZA II 3 2 17).

— (Gonçalo de Sousa de Mendonça, designate and sailing in 1587, never entered upon his duties. Cf. SÁ V 276; *Bol. da Filmoteca* V 533 567 no. 132, 592 no. 193. But the *Rel. Vasc.* does not know him)[11].

— António Pereira Pinto, late 1590 or early 1591-1596[12].

— João Caiado de Gamboa, 1596/97-March 2, 1599[13].

— Estevão Teixeira de Macedo, March 2, 1599-1602[14].

— Gaspar de Melo, 1602-1605; he lost the fort to the Dutch[15].

One could compose extensive lists of all those men (and sometimes women) who received the fortresses of Ternate, Tidore, or Ambon, as a *mercê*, but never actually went there.

Portuguese Help Given to Maluku

The viceroys of Goa time and again proved unable to succour and support the dwindling Portuguese power in Maluku. The succour could and should be sent on two occasions: with the yearly royal clove ship, and in occasional express fleets with a warlike purpose.

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[11] NB. These two arbortive captains show that our statement that for twenty years nothing was ever heard of the appointment of a new captain is too strong (JACOBS, art. cit. 451).

[12] *Rel. Vasc.* 445 (He is the direct successor of Vasconcelos); D 80,1; 94,33; *Bol. da Filmoteca* V 594; PISSURLENCAR, *Regimentos* 264-265. (With RUMPHIUS and VALENTYN he is called Gonçalo Pereira; the Spaniards rendered his name as Antonio Pérez: ARGENSOLA 189; D 82,6. The year 1596 is a guess.

[13] RIBEIRO, *Registo* nos. 1000 1211; APO III 2 764 no. 276; *Brit. Libr. Add. 28432* f. 11*r*. See also Teixeira's letter (next note).

[14] His own letter, Ambon, June 2, 1601: he took over from Caiado on March 2, 1599 (*AGI, Filip. 19 ramo 2 no. 46* ff. 1*r*-4*v*). BOXER-FRAZÃO 127 (was in 1602 already captain of the korakoras in the fleet of Furtado de Mendonça, so he had left the captainship of Ambon after Furtado had arrived there in February 1602); COUTO XII 53; BAIÃO, *Inquisição* II 339. King Philip thanks him for the defense of Ambon, February 15, 1603 (Lisbon, *Arq. Ultram. 282* f. 172*v*). DD 116,2; 118,2.

[15] *Docum. Ultram. Portug.* I 145 148; RUMPHIUS, *Ambonsche Historie* I 23; VALENTYN II b 28.

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The Nau da Carreira, the Royal Clove Galleon

One of the main duties of the Viceroys and Governors of India was to dispatch yearly in April the royal clove galleon, the *nau da carreira*, to Maluku, i.e., formerly to Ternate, and after 1578 to Tidore, and in September another *nau* or *galião* to Banda to bring back a cargo of mace and nutmeg. That the latter sailed actually every year is not easy to prove from the sources. The former ship was of greater and more direct importance to the Portuguese authorities of Maluku since it had to carry all the necessaries of life and defense, the money for the payments, the new personnel, and the official post. This was also the ship the Jesuits every year put their hopes on for fresh missionaries or at least letters from India and Europe. At its arrival Fr. Superior tried to be at Tidore in October.

Unfortunately no lists of the ships sailing between Goa and Maluku are known. Making out them, often from only indirect indications (arrival of men and letters, departure of men, writing of letters), and especially filling in the dates of departure and arrival would be a vexatious work exposed to continuous guesses and uncertainties. Sufficient indications for the sailing of the galleon seem lacking for the years 1589, 1591, 1594, 1596, and 1602. Important is that certainly the galleon did not arrive in Maluku in 1579, 1580, 1581, and 1600. In all the remaining years from 1577 to 1605 the galleon cleared from Goa and arrived in Maluku. Whenever it carried its precious cargo of cloves into Goa port, it soothed the viceroys' conscience with the impression that in Maluku all went well. Therefore, they loaded the next galleon abundantly with goods for bartering, but refrained from shipping enough men and succour for the fortress. In 1583, Captain Azambuja complained that he had to cede some of his own few men to keep guard over the galleon [16].

Special Fleets

For many years such fleets were lacking. When in 1590 Fr. Antonio Marta in person asked Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho for military help, he received just a galley and two fusts added to the ordinary galleon, and 150 soldiers (D 81,3). A second rescue fleet was sent in 1597 under the command of Lourenço de Brito (DD 116 note 4; 118 note 3); it did not even reach Maluku. Another small

[16] *AGI, Patron. 25 ramo 1 no. 3.*

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fleet was dispatched from Malacca in 1600 under Traiano Rodrigues de Castelbranco (DD 144 note 6; 150,2). It brought some relief. In 1601 a powerful fleet sailed from Goa to secure Maluku against Ternate and the Dutch; its admiral was André Furtado de Mendonça. He subdued Ambon in 1602, but failed to reconquer Ternate fortress. His action had no lasting effect (DD 146, 25-43; 160,2).

b) *Spain*

Though not belonging to the Spanish Crown, Maluku owed its connection with it to two main facts: the union of Spain and Portugal in the person of one common king, and the nearness of a centre of Spanish power in the Philippines. For that reason, the Spanish political background for Maluku, between 1580 and 1605, consists mainly in the military expeditions undertaken from Manila against Ternate in order to secure Portuguese control.

Spanish Expeditions to Maluku

After 1580 six expeditions are known, all of them failing to reconquer the fortress of Ternate.

1. The first was under Francisco de Dueñas in March-April 1582 (D 35,1). He came only to reconnoitre the military situation. There is an extensive report of his in *AGI, Patron. 46 ramo 14*, partly published by COLIN-PASTELLS III 34-36. See COUTO X/I 308; ARGENSOLA 146.

2. The second expedition was under D. Juan Ronquillo, who left Manila in September 1582 and returned from Tidore in April 1583. It was occasioned by the voyage of Dueñas and by an express demand for help of Captain Diogo de Azambuja of Tidore who had sent an envoy to Manila. The expedition came to nothing; instead of victory Ronquillo brought only cloves. Consult D 37,7 and notes 12-13 [17].

3. A third enterprise was made in April 1584, conducted by Pedro Sarmiento (touched upon in D 44,7). It was not able to conquer Ternate and it sailed away in November [18].

4. The fourth voyage was headed by Juan de Morón [19] who sailed from Manila in March 1585 and returned in June. See DD 49 note 32;

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[17] COUTO X/I 313; COLIN-PASTELLS I 168.

[18] ARGENSOLA 167-169, rather confused; COUTO X/II 40-45.

[19] Also Morones or Morenes.

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51, 1. An attack on Ternate did not score a success mainly on account of dissensions among the Portuguese [20].

5. The fifth fleet, more carefully prepared and of a greater number of sails than any preceding one, conducted by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas himself, sailed in 1593. But before having left the Philippine waters Dasmariñas was treacherously murdered, in October, and the whole expedition fell to pieces. See D 100, 3-5 [21].

6. Finally the sixth enterprise was conducted by Juan Juárez Gallinato. It was the succour demanded by André Furtado de Mendonça (D 146,49). It sailed from Manila in late 1602, and in February 1603 it met with Furtado's fleet near Ternate. Assaulting Ternate fortress resulted in a failure (D 159,1; 160,2-3), and Gallinato returned to Manila [22].

Save the first, a friendly visit, these Spanish enterprises were sometimes solicited, always eagerly expected by the Portuguese and by the Jesuits, but they all failed to obtain the purpose of punishing and destroying Ternate.

The seventh expedition, the succesful one, of 1606, does not come within the framework of this volume.

2. The Native Rulers

a) *Ternate*

The kings or sultans of Ternate for the period of this volume are only two: King Babu, more correct Baab Ullah, who succeeded his father Hairun in 1570, and Said Berkat. Curiously Baab's death is not mentioned in any of our documents, nor are the name and accession to the throne of his successor. Whenever recorded these rulers are only « the king of Ternate ». The year of Baab's death is commonly given by the authors as 1583. Clear proofs for it from the MS sources seem lacking; one could have reasonable doubts whether it did not happen in 1584.

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[20] Argensola 173-176; Couto X/II 50 52-64; Colin-Pastells III 37-40: report made by Fr. Cristóbal de Salvatierra OP.

[21] Argensola 203-206; Colin-Pastells I 599-602.

[22] Argensola 287-300; Colin-Pastells II 347-354; Morga 138-139 144-147.

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The sultans were outspoken adversaries of the Portuguese and firmly determined to chase them away from the Maluku area. With equal firmness they opposed themselves against the spreading of Christianity and they did everything possible to inflict losses upon the mission, not scrupling to force people by all means to apostatize. They dissimulated this policy with soft promises of restoring the fortress of Ternate to Portugal as soon as the murderer of King Hairun would be executed before their eyes. But when the culprit, already on his way to Maluku, was killed by the Javanese in 1580, the sultans kept the fortress like before. They were subduing a steadily increasing number of islands to their control, destroying Christianity and precluding all mission activity in them. In the Javanese of the northern ports from Japara to Surabaya they found welcome allies in the constant wars against the forts of Tidore and Ambon, gradually isolating and weakening Portuguese power. As soon as the Dutch turned up the sultans eagerly made friendship with them as well, and only with their help they ultimately succeeded in driving out the Iberians. With a view of boycotting and counteracting Christian propaganda they had *cacizes*, Muslim preachers, come from abroad, and it is these preachers who incited them to proclaim Holy War.

b) *Tidore*

Though the Portuguese and the Jesuits for the period in question were much more in touch with the rulers of Tidore than of Ternate, yet the documents are rather disappointing as to giving names and dates. We have to do with two kings or sultans of Tidore: Gapibaguna who died in 1599, and his successor Kaicil Mole (In CLERCQ 154-155, resp. Gapi Magoena and Molé Madjimoe) [23].

Sultan Gapibaguna started being friendly with the Portuguese for fear of the growing power of Ternate. This was a political step. In his heart, as an Oriental Muslim ruler, he felt much more congenial to his native neighbour than to the Europeans. But to keep him at bay he permitted the Portuguese to build a castle in his island, 1578. At the same time he invited the Fathers to settle down near it and to erect a church. However, he ordered his subjects not to convert to the Christian faith so that those desiring had no courage to do so. And soon he prohibited any conversion (DD 25,2; 49,7) and every preaching

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[23] ARGENSOLA 147-148 and 155 (little consistent); DM I 624 note 24; COUTO X/II 511; COLIN-PASTELLS III 51 and 67.

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of the gospel outisde the fortress and Portuguese town. His policy was to tolerate the foreigners only as a deterrent for Ternate (D 71,11), and presumably as an economical advantage as well, but not to permit them at the same time the least possible freedom and power. This made the position of the Portuguese, and with them of the Jesuits, extremely precarious, not to say perilous. They felt themselves « guests », and even only « captives » (DD 37,9; 71,11). Gapibaguna growing old, the Portuguese had their fears about what would be the attitude of his eventual successor (D 100,7). When he died in 1599 there were disorders and riots in which the sultan of Ternate endeavoured to push forward twice a candidate of his own; both were killed. Finally Kaicil Mole received the crown; he was considered a friend of the Portuguese [24]. At any rate he did not cooperate with the Dutch and saved his guests as long as possible (D 179A, 3 and 10).

c) *Siau*

Our period is covered by three rulers or rajas: Jerónimo I Pasumah (1549-1587), João Wuisang (1587-1591), and Jerónimo II Winsulangi (1591-1631) [25]. All three called themselves Christians. They were constantly waylaid by the sultan of Ternate. In order to resist his obtrusiveness they sought the friendship of the Portuguese, and they aspired to be Christians with a view of securing themselves against Islam. Repeatedly they asked for military succour and for Fathers from the Captain and the Superior. From 1582 on, receiving notice of the personal union of Portugal and Spain, they started placing their hopes on help coming from Manila and applying to the Philippine Governor for it. Prior to June 1586 Raja Jerónimo Pasumah had twice sent a messenger to Manila (D 66 I 2 and II 5). Under Jerónimo Winsulangi the Fathers Marta and António Pereira visited the island in May 1593 and accompanied the king to Manila where a compact was made with the Spanish Governor (DD 95 and 97). But in 1601 we find him coming in person to Tidore to request help against the Ternatans; on that occasion he had a little son baptized (D 144,6). Mostly destitute of priests and consequently not enjoying the advantages of cure of souls and Christian instruction, the Siau people were poorly rooted in the faith and continued living up to pagan standards, their kings often setting a bad example. But despite all drawbacks they remained loyal

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[24] *AGI, Filip. 1 ramo 3* no. 175.
[25] ELIAS, *Sejarah* 71-76.

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to their Christian creed, allies of the Portuguese and adversaries of Ternate.

d) *Bacan - Labuha*

Names and dates of Bacan rulers are not to be found in these documents (See D 17 note 33; D 30 note 7). From elsewhere we know that the king who converted in 1557 called himself D. João. Though he returned to Islam under pressure of Ternate (DM I 690), he kept siding with the Portuguese as far as possible. It is this sultan who was killed by poison by King Baab Ullah of Ternate in 1577 (D 17,22). His son, once christened D. Henrique in baptism, continued this line of policy, i.e., he combined being a fervent Muslim with helping the Portuguese against Ternate. About 1580/81 rumours went in Tidore that the sultan and his people wanted to be reconciled with the Church (D 30,3), but this appeared a false alarm. He and his eventual successors set forth the aforesaid political line and both in 1585 and 1598 we see Bacan fleets come to the fortress of Tidore to the rescue of the hard pressed Portuguese [26].

The kings of Bacan were suzerains over a region in the present-day island of Bacan, called Labuha, whose immediate autonomous ruler had the title of *sengaji* (D 73,32). The sengaji and his people appear to have become Christians after 1557 and to have returned to Islam together with their king. But about 1580 they became Christians again, provoking the disapproval and soon even the persecution on the part of the sultan of Bacan and of other rulers. In 1588 the sengaji is called Rui Pereira, and we find him sticking to his post as late as 1606.

e) *Ambon*

The island of Ambon had no sultan or raja in the same sense as for instance Ternate and Tidore. Its political situation was determined by two elements: for one thing by the ancient division between so-called *ulilima* and *ulisiwa* villages, and for another by the association of seven village districts into a kind of *ulilima* republic centred in Hitu. The opposition of *ulilima* to *ulisiwa* had developped itself in such a way that in the sixteenth century the former mostly, but not necessa-

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[26] COLIN-PASTELLS III 39; D 131,3.

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rily, meant being loyal to Islam and Hitu, the latter meant siding with the Portuguese and, often, being Christian. Similar opposed groupings of villages or districts existed in all islands around Ambon.

The small State of Hitu, stretching along the N coast of Hitu peninsula, was the hereditary enemy of Portuguese control and Christian faith. It was ruled by five *perdanas* under the chief (*raja* or *kapitan*) of Hitu. (Hitu was the name of the larger peninsula of Ambon, of the said « republic », and of a double village that can be called its capital). Practically it was a vassal of Ternate that controlled the Ambon area from the key-point and naval base of Veranula (Luhu) in W Seram, where the sultan's governor resided.

The common allies of Ternate and Hitu were the Javanese of the Islamic States on Java's N coast. And the Dutch, who came visiting the Maluku waters for the first time in 1599, became the new allies against the Iberians.

For the period of this volume the situation in Ambon was one of continuous war. The villages alongshore the Ambon Bay and of W Hitu, those of Leitimur and the Lease islands generally were on the side of Portugal. Sometimes their combined forces managed to hit back at the enemy very well. That gradually they withdrew their alliance and turned Ternatan had two causes: intimidation on the part of Ternate, and waning of Portuguese power. The man who for almost twenty years (1572-1591) maintained the dominant position of the Ambon fortress was Sancho de Vasconcelos (often mentioned in the documents, by name in DD 12,3; 80,9); his chief opponents were the Ternatan commanders of fleets: Rubohongi, Laulata, Talele, and others. Attacks in a more grand style on the Ambon fortress are mentioned for 1591 (DD 80,4-9; 81,2), for 1598 (D 119,5), and for 1600, with the help of the Dutch (D 130,3-5). In 1602 André Furtado de Mendonça brought Hitu again under Portuguese control (D 146,25-43). Three years later the Dutch captured the fortress and drove the Portuguese out (D 176,2).

Chapter II

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

1. The Bishop

Within the framework of the Church organization in SE Asia, Maluku fell in the diocese of Malacca. For almost the entire period

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of this volume, only one bishop ruled the diocese: João Ribeiro Gaio, 1579-1601. His predecessor, Jorge de Santa Luzia, had retired in 1576, and his successor, Cristovão de Sá, appointed in 1603, did not arrive until 1605. Bishop Ribeiro Gaio left Malacca for Goa in 1597 to complain about some hardships he had had to endure. He did not return to his see until 1600 and he died at Malacca in the next year [27]. From 1597 to 1600, and from 1601 to 1605, the diocese was badly ruled by the clerics of the cathedral.

The bishop appointed the vicar of Maluku (D 44,1) and he defended his exclusive jurisdictional and pastoral pretentions (D 49,7), granting him wide powers as his vicar general (more correctly his *vicarius foraneus* or *vigário da vara*) and his canonical visitor for the entire Maluku area (DD 49,7 and 10; 129,13). This was bound to create conflicts with the Jesuits, who termed the bishop « todo jurista » (D 71,6); but yet in two letters of his, inserted into our collection (DD 52 and 86), he expressed satisfaction with the work of the Maluku Fathers.

2. The Vicars

In the fortresses of Tidore and Ambon, the bishop of Malacca appointed a secular priest as his « vicar », who could be assisted by one or two « beneficiaries ». The powerful position of the vicars, as pictured above, brought them, often poorly educated men, into collision with the Jesuits, considering them their subordinates and not willing to recognize the prerogatives granted to the Society of Jesus by the Holy See for pastoral aims. See, e.g., DD 49 123 129 130.

Sometimes a vicar was lacking, and the Jesuits were called on to take his place. The « extreme necessity » of souls forced them to accept, but without prejudice to their rules forbidding them to be parish priests (D 70,2-3; Cf. D 173,4) [28].

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[27] Seb. Gonçalves, *História dos Religiosos* II 430. Other authors assert that he did not return at all and that he died in Goa: Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* III/II 1030 (with references); Teixeira, *Malacca and Singapore* I 186-188.

[28] On the vicars of Maluku, see Jacobs, *Brief Notes on the Vicars and other Secular Clerics of the Portuguese Fortresses in Maluku up to 1605* (NZM 31 [1975] 207-222; 271-287).

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Chapter III

THE MALUKU JESUIT MISSION

1. Government

For the time of this volume the Society of Jesus was governed by two *Generals*: Fr. Everard Mercurian, 1573-1580, and Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, 1581-1615. They were always seconded by four *Assistants;* for the Portuguese world, including Brazil, Africa and SE Asia, they were: Pedro da Fonseca, 1573-1581; Manuel Rodrigues, 1581-1594; João Álvares, 1594-1608.

During the same time the Maluku mission was part of the *Indian* or *Goa Province* unto 1601; afterwards of the *Province of Malabar* or *Cochin*. It depended on these *Provincials*:

a) of Goa: — Rui Vicente, November 1574-October 1583.
— Alessandro Valignano, 1583-September 1587[29].
— Pedro Martins, 1587-late 1592.
— Francisco Cabral, 1592-late 1597[30].
— Nuno Rodrigues, 1597-1602.

b) of Malabar: — Manuel da Veiga, 1601-1602 (Vice-Provincial)
— Alberto Laerzio, 1602-1605 (Vice-Provincial)
— Alberto Laerzio, October 1605-1611 (Provincial)[31].

In the meantime, the Asian Jesuits had still another kind of higher Superiors, called *Visitors*, being personal envoys of Fr. General and wielding scarcely less power than the latter. As a matter of fact, especially when residing in Goa, they limited the authority of the Provincial to a very considerable extent.

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[29] Schütte, *Valignano* I/I 44.
[30] O.c. 307-308.
[31] *ARSI, Congr. 51* ff. 321-322. For the whole of this, see Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus* 17 21.

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They were: — Alessandro Valignano, 1574-1583, and anew 1587-1596.

— Nicolau Pimenta, 1596-1602.

The *Superiors* of the Maluku mission were:

— Marcos Prancudo, October 1573-January 29, 1578 (D 17,1).

— Pero Mascarenhas, 1578-November 1580 (D 6,5).

— Bernardino Ferrari, 1580-December 4, 1584 (DD 30,1; 49,3).

— Pero Nunes, 1584-March 3, 1587 [32].

— Antonio Marta, 1587-1597 (D 120,1).

— Luís Fernandes, late 1597-1605 (and anew from 1606 onwards).

The mission had also its own *Visitors* who in the name of either Fr. Provincial or Fr. Visitor of India had to inspect the life and work of the missionaries and to report on them. They were:

— Bernardino Ferrari, sent by Rui Vicente in 1580 [33].

— Antonio Marta, sent by Valignano in 1586 (D 55,1).

— Cristóbal de la Vega, sent by Pimenta in 1598 (DD 123,1-2; 131,1; 159,5). The sending of a fourth Visitor, Fr. João Baptista, by the Provincial of Malabar, Fr. Alberto Laerzio, in 1605 (D 174), did not materialize until 1610. Of the three Visitors only the last one was ordered to perform the visitation and then to return to Goa to report on it; the first two should relate in writing only and stay on as Superiors. In fact, however, Marta came to report in Goa unexpectedly, whereas Vega died on his return voyage before reaching India.

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[32] There could be some doubt about the time Marta actually started appearing as Superior, since some later letters of Nunes (DD 70 71) are still typically letters of a Superior, and Marta is called in them only Visitor, not Superior. But at the end of 1588 it is said in Goa of Nunes « *fue* superior en Maluco » (D 75,1). Presumably Marta, performing his duties as a Visitor, preferred maintaining Nunes in his function for some time.

[33] In some documents (DD 14,2 16,3 18,2) Ferrari is called Visitor of Malacca and Superior of Maluku, which at first sight seems to exclude that he was Visitor of Maluku as well. But Mascarenhas called Ferrari « que o P. Provinciall quá mandava a *vesitar* Maluco » (D 22,5). In D 30,4 Ferrari is evidently speaking as Visitor of the mission. SOUZA (II 3 2 17) calles him Visitor. WESSELS (*Amboina* 72) digresses too assertively on this special task, and he certainly goes beyond the truth in stating that Ferrari was sent by Valignano; the latter from 1577 to 1583 was absent from India.

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Some projects of *reorganization* of the Society of Jesus in SE Asia concerning Maluku should be mentioned though they can only be studied fully in the larger framework of Indian, Japanese and Philippine documents. They were partly conceived in the headquarters, partly proposed by the Fathers of Maluku. Experience of the often very slow communication with Goa and Rome in urgent questions made them desire and suggest to have a higher Superior with wider faculties within easy reach. Three different projects were thrown out in the course of years: 1° to install a vice-provincial in Malacca, dependent on the provincial of Goa, ruling Malacca and Maluku (D 2,1 and often); 2° to join Maluku to Manila in a (vice-)province of its own (e.g., D 102,2); 3° to erect a new (vice-)province comprising Macao, the Chinese residencies, Malacca and Maluku (DD 166,1; 180,1). None of the proposals materialized. Maluku continued staying under India, first under Goa, from 1601 onwards under Cochin. But as late as 1605, after the loss of Maluku, Fr. Masonio thought of linking it to Manila, or even of making it, « havida la vittoria », an independent province (D 182,6).

2. The Mission Stations

There is a shifting of mission stations from volume I to volume II. Ternate island became plainly excluded from mission activity after 1570. Moro remained blockaded as well. Bacan dropped out, but the vassal state of Labuha took its place. N Sulawesi and Sangi island were no longer a mission area. Tidore took Ternate's place, also in this respect that the island, though being the centre of Portuguese and Christian influence, did not admit any evangelization in its own territory.

a) *Tidore*

Tidore that in volume I played nearly no part at all is the centre of Portuguese power and of mission activity during the period of this one. The pivot of this centre was as a matter of fact the fortress, started building in January 1578 and left to the Dutch in May 1605. When the king of Tidore came asking for help and professing vassalage to the king of Portugal in 1576, he at once invited the Fathers and promised them a place for their house and church (D 9,3; 17,13). Already at Christmas 1578 they celebrated this feast in their new church (built in the native way) before a great concourse of people (D 17,16). It was situated at some distance from the fortress under construction.

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In 1580, however, Fr. Ferrari moved the Jesuits to new buildings nearer the fort (D 30,2). Seven years later Fr. Marta thought it advisable to remove them again from the fortress to a better site (D 73,65), where they remained until at least the time of D. Julião de Noronha (1595-1598), but perhaps even to 1605 (Cf. D 171 note 7). So the Jesuits had three or four successive residences in Tidore. It is there that Fr. Superior attempted to be present from about October to February when the ships were expected to arrive and fresh Fathers and letters were hoped for.

The filling of this residence was, because of shortage of men, usually rather irregular. The most constant dwellers seem to have been two Brothers: António Gonçalves (1582/83-1588) and Giampaolo Manfrida (1588-1604). Of the Fathers should be mentioned Jerónimo Rodrigues, the pioneer of this station (1577-1579), João Rebelo (1593-1598), Luís Fernandes, before he became superior, (between 1588 and 1597). Shorter was the stay of Vasco da Cunha, António Pereira and André Pereira. They all worked among the population of the Portuguese town around the fortress since true mission work in the island itself was not allowed (DD 11,2; 23,6; 25,2). The policy of the king of Tidore for the early years was: Christianity can be preached when the fortress is ready and when it is backed by a strong Portuguese fleet (D 11,2). His sympathy for both the Portuguese and the Christian faith (if ever sincere) weakened gradually and a permission to evangelize was never given (see, e.g., D 71,11).

Tidore residence served also as home port for the Fathers having the care of Labuha and Siau, notably for Berwouts/Corrado, Rengifo/da Cruz, Fonseca and António Pereira.

The Tidore period of the Jesuit history is marked by a series of conflicts. The first, a smaller one, was in 1582. When no Jesuit Father was residing there suddenly two Spanish Augustinians turned up in that area, not solicited by the Jesuits and without their knowledge (Cf. DD 38,2; 44,1), and certainly without a permit from any Portuguese padroado authority. However, Fr. Superior Ferrari not having the disposal of many Fathers and being ill himself, did not object much and provisionally sent Br. Gonçalves there to watch the Jesuit residence, but when he arrived there himself in October 1583 the Augustinians were gone (D 44,5).

More dramatic was the conflict with the vicars. It was a disagreement about ecclesiastical jurisdiction and faculties with in the background the question of the fees due to the vicars for any ecclesiastical services like baptisms, marriages and funerals. The first outbreak was

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in early 1585 (D 49,7-11), and the troubles were protracted until 1600 (DD 129 and 130).

A third conflict was between Fr. André Pereira and the Captain Pedro Álvares de Abreu in 1604. Rather caused by a blind hatred on the part of the captain than by objective and real questions, it did not end until Fr. Pereira left Tidore in early 1605 (Cf DD 171-173). When the fortress surrendered to the Dutch in May 1605 Fr. Luís Fernandes was the only Jesuit present.

b) *Siau*

Siau is the sad example of a mission post that had to be neglected owing to shortage of Fathers. If they had been available it could have proved a fruitful if small mission area since the raja himself was a Christian and the island was relatively safe. In the first years of this volume Siau is not even mentioned except for the notice that in 1579 it dealt successfully with a group of Ternatan raiders (D 17,21). Not prior to 1585, when Fr. Pero Nunes was superior, was a Father appointed to reside there. It was Berwouts/Corrado, and he continued the ministry until 1588, intermittently falling back upon Tidore (DD 49,13; 70,3; 73,53). The mode of his activity is described in D 73,60-61. Cf. also D 73,52.

As to the further filling of this post the documents inform us only by driblets and at times with contradictory notices. It is said that in 1589 a Father was stationed there over a year (D 94,52). Was it Berwouts again? Or Francesco Poliasca/da Cruz (D 68,2)? In 1591 Siau is not even enumerated among the mission stations (D 81,8). For the years 1593 and 1596 it is explicitly stated that no Father was living there (DD 94,52; 112,2). Fr. António Pereira wrote in 1601 that for fourteen years Siau had not had a priest (D 135,10), which if we do not take the numeral too strictly can refer to the Father of 1589. According to Fr. André Pereira writing in 1602, no Jesuit was stationed in Siau for four or five years (D 151,10), which implies the presence of a Father in 1597/98. But of such a presence nothing is revealed and it conflicts with the aforesaid fourteen years. But in 1604, returning to the same issue, he stated that the island had not had any cure of souls since 1589 (D 173,3). Finally in 1605, Fr. Manuel Rodrigues writing in Cochin, thought he knew that never for fourteen or fifteen years a Father went to reside in Siau (D 181,5).

All these notices render the value of the catalogue of 1604 (D 167) placing Frs. Fonseca and Daniel in Siau, extremely doubtful. Fr.

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Luís Fernandes wanted to stop the state of negligence of the island, and in 1601 he attempted to send a Father there, but in vain (D 144,7). On the other hand we know that sometimes Fathers paid brief visits to Siau: in 1593 Frs. Marta and António Pereira spent a month there on their way to Manila (DD 95,2; 135,10); Fr. André Pereira was there on a similar occasion in 1602 (DD 151,10; 173,3).

Things changed in 1604. About June of that year Fr. António Pereira established himself in Siau, accompanied or soon followed by Br. Giampaolo Manfrida (DD 176,9; 177,6; 185,1 and 3). They were visited by Fr. Luís Fernandes in June 1605 (D 177,6). When the Fathers of Ambon and Tidore had to leave for the Philippines in 1605, António Pereira stuck to his mission post on Siau island.

With such a scarcity of spiritual care and instruction it cannot cause wonder that the Siau people were Christians in name only, were ignorant in the faith and addicted to pagan morals and animistic customs. And herein they were backed by the bad example of their raja who proved rather licentious as to marriage rules. (See, e.g., DD 73,55; 102,8; 114,4; 135,10; 173,3). On the other hand, time and again the Siau people proved loyal to their faith (DD 94,52; 181,5).

c) *Labuha*

At the end of Volume I Bacan and Labuha were left re-converted to Islam. This conversion, extorted by military force, soon proved feigned only. It was a political conversion. The king of Bacan showed himself a friend and ally of the Portuguese, and the line of his policy was to return to the Christian faith as soon as he received the support of a Portuguese fleet and as soon as the king of Ternate was defeated (DD 34,9; 44,2). As these conditions were never fulfilled he remained a « Moor ».

His mighty vassal, the sengaji of Labuha, followed an opposite line. His motive may have been a tendency to free himself from the suzerainty of his lord. As early as 1579 Labuha is called Christian; people placed their hopes on Portugal and asked for Fathers (D 26,9-10). About 1581 the sengaji converted, or re-converted, to Christianity, taking the name Rui Pereira, and induced his people to follow him. In 1582 Fr. Ferrari visited Labuha, erected a church, baptized 200 people and reconciled 100 renegades (D 37,9).

Then, in the next year, he sent Fr. Berwouts/Corrado there. This Father continued the mission work in the island for about twenty years until 1604, with a break however from 1585 to 1592, when Fr. Rengifo/da Cruz took over. Once Berwouts received an assistant in

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Fr. Manuel Gonçalves, 1594 (?)-1598 (D 120,2). Another time, in 1601-1602, he was helped by Fr. Daniel for scarcely half a year (DD 144,2; 181,1). We do not know whether or not Fr. Fonseca cooperated with Berwouts before succeeding him in 1604. About 1595 the church of Ferrari was replaced by a larger one (D 116,2).

Here like in Siau mission work was thwarted by the un-Christian behaviour of the chief living with a renegade woman, committing and permitting other dissipations. For many years the scandal persisted (DD 70,4; 71,12; 135,8; 144,10). The number of Christians is given as about 500 (D 73,32), later as 200 (D 181,4). The most extensive report on Labuha for the earlier years is D 73,31-42. When the Portuguese lost Maluku in 1605, Fr. Fonseca stayed on in his station of Labuha.

d) *Ambon and Lease*

For two years, 1576-1578, Ambon was the only foothold of Portuguese power in Maluku. It was likewise the only station of the Jesuit mission. After Fr. Marcos Prancudo had died in January 1578 and Fr. Paulo Gomes and Br. Gonçalo Teixeira had sailed to Malacca in May (DM I 706 note 10), three Jesuits were left over: Frs. Pero Mascarenhas and Jerónimo Rodrigues and Br. António Gonçalves. And as Rodrigues stayed with the Portuguese in Tidore, it is Mascarenhas and Gonçalves who started the Ambon mission in our period. The filling of this station remained in a state of flux. Those who stayed there for some longer period were: Br. António Gonçalves (1570-1682/83), Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues (1579-1587), Francisco da Cunha (1587-1592), Lorenzo Masonio (1590/91-1605), and Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz (1593-1605). The highest number ever reached of Jesuits present in Ambon at the same time was five. The superiors Mascarenhas, Ferrari, Nunes, Marta, and Fernandes tried to keep up a to-and-fro sailing between Tidore and Ambon, resulting at times in a more protracted stay at Ambon (Cf. D 44,6). By the medium of the Fathers the *Misericordia*, with a hospital and presumably with an adjacent chapel, was erected in 1578 (D 17,2). The documents do not report on a Jesuit church or chapel in the first years. But in 1581 Fr. Ferrari had two churches built for the native Christians in the town outside the fortress, one of Santiago for the people of Halong, the other of São Tomé for those of Hatiwi (DD 30,3; 93,2; 94,24). The Jesuit residence was near the former; the Fathers did not live in the fortress but in the town. Apart from serving these two churches, saying mass, baptizing, preaching, giving instruction, hearing confessions, assisting the sick and the dying, they had yearly to visit the Christian villages of Ambon and the Lease islands.

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For some years such visits are expressly mentioned: Br. Gonçalves before 1580 (D 20,8⁰), Fr. Ferrari in 1581 and 1583 (DD 30,17; 34,4; 37,7; 44,3), Fr. Antonio Marta in 1587 (DD 62,7-8; 63,1), Frs. Masonio and Rengifo/da Cruz in 1601 (DD 145,5; 150,11-17). In 1585 Fr. Pero Nunes planned to go and visit the villages which had not then seen a priest for almost two years (D 50,4). We may assume that within the range of possibility they were visited in the other years as well (Cf. D 49,5).

We have no statistical data about these villages and the number of Christians in them. And the figures sometimes given should be handled with reserve. They do not always agree with each other, they could not be the result of exact counting, they could easily be embellished or lowered according to the purpose they had to serve: proving the need of more missionaries or the redundancy of the actual ones. In the continuous war situation the people of a village, for the sake of saving their lives, easily if feigningly turned to Islam, and they returned to the gospel as soon as the Portuguese got the upper hand again. This makes the giving of exact numbers extremely perplexing.

The number of Christian villages in the Ambon archipelago is mentioned for the first ten years as lying between 22 and 34 (DD 37,7; 44,3; 49,5; 59,6; 62,8). But still in 1602 Ambon and Lease are said to be full of Christians (D 145,5). From 1577 on, the Fathers counted roughly 20,000 faithful left over from the earlier 70,000 (DD 4,2; 59,6; 61,1; 62,8). This means a number of about 50,000 of apostates. The town of Ambon numbered 3,000 Christians in 1578 (D 17,3), 5,000 in 1580 (D 20,8), only 1,600 in 1592 (D 94,3), and two parishes with 2,500 souls each in 1593 (D 94,24). The Lease islands are said to be entirely Christian, only two villages being « enemies » (D 94,25). There is no list of names of the villages, and hardly a few are ever called by their name. Here we feel the lack of Marta's report on Ambon of 1587 (D 60*a*).

e) *Buru*

After a hopeful beginning of Christianization in at least part of the villages prior to 1550 when 5,000 or 6,000 people were baptized, the Buru population were forcibly subdued by Ternatan crews. But a spirit of resistance to Ternate and a desire of Portuguese rule and Christianity lasted and revealed themselves several times (Cf. DM I 63*). The Buru people cherishing these sympathies thought they saw their way clear in 1578 when Tidore chose the side of the Portuguese against Ternate. Their chiefs sailed to Ambon to offer vassalage to the

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king of Portugal (DD 18,7; 20,8°; *Rel. Vasc.* 324). This change opened new prospects for the mission. In August 1580 Fr. Pero Mascarenhas visited the island on his way from Ambon to Tidore, and doing so he was, I think, the first Jesuit priest to have ever set foot on it. But apparently he passed by in a hurry, not being able to pay visits to the several six or seven Christian villages (D 30,2 and 11). A more prolonged stay was the one of Fr. Ferrari in July-September 1581. But he found the island split into two factions: followers of the king of Ternate, and supporters of Portugal-Tidore, and agitated by internal war. He could only animate the Christians to side with the pro-Portugal party (D 34,4). And this was the end of any Catholic mission endeavour in Buru for several centuries. In 1593 the Fathers could only state: Buru lives in peace with Portugal because its people are vassals of Tidore (D 94,25).

3. Character of the Mission

The history of the Maluku mission in this period is the history of a protracted agony. The entire activity proceeded in a climate of war and persecution. Hence, there was no place for a clear line of mission management, or for an original evangelization policy, or for an appropriate method accommodated to the Maluku environment. Growth of the Church was mostly out of the question; in the best case the Fathers could try to conserve the Christians and to prevent them from apostatizing (D 78,1). We cannot but indicate some outstanding features of this history.

How deeply disappointed the Fathers sometimes were can best be seen by their *consultations*. In the first thirty years, reported in DM I, such consultations were never held. In this next period we meet them for the years 1588-89 (D 73,93), 1591 (in Ambon, D 94,40), 1593 (D 94 entirely) and 1603 (DD 160,11; 162,5). At the last two ones, the tragical alternative put before the consultors was: stay or leave? The idea of giving up the mission had occurred to some of them earlier (D 92,4). It redounds to their credit that, when it came to that, they did not want to leave the field and to abandon their fold (Cf. also D 121,4). They proposed the intermediate solution of *temporary missions*. Hitherto every Jesuit appointed to Maluku was supposed to go and stay there until the day of his death. Serious reasons were required for sending a person back to India. The Fathers proposed that new missionaries should be sent for three years only and then be substituted by others in an alternating system. This would make, they

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hoped, the mission a less crushing burden for those engaged in it, and more appetizing to the younger Jesuits in India. But not all the Fathers were at one with this proposal. And the leaders of the Society in Goa and Rome did not agree with it so that things remained as they were. See DD 94,12 15 17 21 41(contra) 47(contra) 55; 100,6; 159,7.

Another remedy more than once proposed by the missionaries was the dispatching of one of them as a *special messenger* directly to the king of Portugal. They were convinced that he was wrongly informed about Maluku, and that learning the real situation from an eye-witness he would without further delay send a mighty fleet to punish the sultan of Ternate, reconquer the fortress and bring the entire area under the tight grip of an irresistible control. And this would usher in a new era of prosperity for the Christian mission. To the Maluku Fathers, the voyage of Fr. Alonso Sánchez as an envoy on behalf of several civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Manila to the Spanish court in 1586, and the sending of some Fathers to Europe from Goa with a view of finding a way out in some conflicts between the Jesuits and other parties, made both a model and a strong argument to try the same remedy for the dramatically risked Maluku mission (DD 102,14; 128,5; 137,8-10; 138,6-10; 177,2). It was mere shouting in the wilderness. The men of the Goa headquarters did not stir a finger to save Maluku by this means. Its strongest champion, Fr. Luís Fernandes, otherwise so prudent and respectful in writing, frankly blamed the Provincial Francisco Cabral for this carelessness (D 137,11).

Completely new possibilities seemed to show up for the Fathers with the personal union of the two Iberian Crowns and, at the same time, with the coming of the Spanish Jesuits to *Manila*. This union became known to the Fathers of Maluku on the same occasion as they learnt of the arrival of the first Jesuits at Manila: both events were communicated to them by Francisco de Dueñas in March 1582. The then Superior, the Italian Bernardino Ferrari, welcomed the union as promising a quick and decisive action against the ruler of Ternate (DD 34,1; 35,1).

The coming of the Spanish Jesuits in 1581 made a deep impression on the Maluku missionaries and had a strong impact on their mind. The impression was of finally having fellow Jesuits nearby and not feeling any longer so lonely and forlorn as up to that time (D 36,1). This would, they hoped, express itself in an easier and quicker sending of men and letters, a hope advanced by the Manila Fathers on their part as well (DD 34,1 and note 2; 35 note 1; 37,4), and challenging Fr. Marta to visit Manila in person (DD 59,8; 63,7).

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The impact of the nearness of Spanish Jesuits was threefold. For one thing, the Fathers of Maluku were soon severely criticized by their Manila brothers for the scandal given in buying and selling cloves, considered incompatible with their religious and priestly task (DD 38 39 40 45). The trade was maintained (D 55,2-4). For another thing, they saw themselves confronted with the question whether their mission should not better be loosed from far-away Goa and attached to the Philippines (DD 44,4; 49,12; 88,10; 89,7). Being in the Portuguese padroado Maluku remained under India. Lastly, seeing the rapid spreading of the Christian faith in the Philippines favourably contrasting with their own unsuccessful efforts, the Fathers tried at least to obtain some of the advantages and facilities favouring it, and therefore they insisted on acquiring the same privileges for themselves and their flock that the Pope had granted to the Church there (DD 114,16; 120,9; 123,6; 130,9).

We saw already the several military expeditions undertaken from Manila to the Maluku area; they all brought only bitter disappointment to the Jesuits. The effective help for the Catholic mission did not arrive until 1606.

An obvious and necessary means to obtain the desired success in the mission work consisted in *learning the native language*, at least the common Malay, the *lingua franca* of the entire Indonesian Archipelago. Practically all Jesuits did so, also the Brothers (e.g., D 22,3). However, the local languages of Tidore, Siau, Labuha and Ambon were higly dissimilar, the first two not even belonging to the Malay-Polynesian branch. Some Fathers are said to have known more than one language (e.g., DD 34,7; 184,96) and only one did not manage to learn the native tongue (D 70,5). Fr. Visitor Valignano sensibly insisted on the Fathers learning foreign languages and on having language schools in several parts of the Jesuit province, among them one for Maluku, which however did not materialize (D 23,14-15).

One of the few special and typical means the hard times allowed the Jesuits to invent was the composing of a *catechism in Malay*, that is, probably in the Ambonese language. The author was Fr. Pero Mascarenhas. It was a great help in instructing people in the faith, presumably for many years. Of course, it was not a printed work (DD 17,13; 18,7; 25,4). One can only regret that its text did not come down to us, either in an original MS or in a copy.

Another way of consolidating the Church conceived by some Fathers was the founding of a *seminary*. This was first of all the idea

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of Fr. Valignano, Visitor, (D 5,9-11), then also of Fr. Ferrari (D 30,13) and of Fr. Marta (D 73,89). It did not materialize.

Not of great importance or of any influence upon the Maluku mission development, but bewilderingly uncommon was the arrival of some *other religious* to the Maluku area. The first was of two Spanish Augustinians sailing in the fleet of D. Juan Ronquillo in 1582. Once having landed at Tidore they showed the intention to found a convent there. After not yet one year they were gone (DD 38,2; 39,3; 44,1 and 5). The other case was of two Franciscans who in 1592 came to Ambon from Malacca, possibly by request of Fr. Marta who for shortage of Jesuits planned to hand over the Ambon mission to other missionaries. One of the two Jesuit churches of the town was already served by them. The protest made by the people of Ambon and their obstructing action impeded the execution of this project and the Franciscans left in May 1593. Consult DD 91,1; 93,5.

The Catholic mission was counteracted by a constant and systematic *Islamic « mission »*. In DM I we insisted that « in order to outline a realistic picture of the Christian apostolate . . . a study of this counterattack should be undertaken, if possible also from Muslim sources » (40 note 38). Also this volume furnishes many witnesses of this Islamic propaganda made by foreign *cacizes*. About 1575-1578 such preachers were said to have arrived from Mecca, Aceh and the Malay Peninsula, teaching that the sultans should not admit any Christians into their territory (D 12,10). Ternate sent many cacizes to Ambon to turn people away from Christianity and circumcise them, and they wanted to be well paid for this (D 30,8). In 1584 a caciz is mentioned trying to set the king of Tidore against the Portuguese with the false makebelieve that the latter planned to force all Tidorese to become Christians (D 44,7). More than once a plot of the sultan of Ternate and all his henchmen is revealed in the documents and how they resolved to wage holy war upon the Christians (e.g., D 81,2; 94,5), and also how the cacizes incited them to this (D 82,3-7).

Another feature of the Maluku mission, closely connected with the preceding one, is the fact of *apostasy*. When for shortage of priests people are only poorly rooted in the faith and in such a condition are threatened with death by a mighty enemy, the fact of apostasy becomes quite explicable. The Fathers themselves tried to excuse this behaviour of their former Christians (See, e.g., DD 61,1; 63,1). The number of renegades is given for Ambon as 47,000 or 50,000 (DD 59,6; 61,1; the numerals furnished by Fr. Alonso Sánchez in DD 58 and 66 appear tendentiously exaggerated). Very pessimistic, and prob-

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ably backed by a wrong interpretation, was the opinion of Fr. Provincial Francisco Cabral claiming that about 1595 out of 40,000 faithful only 3,000 remained (D 112,3). In many cases apostasy was feigned only in order to save their lives. The trend to apostatize made the Fathers gradually more cautious in baptizing people (e.g., D 91,3).

Ultimately, we have to deal with the more general question: *Did the higher superiors of the Society neglect Maluku?* The facts are these: The mission was never visited either by Fr. Provincial or by the Visitor of India sent by Fr. General. Prior to 1598 neither was it visited by a separate Visitor who had to return and to report in person (e.g., D 62,10). The Fathers had often asked for those visitations, showing clearly that a Visitor meant for them contact, consolation, encouragement, guidance, a sign of interest and attention, help in awkward pastoral and personal difficulties, more hope of changes for the better, more realistic and factual answers to their needs, but also a new impulse given to their spiritual life according to the nature and the rules of the Society (e.g., DD 89,8; 159,5). Many times requests for a bigger number of Fathers were not, or not sufficiently, acceded to. Many letters contain complaints about being unanswered, unattended to, not heard and not succoured. The Fathers wrote reproaching Fr. Provincial that he was eager to take new mission fields in India and to provide them with men, while neglecting the ancient Maluku mission (D 59,9); that he was to blame causing the loss of so many souls by not sending fresh missionaries (DD 63,1; 137,11); that writing to him was of no use (D 114,7); that the Goa headquarters forgot Maluku (DD 110,1; 149,4). Such texts could be multiplied. See also D 112 note 5.

A bad sign is that in not a few Annual Letters of the Indian Province, in many extensive Province surveys written by Fr. Valignano, in the resolutions and proposals of several Provincial Congregations as well as in the Roman answers to them (so of the years 1575, 1583, 1588, 1599), the Maluku mission is scarcely mentioned, or only by the way, or not at all. As if it did not exist, as if there were no serious problems to be solved and no measures to be taken. And as a matter of fact, never was a Father of Maluku a deputy-member of such a Congregation. Fr. Provincial Cabral had received the *Consulta* of 1593 (D 94) in early 1594, but the Provincial Congregation of October 1594 did not drop a word about it[34]. Dealing with financial questions of the Province and with the scandal given by trading Jesuits in Goa,

[34] *ARSI, Congr.* 47 ff. 533*r*-540*v*.

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Salsete, Macao and Japan, the same Cabral, in a lengthy letter of December 1596, does not seem to have any knowledge of the existence of Maluku and of its vexed points to be settled [35]. Sometimes Fr. Provincial appears badly informed on such simple things as the geographical situation of the Maluku mission, e.g., in D 69,3.

All these facts strongly suggest that Maluku was disregarded and wilfully overlooked, not to say despised and neglected by Fr. Provincial and his counsellors. But had we not better say that it was a dead weight on them, a disagreeable and despairing nuisance, requesting much and rendering little? Did not the Fathers on one occasion exult for joy at the most promising prospects of innumerable conversions and ask for tens of priests, and on the next occasion complain of being deprived of any possibility of apostolate, isolated in their residencies and redundant in number? The Provincials felt responsible for this mission founded by Francis Xavier, but one can hardly be sure that they blessed this foundation. How could they effectively rule that area and what was the use of writing and answering letters when this took always at least two years? One can understand that they were sometimes enticed to shift off the stopgaps to Maluku. Add to this that the notice of numerous renegades was ill adapted to stir the Provincial to enthusiasm, especially while being himself occupied with engaging new missions like Ceylon, Mogor, and Bengal.

The great organizer and Visitor, Alessandro Valignano, kept track of Maluku in the first years of his office, but once having learnt of the Japanese people and of the rich possibilities for the Christian faith among them, he soon became less interested in the Indonesian islands, continuously subject to war and to Muslim propaganda.

Furthermore, the picture resulting from our documents is one-sided. Most of the letters of the Maluku Fathers to their Provincial in Goa, and those of Fr. General to the Provincial are lost. Our knowledge of the matter is a partial one only, and perhaps there was yet more management and planning behind the scenes than we know of. The question seems justified: Considering the whole of the SE Asian mission field, and discounting the difficulties peculiar to Maluku, are we entitled to reproach the Provincials with having done less for Maluku than they were bound and able to do? Be that as it may, certain is it that in the meantime the Maluku Fathers suffered a lot and often felt abandoned and slighted.

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[35] *Goa 32* ff. 585*r*-589*v*.

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4. List of the Jesuit Missionaries

For former lists, see DM I 18* [36]. Here we continue the one we published ibid., 18*-55*, carrying on as well the numeration of both the Sendings and the single Jesuits. The total number of missionaries sent by the Society to the Maluku Mission between 1576 and 1605 was thirty; those who actually arrived there were only twenty-one. The Sendings were twelve.

On the Jesuits leaving Maluku and those staying after the loss of Ternate in late 1575, see DM I 706 note 10. In May 1578 only three of them remained:

— Pero Mascarenhas (Superior): DM I 37* no. 21.
— Jerónimo Rodrigues: DM I 53* no. 37.
— António Gonçalves: DM I 42* no. 26.

Seventeenth Sending

Diogo Pinto
— Departure from Malacca: August 1578 (D 18,9).
— Arrival in Tidore: November 1578 (ibid.).

40. Diogo Pinto

DI X 22*; MHJ I 1272-1273 (Index); Wicki, *Liste* no. 179.

Born about 1544 in Quintela de Lampaças near Bragança, Portugal, he entered the Society in 1564 and was ordained a priest in 1573. In 1576 he sailed to India where he worked mostly in Malacca and, after 1595, until his death in 1618, in Macao, having been transferred to the Vice-Province of Japan. His sending to Maluku was a merely temporary one, intended by Fr. Valignano as a consolation and a support for the lonely Jesuits there and as an occasion for them to make their confession. The period from November 1578 to February 1579 he spent in Tidore with Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues; from March to May he stayed at Ambon with Fr. Pero Mascarenhas and Br. António Gonçalves (D 18,9). In 1580 he wrote from Malacca a letter reporting on his work in Maluku: D 25.

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[36] The first one, of Fr. Marta, has now been inserted into this volume: D 73,19.

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Eighteenth Sending

Bernardino Ferrari
Gomes do Amaral
Jorge Fernandes
— Departure from Goa: September 11, 1579 (D 21,1).
— Arrival at Tidore, of Ferrari only: November 23, 1580 (D 30,1).

41. Bernardino Ferrari

Scaduto, *Catalogo* 56; Wicki, *Liste* no. 174; Wessels, *Catalogus* 244 no. 35; Id., *Amboina* 186; DI IX 33*.

He was born at Longobucco, Cosenza, Calabria, in 1537 and entered the Society at Naples on January 1, 1556. He made his studies at the Roman College and was ordained a priest in Rome in September 1564. For ten years his field of work was Sassari, Sardinia, where, on November 26, 1570, he made his profession of four vows. Summoned to sail to India he arrived just too late at Lisbon to join Fr. Alessandro Valignano and his forty companions in 1574. Therefore he had to stay over one year in Portugal, learning Portuguese. Within two months he was able to confess people [37]. Having been twice dangerously ill from a kind of scabies (e.g., DI IX 626), he sailed from Lisbon on March 14, 1575, as the superior of a group of four. Scarcely having arrived in India he was made secretary to the Provincial Congregation of December 1575 (DI X 6*). After that he worked for some time among the St Thomas Christians where he applied himself to both the Malayalam and the Chaldean languages (D 14,2). Valignano singled him out for the mission of China, but again Ferrari missed the boat, therefore Fr. Michele Ruggieri went in his stead [38].

Then he was appointed Visitor and Superior of Maluku. On September 11, 1579, he and his two companions sailed from Goa, in November they stayed at Malacca (D 19), on December 27 they were near Gresik in E Java. Ferrari left the galleon for a temporary apostolic task at Panarukan, in the meantime the ship was captured by the Javanese near Surabaya and his two companions were killed (D 21).

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[37] *Lus. 66* ff. 126*r-v*.
[38] Ruggieri, Macao, November 12, 1581: *IapSin 9 I* ff. 58*r*-61*v*.

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Having returned to Malacca he set out anew for Tidore in August 1580 and arrived in November (D 30,1). First he inspected Tidore and then Ambon visiting the Christian villages. In September 1581 he was in Buru and in December he assisted at the death of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas in Tidore. He visited Bacan-Labuha, setting up a new mission station there, and he sought contacts with the Jesuits in the Philippines (DD 34,9; 35). In 1583 we find him in Ambon again, visiting once more the villages (DD 37,7; 44,3), but in October he returned ill to Tidore. In the next March he sailed once more to Ambon, but he was no longer able to visit the Christian places (D 49,2 and 5). On September 25, 1584, he died, 47 of age.

He had found the mission at its lowest level, with only three Jesuits weakened by age, work, hardships, illness, and famine. During the not quite four years of his residence in Maluku he could welcome only once a new companion, Fr. Berwouts. He proved a pushful man by building a new house and church in Tidore and two new churches in Ambon (D 30,2-3), by visiting Buru (D 34,4) and Labuha (DD 37,9; 44,1), and thinking of the former missions of Moro (D 30,6) and N Sulawesi (D 30,9). He revealed in his letters strongly marked ideas about the mission: by no means it should be abandoned (D 44,4), on the contrary, the number of Jesuits should be increased considerably (D 30,10-11), no missionary should be stationed alone (D 30,15), the superior of Malacca should wield powers of a vice-provincial or else the mission should be linked to the Jesuit community of Manila (D 44,4). And he thought of educating boys with a view of making some of them priests (D 30,13). He witnessed the coming of the Jesuits to Manila, the first attacks by Fr. Alonso Sánchez (D 38), and a lively Muslim propagation in Maluku (DD 30,8; 35,7).

He wrote DD 21, 30, 34, 35, 37, 44.

42. Gomes do Amaral

Wicki, *Liste* no. 168; Wessels, *Amboina* 186; Id., *Catalogus* 244 no. 34; DI IX 22* no. 3; Franco, *Anno Santo* 534; Id., *Imagem Coimbra* II 154-155.

Born in Tarouca, Viseu, Portugal, in 1543, he entered the Society at Coimbra on June 20, 1560. In 1572 he was ordained a priest and made his profession of three vows. He sailed to India in 1574 where he worked on the Fishery Coast. Sailing to Maluku with Fr. Ferrari he was killed by the Javanese on the roadstead of Surabaya in January 1580 (D 21).

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43. JORGE FERNANDES

WICKI, *Liste* no. 203; WESSELS, *Amboina* 186; ID., *Catalogus* 244 no. 33; DI XI 20*; FRANCO, *Imagem Coimbra* II 155; ID., *Imagem Lisboa* 304-305.

He was born in Lisbon, probably in 1547 (DI XI 162) and joined the Jesuits there on December 6, 1561. After his studies he taught rhetoric at Évora and Coimbra, and having been ordained he sailed to India in 1578. Within a year he was sent with Ferrari to Maluku. Before reaching it he underwent the same fate as his companion Amaral (D 21).

Fernandes is the author of our D 19.

44. UNKNOWN BROTHER

DD 26,2 and 27,2 mention a Brother as a companion of Fr. Ferrari on his second voyage from Malacca to Maluku. We have no knowledge whatsoever of this Brother. See D 26 note 5.

Nineteenth Sending

Rogier Berwouts/Corrado
Simão Rangel
A Brother
— Departure from Goa: April 1581.
— Arrival in Maluku, only Berwouts: late 1582 or early 1583. (On this sailing, see D 31 note 1).

45. ROGIER BERWOUTS/CORRADO

WESSELS, *Amboina* 186 (incorrectly Koenraads); WESSELS, *Catalogus* 244 no. 36; WICKI, *Liste* no. 195 (and see p. 346 no. 195); DI XI 22*; *Nationaal Biographisch Woordenboek* II (Brussel 1966) 402-403.

Though always called by the Portuguese Rogerio Corrado or Conrado, his true Flemish name was Rogier Berwouts[39].

[39] D 65,1; *Rom. 171 A* f. 45*r*; *Rom. 171 C* f. 47*v*; DI XI 161. — With the authors the name is often disformed: Berwortus (ALEGAMBE, *Mortes illustres*, Romae 1657, 150), Berumotto (SOUZA II 1 2 28). The family Berwouts (alias Berwoutz, Berwout, Berwoets, Barwauts, Baerwauts) was wide-spread in Belgian and Dutch Brabant, and the name occurs several times in the parish registers

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Rogier Berwouts was born in Sint-Truiden (St. Trond), Limburg, Belgium, in 1550 or 1551. His father was a well-to-do merchant christened « Conradus », and his mother's maiden name was Ida Bobelons [40]. He inscribed himself in Louvain on February 2, 1568, where he switched from the study of civil and canonical law to theology. He entered the Society in Rome on the last day of October 1576, and still a novice he was singled out by Fr. General Mercurian for the mission of India. He sailed from Lisbon on March 24, 1578, and arrived at Goa in September of that year (DI XI 348 350-351). Little is recorded of the two years and a half he spent in India; it must be here that he taught humanities (D 48, 249). In April 1581 he sailed from Goa with Fr. Rangel and a Brother, destined for Maluku (D 32,2). Only Berwouts arrived there, but rather late, probably in late 1582 or early 1583. The first time he is mentioned in a Maluku document he appears to be stationed at Labuha in 1583 (D 44,2). This remains his field of activity until 1585 when he exchanged it for the post of Siau (DD 49,13; 50,4), always supposed to visit Tidore intermittently. Sailing back to Siau in May 1586 he was driven out of his course and landed in Manila where he stayed a good three months (DD 58,1; 65,1). As in 1588 he was more wanted in Tidore he remained here (DD 70,3; 71,4 11), we do not know for how long; the documents are silent on him until they reveal that in August 1592 he resumed the work in Labuha (D 94,13), whence he gave his answer to Marta's questions in 1593 (D 94,13-15). On November 30, 1596, he made his vows as a *coadiutor spiritualis* (D 184,96). A few texts (DD 120,3; 131,3; 144,2) show that he stuck to the Labuha mission for many years, mostly alone, sometimes assisted by another Father (Manuel Gonçalves, Bartholomeus Daniel). He is likely to have left Maluku in May 1604 (DD 167 and 169,1; 184,96). In India we find him sta-

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of Sint-Truiden, unfortunately conserved only from 1580 on. Several Berwouts were matriculated in Louvain university. See P. C. Bloys van Treslong Prins, *Genealogische en heraldische gedenkwaardigheden in ... Noord-Brabant*, 2 vols., Utrecht 1924, *passim*; Schillings IV 149 no. 91 (1537); 434 no. 226 (1551); 478 no. 311 (1553); 735 no. 184 (our Rogier, 1568). For a coat of arms, see J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial général*, 2me éd., vol. I, Gouda s.a., 186 and planche CIC. Names like Rogier Koenraads or Koenraad Rogiers appear merely arbitrary Flemish interpretations of Rogerio Corrado.

[40] The Bobelon(s) family (Bobulons, Bobelonis, Bobelonius) was also of note, and was represented at the universities of Louvain and Cologne and among the canons of Liège: Schillings IV 82 no. 60 (1533); 280 no. 85 (1544); 284 no. 251 (1544); 503 no. 41 (1554); Keussen II 1070 no. 654, 150 (1553).

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tioned in Manapar (Manappâd) on the Fishery Coast, and dying in Manâr island on October 18, 1609 [41].

Fr. Berwouts was a quiet, unconspicuous, but assiduous worker who spent more than twenty of the best years of his life on the Maluku mission. On various occasions he appears of a scrupulous conscience, a man to whom living alone and far from a superior and a confessor must have been a heavy burden (DD 54,4-5 12; 65,2). He mastered the Malay language, supposedly in the Labuha variant and the tongue of Siau as well (D 184,96). He was a good observer and reporter (D 73 note 107).

He wrote D 94,13-15.

46. Simão Rangel

On him, see DI X, XII, XIII (Indices). He was born in Portugal about 1544, stayed half a year in the Franciscan noviciate, sailed to India, and though having committed three homicides was received into the Society in Goa in 1570. His studies in law and theology were successful, he learnt Konkani and was an excellent teacher of humanities; the superiors appear pleased with his good qualities. Prior to 1580 he was ordained a priest. And though in November 1580 he had asked Fr. General for his dismissal from the Society, he agreed to sail to Maluku with Fr. Berwouts. On the way in Malacca he proved disorderly in such a way that he was considered plainly unsuited for the Maluku mission. So he returned to India and soon left the Society See especially DI XIII 746-747.

47. A Brother

Of this Brother (D 31) nothing is known; at any rate he did not arrive in the Maluku mission.

Twentieth Sending

António Francisco
— Departure from Goa: April 1583 (D 42,2).
— No arrival; the ship had to return (ibid.).

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[41] *Goa 24* II ff. 346*r*, 355*r* 359*v* 400*r* 432*r* 439*v* 479*r*).

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48. ANTÓNIO FRANCISCO

DI XII 10*; ALEGAMBE, *Mortes illustres* 151; BARTOLI, *L'Asia* 663; SOUZA II 1 2 89; FRANCO, *Anno Santo* 368; ALMEIDA, *História da Igreja* III/II 731; WICKI, *Liste* no. 224.

Born in Coimbra in 1550 he entered the Society in 1571 and sailed to India in 1581. In Goa he was ordained a priest, and in 1583 Fr. Provincial Rui Vicente told him off to go to Maluku. Of the two ships sailing from Goa the one that carried the Jesuits (for Maluku, Malacca and Macao) was driven back by a storm. António Francisco went working in Salsete island, but already on July 25, 1583, he died a martyr with four fellow Jesuits, all of them killed by rebellious Hindus. He became Blessed António Francisco in 1893[42].

Twenty-first Sending

Pero Nunes
Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz
— Departure from Goa: April 1584.
— Arrival in Tidore: November 16, 1584 (DD 47,2; 49,2).

49. PERO NUNES

WICKI, *Liste* no. 244; WESSELS, *Amboina* 187; ID., *Catalogus* 245 no. 37; DI XII 15*.

He was born in Seda, Elvas, Portugal, in 1555, studied in Coimbra, and joined the Jesuits in November 1574. He was praised as one of the best of his class and as gifted with good talents for studying, teaching, confessing and preaching, and he was called « facil, alegre, devoto, edificativo, amigo de oración y penitencia, y diligente en el trabajo »[43]. Having studied philosophy and theology, he sailed to India on April 8, 1583, not yet a priest. During his short stay at Goa, September 1583 to April 1584, he was ordained. Scarcely having arrived at Tidore, he saw himself appointed by Fr. Valignano Superior of the Maluku mission (D 49,3). He kept this office at least until Fr. Marta arrived in March 1587, but perhaps the latter, first and foremost a Visitor, had him continue in the charge for some more years; at

[42] *ARSI, Lus. 43 II* f. 468r 478r; *Goa 32 II* f. 479r.
[43] *ARSI, Lus. 43 II* f. 486r.

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any rate Nunes was the local superior of the main residence, Tidore, and had to supply for Marta as an acting superior during the latter's voyage to Goa, May 1589 to late 1590, although the documents are silent on this issue. Soon he had to play a part in reconciling two captains competing for the fortress (D 49 note 32). He sent Berwouts/Corrado to Siau, and in his stead Rengifo/da Cruz to Labuha (DD 49,13; 50,4), saw the abortive expedition of Juan de Morón come and go, and the failure of Artur de Brito's mission as well (DD 49,13; 62,6). Then he sailed to Ambon to visit the Christian villages (DD 50,4; 54,1). In March 1587 he welcomed there the new Superior Marta (D 59,1), but his own letter of the following June (D 62) has still fully the purport of a superior's report, and the same can be said of DD 70 and 71, written at Tidore in March 1588. The documents do not reveal much of his apostolic and pastoral work, but so much the more of the conflict of the Jesuits with the vicars on questions of jurisdiction and licences. Nunes had often to defend the rights and exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction of the Society of Jesus. In almost every letter he returned to this subject. Unfortunately we are in the dark as to his whereabouts in later years; he became the local superior of Ambon, where he died in 1591, after July 18 (D 94,40; in D 81 he is not yet lacking).

He wrote DD 49, 50, 62, 70, 71.

50. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz

Wessels, *Amboina* 187; Id., *Catalogus* 245 no. 38; Wicki, *Liste* no. 243; DI XII 15*.

His original surname was Rengifo; on being appointed to the Indian mission he changed it into da Cruz. He was born in Valdeiglesias in the diocese of Toledo, Spain, in 1554; he entered the Society in 1576 and studied a little theology and cases of conscience. In October 1582 he presented himself for the mission of Portuguese Asia to which Fr. General at once appointed him (DI XII 702 704), so that on April 8, 1583, he sailed from Lisbon together with Pero Nunes. In Goa he was ordained a priest, and shortly after he made the voyage to Tidore. Nunes, now his superior, destined him for Labuha in early 1585 and he continued working there until mid-1592 (D 94,13). About April 1593 Rengifo arrived in Ambon (D 94,51), where he remained for twelve years as rector of the Jesuit church of São Tomé (D 93,2). On May 30, 1596, he made the vows of a spiritual coadiutor (D 126,197) for which he had been proposed in 1589 (D 108,3). We find him living

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there in 1600 (D 128,6) and in 1601 visiting the Christian villages (D 150,17). He attested to the coming of the Dutch into the Ambon waters and to the loss of the fortresses in 1605. Exiled to Cebu, he returned in the Spanish fleet of D. Pedro de Acuña in 1606. Having made an abortive effort to sail to Ambon, he became the restorer of the Church of Moro. Despite many difficulties he did not abandon those Christians until he died on February 2, 1610, after 26 years of devoting himself to Maluku [44].

He wrote DD 94, 49-55; 178; 178A.

Twenty-second Sending

Antonio Marta
Francisco da Cunha
— Departure from Goa: September 1586 (D 55,1).
— Arrival in Ambon: March 13, 1587 (D 59,1).

51. Antonio Marta

Wessels, *Amboina* 188; Id., *Catalogus* 245 no. 39; Wicki, *Liste* no. 231; DI XII 12*; 705 no. 9; XIII 663 no. 12.

Born at Treviso, Veneto, Italy, in 1543, he joined the Jesuits at Venice on March 3, 1568 [45]. After three years of philosophy he spent two more years at theology and proved a good teacher of grammar and humanities. He must have been ordained about 1575. Then he became vice-rector of the Brescia college and subsequently minister in the Professed House of Venice. On August 19, 1581, he demanded from Fr. General the mission of the East Indies [46]; he was appointed to sail there in the fleet of April 1583. His letters patent for the voyage to Lisbon, during which he was superior of a group of four, are dated

[44] Wessels, *De kath. missie in de Molukken* 23-24 37.

[45] *Hist. Soc. 175* f. 65*r*. That he entered the Society as a priest (Wessels, ll.cc.; DI XII 12*) is not correct. In an information of June 27, 1569, he is said to have studied law for some years, to have finished now his first year [of noviciate], and to possibly start the study of *casus conscientiae* with a view of soon being ordained a priest (*Hist. Soc. 175* f. 82*r*). In two catalogues of 1573 he is listed as a student of philosophy in the third year of the course, his name being classified under « Maestri et scholari » and not preceded by the « P. » of the Fathers (*Ven. 36* ff. 30*r* 56*r*). And he appears to have been, prior to entering, a soldier and a captain (Colin-Pastells III 31).

[46] *Ital. 156* f. 232*r-v*; autograph.

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18 and 21 October, 1582[47]. Having made the vows of a professed Father in Lisbon on March 21, 1583[48], he left that city in the India-bound fleet on April 8, and arrived at Goa on September 21[49]. During the three years of his stay in India he officiated as a minister of the Goa college and of the Professed House just erected. He was seriously ill in December 1585 and January 1586; after his recovery[50] he was designated Visitor and Superior of the Maluku mission by Provincial Valignano. He came to Maluku not only as a Visitor of the Society, but as a Commissary of the Holy Inquisition as well, entrusted by the Goa inquisitor with great and somewhat arbitrary powers (D 71,2). And he used them unflichingly a few times, putting some vicars in jail (DD 59,13; 60,1; 71,4), meeting however the disapproval of his fellow Jesuits in Maluku and Rome (DD 71,2; 77). But a later Provincial defended him (D 83,2). To begin with, he visited Ambon and all the Christian villages of that archipelago (DD 62,7-8; 63,1), and after three months he sailed to Tidore where he constructed a new Jesuit house and church (D 73,65). Within his first year Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues and Br. António Gonçalves left the mission because of age and ill-health, whereas four new missionaries could be welcomed (23rd Sending). In 1589 he sailed to Goa, presumably to report on both his visitation and his activity as an Inquisition official, but mainly to induce the viceroy to dispatch an armed fleet against Ternate (DD 83,1; 85,3); and a fleet, if small, was given him indeed (D 81,3). Returning with two fresh Jesuits (24th Sending) he arrived in Ambon in late 1590 or early 1591 (Cf. D 80 note 10). In June he sailed to Tidore (D 81,4), where he became involved in war projects of the Philippines (D 82). In Ambon, in early 1592, he met the Spanish Brother Gaspar Gómez (D 88,2). From 1592 to 1593 two Franciscans stayed in Ambon (DD 91,1; 93,2 and 5), and in October 1593 he welcomed the 25th Sending.

Living continuously in a war situation suffocating every possibility of apostolate, he eagerly expected the armada of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas. This hope was dashed to the ground by the murder of Dasmariñas just at the time that Marta had sailed, *via* Siau, to Manila (DD 95; 100,3-5; 135,10). Shortly before leaving Maluku, Marta had

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[47] *Hist. Soc. 61* ff. 23*v* 43*r*.

[48] *Lus. 2* f. 6*r-v*; autograph.

[49] DI XII 872.

[50] D 55,1; DI XIII 371 684; *Goa 13 I* 220*r*; *IapSin 10 I* ff. 30*v* 118*r* 130*r* 143*r*.

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consulted with all the Fathers on the question: stay or leave? (D 94). On more occasions he proved consultation-minded (DD 73,93; 83 note 3; 94,40). In December 1593 he was still in Cebu (D 100), but in June 1594 he had returned to Maluku (D 102,2). Unfortunately from that moment to mid-1597 there is not a single letter available written in Maluku either by Marta himself or by one of the other Jesuits, and we do not know anything of Marta's action during those years. In late 1597 he was succeeded as a superior by Fr. Luís Fernandes (DD 119,3; 120,1), and on August 15, 1598, he died at Tidore (D 131,2).

Antonio Marta was one of the most outstanding Jesuits in Maluku for the period of this volume: intelligent, a man of action and courage, of new ideas, and with an energetic activity to realize them. But he was obstructed by the whole precarious situation of the steadily declining Portuguese power, by captains and other officials solicitous rather for commerce and their personal profit than for freedom of action of the Christians and their leaders, hampered also by a perennial shortage of Fathers, and finally overcome by the double reverse of no succour forthcoming either from India or from Manila. His letter from Cebu of December 5, 1593 (D 100), is the most gloomy report in our collection. Is the silence of the later years connected with this gloomy mood, or caused merely by external causes of war and troubles? He died just in time not to see the Dutch arrive in the Maluku waters. From 1588 onwards he does not seem to have acted any longer as a Commissary of the Inquisition.

He wrote DD 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 73, 81, 82, 88, 89, 92, 100; D 73 being the most lenghty report on N Maluku ever written by a Jesuit.

52. Francisco da Cunha

Wessels, *Amboina* 188; Id., *Catalogus* 245 no. 40.

He was born in Castel Branco, Portugal, in 1556, and he joined the Society at Goa in June 1576 (D 48). After the curriculum of philosophy he studied theology for two years, not being able to finish the course because he was appointed for Maluku. Having arrived at Ambon he does not seem to have ever left that place (DD 70,5; 71,13). He had no talent for learning Malay. Doing his duty as a preacher and a confessor (presumably in Portuguese), he came to suffer more and more from a leg disease so that Fr. Marta thought it advisable to send him back to Malacca for recovery (D 89,2). This happened in May 1592, and Fr. Cunha proceeded on his voyage to Goa. Here he

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distinguished himself in a series of important functions, more than six times being a rector of colleges. That he returned to Maluku, as Wessels wrote, is excluded by the documents. On January 1, 1599, he made his profession [51], and in October he was a member of the fifth Provincial Congregation [52]. He suffered from feeling discriminated against as a Portuguese who had not entered the Society in Portugal (D 110). His death in India occurred in 1619 [53].

He wrote D 110.

Twenty-third Sending

Luís Fernandes
António Pereira
Francisco Poliasca/da Cruz
Giampaolo Manfrida
— Departure from Goa: 1587, presumably in April (DD 67,1; 68; 135,12).
— Arrival in Maluku: probably February-March 1588 (DD 73, 19; 87,2).

53. Luís Fernandes

Wessels, *Amboina* 190; Id., *Catalogus* 246 no. 44; Wicki, *Liste* no 220; Barbosa Machado III 91-92: Franco, *Imagem Évora* 871; DI XII 11*.

He was a Portuguese, born in Lisbon in 1550; he entered the Society at Évora in June 1580 (D 48,160), having finished his philosophical and theological studies (D 109,2 no. 4), and already a priest. As a first year novice he was sent to India, sailing from Lisbon on April 8, 1581. Barely having arrived at Goa he was entrusted, in November 1581, with the course of logic [54]. For some time minister at Bassein, he returned to Goa to take care of the new converts, was a preacher and a confessor, and had some functions in the boys' school. Then Fr.

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[51] *Lus. 2* ff. 176*r*-177*v*.
[52] *Congr. 49* f. 469*r*.
[53] *Hist. Soc. 42* f. 29*v*. In the catalogue of November 1620 his name does not occur (*Goa 25* ff. 21*r*-30*v*).
[54] DI XII 286 and 388.

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Valignano sent him to Maluku. In all the years that he was not yet a superior, no letter of his is available (irrespective of his answers to Marta's questions: D 94, 16-18), his first one being of May 1598 (D 120), and of what he did nothing is known. He was always stationed at Tidore (D 92 note 3); on July 22, 1596, he made his profession « in the church of Our Lady in Tidore »[55]. In Goa in 1596 he was appointed Superior of Maluku; this nomination arrived at Tidore in late 1597. He succeeded Fr. Marta. Subsequently he wrote more often and unfolded a busy activity. In March 1598 he sailed to Ambon whence he had Fr. Manuel Gonçalves return to Goa (DD 120,2; 121,6). Shortly after he attested to the death of Frs. Marta and Rebelo, and the coming of Fr. Visitor Cristóbal de la Vega (D 131,2). He went through all the threats, troubles and frights caused by the coming of the Dutch. As far as possible he practiced a kind of shuttle-sailing between Tidore and Ambon, more or less regulary leaving Tidore in February or March, and returning in May or July, but sometimes staying at Ambon the whole year, and many times his whereabouts are uncertain. In both places he experienced the attacks of hostile fleets of Ternatans and Dutch and the waning of Portuguese power. He dispatched Fr. André Pereira as a messenger to Manila (D 151,4), had Fr. Daniel return to Malacca in May 1602 (D 181,1), and Br. Brito, and presumably also Fr. Berwouts/Corrado, to Goa in 1604 (DD 169,1; 167 note 2). He saw the 25th-27th Sendings arrive. As his hopes for the future of the mission revived at the appearance of Furtado de Mendonça's armada (D 148, 2-3), so they were crushed completely at the raising of the siege of Ternate in 1603 (D 160,5) and at the fall of Ambon and Tidore in 1605 (D 179A).

Fr. Fernandes took refuge in the Philippines whence he returned to Maluku in the fleet of D. Pedro de Acuña in 1606. For two more years he was the Superior of the mission. In early 1608 he sailed to Malacca, and there he died in October[56].

He was a man of virtue, intelligence and energy, but he did not put himself forward. He was praised for his sound judgment and excelled in all the ministries of the Society as a teacher, preacher, confessor and manager, knowing well his theology and morals and similarly well how to handle affairs (DD 48,160; 106 II 299; 109,2). This is the more remarkable since he was continually suffering from headache (D 75,284) and generally from ill-health (D 121,6; 169,1).

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[55] *Lus. 2* ff. 141*r*-142*v*; autograph.
[56] *Goa 24* f. 479*r*.

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He wrote DD 94,16-18; 120, 128, 137, 138, 144, 148, 160, 162, 170, 179A.

54. António Pereira

Wessels, *Amboina* 189; Id., *Catalogus* 246 no. 42; Id., *Molukken* 27 note 42; Colin-Pastells III 187-194.

He was born in Beja, Portugal, in 1556. Colín calls him once a *sobrino*, once a *hijo* of the famous Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque [57]. He entered the Society at Goa in April 1574 (DD 48,102; 109,4). He studied rhetoric and philosophy, and in 1584 he had successfully finished theology. Already a priest, he started the third year of probation, soon to become minister of the Goa college; according to D 109,4 he did not make the third year; see DI XIII 593. When he sailed to Maluku he was foreordained to be the local superior of the post of Labuha (D 68,4), but no document proves that he was so in fact. And generally all documents keep silence on him for the first four or five years. His first letter is the answer to Marta's questions in 1593 (D 94,19-22; cf. D 92 note 3), and the first time he is mentioned he had sailed with Fr. Marta to Siau and Manila (DD 95; 135,10). His return to Maluku was not until late 1595 or early 1596 when he appears as the local superior of Ambon (DD 114,1; 117) and he made his profession of four vows in the church of Santiago on April 29, 1596 (D 126,193; *Lus. 2* f. 138). In May 1598 he is still superior of Ambon (D 119,3), but in April 1600 he appears to be stationed at Tidore (D 128,6 and notes). Colín's statement that from 1595 onwards he worked in Siau for three years [58] does not agree with the documents. From Tidore he wrote in 1601 and 1603, and in July of the latter year he was ill there (D 162,4). But in July 1604 he had left Tidore (D 173,1), obviously to take the mission post of Siau whence he wrote D 177 in June 1605, and where he stayed on after the Dutch seized the forts of Ambon and Tidore (D 179A,10). He mastered not only the Malay (D 184,114), but also the Siau and Ternate languages [59]. In 1607 he sailed to Malacca, and returning to Siau he was shipwrecked and drowned in September

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[57] On whom see DM I 743. Colin-Pastells I 573, III 188.
[58] Colin-Pastells III 188.
[59] Colin-Pastells III 190.

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1609 [60]. The historiographers COLIN and CHIRINO sound his praises, especially for his work during the two years and a half stay in the Philippines. Even ELIAS, in his history of Siau, proudly if incorrectly mentions Fr. António Pereira (39 53).

He wrote DD 94,19-22; 102, 114, 121, 135, 159, 177.

55. FRANCESCO POLIASCA/DA CRUZ

WESSELS, *Amboina* 189 (« de Croce »); ID., *Catalogus* 246 no. 41; WICKI, *Liste* no. 264.

He was born at Sarzana, Liguria, Italy, in 1548. His original Italian surname was Poliasca. Thus he signed an autograph letter in 1586 [61]. Roman catalogues spell Puliasca and Pogliasca [62]. He entered the Society on April 5, 1573, in the Roman Jesuit Province [63], studied moral theology and was minister in the German College, Rome (D 75,282), and lastly a confessor in the house of the *penitenzieri*. Having arrived in India in 1585, he changed his surname to da Cruz, and became vicerector of the Salsete college in Margão [64]. Then Fr. Valignano appointed him local superior of Siau in the Maluku mission (D 68,2). There is no evidence that during the two years of his residence in that mission he actually was stationed in Siau. His whereabouts are unknown. He died prior to May 1590 (D 84,3).

56. GIAMPAOLO MANFRIDA

WESSELS, *Amboina* 189; ID., *Catalogus* 246 n. 43; WICKI, *Liste* no. 293.

An Italian from Castiglione Cosentino, Cosenza, Calabria, born in 1556, he entered the Roman noviciate on May 23, 1578 [65], to become a Brother. On July 30, 1585, he received letters patent for the voyage to Lisbon and India [66], and he sailed to Goa on April 11, 1586. Having

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[60] *Goa 25* f. 5*r*.

[61] *Goa 13* II f. 321*v*.

[62] *Rom. 53* ff. 32 85.

[63] *Rom. 171A* f. 24*v*.

[64] *Goa 47* f. 327*r*: « El P. Francisco de la Cruz, alias Poliasca, vicerector de Salsete », November 1586.

[65] *Rom. 171A* f. 54*v*. In most later catalogues 1579, and, according to *Goa 24 I* f. 133*v*, in November 1580.

[66] *Hist. Soc. 61* f. 44*r*.

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arrived at Ambon he was at once stationed in Tidore (D 87,3) where he uninterruptedly remained (cf. D 131,2) until he accompanied Fr. António Pereira to Siau in 1604 (D 173,1; 176,9). From there he came to Cebu with Fr. Luís Fernandes (D 182,2) in July 1605. He returned to Maluku with the Spaniards in 1606 and lived in Ternate until his return to India in 1620, where he is still listed as a Brother of 72 and as « deficiens viribus » in the catalogues of the Malabar Province of December 1628 [67].

He made his final vows in Tidore on November 30, 1596 [68].

He wrote D 87.

Twenty-fourth Sending

Antonio Marta (second time)
João Rebelo
Lorenzo Masonio
— Departure from Goa: April 1590.
— Arrival in Maluku: December 1590 or January 1591 (D 79,3).

57. João Rebelo

WESSELS, *Amboina* 191; ID., *Catalogus* 246 no. 45; WICKI, *Liste* no. 308; EX I 121*; D 132,4.

There are at least three more João Rebelo in the Portuguese Province at the same time. This makes establishing the true dates of his life rather difficult. But also our catalogues (DD 106, 109, 126, 132) are pretty diverging in revealing the year of his birth and his joining the Society. He was born at Lisbon in July 1558, attended Coimbra college, and entered the Society in October 1576 [69]. After the noviciate he studied logic and philosophy, and then he was appoined secretary to the historiographer Fr. Giampietro Maffei whom he assisted at Lisbon, Coimbra and Rome for more than six years. In Rome he completed the study of theology. He returned to Portugal in early 1588, and on April 4, 1589, he sailed to India, having been ordained a priest

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[67] *Goa 25* f. 47*v* ; *Goa 29* f. 33*v*. That he, after such a life and at such an age still became a priest and was dismissed from the Society (see WICKI, *Liste* 351 at no. 293) is not supported by the sources and sounds improbable.

[68] *Lus. 25* f. 107; autograph.

[69] *Rom. 53* ff. 43*v* 68*v* 80*v* ; *Goa 24* f. 166*r*.

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just before « with a view of training himself in hearing confessions » [70]. Within half a year after his arrival he accompanied Fr. Marta to Maluku where he was stationed at once at Ambon (DD 80; 94,23-42). But in 1593 he was moved to Tidore (D 93,2) where sooner or later he became the local superior (D 120,3). His work of preaching and hearing confessions was inconspicuous. He was praised as a man of great virtue (DD 109,5; 132,4). He died at Tidore on November 23, 1598 (D 131,2), having lived in Maluku almost eight years.

He wrote D 80 and D 94,23-42.

58. Lorenzo Masonio

Wessels, *Amboina* 191; Id., *Catalogus* 247 no. 46; Wicki, *Liste* no. 303; Colin-Pastells III 88-101; Nieremberg, *Firmamento* 521-534; *Varones Ilustres* III 113-131; Schinosi, *Istoria d.C.d.G. . . . Napoli* II 358-365; Guilhermy, *Ménologe Ass. d'Italie* II 73.

He was an Italian, born in Campolieto, Molise, according to all Naples and Goa catalogues in 1555 [71], according to the Spanish Jesuits of the Philippines on February 27, 1556 [72]. At Naples he studied civil and canon law for five years, and he was ordained a priest in 1579. Most catalogues ascribe the start of his Jesuit life to 1583, but *Nap. 80* states: in February 1584 (loc. cit.). After the noviciate he attended the philosophy curriculum, and for three months lectures of theology. Then, in 1587, he was appointed to the Indian mission, and he sailed from Lisbon on April 1, 1588. The next year he got Maluku as his destination. On the voyage, see D 80,2-3. Scarcely having arrived in Ambon he was sent to the village of Wakasihu (D 94,40). After four months, Fr. Pero Nunes having fallen ill, he had to return to the town of Ambon and soon to succeed Nunes as the local superior (ibid.). Invariably his residence remained Ambon until 1605, where he served the church of Santiago. In 1592-1593 he had to face the attempts of the Franciscans to take over the Jesuit churches. Presumably he was vice-superior of the Maluku mission during Marta's stay in the Philippines, 1593-1594; Fr. António Pereira succeeded him as a local superior (D 119,3), but in 1600 Masonio appears superior again (D 128,6). That he and his companion did not neglect the outer Christian

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[70] Fr. João Correia, Provincial, January 25, 1589, *Lus. 70* f. 371*r* no. 5.
[71] *Nap. 80* f. 7*r*, « ut putat »; *Goa 24*.
[72] Colin-Pastells III 88.

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villages of Ambon and Lease, results from DD 145,5; 150,11-16. Particulars of his work are seldom revealed. He was the principal representative of the Church and of the Christians before Admiral Steven van der Haghen and the Dutch in 1605, and was exiled to the Philippines (D 176). He returned to Maluku in 1606 and continued his missionary work, at times as a superior of the mission, until he sailed to Manila in 1622, where he died on July 19, 1631 [73]. He made his profession in Ambon on February 25, 1600 [74]. He had a thorough command of Malay (and obviously of Ambonese as well) (D 184,117).

Lorenzo Masonio was one of the prominent missionaries of Maluku. His potentials were greatly frustrated by the desperate circumstances in which he had to live and work, especially in the period prior to 1606. His letters are written intelligently and with orderliness, and he proves the former jurist by dealing expertly with questions of canon law (E.g., DD 123,4-5; 129,13). He showed himself a conscientious and zealous priest to whom nothing was too much trouble in visiting, teaching and supporting his Christians. He could not create or achieve extraordinary things, but with extraordinary fidelity he was and remained on his post for their benefit, and such for over thirty years.

He wrote DD 91, 93, 94 (43-48), 115, 119, 123, 129, 130, 145, 147, 150, 176, 178A (as second author), 182 [75].

Twenty-fifth Sending

Manuel Gonçalves
António da Costa
— Departure from Goa: April 1593 (D 98,4).
— Arrival in Maluku: presumably October 1593.

59. Manuel Gonçalves

Wessels, *Amboina* 192; Id., *Catalogus* 247 no. 47.

Little is known of him. He was a Portuguese, born at Coimbra in mid-1568, and he joined the Jesuit order in Goa in 1586 [76]. He studied

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[73] Wessels, *Molukken* 67-68.
[74] *Lus. 3* f. 3*r-v*; autograph.
[75] For his letters after 1605, see Wessels, *Molukken* 11-13.
[76] *Goa 24* ff. 159*v* 175*r* no. 115; D 106,296.

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some Latin and morals. In early 1593 he was ordained a priest [77]. In Maluku he was given as an assistant to Fr. Berwouts/Corrado in Labuha, but in May 1598 he was returned to India as being unsuited for the work in the area (D 120,2-3). At that moment not only did he leave the Maluku mission, but he also begins to be completely trackless in the sources. Therefore, he is likely to have left the Society or to have been dismissed from it. It is significant that in the catalogue of December 1598 (D 122) he is lacking.

60. António da Costa

Wessels, *Amboina* 192; Id., *Catalogus* 247 no. 48.

This Brother was born in Lamego, Portugal, in 1554, and, after a military career (D 131,2), he entered the Society in Goa in April 1587 [78]. Of his work in Maluku nothing is recorded but that he was stationed at Ambon (D 120,3). When in December 1597 the Goa-made catalogue (D 117) calls him « muy enfermo », this must be backed by a report from Maluku of early 1596. He died in Ambon in the next year, 1597 [79], presumably after May 20, since DD 114 and 115 do not mention his death. In D 122, of December 1598, he is lacking.

Twenty-sixth Sending

Cristóbal de la Vega
Vasco da Cunha
— Departure from Goa (Cunha): April 1598.
from Malacca (Vega): August 1598.
— Arrival at Tidore: November 20, 1598 (D 131,2).

61. Cristóbal de la Vega

Wessels, *Catalogus* 247 no. 49; Wicki, *Liste* no. 233; DI XII 13*.

His birthplace was Osuna, Andalucía, Spain, where he saw the light in 1559. In April 1576 he joined the Jesuits (D 48,58) having already studied law for three years. After the noviciate he attended

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[77] *Goa 14* f. 103*r*: Manuel da Veiga to Fr. General, Goa, November 23, 1593.

[78] D 106,304; *Goa 24* f. 159*v* 175*r* no. 123.

[79] D 120,2-3; *Goa 24* f. 310*r*.

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lectures of philosophy, and while staying in the second year of theology he was destined for India. He sailed from Lisbon on April 8, 1583, and in Goa he completed his theological studies with so much success that in December 1587 we find him a lecturer, if a substitute one, in that branch. He had been ordained a priest in 1585. Subsequently he unfolded a busy activity in Daman, Bassein, Chaul and Goa, partaking in the abortive mission to Mogor (D 109,1 sub 3). Probably from 1595 onwards, he was rector of Malacca college; it is there that he made his four vows profession on July 14, 1596 [80].

It is also in Malacca that he received the appointment from Fr. Visitor Pimenta to be Visitor of Maluku on his behalf. He sailed from Malacca, accompanied by Fr. Vasco da Cunha, on August 20, 1598; he arrived severely ill; none the less he performed the visitation, first at Tidore and next at Ambon. On June 30 he was back in Malacca, but sailing to Goa he died at sea near Ceylon in late 1599 or early 1600 (D 131). His stay in Maluku had lasted scarcely six months. The visitation had no visible effect, partly because Vega could not report to the Visitor and the Provincial in India, partly on account of the turbulent situation at Maluku.

62. Vasco da Cunha

Wessels, *Amboina* 192; Id., *Catalogus* 247 no. 50.

He was born in India at Bassein in 1567, and in 1586 he entered the noviciate. He studied Latin four years and attended the philosophy lectures as usual. He taught humanities in Cochin and heard theology in Goa where he was also ordained a priest in 1597. In the next year he sailed to Malacca and accompanied Fr. Vega to Maluku. When the latter left Ambon in May 1599, Cunha stayed back (D 128,6), and in April 1600 he prepared to sail to Tidore with Fr. Luís Fernandes. Then we lose track of him. In the catalogue of December 1601 (D 142) he is still listed under Maluku; in the next he is a teacher in the college of Malacca (See D 141 note 5). He died in this residence in August 1606 [81].

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[80] *Lus. 2* f. 140*r-v*, autograph; *Goa 14* ff. 127*r* 361*r*.
[81] *Goa 24* f. 357*v*; *Goa 55* f. 153*v*.

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Twenty-seventh Sending

Jorge da Fonseca
Bartholomeus Daniel
André Pereira
Mateus de Brito
— Departure from Goa: April 1600 (D 131,6).
— Arrival at Ambon: Fonseca and Daniel: February 1601 (D 150,2).
Pereira and Brito: February 1602 (D 144,2).

63. JORGE DA FONSECA

WESSELS, *Amboina* 193; ID., *Catalogus* 248 no. 52.

He was born in Lisbon in 1558 and entered the Society in Goa in June 1573, hardly fifteen years of age. He made his studies, taught grammar, and in December 1584 he is called « Pater » for the first time (D 48,51). We find him working at Daman, Chaul, Kondoti near Bassein, and again in Daman, where he became a professed Father of three vows on March 5, 1600 [82]. One month later he sailed to Maluku as the superior of a group of four. The galleon in which they made the voyage was shipwrecked, but the people were saved, and Fonseca and Daniel reached Ambon in early 1601. See the former's report in D 154,2-5. In August he started for Tidore (D 150,3). The documents do not reveal where he was stationed next. D 167 could one make believe that he lived in Siau, but this is likewise said of Fr. Daniel who, on the contrary, was stationed in Labuha (D 144,2), nor does it fit in with the notice of 1604 that Siau had not a priest since 1589 (D 173, 3), and it sounds improbable that a long abandoned mission post would without more ado be manned with two newcomers. So the Goa-made D 167 remains suspect. Maybe Fonseca was the Father whom the Superior tried in vain to send to Siau (D 144,7). In May 1604 he was in Ambon writing D 169, but when, in 1605, the Dutch seized the fortresses of Ambon and Tidore, he appears residing in Labuha (D 177,5). He remained active in Maluku until 1608, and again 1610-*c.* 1620. He died in Goa on May 5, 1627 [83]. Though of weak health he

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[82] *Lus. 18* f. 22; some catalogues incorrectly make him a four vows professed Father.

[83] WICKI, *Der Bericht des Jesuitenprovinzials von Goa an die königliche Akademie*, AHSI 39 (1970) 108-109.

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stuck to his task in the troublesome Maluku mission field for seventeen years.

He wrote DD 135B, 169.

64. Bartholomeus Daniel

Wessels, *Amboina* 192; Id., *Catalogus* 247 no. 51. Some authors confused him with Bartolomeo Tedeschi, born 1573 in Florence, who entered the Society in 1595 and sailed to India in 1600. (E.g., Camara Manoel, *Missões dos Jesuitas* 152; Wicki, *Liste* no. 410; Wessels was right in *Amboina*, but wrong in *Catalogus* and in *Batjan* 146).

He was a Dutchman, born at Vlissingen (Flushing), Zeeland, about April 1573, and he joined the Jesuits at Goa in March 1593 [84]. He learnt Latin and grammar in the college of Bassein in 1596-1597; then he switched over to the college of Margão, Salsete, to hear lectures on moral theology until 1600. Before sailing to Maluku he must have been ordained a priest. After the shipwreck (see Fonseca) he managed to reach Ambon in February 1601, whence in August he sailed to Tidore. He was given as a companion to Berwouts/Corrado in the mission of Labuha (D 144,2), but he was steadily ill. For that reason Fr. Superior ordered him to return to India, and so he did in May 1602. While passing by Malacca he served there as a navy chaplain, and in a battle with Dutch ships he was killed by a shot from his own countrymen in February 1603 [85]. Fr. Laerzio, not yet aware of Daniel's death, proposed him to Fr. General for the vows of a *coadiutor spiritualis* in January 1604 (D 165).

65. André Pereira

Wessels, *Amboina* 193; Id., *Catalogus* 248 no. 53.

He was a Portuguese, born at Pombeiro de Riba, Felgueiras, diocese of Braga, in the year 1567 [86]. He entered the Society in April 1585, made the usual studies of philosophy and theology, worked in Chaul and Bassein, and, made a priest in 1597, he became *procurador* of the Goa Province in 1599. His voyage to Maluku was full of adven-

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[84] *Goa 24* f. 229*r* no. 154.

[85] *Goa 24* f. 352*r* and 354*r*, but f. 356*r* « in December 1603 » incorrectly; D 181,1.

[86] So the earlier catalogues, e.g., *Goa 24* ff. 174*r* 230*v*; the later ones are confused and confusing, they give 1561, 1563, 1565.

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tures and lasted almost two years. After the stranding of the galleon near the NE point of Java, he and Br. Brito happened to land at Solor where they stayed four months with the Dominican Fathers and whence they sailed to Malacca. On September 23, 1601, they left this port in the fleet of Furtado de Mendonça bound for Ambon where they arrived on February 2, 1602 (DD 144,2; 154,1-5). No sooner had Furtado subdued Ambon than he dispatched André Pereira as a member of an embassy to Manila in May (DD 146,49; 151,4; 161). The Father was back in Maluku in February 1603, and we find him severely ill in Tidore in July and still many months afterwards (DD 162,4; 172,7). Being forced to supply for the vicar there, he had to stand up to the hatred of the captain (DD 171-173). We do not know when and how he left Maluku; in January 1606 he had arrived in India (D 187,1; see D 185 note 2).

In later life he worked in Malacca, Bengal, Cochin, Fishery Coast, Cranganor. Perhaps he took part in an embassy to the king of Siam [87]. He made his profession on February 2, 1606 [88]. In a catalogue of December 1634 he is still listed, but in the next one conserved, i.e., of 1639, he is lacking. Irrespective of his stay in the Philippines in 1602, his active period in Maluku was hardly two years.

He wrote DD 149, 151, 152, 173.

66. Mateus de Brito

Wessels, *Amboina* 193; Id., *Catalogus* 248 no. 54.

This lay Brother was a Portuguese from Braga where he was born in 1553. At the age of forty he entered the Society in Goa in March 1593 [89]. After his noviciate we find him serving in the Professed House of Goa, 1596-1597, and lastly in the noviciate house. On January 1, 1600, he made the vows of a *coadiutor temporalis* (D 184,49). For his voyage to Maluku, see André Pereira (no. 65). His stay in the mission was not very long. He had to look after the house and kitchen of Ambon residence, and his way of acting was severely criticized (DD 159,11; 167). Moreover, he had bad health. He returned to India leaving Ambon about May 1604, recalled by Fr. Laerzio (D

[87] Burnay, Jean, *Notes chronologiques sur les missions jésuites du Siam au XVIIe siècle*, AHSI 22 (1953) 170-202, (176-178).

[88] *Goa 29* f. 13*r*.

[89] *Goa 24* f. 229 no. 155.

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169,1). Afterwards he dwelt in the college of Cochin where he died on March 6, 1619[90].

Twenty-eighth Sending

João Baptista
Manuel Carvalho
Vittorio Gradi
— Appointment: 1604.
— No departure, no arrival.

Three Fathers of the Malabar Province were appointed for the Maluku mission by Fr. Vice-Provincial Laerzio in 1604: one as a Visitor, and two as his companions. But the fatal events of 1605 rendered this project a sheer impossibility. The first of them will be dealt with in DM III, the others never went to Maluku.

67. João Baptista

Wessels, *Catalogus* 248 no. 55; Id., *Molukken* 41-65; DD 174; 184,112.

He was a Cochin man, born in 1557, and he joined the Jesuits in 1573. While rector of Malacca he received his appointment for Maluku. Not prior to 1610 was he able to visit it. He died in Cochin before 1639.

He wrote DD 143, 183A.

68. Manuel Carvalho

DD 174 note 4; 184,113; Wicki, *Liste* no. 324, not to be confused with no. 227; Sommervogel II 787; Schurhammer, *Quellen* no. 1328; Wicki, *Problemas morais* 260.

He was a Portuguese, born in 1559 and he entered the Society in 1577. In 1592 he sailed to India and was, from 1597 onwards, stationed in Malacca. He won himself a name as a moralist of typically oriental cases. He died in or prior to 1607. He never saw Maluku.

69. Vittorio Gradi

DD 184,166; 187,4; Wicki, *Liste* no. 491; Wessels, *Molukken* 37.

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[90] *Goa 29* f. 24r.

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This Italian Father, a native of Barletta, Puglia, was born in 1563 and he entered the Society in 1597. In 1603 he sailed to India. After 1605 he remained in Malacca; some years later he returned to Cochin where he was still living in 1627. Though being steadily destined to Maluku during the years 1606-1610, he actually never went there.

This list of missionaries of Maluku should be completed, for the period of this volume, with two more names of Jesuits who were sent indeed, but cannot be considered missionaries proper. Being members of the Goa Province, they visited Maluku as chaplains in the fleet of Furtado de Mendonça from February 1602 to May or June 1603 (D 139,1).

70. Brício Fernandes

Wicki, *Liste* no. 279; Boxer-Frazão 121; *Goa 24* f. 286*r* no. 110.

He was born in 1559, joined the Society in 1576, sailed to India in 1586, became a professed Father on January 1, 1599, and died at Goa in 1605.

He wrote D 146.

71. Sebastião da Veiga

Boxer-Frazão l.c.; *Goa 24* f. 175*r* no. 116.

He was born in Lisbon in 1570, entered the Society in Goa in 1586 and died there in 1605.

Finally, a quite extraordinary case is that of a Spanish Brother, who, in 1592, came to visit Maluku from Manila, sent as a military explorer by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas. His case is dealt with in an Appendix.

72. Gaspar Gómez

DD 88,2; 90,2-3; 91,7; Colin-Pastells I 572-573; Murillo Velarde 19*r* no. 36; Argensola 192; Jacobs, *La missione del fratello Gaspar Gómez nelle Molucche.*

He was born in Ocaña, Toledo, in 1552, became a member of the Society in 1570, came to the Philippines in 1584, undertook several missions to the Court in Spain, and died in Manila in 1622.

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Chapter IV

THE DOCUMENTS

1. The Letters

Surveying the harvest of documents for the thirty years of this volume one notes a positive and a negative side in them.

The negative side is their deficiency in some respects. There is a shortage of them in some years, especially in 1582, 1589, 1590, 1595, 1596. They are also lacking in some postal directions, that is, the correspondence of the Fathers with their Provincial in Goa, resp. in Cochin, and the answers they received did not for the greater part come into our hands; likewise most of the letters Fr. General wrote, either to Fr. Provincial or Visitor in India on Maluku affairs or to the Maluku Fathers themselves, are not known to us. But of the other correspondence as well many letters may have gone lost. One has to regret the demonstrable loss of some important documents, above all of Fr. Antonio Marta's report on his visitation of the Ambon area of May 1587 (D 60*a*); what it must have been like, can be seen by D 73. Equally regrettable is the loss of a number of hand-made maps mentioned in the letters (DD 59,4; 73,13; 82,12; 88,4; 91,5). The considerable amount of 144 « Lost Letters » (resp. « Lost Documents ») clearly indicates how many sources of historical knowledge are lost or hidden. The catalogues in our collection are only fourteen; this means that about as many could not be found.

On the positive side one has to note that the number of letters written in Maluku (to which we count also those written in the Philippines by Maluku Fathers occasionally residing or having ended up there) is relatively much higher than in volume I (there they constituted only 21,3 per cent, in this one they reach 35,9 per cent). Only for the years 1577, 1589, 1590, 1595, 1596, are they lacking, in all other years they are available, 1602 being the richest with nine letters from Maluku. This statement is matched by this other one, that we had to borrow much fewer documents from the *Documenta Indica* than in volume I. For one thing because from 1585 onward these are not available as yet (vol. XIV not yet having appeared when we were writing), for another because the Indian Jesuits' interest was much more directed to writing on the increasing number of their own stations than on the far-off, unknown, and perhaps often somewhat suspect Maluku mission.

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Very positive is also the great importance of some of the more lengthy letters, most of all of D 73: Fr. Antonio Marta's visitation report on N Maluku of 1588, of D 94: Fr. Marta's twelve points consultation proposed to six Fathers and their answers to it of 1593, of D 146: extensive report on André Furtado de Mendonça's expedition to Banten and Ambon in 1602-03. Shorter but of no less historical interest are D 21 (capture of a Portuguese ship by the Javanese in 1580) and DD 176-179A (fall of Ambon and Tidore in 1605).

From this brief enumeration one can easily see that not all the documents deal exclusively and directly with mission issues. But the general prescript in the background not to write except on « edifying » things (DM I 67; D 144,1) often hampered the Fathers to report, let alone to expatiate, on political and military events. However, the situation of the Christian community growing steadily more risky, it became almost impossible not to mention these very happenings. This does not alter the fact that the greater part of the contents inform us about the fortunes of the mission and of the Christian people under the guidance of the Jesuits; and this is what it should do in this series of MHSI.

Hence also, almost all our documents were written by Jesuits; only fourteen spring from other authors: six from the king of Portugal, two from the bishop of Malacca, two from two officials in Tidore, two from the Siau people, one from the bishop of Cebu, and one from a captain of a Portuguese ship. Not all the Jesuit authors belong to the Portuguese padroado or to the Roman headquarters, some Spanish Fathers of the Philippines, who for their closeness to and their rapports with Maluku related in their letters on that mission, had to be taken into account as well; they often usefully complement the notices on the Portuguese part, showing, however, more than once quite different standards of judging and valuing. This too is instructive.

2. Archives and Codices

NB. For the documents taken from DI, we refer to their publication in that section of MHSI.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)

1. *Epp. NN. 1*, formerly *Epist. Gener. ad divers. Prov. 1573-90* (*secret.*), ff. 1-214 (with some gaps in the numbering). Contains registered letters of Mercurian and Acquaviva. We borrow from it D 53.

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2. *Goa 6*, former title: *Ordinat. pro India Orientali. P. Valignan. Visitator. 1580.* Bound codex, ff. 1-135. It contains DD 33 and 72.

3. *Goa 9 I.* Former title: *Goa Epistolae. 1569-1742.* Bound codex, ff. 1-311. It furnishes D 139.

4. *Goa 12 I.* Ancient title: *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1570-1575.* Bound codex of 272 ff. It contains D 94 (A) (of 1593 !).

5. *Goa 12 II.* Earlier: *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1575-1579.* Bound codex, continuation, also in the numbering, of *12 I.* We borrow from it DD 6, 7 (AB), 9, 12(A), 16, 17(A), 18(A).

6. *Goa 13 I.* Formerly: *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1580-1584.* Bound codex of ff. 1-237. It gives us DD 20, 22, 26, 30, 34, 37, 44, 94(C).

7. *Goa 13 II.* Earlier: *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1584-1589*, ff. 238-477. It contains the only available texts of DD 49, 50, 52, 54, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 70, 71.

8. *Goa 14.* Former title: *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1590-1599.* Large bound codex, ff. 1-422. Contains mostly original letters to Fr. General, among which DD 81(B), 92, 93, 94(B), 98, 99, 102, 105(AB), 110, 111, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 123, 127.

9. *Goa 15.* Old title: *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1600-1609.* Bound codex, ff. 1-253. It contains the only texts of DD 128, 129, 130, 135, 137, 138, 140 II, 145, 147, 148, 149, 159, 160, 162, 164, 165, 166, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 178.

10. *Goa 16.* Earlier: *Goan. Malab. Epist. 1606-1609.* Bound codex, ff. 1-233. It furnishes DD 186 and 187.

11. *Goa 24 I.* Old title: *Goana. Cat. Breves et Trien. 1552-1594.* Bound codex of ff. 1-248. Collection of catalogues, among them DD 68, 75, 78, 106, 107, 108.

12. *Goa 24 II. Goana. Cat. Breves et Trien. 1595-1608.* Bound codex of ff. 249-479. It contains DD 109, 113, 117, 122, 126, 142, 167(AB), 184, 185.

13. *Goa 29.* Former title: *Malabarica. Catalogi 1604-1752.* Bound codex of ff. 1-260. Therein D 167(C).

14. *Goa 32.* Former title: *Goana Historia 1539-1599. II.* (Is properly the second part of *Goa 31*). Bound codex, ff. 443-778. It gives us DD 104, 112, 116, 118.

15. *Goa 33 I.* Earlier: *Goana Historia 1600-1612.* Bound volume of ff. 1-391. Contains Annual Letters, for us DD 146, 153(AB).

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16. *Goa 38 I.* Sheaf of original or copied documents, not bound, once collected by Fr. Maffei for his *Historia Indica* (1st ed. 1588), kept together in a cardboard wrapper with strings; ff. 1-179, and continued in *Goa 38 II.* We borrow from it DD 10, 11, 12(B), 17(B), 18(B).

17. *Goa 47.* Former title: *Malabarica Historia I.* Bound volume, ff. 1-447. Contains letters mostly between 1575 and 1592. It furnished DD 74, 79, 81(A), 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89.

18. *Goa 48.* Formerly: *Malabarica Historia 2.* Bound codex of ff. 1-269. It covers the years 1600-1628, and contains DD 131, 136, 143, 153(C), 163(AB), 170, 171.

19. *Goa 55.* Old title: *Malabarica Historia 10.* Volume of ff. 1-367. It covers 1600-1618 and contains DD 132, 141(A), 154(A), 163(C), 168, 169(B), 183(AB).

20. *IapSin 10 II.* Former title *Iapon. Epist. 1585-1588.* Bound codex; ff. 161-340. It contains mostly original letters from Macao and Japan. It furnishes DD 55 and 67.

21. *IapSin 12 I*; formerly *Iapon. Epist. 1593-1596.* Bound large size volume of ff. 1-186. It furnishes D 101.

22. *IapSin 14 II.* Old title *Iapon. Epist. 1600-1610.* Large size codex; ff. 183-354. We borrow from it D 180(AB).

23. *IapSin 22.* Former title *Iaponia. Relationes. Epistolae, etc. 1557-1730.* Ff. 1-469. It contains D 57(C).

24. *IapSin 46.* Bound codex, formerly titled *Annuae 1579-1615*, and containing 376 folia. It contains DD 144(A) and 150(A).

25. *IapSin 125.* Bound codex in small quarto; ff. 1-247. Former title *Sinae. Relationes. 1555-1703.* It contains three copies of D 57(ABC).

26. *Instit. 117 II.* Bound codex of ff. 286-588; former title: *Ordin. et Instruct. Gener. 1565-1647.* It furnishes three texts of D 110A.

27. *Lus. 106.* Former title *Lusitania. Historia. 1540-1614.* Bound codex of 433 numbered folia. It gives us D 133.

28. *Philip. 5*, formerly *Philippin. Annuae 1595-1612.* Bound volume, ff. 1-309, containing fourteen Annual Letters, from which we took DD 161 and 178A(C).

29. *Philip. 9.* Was earlier titled *Philippin. Historia 1582-1599.* It contains, on ff. 1-400, letters, mostly originals, written by the Manila Jesuits. We borrowed from it DD 36(B), 38, 39, 40, 51, 58, 65, 66 (ACDE), 90, 96, 100, 103, 124, 125.

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30. *Philip. 10*, formerly *Philippin. Historia. 1600-1603*. It contains, on ff. 1-283, letters and memorandums, among which DD 151, 152, 182.

31. *Philip. 18 II*. Former title *Hist. Philippinarum. Lib. IV. 1605-1615*. Italian translation of COLIN, *Labor evangélica*. It numbers ff. 196-416, and contains D 178A(B).

Section « Fondo Gesuitico »

32. *FG 650*. It is included in an artificial collection of about two thousand letters (*Epistolae Selectae*), mostly written by Jesuits prior to 1800, conserved in alphabetical order in ten boxes (nos. 644-651), not bound. It contains in nos 504 and 518 our DD 36(A) and 45.

33. *FG 848*. The first of three sheaves concerning the Philippines. Contains memorandums, informations, etc., sewed together, among them D 66(B).

34. *FG 1443*. Is comprised in the sub-section *Collegia* (nos. 1349-1656); contains the letter G, especially Giappone and Goa. Thence we took D 140.

Other Archives

GREAT-BRITAIN

a) London, British Library

35. *Add. MSS., 9853*. Bound volume of 173 folios, containing Annual Letters and Relations of the Malabar Province. It belongs to the *Marsden MSS* (nos. 9852-9861) and formed once part of the Jesuit Provincial Archives in India [91]. It contains DD 141(B), 144(B), 150(B), 154(B), 168(B), 169(A), 181.

36. *Add. MSS., 9860*. Another bound codex in the *Marsden MSS*, without a title, and of 316 folios. Letters and documents, mostly from Japan and of the seventeenth century. It furnishes D 180(C).

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[91] HOSTEN, H. (Ed.), *The Marsden MSS. in the British Museum, by W. R. Philipps and H. Beveridge*. Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal VI (1910) 437-461.

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b) London, School of Oriental and African Studies

37. *MS 12876.* Forms part of the Marsden Collection. A quire of 28 folios, numbered 1-26 (the first and the last leaf not being foliated), titled *Enformação da Christandade de Maluco dada o anno 1588.* This is the only known text of D 73.

INDIA

Goa, Historical Archives

(formerly Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia)

38. *Livro das Monções do Reino,* 7. The series so titled numbers 467(?) folio volumes and generally comprises the original orders and dispatches received at Goa from Lisbon. Volume 7 covers the years 1601-1603[92]. It contains D 157(B).

ITALY

a) Florence, Archivio di Stato

39. *MS 746.* A sheaf of 44 numbered quires. No. 27 is *Ragguaglio delle cose di Molucco, Cina et Giapone mandato dal P. Prov. dell'India al R.P. Gen^le della Comp^a di Giesù per lettere di Cocino delli 14 di Gennaio 1587.* It contains D 57(F).

b) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

40. *Pinelli R 100 sup.* Sewed volume in cover of soft cardboard, containing miscellaneous copied letters and memorandums, once collected, in original or in Italian translation, by Card. Federico Borromeo. It contains DD 57(E) and 60.

c) Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Vittorio Emmanuele)

41. *MSS Gesuiti, 1374* (red number *3503*). Two quires put into the empty binding of a sixteenth century book. The first quire, consisting of twenty not numbered folios, contains our D 56.

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[92] See BOXER, *A Glimpse of the Goa Archives* 301.

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d) Rome, Archives of the Pontificia Università Gregoriana

42. *Cod. 567*: *P. Kircher, Miscellanea Epistolarum, XIII.* Bound codex of 300 folios, part of a series of letters received or collected by Fr. Athanasius Kircher (nos. 555-568).[93] It contains D 91.

PORTUGAL

a) Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico do Ultramar

43. *Códice 282.* Formerly titled *Vias da Yndia dos anos de 1600 e 1601 e 1603.* Bound codex of 241 folios, containing the king's letters to India. It furnishes DD 134, 155, 156, 157(A), 158.

44. *Códice 500.* Bound codex of 116 folios, lacking a title, containing an estimate of expenditures of all the Portuguese fortresses in Africa and Asia; about 1593. It gives us D 76.

45. *Códice 1659.* This codex contains various and disparate documents between late sixteenth and late eighteenth century, often concerning the diocese of Macao. It contains D 80.

b) Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo

46. *Armário Jesuítico, 28.* Codex of 209 folios, formerly titled: *Neste livro se escrevem as cousas notaveis que nas cartas da India, Iapão, China etc. desda era de mil 572*; it covers the years 1571-1582. It contains D 17(C).

47. *Livros das Monções do Reino, I.* First volume of a series similar to the one of Goa of the same title, mentioned in no. 37. The series numbers 62 vols. and was originally called *Documentos remettidos da India.* Vol. I covers the years 1607-1608. It furnishes D 175.

c) Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional

48. *Fundo Geral, 6620.* Bulky codex, containing among other things a quire of about hundered pages, titled *Extracto das cousas pertencentes ao governo da India tirado das cartas de N.R. Padres Geraes pera os Provinciaes destas Provincias.* It contains D 77.

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[93] Consult WICKI, *Die « Miscellanea Epistolarum » des P. Athanasius Kircher S. J.*

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Spain

a) Alcalá de Henares, Archives of the Toledo Jesuit Province

49. *Varia Historia III*, fully *Varia Historia Rerum a Societate Iesu gestarum extra Europam*. The bound codex of 727 folios contains letters, mostly copied, between 1544 and 1594. It furnishes DD 21 and 35.

b) Seville, Archivo General de Indias

50. *Filip. 1*. Bunch of letters and other papers received or sent by the *Consejo de Portugal* between the years 1592 and 1628. In ramo 1 nos. 52 and 53, it contains DD 189 and 190(A).

51. *Filip. 76*. Another bundle of documents and letters from the Philippines, among them, in ramo 1 no. 34, our D 179.

52. *Patronato 46*. Collection of loose documents, treatises and letters, some very precious ones, ranging between 1528 and 1602. It contains, in ramo 26, D 188; and in ramo 24, D 190(B).

Vatican City

Biblioteca Vaticana

53. *Codex Urb. lat. 816 II*. Bound codex, numbering ff. 262-522. Together with vol. I it forms a collection of papers mostly concerning the European wars of religion, 1577-1594. In it we find D 57(D).

3. Earlier Printings of the Documents

NB. We do not refer here to the Documents borrowed from DI.

1. *Litterae Societatis Iesu duorum annorum M.D.LXXXVI et M.D. LXXXVII*. Romae 1589.

588-589 = D 69 (only known text); 907-908 = D 84 (arbitrary Latin translation)

2. *Copia d'una del P. Nicolo Pimenta Visitatore della Provincia d'india Orientale*. Roma 1602.

91-93 = D 131 (Italian translation)

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3. *Litterae Societatis Iesu duorum annorum M.D.XCIIII et M.D.XCV.* Neapoli 1604.

863-864 = D 104 (Latin transl.)

4. *Lettera Annua di Giappone del M.DC.III scritta dal P. Gabriel de Matos.* Roma 1605.

108-112 = D 144 (Ital. transl.); 113-121 = D 150 (Ital. transl.)

5. *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu anni M.D.XCVI.* Neapoli 1605.

869-870 = D 112 (Latin transl.)

6. HAYUS, Joannes, *De rebus iaponicis, indicis et peruanis epistolae recentiores.* Antverpiae 1605.

855-856 = D 131 (Latin transl.)

7. *Litterae Societatis Iesu, anno MDCII et MDCIII, e Sinis, Molucis, Iapone datae.* Moguntiaci 1607.

147-151 — D 144 (Latin transl.); 152-159 = D 150 (Latin transl.)

8. GUERREIRO, Fernão, *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Iesus na India e Iapão . . . e do processo da conversão e christandade daquellas partes, tirada das cartas geraes . . . 1604-1605.* Lisboa 1607. (We refer to the 2nd ed., 1930-1942)

II 131 = D 169; 305-308 = D 179A(B).

9. MAGIN, Antoine, *Histoire universelle des Indes Orientales, divisée en deux livres, faicte en latin par Antoine Magin, nouvellement traduicte.* Douay 1607. (Cf. STREIT V no. 88).

70-71 = D 144 (French transl.); 71-72 = D 150 (French transl.)

10. ARGENSOLA, Bartholomeo Leonardo, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas al Rey Felipe III nuestro Senhor.* Madrid 1609. (We refer to the 2nd ed., Zaragoza 1891).

188-192 = D 82 (only known text).

11. *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu anni M.DC.V.* Duaci 1618.

469-473 = D 178A(D); 473-476 = D 179A(A).

12. COLIN, Francisco, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Iesús . . . en las Islas Filipinas.* Madrid 1663.

323-324 = D 95; 324-325 = D 97; 549-550 = D 178A

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13. *Documentos remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções, publicados de ordem da . . . Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa.* I, Lisboa 1880.
19 = 175

14. COLIN, *Labor evangélica* (see no. 12). Nueva edición por el P. Pablo PASTELLS. Barcelona 1900-1902.
I 368-374 = D 66; 574-575 = D 95; 575 = D 97
III 17-19 = D 178A(A)

15. HOSTEN, H, *Fr. N. Pimenta's Annual of Margão, Dec. 1, 1601.* Translated and edited; in Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series) XXIII, 1927, no. 1.
83-107 = D 139

16. WICKI, Josef, *Auszüge aus den Briefen der Jesuitengenerăle an die Obern in Indien (1549-1613)*, in AHSI 22 (1953) 114-169.
137 no. 154 = D 77 (German rendering)

17. SÁ, Artur Basílio de, *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado português do Oriente. Insulíndia.* V, Lisboa 1958.
89-129 = D 73

4. THE HISTORIOGRAPHERS OF THE MALUKU MISSION, 1576-1605

The historian doing research in Portuguese overseas history could well have the impression that the farther he proceeds into the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the less he sees himself equipped with historical information about Indonesia. With the waning of power and control of the Portuguese in Maluku also the interest of their historiographers gravitated preferably to other areas and they seem to lose sight of Maluku, reporting at the utmost some isolated edifying or small-scale victorious actions and keeping silence on the less glorious rest [94].

As to general history, the main author is Diogo de COUTO. Of his *De Asia*, only *Décadas* X and XII deal, but sparingly, with Maluku in this last quarter, the former for the years 1580-1588, the latter for 1596-1600, showing wide gaps and some not redeemed promises. Manuel FARIA E SOUSA is in his *Asia portuguesa* too fragmentary and too concise to be of much use. Of outstanding importance is the *Relação Vasconcelos* (SÁ IV 164-454), covering the period 1572-1592, but the account is restricted to the islands of Ambon and sometimes loses itself

[94] For full titles of the following works, see Bibliography.

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in trifling particulars. As most chronicles of that time, it is greatly deficient in giving dates. Besides this *Relação*, the whole of SÁ IV and V contain some valuable documents touching Maluku until the year 1595.

Viewing Maluku from a Spanish and Philippine angle is ARGENSOLA's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, in which many good elements taken from MS sources at times are distorted by gross confusions, then again are mingled with fanciful and novel-like stories. It can be helpful in confirming facts known from elsewhere. In Books III-VIII it deals with our period. It should be used with great caution.

Of the later historians who used these materials it may suffice to point to the excellent works of TIELE and Alfredo BOTELHO DE SOUSA,

As to Jesuit historians, interested as a matter of fact in Jesuit and mission rather than political history, the following should be mentioned.

GUERREIRO, *Relação Anual*; it covers only the last years of our period from 1600 onwards, and it depends on MS sources, mainly on Annual Letters of which some have not been conserved. Therefore, a precious work. (Ed. 1930-1931: I 49-50; 265-283; II 127-132; 303-308).

IARRICUS, in his *Thesaurus rerum indicarum* (1615) deals with Maluku in I, chapters 26-30, and in III/II, chapters 37-41. He depends on other authors, especially on Maffei, Guzmán and Guerreiro; he is profuse but he stands to his authorities.

SACCHINI, *Historia Societatis Iesu*, IV (1652) deals with some Maluku Fathers (Prancudo, Ferrari, Marta) in the last paragraphs of Books IV-VIII. In the next volume, V/I, Maluku is conspicuous by its absence, save for a life of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas in Book III.

His continuator, JUVENCIUS (JOUVANCY), in V/II (1710) has only some dispersed and incoherent notices on the consult of the Fathers in 1595 (*sic*), on the siege of Ambon in 1601 (*sic*), on Labuha, Furtado de Mendonça, Siau, and it describes triumphantly the conquering of Ternate in 1606, keeping silence on the loss of Ambon and Tidore in the year before.

SOUZA, *Oriente conquistado* (1710) goes as far as 1585, at least for Maluku. He deals with several mission posts and with the death of Frs. Jorge Fernandes and Gomes do Amaral. See II 3 2 10-24.

A considerable amount of materials on Maluku can be met with in COLIN-PASTELLS, *Labor evangélica*. Especially in the notes (Pastells), surpassing by far in lenght the text (Colín), it gives many documents

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concerning Maluku, mainly taken from the *Archivo General de Indias* of Seville. Basing himself on these very documents PASTELLS deals with Maluku in a number of paragraphs scattered all over vols. II–V of his *Historia General de Filipinas* (1926–1929).

Of the systematic histories of the Maluku mission written by later authors, WESSELS, *Amboina*, is the only work worth mentioning. It is however not focused on the whole of that mission but on Ambon only. Wessels is the only author that could make ample use of the Jesuit letters in ARSI, knowing almost all of those that we publish in the present volume. Other surveys of the mission history, but not based on archives materials, were composed by VISSER, Manuel TEIXEIRA and the compilator of the *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, vol. I.

For the last six or seven years of the period covered by this volume, important source materials are available in some Dutch reports and itineraries, and especially in the documents concerning Admiral Steven van der Haghen's action against Ambon in 1605, published by TIELE, *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in het Oosten*.

After all, a well written history of Portuguese Maluku in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and up to 1605 is lacking. And the sources for it are either lacking or hidden, eventually not published, to a great extent. And therefore, though our present documents so to say professionally do not deal with political, military and economic history (and yet from sheer necessity they often do deal with it) they surely represent sources to be welcomed by the historians, evoking events and situations, illustrating alignments of parties, oppositions and clashes, depicting ways of living and thinking, of mutual judging and valuing, showing the struggle of the Christian Church against the intolerance of Islam and the involvement of both in State politics, revealing standards of colonization and patterns of native reaction.

Very significantly, a paper titled *Survey of Literature for Research of Maluku History within the Framework of Indonesian History*, published in Indonesia in 1975 [95], does not hint in any way at Portuguese and Spanish sources or publications that could be of use for that history. May our volume help in drawing the historians' attention to the irreplaceableness of such documents for the 16th and 17th centuries.

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[95] ABDURRACHMAN SURJOMIHARDJO, *Orientasi Kepustakaan untuk Penelitian Sejarah Maluku di dalam Kerangka Sejarah Indonesia*, in Sumber-sumber Sejarah Maluku, Jakarta 1975, 1-13 [Seri Data dasar, no. 1, published by the Lembaga Penelitian Maluku].

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5. Our Edition

For the methods used in *our edition* we refer to DM I 83*-84*. Instead of *Selebes* (or *Celebes*) we chose for *Sulawesi*, now commonly used. The same does not apply to the names *Kalimantan* and *Irian Jaya* which are not the appellations of the entire islands of *Borneo* and *New Guinea*, but of their Indonesian part only. But the *Uliaser* become the *Lease* islands (tri-syllabic: Le-a-se).

For typographic reasons changes have been made in the method of the *apparatus criticus*. In Volume One it referred to the numbered lines of the text. In this volume the leins are no longer numbered, and the notes are indicated in the text by small letters affixed in alphabetical order to the words in question. For instance, « O capitao mandou[n] fazer de novo as[o] fortalezas na ilha[p] » indicates that there are critical notes for the words « mandou », « as », and « ilha ». A note generally refers only to the word whic t the letter is affixed. If the text reads « casa[t] », and the note says « [t] igregia *B* », this means that the MS of text B has « igreja » in place of « casa ». Where the note refers to more than one word, i.e., to a phrase or an entire sentence, this is indicated by repeating in the note the first and last word of that phrase or sentence. If « Os portugueses das ilhas » is an interlinear addition to the text, a letter is added to « Os » (e.g., [m]), and the note will read « [m] Os.. ilhas *interl.* » With lengthier variants, the letter is used twice in the text to shpw the beginning and the end of the variant reading: [m]- . . . . . -[m]. A note which reads « [g] *add.* mui *B* » means that text B, after the word to which [g] is affixed, has « mui ». If, however, the indications *add.* and *del.* in the note are not followed by another word, they refer to the lettered word itself. For example, « [d] *del. B* » means that the word to which the letter [d] is affixed was written and then crossed out in text B.

* * *

With great pleasure I acknowledge my debt of gratitude to all my colleagues and friends who in any way gave me their help and showed me their interest. Especially I want to thank Luís Ferreira Leão SJ for his precious aid in the dull work of copying the manuscripts, and Daniel O'Connell SJ for his kind willingness to free my poor English from at least the worst errors. And last but not least, I thank the Director of the Roman Jesuit Archives, Edmond Lamalle SJ, and his Assistants, Georges Bottereau SJ and József Fejér SJ, for their indefatigable readiness to meet my convenience.

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1

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, SEPTEMBER 16, 1577

TEXT: DI X 861-906 [894-895; 903]. Taken from *ARSI, IapSin 8 I* ff. 162*r*-173*v*. Original in Spanish.

Text

1. *Was suspected of intending to withdraw the Jesuits from Maluku. On the contrary, sent a Brother there and hoped to give rise to a seminary there, but the loss of the fortress made this useless. — 2. Those who caused the loss of Maluku are trying to blame Fr. Marcos Prancudo for it. But it is exactly owing to the Jesuits that the fortress held out that long. — 3. Prancudo is summoned back to India. In Maluku there are two Fathers and one Brother; for the moment this is sufficient. — 4. It is no use visiting Maluku now.*

[. . .]

1. La 2ª [1] era que algunos sospechavan que yo quisiesse recoger a los nuestros de las partes del Maluco y de la China y Japón [2], y aunque pluguiese a Dios que yo no uvyera adevinado en lo que sucedió a Maluco, todavía quán differente fuesse mi voluntad acerca de recoger los Padres de aquellas partes, bien me parece que el tiempo lo tyene mostrado y las copiosas missiones que en ellas hee hecho, pues en estos tres años tengo embiado a Japán veinte y seis personas, y a la China tres o quatro que eran necessarios, y a Maluco un Hermano [3]. Y estuve siempre en muy firme opinión de luego, en dando el tiempo y la guerra

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[1] I.e., the second item in a letter from F. General Mercurian.

[2] Valignano himself had given occasion to such rumours; see letter of Mauritius Serpe of February 29, 1576 (DI X 512 no. 4).

[3] Br. Gonçalo Teixeira (DM I 701-703). The disproportion between Japan and China on the one side and Maluku on the other is certainly significant, either for the situation of Maluku, or for Valignano's appreciation of it, or for both. He expected the Brother to return before September 1577 (this same letter, DI X 901 «y también hallaría el Hermano que embiamos a Maluco»).

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a esso lugar, hazer en las Malucas otro seminario embiando allá una copiosa missión [4], mas por nuestros peccados este año vino la desastrada nueva de la pérdida de Maluco [5], y llegaron aquý de allá un Padre y un Hermano [6]. Y no fue difficil adevinarla, pues claramente víamos la poca cuenta que en tanto tiempo se tuvo de le socorrer. Mas pues hablamos de Maluco, me occurre dezir a V. P. dos cosas:

2. La 1ª es que los que lo hecharon a perder quieren hechar la culpa a la Compañía con dezir que el P.e Prancudo dio su voto que se entregasse, y con el voto que dizen que dio el dicho Padre quieren todos escusar su culpa, y muchos de los que consentyeron a la dicha entrega, y particularmente aquellos a los quales tocava por officio socorrer o no entregar la dicha fortaleza, se quieren escusar agora con dezir que el dicho Padre fue deste voto y que hyzo una plática a los otros persuadíndoles que no podían hazer otra cosa [7]; mas la verdad es que, si no fueran los Padres, ha más de dos o tres años que se perdiera, porque ellos, con lo que de aquý y de Malaqua le mandávamos, sustentaron siempre muchos soldados y aun el mismo capitán [8] por mucho tiempo, y no uvo ninguna manera de plática para persuadir la entrega como ellos dizen, aunque dizen que es verdad que dio simplesmente su voto como dieron todos los otros, porque no tenían con qué se sustentar. Bien me pesó que él diesse sobre esto su voto y mejor fuera no se hallar en tal consejo, mas en la verdad muchas vezes es necessario que entren los nuestros en ellos, aunque no quieran, como a V.P. escrevý el año passado [9].

3. La 2ª cosa es, que por lo que me escrivió V.P. el año passado [10], y por el parecer de todos, se ha mandado llamar que venga a Goa el dicho Padre [11]. Y porque no queda agora sino una pequena fortaleza

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[4] See DM I 644, nos. 1-2.

[5] The Portuguese fortress of Ternate was lost to Sultan Baab Ullah on one of the last days of December 1575; notice of it did not arrive in India before January 1577. See DM I 704-705.

[6] Fr. Fernando Álvares and Br. Vicente Dias (Cf. DM I 706 note 10).

[7] On Fr. Marcos Prancudo, see DM I 35*. Also, in this volume, Lost Letter 1*a*; and Bartoli, *L'Asia* VI no. 35 (pp. 128-129).

[8] Nuno Pereira de Lacerda, who had arrived in late 1574 (Couto IX 31).

[9] On the Jesuits taking part in the governors' and captains' consultations, see D 72 note 16; DI X 406 no. 25; Souza I 3 2 21.

[10] See DM I 672, D 211*a*.

[11] DM I 697-698. He was recalled in April 1577.

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en Amboyno [12], y los otros, Padre y Hermano, se vinyeron [13], no quedarán en Amboyno sino otros dos Padres y un Hermano [14], y por agora sobran, porque ny tienen allý qué hazer ni qué comer. Mas confío en nuestro Señor que con la elección y publicación que ayer se hizo de un nuevo Governador de la India [15] por mandado de S.A. se avrá de tornar a cobrar lo perdido y mucho más [16], y podremos tornar a embiar allá muchos Padres y hazer el mismo fructo que se hazía primero.

[...]

4. Y voi [17] muy confiado en nuestro Señor que á de dar vida al P.e Provincial [18], el qual está ia valiente, y que podré en estos tres años yr y bolver con salud [19] para después hazer lo que V.P. ordenare, y esto se entiende no podiendo yr a Maluco, adonde no se puede ni hay para que yr si entre este tiempo de otra manera no se concertare.

[...]

De Goa, oy 16 de Septiembre de 1577.

[...]

Di V.P. figlio inutil em el Signore,

Alexandro Valegnano.

Lost Letter

1*a*. — *Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Visitor, Goa, to Fr. Marcos Prancudo, Maluku; April 1577.*

DM I, D 216,1 (p. 698): Prancudo is recalled to India. D 6,5: In his stead Fr. Pero Mascarenhas is appointed superior. — The letter arrived at Ambon rather late, viz., only after Prancudo's death on January 29, 1578 (ibid.), perhaps in the galleon of Diogo de Azambuja.

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[12] The Portuguese built a wooden fortress at Hila on the N coast of Ambon in 1569; it was moved, first provisionally to Gelala, and soon after to Batumerah, both on the S shore of the Bay of Ambon, in 1572; finally they erected a stone fortress at the site of the present-day town of Ambon in 1575–1576 (JACOBS, *Wanneer werd de stad Ambon gesticht?* 439–456). It is very doubtful if Valignano could already have knowledge of this last stone fort. See D 3 note 3.

[13] See note 6.

[14] Frs. Pero Mascarenhas and Jerónimo Rodrigues, and Br. António Gonçalves (DM I 706 note 10).

[15] D. Diogo de Meneses, governor of India, September 15, 1577, to August 1578 (*India Oriental* f. 226*r-v*; COUTO X/I 115).

[16] This expectation did not materialize.

[17] He was on the verge of sailing to Macao and Japan (DI X 899 no. 66).

[18] Fr. Rui Vicente, Provincial 1574–1583; he had been very ill that year (DI X 901).

[19] Valignano did not return to India from the Far East before 1583.

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2

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 18, 1577
Second *via*

TEXT: DI X 993-1008 [999-1000]. Taken from *ARSI, IapSin 8 II* ff. 181*r*-186*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

1. *If the king of Portugal conquered Aceh, one could found a college at Malacca with fully twenty Jesuits and a viceprovincial, and this for two reasons.* — 2. *The first: the needs of Ambon, Maluku, and Japan could be met one year earlier than from Goa.* — 3. *The other: many conversions would be made in Aceh and Ujung Tanah, which required a great number of Fathers.*

[. . .]

1. Es la verdad que se se hizere lo que en la India se á de hazer, que es azersse el Rrey nuestro señor [1] verdadero señor de la isla de Samatra, tomando el reyno do Achem e sugeitando a su poder todo este arcepélaguo [2], como lhe fora subjecto, en tomando el dicho reyno

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[1] King D. Sebastião, 1557-1578.

[2] The State of Aceh (Achem) in northern Sumatra, had subdued other neighbouring states after the first quarter of the sixteenth century. From that time on, it was one of the most embittered and dreaded enemies of Portugal. Repeatedly, and still in 1573, Aceh fleets had tried to conquer Malacca (COUTO IX 121-130). Even the papal nuncio at Lisbon, Roberto Fontana, reported to Rome on August 18, 1578 « Narrano ancora una rotta che diede Matthias Dalbocherche, capitano de Malacha, ad Acchien che stava nel stretto con buona armata, aspettando la nave della Cina, per pigliarla, quale Acchien dicono haver fatto una fortezza in certa parte di quello stretto, con la quale spera d'impedire 'l comertio della Cina . . . Et è quell'huomo un dei maggiori nemici che habbino portughesi in quelle parti » (*Arch. Vatic., Nunz. Portog. 1*, ff. 184*v*-185*r*). In spite of their declining power the Portuguese kept suggesting that King D. Sebastião (and his successors) should destroy the Aceh sultans. The actual sultan was Ali Riayat Syah, 1571-1579 (ENI I 72-73; LOMBARD 186; Consult C. R. BOXER, *A Note on Portuguese Reactions*).

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Achem y restetuindo a Malaqua la prístina abundancya y libertad, que en tal caso me parece que tornarýa cómmodo reforçar este collegio de un número de hasta viente o vienta quatro personas de la Companhía [3], haziendo nestas partes un viceprovincial [4], y esto por dos o tres razones principales.

2. La 1ª hes, porque estando aquý este número de personas podería proveer las necessidades de Amboyno y Maluquo y de Japón un anño primero que no se haría desde Goa, de do aguora se prové, lo que fuera de grandíssimo fruyto y commodidad, porque los avisos vienen de Japón y de la China por Dezembre o Janero, y de Mayo va daquý un junquo para aquelhas partes, por lo qual se podrýa lueguo responder y proveer nel mismo anño, lo que no se puede en ninguna manera hazer de Goa, adó lhegan los avisos a la fin de Março o principio d'Abril, y respóndesse con la nave que entonces de alhý va a Japán. En lhegando a la China se le acaba la moncyón y es forçado esperar ahý dez mezes la otra monçón para ir a Japán. Y esto mismo acontesse a Maluquo, de do lhegan aquý las novas en Jullio ou Agosto y de aquí parten para alhá en Dezenbre y Janero, y iendo a Goa lhegan alý, como se ha dicho, em Abril [5] y no le puede ir la respusta tan presto.

3. La otra cosa ha que serverýa este collegio es porque, tomado o Dachem [6], necessaryamente se harían muchos cristianos en aquelhas partes, y también con el tiempo en las terras del rrey de Jantana [7] que confina, como se ha dicho, con nuestra Malaqua, y entonces como nosotros teneríamos el cuydado de la converción, seríamos forçados a tener en aquelha isla Padres en diverssas rezidencias y para suprir aa elhas es necessario tener aquý em Malaqua allgunos de sobrecellente al número que es por la misma ciudad necessaryo. Y con todo esso

---

[3] On Valignano's project of a big college in Malacca, see DM I 644 and 649, but also 656.

[4] Neither in Malacca, nor in Maluku, was a viceprovincial ever nominated. The idea of a separate (vice-)provincial at Malacca had been suggested by Fr. António Quadros as early as 1565 (DM I 475; see also DI X 605 no. 37).

[5] Valignano has always to exaggerate and to construct his proofs with extreme elements instead of with the more common ones. Scheduled time for sailing to India from Malacca was November-December, for arriving at Cochin January-February, and at Goa early March. Only after 1584, when the Gregorian calendar of 1582 was introduced into SE Asia, is there a retardation of those times by two weeks (Consult MORGA 404-405 note 48).

[6] 'Dachem', another, but frequent, Portuguese way of writing Aceh.

[7] Ujung Tanah, ancient name of the state of Johore which occupied the southern tip of the Malayan Peninsula.

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no podrýa ser tan grande número porque, como daquý alhá ha muchas leguas, fuera necessario que en la misma isla estuviessem los Padres, y que aquý allgunas vezes se recolhessem embiando otros en su luguar conforme a las necessidades. Y a esto nos aiudaría mucho la lengua que es la mesma y se entiende por todo este arcepéleguo asta Maluquo[8]. De manera que, concluyendo diguo, que entonces podrá V.P. tratar de multiplycar en número de los nuestros neste collegio quando vyr que tomaron los purtugezes el reno Dachem.

[...]

De Malaqua, oje 18 de Novembre de 1577 anños.

De V.P. figlio inútil en el Señor,

Alexandro Valegnano.

3

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 20, 1577

TEXT: DI X 1009-1021. Taken from *ARSI, IapSin 8 II* ff. 187*r*-190*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

1. *Should he, returning from Japan, go to visit Ambon? Situation of Ambon's fortress and of the Jesuits there.* — 2. *There are no more than three Jesuits and only a few Christians; the fortress is continuously besieged, and the sailing routes are dangerous.* — 3. *It is useless that he loses his time and risks his life. Hopes to find the General's decision at his return from Japan.*

[...]

1. Quédame aguora sólo de consultar con V.P. sy es bien, después de la tornada de Japón, que yo va o no a visitar Amboyno. Está Amboyno, como escrevý el primer anño[1], ochenta legoas de la fortaleza de Maluquo[2], que el anño passado se perdió, y es una isla en la qual

[8] The Malay language.

[1] See DM I 659; he wrote only «è discosto da Tarnate per molte legue».

[2] That is, Ternate.

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tiene S.A. una pequenha fortaleza[3], y alý estavan dos o tres Padres de la Compañía, porque alhý y en allgunas otras islas vizinas tenían echo un buen número de cristianos, aunque la fuerça delhos principal era em Maluquo y en las tierras del rrei de Bachan, y de Gillolo y de Moro, y aguora queda solamente la de Amboyno, porque todas las otras o por voluntad o por fuerça se hizieron moros, no pudiendo registir al rey de Maluquo. Y de 4 Padres que estavan alhý, los dos se recogieron em Amboyno con los otros tres que alhý estavão y los dos embiaron a la Indya[4].

2. Por laa relación de los qualles y de los purtugeses que de alhá venieron, nos determinamos en Goa de mandar a lhamar para la India los otros dos[5], porque em Amboyno ny tienen casa en que abitar ny tienen tantos qué hazer ny qué comer, y vernán aquý por Agosto. Y em Amboyno quedarán dos Padres y un Hermano[6] con el asunto de la cristianidad que allý tienen, la qual es ya muy flaqua y muy poqua y hasta que se no torne tomar Maluquo, no sólo no puede crecer, mas cada dýa se va deminuyendo. Consultee en Goa sy era bien yr alhá uno, y fueron todos de parecer que no embiando el Rrei (mientres yo estava en Japón) a cobrar Maluquo, no fuesse a Amboyno. Assý porque no quedan alhý más que tres personas de la Compañía, y éstos quasi cercados en aquelha isla y con contino temor de ser cada dýa más sercados, como también porque esta [!] vyagen de Maluquo tiene necessidad de un anno y medio de tiempo por causa de las monciones, y es la más peliglosa navegación que ha en toda la India por[que] ha muchas islas y baxos, como V.P. puede ver em la carta de navegar, en las qualles se pierdem muchas naves, y tanto que de siete annos para qua se perdieron onze entre naves y gualiones, y de tres anhos aquá ninguno de los que fueron escapó, y en esto último anno passado se perdieron dos[7].

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[3] See D 1 note 12. Having arrived in Malacca on October 19, 1577, Valignano certainly got notice of the new stone fort of Ambon, constructed from March to July 1576. Lionel de Brito sailed from Ambon on July 15 of that year and brought the news to Malacca.

[4] On the Jesuits living in Ternate and Ambon at the time of the surrender, December 1575, and on who sailed off and who stayed back, consult DM I 706 note 10.

[5] Valignano ordered Frs. Marcos Prancudo and Paulo Gomes to sail to India. But Prancudo died before receiving this order; Gomes sailed with Br. Gonçalo Teixeira to Malacca, where they met the visitor.

[6] See D 1 note 14.

[7] Some instances: The galleon of a certain Pais, sailing from Malacca, run

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3. Y no parece razón que se guaste tanto tiempo y pongua yo em peligro my persona con las de los otros dos que a lo menos fuessen conmiguo sólo por conçolación de otras tres personas, pues quanto al hazer fruto no está ahora la tierra dispuesta. Mas em caso que se tornasse a cobrar parecyó que era bueno visitar aquelhas partes. Y esto parecer he tenido yo también y tiengo hasta aguora, todavýa quis hazer a saber V.P. de lo que passa para que, considerando todo con su prudencia, mejor ordene lo que le pareciere, escriviendo aserqua desto con la buelta destes mismos navíos para que quando yo tornare de Japón a Malaqua alhe aquý la respuesta desta carta, e conforme a la determinación de V.P. yo también me detremyne o de yr a Amboyno o de passar a Goa [8], porque no me alhará em Malaqua mas antes en Goa no veniendo a este tiempo; porque la respuesta desta lheguará en Goa este Setiembre que viene a un anno que es en el anño de 79, y de Goa se embiarán a Malaqua adonde estarán esperando hasta que yo buelva de Japón, que será, con la aiuda de N. Señor, en nel mes de Diziembre del mismo anño [9]. Y en caso que fuessee necessario detenerme en Japón más de un anño, se embiarán alhá com el junquo que de aquý parte em Mayo, y assý se podrá hazer lo que V.P. mandare. Y con esto le pido con toda esta Provincia su santíssima benedición.

De Malaqua, oye 20 de Novembre de 1577 anños.

[...]

De V.P. figlio inútil en el Señor,

Alexandro Valegnano.

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ashore at Japara, Java, in 1572 (*Rel. Vasc.* 244; COUTO IX 58). In 1573, out of a fleet of five ships, one galliot perished near Ceylon, a galley likewise at Kedah, another galliot fell astern, and the galleon *São Christovão* was later destroyed near Ternate (*Rel. Vasc.* 252-254; 315; COUTO IX 283). The royal galleon *Santa Catharina*, coming from Malacca, was shipwrecked near the Sulu islands in 1574 (*Rel. Vasc.* 314; COUTO IX 149 and 281). Both Portuguese and natives considered the loss of so many ships a divine punishment for the murder of King Hairun in 1570. See the very significant texts: LEMOS 474; COUTO IX 60 and 284.

[8] In the same letter Valignano earlier stated « Maluco está de tal manera que no se podrá yr a visitar » (DI X 1010).

[9] Premature expectations. He did not return before April 1583.

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4

INFORMATIONS OF FR. AFONSO PACHECO FOR FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

[Goa, November, 1577]

I Text: DI X 966-992 [992]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 33 I* ff. 149*r*-152*v*. Autograph original. Spanish. The informations are divided into four chapters: on the Christians of St. Thomas; on those of Salsete; on the islands of Choran and Divar; on Maluku. At the end there is a *quasi*-address « Informaciones de algunas christiandades de la India. Para ver nuestro P. General ».

II Note: Fr. Pacheco is likely to have got his informations from Fr. Fernando Álvares and Br. Vicente Dias who arrived in Goa in March 1577, and from the letters they presumably brought (See DM I 706 note 10). However, the rendering of what he heard is not much correct and betrays his ignorance of the local situation, especially in the first paragraph.

III Our Edition: We print the text from DI with a small correction after the MS.

Text

1. *Large and small islands of Maluku.* — 2. *Once the Christians numbered 70,000; now only in Ambon* circa *20,000 remained with a few Fathers.*

[. . .]

IV. Información de las Malucas

1. Las Malucas son infinitas islas: entre ellas grandes de[a] 300[b] legoas[c] como Morotai, y de 150 como Morotia, y otras pequeñas de 4 como Ternate, y 20 como Amboino[1]; Tidor, Oliazer[2], Nuzelao[3], Athua[4],

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[1] The numerals seem to refer to the outline of the islands. But for Morotai, island off the N tip of Halmahera, the measure given here is ridiculously high. Morotia is not properly an island but the coast of Halmahera directly facing the island of Morotai. Four leagues for Ternate is too little. We suppose the numeral 20 is not meant to apply to all of the following names.

[2] Uliaser, in Indonesian *Lease*, is now the collective name of the three islands E of Ambon: Haruku, Saparua, and Nusa Laut, but in the 16th century it was mostly used for the island of Saparua only; see, however, DM I 203 note 74.

[3] Nusa Laut.

[4] At(h)ua is an ambiguous name in the Portuguese sources. Sometimes

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Ouma [5], Abouro [6].

2. Nombro éstas porque en todas estas avía christiandad, sin otras muchas que no están descubiertas ni tienen noticia de nuestra santa fee. Avría en todas estas illas más de 70,000 christianos [7], y con las guerras que entre sí y[d] con los moros tuvieron, todo está quasi destruido, y los christianos se tornaron moros, salvo en Amboino adonde ay algunos portugueses y algunos Padres de los nuestros y avrá 20,000 christãos [8].

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[a] *corr. fr.* y ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* 200 y trinta ‖ [c] *del.* y 2 ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* los ‖

5

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR: FIRST SUMMARY OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 22 - DECEMBER 8, 1577

I TEXT: DI XIII 1-134 [52-55; 112-113], taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 338*r*-382*v*. Autograph. Italian.

II NOTE: This is the first lengthy *Summarium Indicum* of Valignano. It consists of 34 chapters and was written with great speed in 17 days during his stop in Malacca on his journey to Japan. Afterwards he kept correcting it, the result of which was a fairly new second *Summarium Indicum* in forty chapters and with a different order. He gave it the finishing touch in Japan in August 1580. The chapter on Maluku was entirely rewritten and resulted rather unlike that of the first version (our D 23).

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it stands for Hatuhaha which is the N part of Haruku (also Atua-grande); other times it stands for Tuhaha, a village in Saparua (also Atua-pequeno).

[5] Oma, village on the S coast of Haruku. The name was also used for the S half of the island, and sometimes for Haruku itself.

[6] Aboro, another village on the S coast of Haruku, E of Oma.

[7] There seems to be much arbitrariness in the Jesuit letters in giving numbers of Christians. Consult the Index of DM I under Ambon (p. 710) and under Maluku (p. 735). See also D 5,2 « more than 150 thousand ».

[8] Much more pessimistic was Fr. Nicolau Nunes in his letter of January 4, 1576: 4 or 5 thousand Christians are left in Ambon island (DM I 691 no. 38), but perhaps he did not count the Lease islands.

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III Our Edition: We print the chapter on Maluku and a small part of another chapter dealing with a seminary or college to be erected in that area. We follow the text of DI with a few different readings or interpretations.

Text

1. *What is comprised under the name of Maluku, strictly and in a wider sense.* — 2. *Description: islands, people, geographic position, weather conditions.* — 3. *Most powerful ruler is the king of Ternate. The king of Portugal possessed two fortresses in that area.* — 4. *Jesuit mission: eight or ten Fathers with c. 150 thousand Christians; headquarters in Ternate. Second important residence was Ambon.* — 5. *Royal sustenance of the Jesuits.* — 6. *Murder of king of Ternate; loss of Christianity; surrender of fortress in December 1575.* — 7. *Actually the mission is centered in Ambon; three Jesuits with a few Christians. There is no vicar; a layman envoy with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The king of Portugal should destroy Aceh and reconquer Maluku (Ternate).* — 8. *Why Valignano did not visit Maluku.* — 9. *Need of language seminaries spread over SE Asia.* — 10. *Four of them are planned; one in Maluku.* — 11. *Further utilities of such seminaries, also with a view of formation of a native clergy.*

[...]

Della 4. Residencia di Malucco
Cap. XI

1. Malucco è un regnio che contiene in sé molte isole o, per miglior dire, è un paese che contiene in sé molte isole et molti regni, perché propriamente il Malucco contiene in sé quattro regni, cioè Ternate, Tidore, Zilolo et Bação. Nondimeno communemente per Malucco intendiamo tutte quelle isole che sono per quelle parti, et così in esso si includono le parti del Moro, del regno di Siaos[1], de li Celebi[2], di Amboino et di molti altri luoghi. È tutto questo paese di insule che sono l'une alle altre vicine et participano tutte della istessa qualità.

2. La gente è bascia di colore, poco più o meno di quella della India, et stanno tutte poste sotto della equinoctiale, ancorché Amboino sta quattro gradi discosta verso il sul, che noi chiamamo mezogiorno. È il paese di aere molto temperato come è anchor quel de Malacca, et anchorché stia sotto la linea è più fresco et temperato di molti luoghi dell'India per le continue piogie che tiene che la fa fresca. Sono per quel

[1] The island of Siau off the N tip of Sulawesi, and parts of other islands, Sulawesi and Sangi, that recognized the king of Siau as their ruler.

[2] On the N arm of Sulawesi, Christians had been made at Manado, Bolaang, Kaidipan, Buol, and Tolitoli (DM I Index, under these names).

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paese diversissime et moltissime isole, habitate tutte di mori et di gentili, anchorché noi tenevamo tra questi in diverse isole più di 150 mila christiani.

3. Il regno et luogo principale di tutto quel paese è la isola di Ternate, il cui re è il magiore di tutti gli altri re di quelle isole. Nella quale teneva il Re[3] una picciola fortaleza et populatione di circa 50 case di portugesi, con la quale era il Re di Portugallo quasi signore di tutto quel paese, che è fertilissimo et abundantissimo di garofalo, di donde vengono le navi carcate che vanno a Portugallo et di là per tutta l'Europa. Un'altra fortaleza picciola tiene il Re in Amboino, che sta circa di 85 legue di Ternate, dove sta anchora un'altra picciola popolatione di portugesi.

4. Quivi tenevamo ordinariamente otto o 10 Padri che ivano discorrendo per quelle isole et in diverse, como si è detto, haveano battizati più di 150 mila persone, principalmente in Ternate, nel Moro, nelli Siaos cui re era anchora christiano[4], in Bacciano cui re era christiano anchora[5], et nelle isole di Amboino. Et se bene ivano discorrendo per tutte le parti et tenevano molte residentie et chiese, nondimeno la residentia principale era quella di Ternate, dove tenevano gli nostri una casa assai commoda con sua chiesa et dove stava il superiore di tutte quelle parti[6]. Et ivi stavano ordinariamente cinque o sei Padri, li quali di là ivano discorrendo et stando anchora molto lungo tempo nella residentia del Moro, delli Siaos, delli Celebi et di Bacciano. E un'altra residentia anchor principale tengono in Amboino, il superior della quale, se bene era al altro sogetto[7], era nondimeno superiore di tutti li Padri et residentie che erano per quelle isole vicino di Amboino.

5. Viveno ivi gli nostri Padri di una elemosina che gli pagava Sua Alteza in Malaqua di 600 scudi l'anno et di 4 bari[8] di garofalo che gli concedea di mandare a Malaqua franchi di diretti, che inportavano altri 400 scudi[9].

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[3] The king of Portugal.

[4] King D. Jerónimo I Pasumah of Siau was baptized in 1563 (DM I 414).

[5] King D. João of Bacan was baptized in 1557 (DM I 290-291).

[6] See DM I 324 no. 5.

[7] See DM I 663 no. 2.

[8] The *bahar* or *bar* was a measure of weight of a value changing according to place, time, and wares. In Ternate, one *bahar* of clove was from 3 to 4 quintals. Consult YULE 47; DALGADO I 78; FERRAND 264; *Treatise* 368; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 563.

[9] Here Valignano repeats what he wrote earlier: Cf. DM I 659 no. 2.

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6. Et se iva quella christianità molto felicemente dilatando et facendo grandissimo frutto. Ma per li nostri peccati et per la poca prudentia di alcuni portugesi, ammazorono il re di Malucco, cioè di Ternate, che era re moro et sugetto al Re di Portugallo [10]. Et così si rebellò il suo figlio [11] con tutto il regnio et gli altri re vicini, di quali egli è il più poderoso et quasi come signore. Et dopo lunga guerra et haver distroido tutta quella christianità di quelle parti et fattala per forza et per timore professar la sua setta di moro, alla fine, per non si mandar ivi in cinque anni soccorso [12], pigliò quella fortaleza a fame di Decembro di 75 [13] et si fece signore di tutto quel paese. Et furono gli Padri giuntamente con li portugesi forzati a ricogliersi parte alla India et parte nella picciola fortaleza di Amboino.

7. Quivi stanno hora in quella casa di nostri doi Padri con un Fratello [14] et tengono cura di circa 500 christiani che stanno ivi et administrano ad essi et alli portugesi li sacramenti perché non tengono ivi altro cura, anchorché si è ivi mandato un laico con potestà et jurisdittione temporale et spirituale di Portugallo [15]. Tengono anchora alcuni altri pochi christiani in alcune altre isole vicine ad Amboino, la quale vanno alcuna volta a visitare. Ma come tutto quel paese è già del re di Ternate che persegue tanto gli christiani, stanno tutti in rivolta et non se possono né governare né adottrinare come conviene, et ogni giorno si pervertono alcuni. Et se non si manda presto rimedio a quel regno, si pervertiranno alla fine tutti. Ma speriamo che Sua Alteza darrà a questo disordine alcun rimedio destruindo et facendosi signor del Achem [16], il qual subito che sarrà sogiogato, sarrà molto più libero signore di Maluco di quello che prima era. Et si torneranno a

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[10] On this murder, see DM I 580 note 8.

[11] Baab Ullah (Babu), son of Hairun and a concubine. On him, see COUTO X/I 506-509.

[12] See D 3 note 7.

[13] Consult DM I 705 note 4.

[14] D 1 note 14.

[15] A very interesting communication: no vicar had been appointed yet to the new fortress of Ambon, but a layman had been sent from Portugal (so not by the bishop of Malacca) with temporal and spiritual power and jurisdiction. Certainly an unfamiliar way of taking care of ecclesiastical interests. As grand-master of the Order of Christ, the king of Portugal had wide powers over the Church and could delegate them to his envoys. Regrettably we do not know anything more about the personage, commission, and activity of this curious lay churchman. See JACOBS, *Vicars* 276.

[16] D 2 note 2.

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mandar in quelle parti molti Padri, facendo ivi un altro seminario della lengua della terra, la quale è ivi una commune a tutti[17].

8. Et per queste guerre io non ho possuto visitar quelle parti, ma tornandosi a ristorare si visitaranno con la gratia di N. Signore, et si tornerà a porre in suo ordine quella vigna, che era la migliore et magiore et più fruttifera che facessimo in queste parti dopo quella del Giapone, perché si facevano christiani molti signori et re di quei paesi et delle genti più nobili.

Et questo è quello che posso dir di Malucco, non per vista como ho fatto delli altri luoghi che ho visitato più di una volta tutti, ma per la relatione et informatione che ne ho hauto et dalli Padri et dalli forastieri che furono in quelle parti.

[. . .] Cap. 29 [. . .]

9. Et perché in questi regni della India nelli quali teniamo christiani, come si è al principio detto, sono diversissime lingue, è necessario anchora che siano diversi seminarii dove queste lingue si inparino. Perché como queste lingue si inparano con la pratica et uso di ragionar più che con altra cosa, è necessario che ciascheduna lingua si aprehenda nella sua propria terra, dove la necessità istessa et l'exercitio continuo costringa gli homini ad voler inparare. Et perciò né si possono aprendere tutte in un collegio, né il luogo dove si inparano deve esser di portugesi, ma delli istessi naturali dove, come si è detto, la istessa necessità lo exerciti et forzi ad inparare, et stando in luogo di portugesi giamai non si inpara.

10. Questi seminarii hanno da essere per hora almeno quattro di quattro lingue totalmente differenti, che non tengono tra di loro niuna sinbolizatione: il 1° et principale ha da essere nel Giapone, il 2° nel Malucco quando sarrà ritornato al suo concerto[18], il 3° nella Pescaria, et il 4° in Salsette.

[. . .]

11. Et questi seminarii non solo servono per aprender la lengua, ma anchora per casa di ricoglimento dove si guardino la disciplina et le regule et dove, conforme alla necessità di ciascheduno si possano raccoglier gli nostri che vanno per quelli paesi in missione, quando pa-

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[17] The Malay language.

[18] That is, when the king of Ternate will be subdued and Portuguese control re-established. The idea of a seminary or college at Maluku was expressed by Valignano as early as 1573 (DM I 644), but not yet as a language school. Consult also D 23, 14-15; SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* I/I 201.

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rerrà che sia conveniente. Et in essi si dovrebero insignar solamente la lingua [19] et li casi di conscientia [20] per li nostri. Et per alcuni fanciulli naturali della terra, che vivessero in un luogo apartado ma congionto alli detti seminarii et che si criassero [21] per esser chierici, si potrebbe insignare di legere et scrivere et la gramatica. Perché di questo modo gli nostri si sostentarebero migliore et farrebero magior frutto, et li naturali si aiutarrebero, et con il tempo serriano molti clerici naturali che ci aiutarriano, et potriamo poco a poco ir lasciando la cura [22] a loro et discargando la Compagnia. Et la christianità et religione si fondarrebe migliore, la quale sta hora con poca radice et fondamento, poiché non tengono clerici naturali et mancando o ricogliendosi gli nostri non tengono chi li sostenti nella fede.
[...]

Lost Letter

5*a*. — *Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Provincial in Goa; May 1578.* Annual Letter.

D 17,1.

6

FR. PERO MASCARENHAS, SUPERIOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 9, 1578
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 no. 11.

II AUTHORS: SOUSA II 3 2 13; WESSELS, *Amboina* 67-68.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 457*r*-458*v*, formerly 241 (*del.*), and 624, and CXXVIII. Original in Portuguese with autograph signature. Folio 457*r* has a note « 78. Mascar ». in the left lower corner; f. 458*r* is blank; f. 458*v* contains the address and an undamaged seal with the IHS sign under the cross, moreover an archivist's note « 78. P. Pero Mazcareñas 9 de Mayo. Amboyno ».

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[19] That would be, for Maluku, the Malay, of course with the local colour.

[20] A course of practical moral theology.

[21] *Criar-se* is Portuguese; Italian *educarsi*.

[22] The normal cure of souls in a parish. This was quite necessary and inevitable in a country converted to Christianity, but on the other hand it was forbidden for Jesuits.

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Text

1. *Joy at good news from Rome, especially of Fr. General's election.* — 2. *Two years ago the ship carrying the letters to India was wrecked; last year no ship sailed. So has to repeat what he wrote earlier.* — 3. *For security's sake four Jesuits were concentrated in the fortress of Ternate. Their hardships. After the fortress surrendered they joined the three who were living in Ambon.* — 4. *Fr. Marcos Prancudo died from dysentery.* — 5. *Mascarenhas himself succeeded him as a superior by order of Fr. Visitor. Lives at Ambon with only one Brother. New fortress in Tidore gives new hope.* — 6. *Distress and insecurity in which they live.*

† Jesus
Muy Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Muito nos alegramos todos os filhos de Vossa Paternidade com as boas novas que os annos passados dessas partes tivemos, assi do prospero augmento da Companhia e do fruito que por meyo dos ministros della Nosso Senhor obra nessas partes, como com as da eleyção da Vossa Paternidade[1], a quem Nosso Senhor nos deu por pay e pastor universal da Companhia. Prazerá a elle que, pois assi o primittio, que com mayor influentia de seus divinos dões o favoresserá em seu serviço, consedendo-no-lo pera muitos annos, pera augmento e conservação desta Companhia de seu sancto nome, e emparo e protector de seus subditos. Amen.

2. Bem creyo que estará Vossa Paternidade sospemsso por aver annos que não vyo particulares cartas destas partes pera Vossa Paternidade[2], aynda que o não nas ter haja contessido por caso furtuito, não por negligencia que nisso se cometesse. Porque se perderão ellas juntamente com a nao em que forão ora há dous annos[3], e o anno passado aconteceo não aver embarquação que pera a India fosse, o que cauzará repitir o[a] que se então escreveo.

3. Nos annos atraz, por cauza da continua e actual guerra que ouve por todo este arcepeliquo, nos ajuntamos todos os da Companhia na fortaleza de Tarnate e[b] nesta d'Amb ino de todalas outras rezidemcias,

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[1] Fr. Everard Mercurian was elected General on April 23, 1573.

[2] The last letter written in Maluku in our collection is the one of Fr. Jerónimo de Olmedo of May 12, 1571 (DM I 617).

[3] Lost Letter. Cf. DM I 697, D 215*b*.

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aomde estivemos todos, primcipalmente os de Ternate, em muito trabalho. Na qual rezidirão dous sacerdotes e dous Irmãos[4] em muito trabalho e aperto de fome e continua vigia, que, por falta de gente, vigiavão os nossos e andavão com as armas às costas. E como estava muito lomge do socorro, que á-de ser da India, assi de monições, gente e mais petrechos de guerra, como de mantimentos, e isto tão regrado que não podia ser senão de anno em anno, faltamdo-lhe hum anno este soccorro, por se perder a nao que andava na carreira, que vinha com o socorro, se virão en tanto aperto de fome e falta de monições, e dos imiguos que, sabemdo isto, os apertarão mais de proposito com bastiães e continua asistencia, que foi necessario emtreguarem-se a partido e juntamente a fortalleza, damdo-lhes os inimiguos embarquações pera se hirem della. E assi se ajuntarão todos aquy nesta casa de Amboino, com os treis sacerdotes que aqui estavamos[5], sete da Companhia, dos quaes se forão treis pera a India[6] por ordem da obediemcia. Ocupamo-nos sempre todos em os ministerios da Companhia acustumados, ajudamdo os portugueses e cristãos da terra que estão nesta fortaleza, e os dos outros luguares[7] se vizitão quando há oportunydade, porque nem sempre se podem vizitar por rezão da guerra.

4. O P.e Marcos Pramcudo, superior que foi destas partes[8], foi Nosso Senhor servido levá-lo pera si duma doemça lomgua de camaras de samgue que lhe durarão quatro mezes, que alcansou yndo visitar e bautizar as criamças[c] de huns treis luguares que estão treis ou quatro leguoas desta fortalleza, os quaes por estarem [457*v*] numas serras muito altas por temor dos imiguos, himdo lá o Padre, com o trabalho que nisso teve, vindo loguo de llaa doente, acabou o cursso de sua vida[9] com a edifficação que sempre deu em sua vida, recebemdo todolos sacramentos; avendo vivido na Companhia perto de vinte e sete annos, dos quaes os dezasseis delles guastou quá nestas partes, sempre como verdadeiro imittador de Christo, bem com a cruz às costas.

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[4] Frs. Marcos Prancudo and Paulo Gomes; Brs. António Gonçalves and Vicente Dias.

[5] Frs. Pero Mascarenhas, Fernando Álvares, and Jerónimo Rodrigues.

[6] Fr. Fernando Álvares and Br. Vicente Dias in 1576. Paulo Gomes left with the ship that carried this letter; he was accompanied by Br. Gonçalo Teixeira who, not being a Maluku missionary proper but only a temporary bringer of relief, is not considered in this enumeration.

[7] That is, the Christian villages on Ambon island and in Lease.

[8] He was twice a superior of Maluku: 1562-1566 and 1573-1578.

[9] He died on January 29, 1578 (D 17,1).

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5. Por ordem do P.e Vizitador lhe socedy eu no carguo [10], porque o mandavão de quá hir à India [11], ainda que ò tempo que chaguarão as cartas era já falecido. Ao prezente resido aquy soo nesta casa d'Amboino com hum Irmão [12], não com pouca desconsolação por não ter companheyro sacerdote pera me confessar. Porque o companheyro que ouvera de ficar comiguo aquy, está en uma ilha, omde de novo se faz huma fortalleza [13] daquy a ssem leguoas, e perto da fortalleza que se entreguou à pura fome. E desta nova fortalleza se espera, com mais facilidade e menos guasto de S. A., se recuperará a perdida, e com ella toda a cristamdade que está em poder dos mouros, com os olhos bem longuos esperamdo pola redemção. E esta ilha hé dum rey mouro que, sendo inimiguo nosso e confederado com el-rrei de Tarnate que tem a fortalleza, por agravos que delle recebeo, se fez vassallo e deu as terras e ilha a el-rrei de Purtugual [14]; e como isto se não sabe ainda na Imdia, por esta causa estamos assi soos. Esperamos que da India nos venhão mais companheiros e juntamente por socorro pera recuperar o perdido.

6. Vossa Paternidade não deixe de mandar emcomendar a Deos esta terra muito particularmente, porque crea que estamos em muito trabalho, porque os inimiguos, como são tantos e andem tão soberbos, e vendo que desta nova fortalleza e dest'outra lhe pode vir depoiz o mal, emquanto não vem o socorro têm determinado de acabarem primeiro tudo, pera que os que vierem com o socorro não tenhão aomde portar. E estamos en tanto risquo, porque hé tão lomgua a distancia da India a estas partes, e o menos tempo que se á-de passar até à cheguada do socorro, á-de ser hum anno e meyo ou dous annos, que não sey se cheguaremos a ver a reposta desta de Vossa Paternidade; porque ficamos, assi huns como outros, em muita falta de gente e mantimentos pera poder sofrer serquo, e desta maneira nos não podemos socorrer huns aos outros. Mas como Deos Nosso Senhor descobrio este meyo,

---

[10] He was superior until the arrival of Fr. Ferrari in November 1580 (D 30,1-2).

[11] D 1,3.

[12] With Br. António Gonçalves.

[13] Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues was in Tidore, whose king had invited the Portuguese to build a fortress on his island.

[14] The great historical fact of the last quarter of the sixteenth century at Maluku was this political change, this « renversement des alliances », with which the sultan of Tidore threw himself on the side of the Portuguese. It was the salvation (be it a provisional one) of both Portuguese power and the Catholic mission.

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esperamos nelle nos sostentará e favorecerá pera contra estes inimiguos de seu sancto nome.

Na bemção de Vossa Paternidade, de quem recebemos suas cartas com muita alegria e contentamento, nos emcomendamos todos.

Desta casa d'Amboino, oje a 9 de Mayo de 578.

[*Autograph*] Filho de V. P. em o Senhor,

Pero Mascarenhas.

[*Address* 458*v*] Ao muy Reverendo em Christo Padre, o Padre Everardo Mercuriano, Preposito Geral da Companhia de Yesu, em Roma.

1ª via. De Amboino. De Pero Mascarenhas.

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[a] *interl.* || [b] *ins.* || [c] *del.* que

Lost Letters

6a. — Fr. Valignano, Visitor, Malacca, to Fr. Rui Vicente, Provincial in Goa; June 1578.

D 18,9: Two or three more Fathers should be sent to Maluku.

6b-c-d. — Fr. Valignano, Visitor, Malacca, to every Jesuit in Maluku; prior to July 15, 1578.

D 12,2: « A todos particularmente ». Three letters, resp. to Frs. Pero Mascarenhas, Jerónimo Rodrigues, and Br. António Gonçalves.

7

FR. LOURENÇO MEXIA, ASSISTANT OF FR. VALIGNANO, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, JULY 15, 1578

First *via*

I TEXTS:

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 461*r-v* and 464*r-v*, formerly 633 [*corr. fr.* 233] and no. CXXX. Autograph original in Spanish. At the bottom of f. 461*r*, an archivist's note « 78. Malaca. Mexia ». Folios 461*v* and 464*r* are blank. On f. 464*v* the address with the explicit indication « 1ª via », a black seal, and a Roman secretary's annotation « 78. P. Lço Mexia, Malaca, 15 de Julio. [*and incorrectly*:] 2ª via ».

B. *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 462*r*–463*v*, formerly 634 [*corr. fr.* 234], and no. CXXX. Second *via* of the same autograph letter. Folios 462*v* and 463*r* are blank. The last page contains the address with the indication « 2ª via », a seal, and a later note « 78. P. Lourenço Mexia. 15 de Julio. Malaca ». The text is different from text A, omitting the passage on Maluku of the latter.

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II NOTE: Fr. Lourenço Mexia accompanied Fr. Valignano to Japan as his assistant and secretary. See DI X 22*.

III OUR EDITION: As especially the communication about Maluku, omitted in text B, is of importance for our collection, we print text A, such in opposition to DI XI 199, where text B is given.

Text

1. *The building of the new college of Malacca is nearly finished. It has to lodge also regularly the Jesuits who pass there to go to China, Japan, and Maluku, or return to India.* — 2. *Merits of Fr. Valignano in getting it ready. He wrote a survey of all the Jesuit houses he visited.* — 3. *Good news from Maluku: the king of Ternate requested peace; the Portuguese built a new fortress on Tidore island.* — 4. *Death of Fr. Marcos Prancudo in Ambon.*

†

Mui Reverendo en Christo Padre

Pax Cristi.

1. El anño pasado screví a V.P. largo del P.e Visitator[1] y deste collegio lo que me occorrió, ahora daré cuenta de lo que después succedió.

Primeramente la fábrica del collegio[2] se acabó con la portería y casa para confessar a los forasteros. Hiziéronse diez cubículos y una sala, y empeçóse una varanda grande. Queda ahora el collegio accommodado para los Hermanos y los huéspedes, que quasi en todas las motiones[3] pasan para la China, Japón y Maluco, y para la India. Verdad es que costó mucho trabayo al Padre y a todos, en especial a un Hermano[4] que tenía a cuestas todo el peso del trabayo, que en ocho días, del gran cansancio, acabó bien y con mucha consolación de todos.

2. Tiénese por cierto que ninguna persona[a] pudiera[b] hazer esta obra si él no fuera, por la difficultad de los officiales y petrechos necessarios para la fábrica, mas como el Padre es mui solícito y diligente, cortó todas las difficultades que en el principio occurrían, como lo costumbra[c] en todas las cosas. Hizo un summario[5] de lo que vio y experimentó

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[1] Fr. Alessandro Valignano. Mexia's letter: DI X 1037.

[2] That is, of Malacca. Valignano had arrived there in October 1577, and he proceeded on his voyage to Japan in July 1578. Meanwhile, he rebuilt the Jesuit house and school.

[3] Spanish: *monzones*.

[4] The name of this Brother is unknown.

[5] This is the Summary from which our D 5 is taken.

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en todas las partes que visitó para embiar a V.P., lo qual, como fue scrito con tanta exacción y prudencia, puede escusar mucha scritura de otros.

3. De[d] - Maluco tenemos buenas nuevas y quasi certeza de se recuperar otra vez. Porque ultra del rei que está de guerra connosco desear nuestra amistad[6], hizieron los nuestros una fortaleza en Tidore[7], que son dos legoas de Maluco, a la qual pueden ahora ir los portugueses sin peligro -[d].

4. La Provincia tiene falta de gente de govierno, y más ahora que le murió el P.e Marcos Prancudo en Amboino, y otros dos Padres en Goa que eran superiores. Mas V.P. como buen padre, y solícito del bien de sus hiyos, proveerá en ello a maior gloria de su divina Magestad. Yo voi con el P.e Visitador mui consolado y animado, porque lo[e] hallo lo mismo que tengo scrito a V.P. Deseo de ser[f] buen compañero[g] y emplear mis flacas fuerças en servicio de la Compañía, porque este es el camino por donde Dios N.S. me salvará, ayudado con los sanctos sacrificios y oraciones de V.P., en cuia bendición mucho[h] en el Señor me encomiendo.

De Malaca, 15 de Julio de 1578.

De V.P. hiyo inutil en Christo,

Lorenço Mexia.

[*Address* 464*v*:] † Al mui Reverendo en Christo Padre, el P.e Everardo Mercuriano, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma. 1ª via. De Malaca.

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[a] *add.* ni muchas juntas *B* ‖ [b] pudieran *B* ‖ [c] suele hazer *B* ‖ [d] De Maluco . . peligro] El Padre es el mismo que screví el anño pasado a V.P., mui querido y amado de todos por su mucha charidad y prudencia. No veo cosa que sea digna de ser notada en él, ni creo que tengo juizio para ello. Puede V.P. dar muchas gracias a N. Señor, pues se dignó embiarlo a estas partes donde haze tanto servicio a Dios. *B* ‖ [e] lo hallo . . . V.P.] él me da ánimo y *B* ‖ [f] serle *B* ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* companhero ‖ [h] mucho . . . Señor *om. B*

[6] Seeing the new and efficient friendship of Tidore with the Portuguese and becoming aware of rebel movements among his own people, the king of Ternate stopped the war and asked for an armistice (*Rel. Vasc.* 367; D 12,4).

[7] D 6,5. The first stone was laid on January 6, 1578, that is, on Epiphany Day (in Portuguese *dia dos Reis Magos*), from which the new fortress took the name of *fortaleza dos Reis Magos* (*Rel. Vasc.* 367).

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8

FR. GOMES VAZ TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter
[Goa], October 20, 1578

Text: DI XI 253-303 [294-295]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 401*r*-410*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

1. *Two Fathers and one Brother are in Ambon; the rest left Maluku. The Brother sent there two years earlier did not return yet. Great distress of the Jesuits there. — Plans of Fr. Visitor and Fr. Provincial to send Fathers to Maluku.*

Jesús

Muy Reverendo em Christo Padre nuestro

[...]

Residencia de Maluco

1. En Maluco en la fortaleza de Amboino están recogidos, después de la pérdida de Ternate, dos Padres y un Hermano de la Compañía; los demás son mandados venir a este collegio. No ha havido nuevas destas partes, ni el Hermano que agora dos años fue embiado con mantenimientos es vuelto, porque el galeón que fue allá con mantenimientos no volvió[1]. Están estos Padres con grande falta de las cosas necessarias y en mucho peligro de las vidas, mas todo se tiene en poco a trueco de recoger y conservar aquellos christianos y portuguesses que quedaron en Amboino, que con tanto trabajo convirtieron.

[1] Br. Gonçalo Teixeira, ordered by Valignano, sailed off to Maluku in the galleon *São Pedro e Paulo* under the captain Martim Afonso de Melo. The galleon was attacked by an Aceh-Johore fleet in Strait Sabang (between Sumatra and Kundur), but it managed to escape and to proceed on its voyage. It arrived at Ambon on March 1, 1577. (As to this point, DM I 55* has to be corrected). It sailed back to Malacca in May 1578, carrying again Br. Teixeira (*Rel. Vasc.* 335-340; 375; D 10,6; DI X 1043).

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2. Tiénese esperança se tornará a concertar aquellas tierras, y el P.e Visitador tiene ordenado, si se despachare alguna armada para allá, que vayan en ella algunos de los nuestros[2]. Y el P.e Provincial tiene tanto desseo desto que, aun sin ir armada, espera mandar alguno de la Compañía para consolar aquellos Padres y para que, muriendo uno, queden dos compañeros que se puedan ayudar y consolar en sus trabajos.

[...]

20 de Octubre 1578.

[*Autograph*] Por commissão do Padre Provincial.

De V.P. filho indigno em o Senhor,

Gomez Vaz.

9

SCHOL. FRANCISCO DE CHAVES, BY ORDER OF FR. RECTOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 22, 1578

Second *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 418*r*-419*v*, earlier no. CXII. Original in Portuguese. Twice an intermediate heading « Residencias de Maluco », and « Casa da China ». In the left bottom corner of f. 418*r* an archivist wrote « Malacca 78 »; f. 419*v* is blank but for the address.

II PRINTED: The part on Malacca has been printed in DI XI 402-406.

III NOTE: The identity of this letter with that of *Goa 12 II* 475-478 (our D 17), which is suggested in DI XI 402 (Introduction to doc. 44), does not hold for the part on Maluku.

IV OUR EDITION: We edit here the paragraph dealing with the Maluku Mission.

Text

1. *Writes an Annual Letter, following the latest Roman directions.* — 2. *After the surrender of Ternate fortress, the Jesuits residing there sailed to Ambon. The king*

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[2] Three were sent in 1579 (D 21,1).

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of Tidore came thither to submit to the Portuguese. Whereupon Ternate made war on Tidore. — 3. The Portuguese assist Tidore against Ternate; three Jesuits accompany the expedition. Permission to build a fortress and church on Tidore island is given. Distribution of the Fathers. — 4. Fr. Visitor sent a Father from Malacca as a confessor. — 5. Death of Fr. Marcos Prancudo. — 6. Conclusion.

† Jesus
Muito Reveremdo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Nesta brevemente darei comta a V.P., conforme a destribuisão das annuas desta Provimcia que V.P. este anno ordenou[1], primeiramente das cousas deste colegio de Malaca e depois das residencias de Maluquo e China.
[... *on Malacca*, 418*v*]

Residemcias de Maluco

2. No anno de 76 se escreveo a V.P.[2] 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[3]. Recolherão-se[a] os nosos Padres a Amboino, que hé[b] outra fortaleza distamte de Maluco sem legoas ou mais. Aí estiveram quatro Padres e hum Irmão[4], até que no mesmo anno, no mes de Setembro[5], veio ter el-rei de Tidore (que hé huma ilha tres legoas da de Ternate, omde estava a fortaleza que se largou) a Amboino. E de sua propia vomtade (arreseoso todavia do Ternate, porque se ia fazemdo muito poderoso, lhe tomar as suas terras) se fes vasalo d'el-rrei de Purtugal e se emtregou ao ca-

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[1] A *formula scribendi* or other regulation regarding Annual Letters of India, ordered by Fr. Mercurian before 1578, did not come to us. That it was issued is clear from other texts as well, for instance: D 18,1; DI XI 256 no. 1, 643 no. 1, 804 no. 1.

[2] See DM I 704; D 219*a*.

[3] It surrendered on one of the last days of 1575.

[4] Frs. Prancudo, Paulo Gomes, Pero Mascarenhas, Jerónimo Rodrigues, and Br. António Gonçalves. Chaves did not count the two who, in the meantime, had reached Malacca: Fr. Fernando Álvares and Br. Vicente Dias, nor Br. Gonçalo Teixeira who had not been a resident of one of the two fortresses.

[5] September 1576 (see note 3; *Rel. Vasc.* 328: « No mes de Septembro de setenta e oito » cannot be correct and does not agree with p. 367).

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pitão d'Amboino [6] com todas suas teras, gemte, artelharia e embarcasoens. Emquamto ele veyo fazer ysto a Amboino, lhe[c] deu o Ternate nas terras e destruio e cativou o que pode. E em tornãodo o mesmo rei, sem saber o que pasava, foi cativo e tomado polos mesmos tarnates [7].

3. Vierão loguo alguns dos seus primcipaes [8] da sua parte a Amboino pedir socorro. Pois já erão vasalos d'El-Rei de Purtugal, pareceo bem a todos dar-ce-lhe, e asi foi o mesmo capitão d'Amboino com as embarcasoens e gente que pode. E foram em sua companhia dous Padres e hum Irmão [9], que aquele mesmo anno fora da Imdia por mamdado do P.[e] Visitador a levar-lhe o provimento. Foi N. Senhor servido que fugise o rei da prizão em que estava pera suas terras, nas quaes deu loguo lugar pera os portugeses fazerem fortaleza e os Padres igreja [10], e ele outra ves metido de pose da[s] suas terras. E espera-se que será este o meio por omde com mais facilidade se ganhará a fortaleza e se tornaraa a reduzir a christãodade de todo aquele arcipelaguo. Ficou na fortaleza que se ia fazemdo com os portugeses e mais christãodade hum Padre [11], e outro e o Irmão tornarão pera Amboino. E daí, o Irmão com hum dos dous Padres que ay ficarão, se vierão por ordem do Padre Visitador pera Malaca [12].

4. E porque ambas estas fortalezas ficaram com cada hum[a] seu Padre, e não podia aver recurso de hum ao outro senão daí a hum anno por causa das mouçoens, e ysto aimda com muito risco por amor das geras, determinou-se o P.[e] Visitador de mandar hum dos quatro

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[6] Sancho de Vasconcelos. He was captain of Ambon fortress from 1572 to *c.* 1590. His heroic deeds are described rather extensively in the *Relação dos feitos eróicos em armas que Sancho de Vasconcelos fez nas partes de Amboyno e Maluco*, edited in SÁ IV 164–454 (Quoted by us as *Relação Vasconcelos* or *Rel. Vasc.*).

[7] On this war, the captivity of the king of Tidore, and his escape, see *Rel. Vasc.* 330-335; 342-347.

[8] Under the leadership of Kaicil Kota (*Rel. Vasc.* 330 and 334-335).

[9] Pero Mascarenhas, Jerónimo Rodrigues, and Gonçalo Teixeira (D 17,7; *Rel. Vasc.* 343 and 348).

[10] The permission to build a fortress was given only after the liberation of the king. Consult *Rel. Vasc.* 328-329, combined with 366. As there was no vicar at that time in the whole of Maluku, only the Jesuits could be appointed to erect a church near the fort.

[11] Jerónimo Rodrigues, as is clear from his letters: DD 11 and 12.

[12] Br. Teixeira sailed to Malacca with Fr. Paulo Gomes in May 1578.

[13] Fr. Diogo Pinto. He stayed in Maluku from November 1578 to May 1579. See DD 18,9 and 25.

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Padres que aqui em Malaca estavão [13] pola via de Borneo em Agosto [14], pera confesar o Padre que ficou em Tidore e daí pasar a Amboino a comfesar a outro e daí tornar-se pera Malaca, se não achase alguns dos Padres falecido.

5. Este hé o estado em que aquelas partes ficão, omde os Padres vai em oito ou nove annos [15] tem sofrido gramdes trabalhos asi de gerras como de fomes e outras nesesidades gramdes, que creio forão causa deste ano nos levar N. Senhor pera sy o P.e Marcos Pramcudo, muito amtiguo na Companhia e superior daquelas partes avia muitos annos. Faleceo em Janeiro de 78 de huma doemça prolomgada, na qual mostrou bem as virtudes e graças que lhe N. Senhor tinha comonicado com a pasiemsia, sofrimento e comformidade com Deos com que sofreo todos eses trabalhos.

[... *on China, i.e., Macao*]

6. Isto hé o que brevememte pude colegir deste colegio de Malaca e residemcias de Maluco e China, de que V.P. ordena se faça huma annua [16]. Resta pedirmos todos ser encomendados particularmente em a bemsão e[d] samtos sacrafi[ci]os de Vosa Paternidade.

De Malaqua, oje 22 de Novembro de 1578 annos.

Por comisão do P.e Reitor.

De V.P. indigno filho en o Senhor,

Francisco de Chaves.

[*Address* 419*v*] † Annua do collegio da Companhia de Jesu de Malaca, da era de 1578, pera Europa. 2ª via.

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[a] lhe colherão-se *ms.* || [b] que hé *interl.* || [c] *ins.* || [d] *corr. fr* de

10

FR. MATEUS LOPES TO UNKNOWN JESUIT(S) [IN EUROPE?]

MACAO, NOVEMBER 29, 1578

I TEXT: *ARSI,Goa 38 I* ff.166*r* 168*r*, formerly 99-101. Fragmentary contemporary copy in Portuguese in a beautiful and legible handwriting. Title: «Parte de

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[14] August 1578.

[15] Counted from the murder of Hairun in 1570.

[16] See note 1.

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huma do P.e Mateus Lopez que escreveo da China a 29 de Novembro de 78». This letter is part of a collection of copied letters, all by the same hand, filling ff. 165–179. Some summaries or catch words have been added in the margin by the hand of Fr. João Rebelo, assistant of Fr. Giampietro Maffei. The part of our document dealing with Maluku is on ff. 166*v*–167*r*.

II NOTE: Fr. Mateus Lopes sailed to Malacca from Lisbon in 1576 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 180). For his life, see DI X 23*. His stay in Macao in 1577 seems a short interval; further he worked in India.

III OUR EDITION: We print the part on Maluku, thus complementing DI XI 420–422, where the other part of the letter is edited

Text

1. *Only two Jesuits live in Maluku. Christanity is destroyed. Will explain the root of all evils.* — 2. *The king of Ternate was stabbed to death only a few days after a friendship treaty.* — 3. *Ternate revolted, persecuted the Christians, and besieged the fortress until it surrendered.* — 4. *Favourable signs: the king of Tidore made himself a vassal of Portugal.* — 5. *He allowed a fortress to be built in his island.* — 6. *Moreover some ships bringing help came sailing to Maluku. Adventures of the galleon in which a Brother [Gonçalo Teixeira] came in 1577.* — 7. *Two more galleons brought relief. Hope of reconquering Ternate.*

[...]

1. Em Maluco não andão agora mais que dous dos nossos, hum Padre e hum Irmão[1]. A causa de andarem tão poucos nestes reinos forão as guerras que nelles se alevantarão de tres annos[2] a esta parte, e a destruição da nova christandade que nossos Padres alli tinhão feito com muito trabalho seu. Mas pera que saibão, charissimos Irmãos, a raiz e tronco donde brotarão todos estes males, repetirei o que pode ser terão já lá ouvido.

2. Aconteceo[a] o ano antes de chegarmos a estas partes[3] que hum soldado português[4], inspirado polo diabo, se determinou de matar à treição o rey dos ternates[5] que tinha dado obediencia a El-Rey de Portugal e fazia muitos favores aos portugueses, posto que de quando em quando, como mouro que era, consentia, segundo dizem, em al-

---

[1] More correct: two Fathers and one Brother. See D 1 note 14.

[2] Counted from the surrender of the fortress of Ternate in December 1575.

[3] As Fr. Mateus Lopes sailed to India in 1576, his words seem to regard rather the surrender of the fort in 1575 (no. 3) than the murder of Hairun in 1570 (no. 2).

[4] Martim Afonso Pimentel, a young hotspur.

[5] Hairun, king of Ternate, 1535–1570.

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guns insultos que os seus fazião aos nossos. De modo que andando o dito soldado com esta diabolica determinação, vindo hum dia o rey à nossa fortaleza, quando se ouve de ir pera casa dizem que o esperou ao sair de huma porta e ali às punhaladas o matou, avendo muito poucos dias que os portugueses lhe tinhão jurado publicamente em hum missal de lhe não fazer treição alguma [6] e, confiado elle no juramento, vinha desarmado e sem nenhuma guarda.

3. Depois desta semrezão e manifesta injustiça forão tantos os trabalhos que sobrevierão àquela pobre christandade que não são pera contar. Logo os ternates se alevantarão em armas, tomando por capitão a hum filho do rey defunto a que[m] ficou o reino [7], e começarão a destruir e asolar quantos lugares e aldeas acharão de christãos. E tanto creceo a lavareda de seu furor que, depois de terem desbaratados os lugares comarcãos, poserão cerco à fortaleza. E quando virão que a não podião tomar por armas, determinarão de matar à fome os que nella estavão, não lhe deixando vir mantimentos com que se podessem sostentar. E como quer que desd'a morte do rey ategora não avia navio que chegasse a Maluco, porque a todos acontecião desastres [8], não tinhão os portugueses socorro nenhum que fosse sufficiente pera se poderem defender dos negros. De modo que chegou a cousa a tais

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[6] See DM I 591 no. 7.

[7] That is, Baab Ullah, who was not the rightful claimant of the throne but managed to usurp it, being considered the most vigorous and clever prince to wage the war against the Portuguese. Consult COUTO X/I 507. But as early as 1564 Hairun himself called him « meu filho erdeiro » (SÁ III 74).

[8] This statement is certainly exaggerated. During the years 1570-1573 ships arrived in Ternate from Goa at least four times. D. Álvaro de Ataíde and João da Silva arrived with their ships in November 1570 (LEMOS 463-464; *Rel. Vasc.* 236). Two Jesuits disembarked in Maluku in October 1571, sailing most probably in the galleon *São Rafael* of João da Fonseca (DM I 50*-54*; COUTO VIII 316). Two Portuguese captains, Fernão Ortis de Távora and Pero Lopes Rebelo, arrived in Ternate late in 1572; they were sent by Viceroy D. António de Noronha on purpose to succour the besieged fortress (COUTO IX 59; *Rel. Vasc.* 245-246; LEMOS 472; for a further explication, see DM I 636 note 3). Finally, in 1573, the galleon *São Christovão* sailing from Goa under the captain António Valadares de Lacerda, reached Ternate on November 15 (*Rel. Vasc.* 251-253; the date mentioned at the top of p. 253 « setenta e quatro » does not seem correct). Add to this that also the captain of Malacca sent a galleon to Ternate in 1570 (COUTO IX 41-42; *Rel. Vasc.* 236) Consult, however, D 3 note 7.

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termos, que o capitão[9] pôs em conselho se entregaria a fortaleza, ou se se deixarião morrer todos. Saio na consulta que antes se entregassem que deixar perecer tantos inocentes, porque àquele tempo estavão muitos homens e molheres com seus filhos recolhidos na fortaleza[10]. A qual se entregou polo capitão que nella estava ao filho do rey defunto. E depois de entregada, senão quando dahi a 4 ou 5 dias aparece huma nao da India que levava socorro[11] aos que por falta delle tinhão já feito o que porventura fora melhor não fazer.

4. Estes são, Irmãos charissimos, os trabalhos de Maluco, os quais, posto que pareção grandes aos que os ouvem, muito mores parecem aos que os padecem. Mas de hum ano a esta parte vimos alguns sinais de N. Senhor querer outra vez[b] restaurar este reino. Porque o rey dos tidores, que antiguamente era grande nosso inimigo[12], tanto que vio alevantado o Ternate, foi-se ao capitão dos portugueses que tem a cargo a fortaleza de Amboino[13], e dizem que se lhe ofereceo pera nos ajudar contra os ternates, dizendo que queria ser vassalo d'El-Rey de Portugal. E mandou logo fazer instromentos por mão de tabalião publico[14] em como se obrigava a defender e acudir com todo seu poder aos portugueses.

5. E pera mostrar mais claramente não ser fingido o que dizia, deu licença aos nossos que fizessem logo fortaleza em suas terras[15], a qual se começou averá 5 ou 6 meses[16] com muito alvoroço e contentamento de ambas as partes. Queira N. Senhor dure a este negro a boa vontade que ategora nos mostra, posto que mais parece que o faz por se vingar dos ternates com nossa ajuda, que por outro respeito, mas, faça-nos elle bem, e mova-se polo que quiser.

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[9] Nuno Pereira de Lacerda. He had set sail from Goa in the galleon *Santa Catharina*, captained by Melchior Botelho, in April 1574. He suffered shipwreck at the Sulu islands but was saved with the crew in the boat (COUTO IX 149 and 279-281; *Rel. Vasc.* 314-315; LEMOS 472).

[10] In particular, many Christian families from Moro had taken refuge in the fortress (*Rel. Vasc.* 236; COUTO IX 42).

[11] The galleon of Lionel de Brito (*Rel. Vasc.* 319-320, mistakenly he is called once Lionel de Lima; COUTO IX 287-288).

[12] See DM I 3*-4*. LEMOS (472) calls him « o mais tredo rey que se pode imaginar ».

[13] Sancho de Vasconcelos.

[14] *Rel. Vasc.* 329: « E disto se fez asento, e[m] que todos se asinarão »; ibid. 366: « Por papeis autorizados ».

[15] See D 9 note 10.

[16] See D 7 note 7.

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6. Tambem [167*r*] N. Senhor nos dá esperanças de querer que se não acabe de perder aquela christandade, em levar alguns navios a Maluco de dous anos pera quá, do modo com que hos levou. Porque hum galeão de Martim Afonso de Sousa [17], que o anno de 77 hia levar socorro aos portugueses, foi combatido por muitas horas de 45 galés do Achem e perto de cem velas outras, e posto que o poserão em grande risco, quebrando-lhe o masto e matando-lhe parte dessa pouca gente que levava, com tudo ficou de vencida e os negros mui destroçados. Dizem que chegaria o numero dos mortos a 600. Esta relação deu hum Irmão nosso que ali se achou [18], o qual hia levar socorro aos nossos Padres que andão em Maluco. Foi-se o galeão proseguindo sua viagem, a qual sabemos que fez a salvamento.

7. Depois deste forão outros dous galeões [19] com alguns soldados pera ajudarem os que lá estão, mas a gente que vai segundo tenho entendido hé pouca e pera pouco, e portanto não pode fazer muito, senão se N. Senhor o fizer por nós. Hum dia destes falei com hum homem que este ano veio de Maluco, e esteve já lá por capitão-mor do mar, o qual diz que com 600 portugueses, ajudando-nos o rey de Tidore, se pode muito bem tomar a fortaleza, ainda que o Ternate promete de a entregar todas as vezes que lhe fizerem justiça em castigar a quem lhe matou seu pay injustamente. Isto hé, charissimos Irmãos, o que se me offereceo pera lhes escrever de Maluco.

[. . . 168*r*] Desta casa da Madre de Deos no reino da China, a 29 de Novembro de 1578.

Matheus Lopez.

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[a] *add. m.* Causa dos desastres de Maluco || [b] outra vez *interl.*

Lost Document

10*a*. — *Fr. Pero Mascarenhas' Catechism in Ambonese; 1578-1579.*

See D 17,13 and note 20, compared with D 18,7 and D 20,4. After SOUZA also STREIT ascribed the work to Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues (IV no. 940).

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[17] The name has to be Martim Afonso de Melo; his galleon was called *São Pedro e Paulo*; consult D 8 note 2.

[18] Br. Gonçalo Teixeira (ibid.).

[19] Early in 1578, a new captain, Diogo de Azambuja, arrived in Maluku sailing in a galleon from Goa *via* Sunda (that is, Banten in W Java), Malacca, and N Borneo. Other ships accompanying the galleon had to return (*Rel. Vasc.* 365: LEMOS 473). The second galleon for 1577-1578 could not be identified, but see D 12 note 12.

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11

FR. JERÓNIMO RODRIGUES TO AN UNKNOWN JESUIT IN INDIA OR PORTUGAL

TIDORE, FEBRUARY 25, 1579

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 38 I* f. 170*r-v*. Contemporary copy in Portuguese, shortened text, headed « De Maluco, da fortaleza nova de Tidore, de 29 de Fevereiro de 1579 ». In the margin, two titles written by Fr. João Rebelo: « Sterilidade da terra », « Seita dos mouros qualis hic ».

II DATE: The heading says 29, the signature 25 February; the latter has to be considered the right date, the former being impossible and probably taken from the next letter.

III ADDRESSEE: There is no mention of an addressee. As the beginning and the end of the letter have been left out, there is not the slightest internal starting-point for a well-founded guess. Only externally it may seem likely that this letter, just as the next one, was directed to Fr. Provincial in Goa.

Text

1. *Ternate asked for an armistice. Its conditions.* — 2. *After the eventual destruction of Ternate the country will easily become Christian, but first the fortress [of Tidore] must be finished and a fleet must be sent.* — 3. *It is rumoured that the Castilians, who made expeditions into Mindanao and Brunei, will also come to Maluku.* — 4. *Difference between Castilian and Portuguese converting procedure.*

1. Fez-nos N. Senhor assinaladas mercês o anno passado depois da ida de Martim Afonso, que Deos aja [1]. Porque com nos deixar mui trabalhados da fome e da guerra, fora de todo o parecer humano nos socorreo o Senhor com suas acustumadas misericordias, pedindo-nos o imigo, com ter melhor partido sem comparação que nós, tregoas [2] tão afincadamente que quanto lhe pedimos nellas, tanto nos concedeo. As condições forão: que sobreestivessemos assi até o recado do Senhor

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[1] Martim Afonso de Melo arrived in Ambon on March 1, 1577 (*Rel. Vasc.* 340), assisted the Portuguese in Tidore, sailed back to Ambon in February 1578, and left it again for Malacca in May (ibid. 368 and 372). Here he appears to have died since.

[2] On this armistice, see *Rel. Vasc.* 367-369. It did not last for long.

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Governador [3] acerca da tomada da fortaleza de Ternate; que os escravos se não falem nelles; que os nossos que fugirem pera lá ou no-los tornem ou no-los paguem; o mesmo acerca dos seus. E hão muitos christãos que forão tomados por elles nesta guerra vindos pera nós; elles no-los pedem, nós lhos não queremos dar por serem christãos. E elles tambem nos tem alguns que fugirão de quá ou não no-los querem mandar. Por onde me parece que há-de aver alguma quebra, e assi tornaremos de novo a continuar a guerra e o trabalho até que N. Senhor nos mande o socorro, que muito pouco abasta pera se concertar isto que à mingoa se está perdendo.

2. As [4] da terra são ficar de tregoas, como digo, e farta ao presente. Mas a fartura de Maluco há-de sopor que hé a fome dos outros, porque ser hum homem farto nesta terra de sagu [5], peixe e tuaqua [a] [6], e á-se por mui satisfeito e farto. Toda esta terra está mui aparelhada pera se converter destruido o Ternate, que hé o que nestas partes sostenta a perversa seita de Mafamede. Tirados quatro honrados e cacizes [7], toda a mais gente nem hé moura nem gentia, vivem como brutos; tirados estes, o mais povo facilmente se converterá. E agora, com ainda não ser feita a fortaleza [8], muitos se querem converter. Mas como o rey hé mouro e pouco afeiçoado às cousas de christão, como mouro que hé, não ousa homem a bolir com isto até não termos mais posse, a qual será com ajuda de N. Senhor depois que for a fortaleza feita e vier huma boa armada da India, que sem estas duas cousas não poderemos quá ter christandade.

3. E se lhe nós não ajudarmos depressa, já os castelhanos chegarão o ano passado a Mindanao com 4 gualés, 20 ou 30 caracoras dos Lu-

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[3] D. Diogo de Meneses was governor in Goa 1577-1578; he was succeeded by Viceroy Luís de Ataíde (second term). This could not yet been known in Maluku.

[4] That is, As novas.

[5] The sago (Malay *sagu*), a foodstuff extracted from the trunk of the sago tree, the *Metroxylon sagu*. See *Treatise*, Glossary 375; WALLACE 289-292.

[6] *Tuak(a)*, palm wine, toddy.

[7] *Caciz*, an Islamic « clergyman ». The term is not used in Malay or Indonesian, but it occurred very frequently in the Portuguese writings of the sixteenth century (DALGADO I 165; YULE 169; HOËVELL, in his *Vocabularium*, gives *kasisi* as still known in Ambonese).

[8] Building the fortress of Tidore started January 6, 1578, proceeded slowly and by many stages, so that the author of the *Rel. Vasc.* could state that Vasconcelos left « o baluarte de Tidore, ou fortaleza, já feito », and, in the next page, that the new captain « fez uma fortaleza, afora o baluarte » (368-369).

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ções[9], saqueando-o e destruindo-o, cativando o rey da Mindanao[10], segundo nos contarão os celebes que de lá vierão. Saquearão Borneo e o destruirão todo tomando-lhe toda a armada, que erão mais de 50 fustas, afora muitas lancharas[11] e mais de 300 peças de artelharia[12]. Dizem todos que determinão de vir a Maluco, já que os portugueses o largarão[13]. Agora esperamos por elles, se não for nesta será na outra monção do noroeste. N. Senhor dê isto a quem melhor lho merecer.

4. Os castelhanos a principal cousa que fazem aos que conquistão hé cortarem as cabeças aos grandes e a mais gente fazê-la christam, e não como nós que o principal hé o cravo e depois a christandade[14]. Por onde permite Deos que nem hum nem outro [170*v*] tenhamos, senão muitos trabalhos e muitas desonras, pois tão pouco zelo temos da sua santa lei.

De Tidore, 25 de Fevereiro de 1579[b].

Jeronimo Rodriguez.

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[a] suaqua *ms.* || [b] *del.* Manoel Teixeira

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[9] Inhabitants of the island of Luzon. The term was used in a wider sense, even to mean any Filipinos. See PIRES, *Suma Oriental* I 133.

[10] Only after the expedition against Brunei, the second governor of the Philippines, Francisco de Sande (1575-1580), sent Captain Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa against Jolo (in the Sulu islands) and Mindanao. But the Muslim ruler of Mindanao was not captured; he fled into the mountains. This happened after May 1578.

[11] The Malay term is *lancaran*, meaning a small high-speed vessel.

[12] The expedition against Brunei was conducted by Francisco de Sande personally. He sailed from Manila on March 3, 1578, « con quarenta velas », beat the « Moors » and captured 27 big ships and 170 pieces of artillery. He took possession of « Borneo » on April 22, 1578. See, also for note 10, his own letters of June and July 1578 in COLIN-PASTELLS I 140-142, and II 25-28. Consult also MORGA 22 and 388-390. The expedition was severely criticized and roundly declared unjust by the first Synod of Manila (COSTA 29). Especially burning down the great mosque of Brunei did not find favour in the eyes of many Spaniards. (« El doctor Sande tuvo ... gran culpa en quemar la mezquita de Mahoma en Borney », Melchor Dávalos to Philipp II, Manila, June 20, 1585, in *AGI, Filip. 18 ramo 2 no. 45* f. 21*r*).

[13] False alarm. The Portuguese had not abandoned Maluku and the Manila government did not send a fleet there in those years.

[14] A very remarkable comment on the difference between the Spanish and Portuguese approach to the question, how to bring native people in newly dis-

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12

FR. JERÓNIMO RODRIGUES TO FR. PROVINCIAL, RUI VICENTE

TIDORE, LATE FEBRUARY OF 1579
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 186, he corrected the date to February 28.

II TEXTS: There is no original text left.

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 482*r*-484*v*, earlier 468-469, 692-693, and CXXXVI. Portuguese copy, most probably made in Cochin with a view of showing it to the king of Portugal. At the bottom of f. 482*r* a secretary wrote « 79. Rodriguez ». There is no address, f. 484*v* contains only a remark written by Fr. Manuel Teixeira in Cochin « De Maluquo da fortaleza nova de Thydore, pera o Pe Provincial da India, que S.A. podera ver. Do ano de 79. 1ª via ».

B. *ARSI, Goa 38 I* ff. 170*v*-171*v*, earlier 103-104. This very beautifully written copy in Portuguese contains only the nos. 3-12 and is headed « De Maluquo da fortaleza nova de Tidore do Pe Jeronimo Rodriguez pera o Pe Provincial a 29 de Fevereiro de 79 ». It is full of small variants from text A both in the use and sequence of words. This may point to a second *via*. Fr. João Rebelo added two summaries in the margin: « Tregoas », and « Feito baluarte em Tidore ».

III DATE: While text A has only « no anno de 79 », text B gives the impossible date of February 29, 1579. We suppose the letter was written at the end of February.

IV OUR EDITION: We print text A pointing in the apparatus to the most important variants of text B.

Text

1. *Why he did not write in the past year.* — 2. *He has lived in Maluku for eight years. Consolation from letters and from a Father sent by the visitor* [*Valignano*]. — 3. *When they suffered from war and famine a Javanese vessel with victuals was got hold of.* — 4. *While they were living in highest need the king of Ternate suddenly asked for peace. After that there was plenty of food.* — 5. *By now they live in armistice, but*

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covered countries to the Christian faith. Of course this is a very much simplified formula of the real facts, and much shading were wanted to arrive at an adequate picture of those approaches. One can imagine very well that a missioner of Maluku, knowing only drawbacks in his own work, could not help drawing parallels with the Philippines, where within a few years the Spanish managed to convert thousands and thousands of native people.

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they expect war to start again soon. Many Christian captives come fleeing to Tidore. They are busy building the new fortress; one bastion is ready. Kind disposition of the Tidorese. — 6. *In order to save Christianity Ternate should be destroyed; all people are looking forward to a fleet from India.* — 7. *If this succour does not arrive this year, Maluku will be lost for five reasons: 1° The Maluku people expect the royal answer to the loss of Ternate to arrive this year with manifestation of power.* — 8. *2° This year the viceroy is expected to recognize the new fortress of Tidore likewise in an impressive way.* — 9. *3° By now the Portuguese should make the most of the Tidorese ill-will against Ternate which may not last very long.* — 10. *4° The kings of Tidore and Ternate are closely kindred and both Muslim; this may drive them again to each other.* — 11. *5° Many people loathe Ternatan tyranny, but they are helpless without Portuguese power.* — 12. *So this year will be decisive for Maluku.* — 13. *Conclusion.*

† Jesus
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Fui sempre tão mofino no escrever a V.R., que já em todo este tempo não tive dita pera carta minha lhe ser dada, mas esta confio em N. S. que não levará ho caminho das outras. O anno passado foy tanta a preça de Martim Afonso, que Deus aja[1], por partir desta terra e levar à India novas dela, que não deu vagar a muitos pera poderem escrever. E el-rey[2] pello aviar depreça ficou connosco de mandar huma caracora[3] a Amboino a levar as cartas, ho que não veio a effeito por causa da muita guerra e aperto em que nos pôs el-rei de Ternate depois da ida do galleão de Martim Afonso[4], parecendo-lhe sempre que nos acabasse por causa da muita fome que avia então nesta terra. E esta foi ha causa porque não pude escrever ho anno passado a V.R.

2. Aguora detremino nesta dar[a] brevemente conta a V.R. de mim e da disposissão da terra, porque me parece folgará de as saber. De mim sei dizer a V.R. que ando neste desterro[5] há 8 annos, e todos de guerras e desinquietações sem ter descanso nenhum, louvores a N. Senhor. E este mesmo Senhor pague ao P.[e] Visitador a charidade de que

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[1] See D 11 note 1.

[2] The king of Tidore.

[3] *Korakora*, native war vessel of Maluku with outriggers (*Treatise* 161-163; YULE 159; DALGADO I 307; VALENTYN II a 183; ENI V 115).

[4] As soon as the Portuguese galleon(s) had sailed off, the enemy had free play, and, generally, did not let slip the opportunity. It is the old song in the history of the Portuguese in Maluku.

[5] See DM I 574, and note 2 there.

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uzou com os que quá andamos, em nos escrever a todos particularmente [6], e em nos mandar quá consolar pello P.e Diogo Pinto [7]. E parece que Deus N. S. (e assi ho tenho por certo) tem particular cuidado de nos consolar quá nestas partes tão remotas da India.

3. E bem vimos isto claramente este anno, porque, tanto que partio daqui Martim Afonso e o P.e Mascarenhas pera Amboyno em Fevereiro [8], ficou ha terra tal, que mais ficamos todos aqui offerecidos à morte que hà vida, por causa da grande fome e guerra que já então avia. A qual foi cada vez em tanto crecimento que, estando nós já na derradeira, sem outras esperanças de soccorro humano, senão ho de Amboino que[b] avia de vir em Mayo, por nos ter isto[c] prometido Sancho de Vasconcellos, capitão d'Amboino, tardou tanto este que nos mandou[d] N. S. ho seu, que foi vir a este porto hum junco [9] de jaos, nossos imiguos [10]. O qual, querendo [482*v*] ir a Ternate, à nossa vista andou de huma parte pera a outra à vela sem nunca lhe servir[e] ho vento pera lá, senão em popa pera este porto. E assi fizerão da necessidade virtude, e chegou o junco aqui carreguado de mantimentos, que abastarião pera hum mes pera este arraial.

4. Nós, depois disto, já no cabo do mes esperando que d'Amboino nos viesse algum soccorro, como era rezão, e não vindo já em Mayo, que[f] era o tempo que nos tinhão limitado, outra vez estando na derradeira sem nenhum remedio humano, tornou-nos a consolar ho Senhor com suas acustumadas misericordias. Que foi mandar el-rey de Ternate, nosso imiguo, pedir pazes con muita instancia, cometendo a este rey muitos partidos honrrosos e proveitozos a seu estado e nosso. E isto permittindo[g] N. S. aver entre elles muitas novidades, e por não poder com a guerra atalhar a muitos males, que sentia de alevantamentos no seu reino (o que depois se soube), fez treguoas connosco [11]. E estamos

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[6] Lost Letters, 6*b–d*.

[7] Already mentioned in D 9 note 13.

[8] Fr. Pero Mascarenhas had been an army chaplain in the war of Tidore against Ternate in late 1577 (D 9 note 9). Having received his appointment as superior and assisted at the first-stone ceremony of the fortress of Tidore, he sailed to Ambon in February 1578 in the company of Sancho de Vasconcelos and Martim Afonso de Melo whose galleon *São Pedro e Paulo* had to sail to Malacca in the following May.

[9] Malay *jung*, a large eastern ship of a Chinese type (YULE 472).

[10] The Javanese, especially the people of the trading towns on the N coast (Japara, Tuban, Sidayu, Gresik) did not only trade with Ternate, but supported ti in its wars as well.

[11] See D 11 note 2. The armistice was concluded after May.

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nellas aguora até ho recado da India d'Ell-Rey ou do Viso-Rey acerca da tomada da fortaleza de Ternate. E depois delas foi a fartura tanta, que nunca ha vi tanta em Maluco. E por esta causa se pode carreguar ho galleão de Pero Lopez de Sousa [12], que veio de soccorro de Malaca. E em todos estes trabalhos não ouve nesta terra enfermo nenhum, nem briguas, nem desgostos, como há sempre entre soldados.

5. Quanto às novas da terra, são ao presente[h] de treguoas com os ternates, esperando (como digo) pello recado da India. Ho Ternate faz-sse prestes e se fortifica quanto pode, porque tem elles pera si, e com rezão, que este anno hé o em que an-de aver ho paguo de suas obras, por entenderem o que importa estarem portuguezes com os tydores contra elles. Nós fazemos o mesmo, apercebemo-nos de mantimentos. Porque mais certa temos ha guerra que as treguoas, tanto que se daqui for o galleão. Porque con mandar matar os principaes que se querião alevantar tem já ho seu reino quieto. E muitos christãos que estavão lá cativos não fazem outra cousa senão viren-sse pera nós, e já temos algumas atoardas disso. Por onde não manda ho capitão-mor mais que 20 soldados neste galleão pera guarda delle, afora os officiaes, e andamos com toda a preça com a obra da nova fortaleza. Ao presente fica hum baluarte muito fermozo e grande com sua artelharia já posta e de feição que, avendo de comer, todo o poder de Maluco ho não entrará. Os tydores estão contentes de nós e amiguos, com boa vontade de se vingarem dos ternates das injurias e agravos passados. Trabalhamos muito pellos conservar neste odio contra os ternates, porque delle depende a nossa segurança nesta terra. Já[i] quando vier ha armada teremos pouco que fazer com os ternates, ajudando-nos estes.

6. E da destruição do Ternate [483*r*] depende ho bem da christandade destas partes. Todas estas ilhas estão scandalizadas dos ternates pellas grandes tyranias que uzão com todos, tomando-lhes ho seu por força. E como não tenhão a quem se arrimar por causa da fortaleza ser perdida aonde tinhão ho[j] seu couto, estão já muy arrependidos do

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[12] This Pero Lopes de Sousa became a captain of Malacca and he lost his life in an expedition against Kandy (Ceylon) in 1594. (PIERIS, *Ceylon* I 280-281). SOUZA, who presumably disposed of more Jesuit letters than we do, reports that Pero Lopes sailed to Tidore with a galleon, a galley, and a galliot (II 3 2 11); according to our document he must have arrived in late 1578. Consult SÁ V 198 and 233; also the letter of Captain Julião de Noronha of July 9, 1579 in *AGI, Filip. 35 ramo 3 no. 28* f. 3*r*. A Pero Lopes de Sousa sailed to India from Lisbon in April 1581, but he can scarcely be the same person (*India Oriental* f. 227*v*; COUTO X/I 61).

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que fizerão em ajudar aos ternates pera seu mal. E estaa esta[k] christandade toda perdida em poder delles, vendo[l] ho mesmo quanto mais suave lhe era ho bordão dos Padres que a opprezão e roubo[m] de seus cazizes, tomando-lhe os filhos e filhas pera seus escravos. E não esperão ao prezente por outra cousa, senão pella nossa armada. A qual[n] se for tal, qual hé rezão que seja, em muy breve tempo se consertará esta terra e a christandade se tornará a reduzir muy facilmente ao seu antiguo estado, e ainda melhorado. Porque aguora com esta nova fortaleza e amizade dos tydores muitos se quiserão vir pera nós, mas por não saber[o] com que responderá a India os deixamos sobrestar assi[13], até que os guovernadores mandem ho soccorro tão desejado.

7. E advirto a V.R. que se este anno por nossos peccados acertar[p] de não vir ho soccorro que se espera, que isto se á-de perder, fallando humanamente, por estas rezões que aqui apontarei:

A 1ª: Este hé o anno em que os malucos esperão pello recado d'El-Rey da tomada da fortaleza, cuja reposta tem os malucos pera si que por rezão deve de ser com armada que a torne a ganhar, pello conceito grande que tem d'El-Rey sofrer mal tomaren-lhe suas fortalezas. E não vindo nenhum soccorro perderão as esperanças que tem de ser soccorridos os tydores, e se consertarão com os ternates em perjuizo nosso.

8. A 2ª: Este hé o anno em que esperão da India pello recado do Viso-Rrey da nova posse que tomamos de Tydore e da nova amizade e vassalagem deste rey e da fortaleza começada. E se virem que não[q] deitamos mão de huma tão grande occasião pera se poder ganhar o perdido, conheserão[r] que não podemos mais, e assi farão entre si algum partido. O qual não pode ser senão em grande perjuizo nosso; porque, se se consertarem estes dous reys, pera se consertar Maluco hé necessario que venha huma armada grande de mil e quinhentos portuguezes, e aguora 800 bastão, e quando[s] não quinhentos.

9. A 3ª: Em todo este tempo não tinhamos porto em Maluco pera a nossa armada por todo elle estar contra nós, e aguora temos este de Tydore, que hé muito bom e a terra muito sadia, e homens que nos possão ajudar com suas embarcações, que são as mais ligeiras de todo este arcipelaguo, e os mais bellicozos delle, e maguoados dos ternates. E aguora, emquanto [483v] este[t] odio está fresco, quererão vingar-sse das injurias e aggravos passados, antes que o tempo longo lho tire dos corações por serem todos estes malucos mui inconstantes[u].

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[13] A prudent but surely painful measure. It is repeated at the end of no. 10.

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10. A 4ª: El-Rey de Tydore e os mais malucos, que ao prezente estão comnosco, são parentes dos ternates e de huma mesma ceita, e todos muy zelozos della. Arreceamos muito que, não vindo armada depreça, se confederem todos pera desterrarem o nome christão destas partes. Porque os annos passados vierão cacizes de Meca e do Achem e do Malayo[14] a preguar que não consintão christãos em suas terras, trazendo gramdes bullas e previlegios pera os zelozos della. E os ternates dão a estes[15] em rostro por não quererem guanhar tão grandes indulgencias[16], e v dizem que, depois da fortaleza feita, avemos de matar ho rey e fazer a todos christãos, e que elles serão causa de em Maluco se perder ha ceita de Mafamede. E este hé muy pouco affeiçoado à cousa de christãos, como mouro que hé. E se nos ao presente consente em sua terra, hé pella pouca posse que tem pera resistir aos ternates w se lhe quiserem x tomar o reino, e connosco aguora vay tendo muita. E se tiver tanta que possa per si soo resistir ao inimiguo, pode ser que nos não queira na terra. E aguora el-rey de Ternate lhe dá huma filha e ametade do seu reino, comtanto que nos bote fora de suas terras. Elle não se fia do Ternate aguora pello pouco poder que tem, e por esta causa lhe não aceita ho partido; quando o tiver, por causa de sua ceita pode ser que nos não queira. E aguora com não termos mais que hum baluarte, muitos se querem fazer christãos, maxime molheres dos principaes. Mas não ouzo y a bulir com isto pello grande periguo que pode aver de nos botarem fora da terra, somente entretemo-los com esperanças.

11. A 5ª: Muitos vassalos dos ternates estão enfadados da sua tyrania e folguão de se alevantar contra elles, mas não tem a quem se acoutem, e se vier armada, achão huma boa occasião pera mais depreça se destruir ho inimiguo. Os christãos todos não desejão outra cousa, scilicet, os moros[17], os celebes[18], os bachões[19], e todos estão já apa-

[14] St. Francis Xavier mentioned Muslim preachers coming from Mecca (DM I 11 no. 8) and at another occasion he stated that Islam was preached in Maluku by strangers. See our comment in DM I 40 note 38. « Cada año dizen que vienen a la Samatra y a Borney turcos, y a Terrenate, adonde están ahora algunos de los vencidos en la famosa batalla naval que dió el señor D. Jhoan de Austria [battle of Lepanto, 1571] » (Dávalos, June 20, 1585, in COLIN-PASTELLS III 33 note).

[15] That is, the Tidorese.

[16] Mark the use of Christian terms like *bulls* and *indulgences* for similar items in Islam.

[17] That is, people of the Moro area.

[18] People of the N tip of Sulawesi and of the Sangi islands.

[19] People of Bacan.

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lavrados com ho capitão-mor pera quando vier armada. Estes possantes [z] erão pera destruirem os ternates, mas elles depois que se lhe entreguarão, lhe tomarão todas as armas, assi offensi-[484r]vas como defensivas, por se arrecearem disto, e como não tenhão armas não se podem alevantar contra os imiguos.

12. Por onde, este hé o anno (como diguo) em que consiste ho conserto e desconserto de Maluco [20]. E por isso V.R. por amor de Deus trabalhe com os que guovernão pera não perderem huma cousa tão grande como esta, não fallando ainda na christandade, senão no muito proveito e interesse que pode ter ho Estado da India. Porque, se este se consertar, Banda hé tambem consertada, donde quanto seja ho interesse todos o sabem [a 21].

13. Não [b-] há mais, senão que N. S. dé a V.R. a sentir sua santa vontade e esta perfeitamente comprir. Em os santos sacrefícios e orações de V.R. e sua benção muito me encomendo [-b].

De Tydore, no anno [c] de 79.

Servo [d] e filho de V.R. em o Senhor,

Jeronimo Rodriguez.

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[a] *corr. fr.* dão ‖ [b] e *B* ‖ [c] assi *B* ‖ [d] veyo com *B* ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* ser ‖ [f] que este *B* ‖ [g] permittindo . . . aver] por causa de N.S. se lembrar de nos permitindo *B* ‖ [h] *add.* ficarmos *B* ‖ [i] e pera *B* ‖ [j] ho seu couto] asento certo *B* ‖ [k] estaa . . . perdida] esta christandade toda perdida que está *B* ‖ [l] vendo ho mesmo] o mesmo vendo *B* ‖ [m] rogo *B* ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* tal ‖ [o] sabermos *B* ‖ [p] não acertar de vir *B* ‖ [q] *del.* vem ‖ [r] crerão *B* ‖ [s] e quando *om. B* ‖ [t] este odio está] tem este odio tão *B* ‖ [u] constantes *B* ‖ [v] e lhe *B* ‖ [w] ao Ternate *B* ‖ [x] quiser *B* ‖ [y] *corr. fr.* ouzão ‖ [z] passantes *B*

[a] *add.* etc. *B* ‖ [b-b] Não . . . encomendo *om. B* ‖ [c] no anno] a 29 de Fevereiro *B* ‖ [d] Servo . . . Senhor *om. B*

Lost Letters

12*a*. — *Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues, Tidore, to Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, Superior, Ambon; February 1579.*

D 22,3: Urges him to come to Tidore and to speak with the king.

12*b-c*. — *The king of Tidore to Fr. Pero Mascarenhas in Ambon; February 1579.*

D 22,3: Two letters; invites the Father to Tidore.

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[20] Fr. Rodrigues shows to have a sound and penetrating judgment regarding «to be or not to be» of Portuguese power in Maluku. The future put him in the right.

[21] Banda was famous and coveted for the nutmeg and mace.

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13

FR. RUI VICENTE, PROVINCIAL OF INDIA, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, MARCH 29, 1579

By land

TEXT: DI XI 549-559 [551-552]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 485*r*-488*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

1. *Somewhat better news from Maluku: the Portuguese built a new fortress on Tidore island, whose king made himself a vassal of the king of Portugal.* — 2. *Hope of regaining what was lost.*

Jesus

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro

[...]

1. Las nuevas de Maluco que lá fueron el año passado, de la tomada de la fortaleza[1], están agora mejoradas con algunos buenos sucessos que han sucedido, de haver hecho los nuestros otra fortaleza en la isla de Tidore, dos leguas de la otra de Ternate que se perdió, dando aquel rey de Tidore la possessión de su reyno al Rey de Portugall y haziéndose su vasallo, por temor que tuvo ser destruido del mismo rey de Ternate.

2. Espérase con esto con facilidad no sólo recuperar lo perdido, mas gañarse todo aquel arcipiélago con muy poco trabajo, según escriven todos los de allá. Querrá N. Señor que se effectúe, con lo qual los christianos de aquellas partes, que iaa estavan en poder de los moros, se van recogiendo y mostrando desseos de se tornar, assí ellos como los demás commarquanos, al señorío del Rey de Portugal y a

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[1] Of Ternate in December 1575.

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nuestra santa fe. Procuraré de embiar con ésta un summario [2] si fuere possible levarlo el portador [3].

[...]

De Goa, a 29 de Março de 1579.

[...]

[*Autograph*] De V.P. filius in Domino,

Ruy Vicente.

14

FR. ANTONIO MONSERRATE, SECRETARY OF FR. PROVINCIAL, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter
GOA, OCTOBER 26, 1579
Second *via*

I TEXT: DI XI 641-671 [644 646 657]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 411*r*-422*v*. Original with autograph signature. Spanish.

II NOTE: Fr. Antonio Monserrate was a Spanish Jesuit who had sailed to India in 1574 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 163). At the time of this letter, he served as a ecretary to Fr. Rui Vicente, Provincial.

Text

1. *Death of Fr. Marcos Prancudo.* — 2. *Three Fathers were sent to Maluku. Fr. Ferrari's success among the Christians of St. Thomas justifies great expectations for Maluku.* — 3. *Marriage of a granddaughter of King Meale, recently converted, with D. Henrique,* bandara *of Malacca, and cousin of the kings of Tidore and Ternate.*

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[2] It is not said that this Summary is dealing with Maluku only (see DI XI 552 note 17). So I presume that Valignano's Summary is intended (our D 5), which he finished in Malacca in December 1577 and which may just have arrived in Goa early in 1578, when Fr. Rui Vicente was writing.

[3] This *portador* is mentioned in the first line of the letter: « Áse offrecido este portador que por tierra va para essas partes ». Sometimes, if rarely, the occasion presented itself to send mail by land, that is, from the Persian Gulf (Hormoz) through Persia and Syria to the Levantine harbours.

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Jesús Maria
Muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo

[. . .]

1. Fue nuestro Señor sirvido de nos visitar con dolencias en diversas partes desta Provincia, de los quales ha llevado para sí el P.e Marcos Prancudo en Amboyno[1], persona de mucha virtud y patientia en los muchos trabajos que por discurso del tiempo passó en las partes de Malucco, accompañados de muchas persecuciones y falsas murmuraciones que hombres de malo zelo imponían a él para se librar a sí[2], lo qual él siempre sufrió con mucha paciencia y edificación, hasta que N. Señor fue sirvido de lo llevar, según confiamos, al descanso eterno.

[. . .]

2. Para Malucco fue embiado el P.e Bernardino Ferraro[3] con dos c[ompañeros], con commissión de visitar el collegio de Malaca en lugar del P.e Provincial, y dahý seguir su camino con los Padres Jorge Fernández[4] y Gómez d'Amaral[5], y otro compañero se le pareciere[6], para residir y ser superior en Malucco[7], del qual se espera que hará mucho fructo como lo hizo en la Sierra con los christianos de Santo Tomé, siendo él un de los primeros que començaron de reduzir aquella christiandad con su buen exemplo y diligencia que puso en [apr]ender la lengua malavar y la caldea, siendo muy amado del Arçobispo[8], arc[edia]no[9] y christianos, y aun de los gentiles, como se ha visto por algunas cartas que de allá escrivieron.

[. . .]

3. El año passado se escrivió a V.P. cómo por medio de los nuestros avía Dios N. Señor traýdo a nuestra santa fe una nieta del rey Meale[10], que fue señor de la tierra firme y desta isla, la qual con su

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[1] He died January 29, 1578 (D 17,1).

[2] See D 1,2.

[3] This is the second sending. See *Gen. Introd.*, III 4.

[4] See *Gen. Introd.*, ibid. no. 43.

[5] See *Gen. Introd.* ibid. no. 42.

[6] Of a fourth companion nothing is known.

[7] Ferrari was the successor of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas as superior of the Maluku mission.

[8] Mar Abraham, archbishop of the St. Thomas Christians.

[9] His name was Gewargiyos (George) of Angamale (DI XI 833).

[10] He was a Muslim ruler, expelled from his country and living in Goa. On him, see DI III 734, and note 3 there. His granddaughter had been baptized in 1577 (DI XI 274-275) and was christened Dona Luisa (SOUZA II 1 2 28).

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ayuda perseveró. Y porque puso toda su confiança en él, tomó a su cuenta, siendo desamparada de sus parientes, empararla; y truxo a esta tierra Don Anrrique[11], bendara[12] y xevendar[13] de Malaca, primo hermano de los reyes de Ternate y Tidore, hombre de mucha valía con su persona y sangre, y tan buen christiano que por defensión de la fe, siendo capitán de las armadas, ha hecho muchas azanhas con mucho riesgo de su persona: con el qual el Virrey[14] y los Padres tractaron que quiziesse cazar con esta señora, lo qual él acceptó con el crédito y amor que tiene a los Padres, y hízose el cazamiento con mucho contentamiento de los parientes della, aunque salió al revés de lo que ellos piensavan, porque creyeron que le avía Dios de castigar porque dexara de ser mora.

[...]

Deste collegio de S. Pablo de Goa, en 26 de Octubro 1579.

Por commissión del P.e Provincial.

[*Autograph*] De V.P. indigno hijo en el Señor,

Antonio Monserrate.

[*h1*] Annua de la India para nuestro Padre General, del anño de 79. 2ª vía.

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[11] He is generally called D. Henrique Bandara; his native name was Kaicil Labusasa. He was a first cousin of the king of Tidore and kindred to the king of Ternate as well. He is called a Tidorese. Before becoming a Christian he was a commander-in-chief of native fleets in the wars against the Portuguese (COUTO VII/I 332-333, 362-366; LEMOS 472; SOUZA I 3 2 21). Very remarkably, the Jesuit sources do not mention his conversion in particular, which must have happened about 1572-1573. He assisted Sancho de Vasconcelos in his expedition against Ihamahu (*Rel. Vasc.* 272). In 1573, he intended to sail to Portugal, but at Malacca he was made a harbour master (DM I 693 no. 44, where Nicolau Nunes calls him a grandson of the king of Tidore). In this new residence he distinguished himself more than once in war (COUTO X/I 273-274; X/II 364-369; consult DM I 693 notes 105-106). Our text proves that he was in Goa in 1579 (See also DI XI 842 no. 8).

[12] Malay *bendahara*, treasurer, « que hé a segunda pessoa depois do capitão de Malaca » (DM I 693 no. 44).

[13] Malay *syahbandar*, harbour master, port officer. Consult PIRES, *Suma Oriental* II 264.

[14] D. Luís de Ataíde.

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15

FR. DUARTE DE SANDE TO AN UNKNOWN JESUIT IN PORTUGAL

GOA, NOVEMBER 7, 1579

I TEXT: DI XI 672-679 [678]. Taken from *Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Arm. Jesuit. 28* ff. 118*v*-120*r*. Contemporary copy in Portuguese.

II NOTA: Fr. Duarte de Sande had sailed to India from Coimbra in 1578 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 196). In September 1579 he received a letter from an unnamed Jesuit in Portugal, and this letter is his answer. See DI XI 21*.

Text

1. *There is little news from the southern parts. Aceh was defeated, but is preparing another attack on Malacca.* — 2. *Three Fathers sailed to Maluku.*

[...]

1. Das partes do sul, que hé o que fica pera dar conta, há muy pouco que escrever. Em Malaca ouve huma victoria do Achem [1] tomando-lhe humas gallés o anno passado, mas depois se soou aparelhar-se o inimigo mui de proposito contra Malaca. Deos a conserve pera bem de Japão, do qual não escrevo porque não tivemos novas este anno.

2. Pera Maluco foy o nosso antigo amigo P.e Jorge Fernandez [2]. Boa sorte lhe coube e bem envejada, ao menos dos que desejão de padecer. Tambem foi o P.e Bernardino [3] e o P.e Gomez de Amaral. O estado de Maluco saberá da geral [4] porque não há couza mais que escrever.

[...]

Deste collegio de S. Paulo de Goa, oje 7 de Novembro de 1579.

Indigno servo em Christo,

Duarte de Sande.

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[1] He is pointing to the attack by a combined Aceh-Johore fleet which was defeated by Matias de Albuquerque in the Singapore Strait on January 1, 1577 (*Rel. Vasc.* 339; DI X 1043-1045; Cf. I. A. MACGREGOR, *A Sea Fight near Singapore in the 1570's*, in JMBRAS 29 (3) (1956) 5-21).

[2] Fernandes and Sande had been conovices in Portugal in 1572 (DI XI 20*-21*).

[3] Ferrari.

[4] D 14.

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16

FR. RUI VICENTE, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 13, 1579

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 501*r*-504*v*, formerly no. CXLI. Original in Spanish in a regular quiet handwriting with autograph signature. At the bottom of f. 501*r* a later note « Vicente. Goa. 79 »; f. 504*r* is blank; the *verso* contains the address, a seal, a secretary's annotation « 1579. Goa. P. Ruy Vicente. 13 de 9bre. Provincial », and an abstract in Spanish by a different hand. The text of our first two nos. scarcely differs from D 13 of eight months earlier; meanwhile no later news from Maluku had penetrated into Goa.

II PRINTED: So far as the letter contains other news than D 13, it is edited in DI XI 693-701, which consequently omits our first two paragraphs.

III OUR EDITION: We print the passage on Maluku omitted in DI and a few more lines of the letter regarding Maluku.

Text

1. *Better news from Maluku: the Portuguese built a new fortress on Tidore island; its king made himself a vassal of Portugal.* — 2. *Hope of regaining what was lost.* — 3. *Three Jesuits were dispatched to Maluku.*

[...]

1. Las nuevas de Malucho que allá fueron el año passado, de la tomada de la fortaleza, están agora mejoradas con algunos buenos successos que han succedido, de aver hecho los nuestros otra fortaleza en la isla de Tidore, dos leguas de la otra de Ternate que se perdió, dando aquel rey de Tidore la possessión de su reino al rey de Portugal y haziéndose su vasallo, por temor que tuvo ser destruído del mesmo rey de Ternate.

2. Espérasse con esto con facilidad no sólo recuperar lo perdido, mas ganarse todo aquel arcipiélago con muy poco trabajo, según [501*v*] escriven todos los de allá. Querrá nuestro Señor que se effectúe, con lo qual los christianos de aquellas partes que ya estavan en poder de los moros, se van recogiendo y mostrando desseos de se tornar assí ellos como los demás comarcanos al servitio del rey de Portugal y a nuestra santa fe.

[... 502*v*]

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3. A Maluco embié tres, scilicet, el P.e Bernardino Ferrario, el qual en mi lugar visitará el collegio de Malaca, y de aý prosiguirá su missión con sus compañeros, que son el P.e Jorge Fernández y el Padre Gómez d'Amaral.

[. . . 503*v*]

De Goa, em 13 de Noviembre de 1579.

[*Autograph*] De V.P. filius in Domino,

Ruy Vicente.

17

FR. LOURENÇO PINHEIRO, SECRETARY, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 14, 1579
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 305.

II AUTHORS: SOUZA II 3 2 10-11 and 15-16; WESSELS, *Amboina* 68 (our nos. 3 and 8-9).

III TEXTS:

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 475*r*-478*v*, formerly 688-690, earlier 451-453 [*del.*], and no. CXXXIV. Original in Portuguese, written in a regular and readable hand. The brown ink, however, blackening the paper and shining through it, sometimes reduces this readableness a good deal. On f. 475*r*, at our no. 1, a marginal note « Mors P. Prancudi », and at the bottom « 79. Pinheiro » in a secretary's hand; on f. 476*v*, at our no. 21, the same hand draw a hand with a pointing finger. Folio 478*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the quasi-address.

B. *ARSI, Goa 38 I* f. 165*r-v*, formerly 98. Fragmentary contemporary copy in Portuguese in a graceful and very readable handwriting. Fr. João Rebelo, secretary of Fr. Maffei, noted several summaries in the margin. The title runs « Sumario das novas que vierão no ano de 78 das partes do Sul [*del.* scilicet, de Maluco, Malaca e China] ». It contains our nos. 2-3, 6-12, 22-23.

C. Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Armário dos Jesuitas 28* ff. 79*v*-80*v*. Contemporary copy in Portuguese in a tiny handwriting, at times difficult to read. The heading is « Sumario das novas que vierão das ilhas de Maluco o anno de 1578 ». It contains nos. 6-19 only.

IV NOTE: Fr. Lourenço Pinheiro was a Portuguese Jesuit who sailed to India in 1576 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 187). For his life, see DI X 21*. When, in late 1579, some Fathers were sent to the Emperor Akbar of « Mogor », Pinheiro

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substituted one of them as a secretary of Fr. Provincial. Our document may have been one of the first papers the new secretary had to write (DI XI 776). — From the quasi-address, saying that the news on Maluku did not arrive early enough to be forwarded to Europe in the ships sailing in early 1579, it follows that it was not dispatched in Ambon before May 1578, and that, consequently, it gives the situation at this latter time. Therefore the supposition of Wessels that Pinheiro got his informations from Fr. Diogo Pinto cannot be true because the latter visited Maluku between August 1578 and May 1579 (WESSELS, *Amboina* 68). See otherwise nos. 1 and 24 of this letter.

V OUR EDITION: We print the original letter, text A.

Text

1. *Will write on Maluku, Malacca, and China. There are four Fathers and two Brothers in Maluku. Illness of Fr. Paulo Gomes. Death of Fr. Marcos Prancudo in Ambon.* — 2. *Being the only priests there, the Jesuits have to preach and to administer the sacraments to both Portuguese and natives. They caused the Misericordia Brotherhood to be erected in Ambon.* — 3. *They catechize in the native language and make some conversions. There are ten or eleven thousand Christians.* — 4. *Reconciliation of enemies. Some instances.* — 5. *On visiting Christians living in other towns and islands.* — 6. *The king of Tidore sided with the Portuguese. Tidore destroyed by the Ternatans, the king of Tidore captured.* — 7. *The king of Tidore having fled, the Portuguese succoured him with a fleet in which three Jesuits accompanied the crew.* — 8. *Persecution of the Christians in the Ternatan territories. Many fled to Ambon, often making heroic sacrifices.* — 9-12. *Instances of this.* — 13. *The Portuguese and Fathers were well received by the king of Tidore. The people and king showed themselves interested in religious questions.* — 14. *The king and prominent men were impressed by the Christian doctrine and rites.* — 15. *Good disposition of a king's sister.* — 16. *Christmas celebration in the Jesuit church. Many people wanted to be Christians, but the Fathers put them off until more suitable times arrive.* — 17. *An outstanding native, Dom André, who had shown fortitude in adversity, bestowed a piece of ground on the Jesuits for their house and garden.* — 18-20. *Edifiying instances of vigorous faith.* — 21. *King D. Jerónimo of Siau resisted the Ternatans.* — 22. *The king of Ternate killed the king of Bacan by poison and captured his family.* — 23. *The captured Bacan princes and the leaders of Moro declared themselves faithful to the Portuguese.* — 24. *Conclusion.*

† Jesus Maria

Muito Reverendo Padre Nosso em Christo

Pax Christi.

1. Nesta darei conta a Vossa Paternidade com a brevidade possivel do que collegimus das annuas de 78 que nos vierão esse anno das partes de Maluquo[1], Malaqua, China.

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[1] Lost letter as for Maluku (5*a*). Pinheiro drew the news from this lost Annual, but from DD 6, 9, and 10 as well.

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E começando por Maluquo, residirão naquellas partes o anno de 78 seis Padres da Companhia, scilicet, quatro sacerdotes e dous Irmãos [2], os quoais todos visitou Deus N. Senhor com algumas infermidades, das quoais huma dellas pôs ao P.e Paulo Gomez em perigo de morte de huma postema que teve, na quoal foy queimado com muitos cauterios de fogo, da quoal aprouve a Nosso Senhor dar-lhe saude.

O P.e Marcos Pranqudo, que era superior daquellas partes, levou-o N. Senhor pera si de huma infermidade comprida que alcançou indo visitar os christãos de tres luguares, que estão tres ou quoatro legoas da fortaleza d'Amboino em huma[s] serras muito altas [3] por temor dos imigos. Viveo na Companhia 27 annos e desaseis delles guastou naquellas partes, dando sempre muita edifiquação em sua vida. Faleceo a 29 de Janeiro de 78.

2. Os exercitios em que se occupão laa os Padres são confessar e pregar, e administrar todos os sacramentos assi a portuguezes como christãos da terra, os quoais todos estão às costas dos Padres por não aver naquellas partes outros sacerdotes [4] senão os da Companhia. Alem disto se occupão em todos os mais ministerios da Companhia, acodindo a todas as necessidades assi spirituais como corporais. E por serem muitas e grandes, fizerão os Padres com o capitão e mais moradores que se ordenasse confraria da sancta Misericordia [5] — isto hé em Amboino — pera o qual logo em principio se ajuntarão mil pardaos [6] de esmolas, e se aedificou hum hospital [7] pera os enfermos, e polla bondade de Deus nunqua falta dinheiro pera acudir às necessidades que se oferecem.

3. Occupão-se tambem os nossos em ensinar a doutrina, declarando-lha com pratiquas na mesma lingoa, em bautizar alguns que de novo se convertem, ainda que são pouquos. Porque os lugares que estão com os nossos são quasi todos de christãos, cujo numero hé de

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[2] Included Prancudo who died in early 1578, and Paulo Gomes and Gonçalo Teixeira who sailed to Malacca in May in the same ship that carried the lost Annual, there were four Fathers and two Brothers (see D 1 note 14).

[3] Presumably some inland villages of Leitimur.

[4] See D 5 note 15.

[5] The « Confraria de Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia » was both a pious brotherhood and a social welfare and charity institution. It belonged to the fixed complement of any Portuguese fortress or settlement. Consult DM I 39 note 32.

[6] Silver coin of 300 réis. There was also a gold pardau of 360 réis but of less common use. See YULE 672-673.

[7] See PINA, *Expansão hospitalar* 407.

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dez ou onze mil: nas terras de Amboino e na fortaleza estarão mais de tres mil, e os outros em alguma[s] ilhas[8]. Acodem bem estes christãos à missa e à doutrina, e confeção-se no tempo da coresma, e alguns mais vezes; tambem[a] commungão. Vê-sse notavel enmenda em suas vidas com suas confissõis, porque o de que huma vez forão reprendido[s] em confissão, fazem por que não seja necessario torná-los a reprender. Isto se acha em muytos.

4. Têm-se feitas muitas amizades entre pessoas discordes, das quoais as mais notaveis são fazer-se com hum soldado, a quem hum menos honrrado que elle deu huma bofetata, que lha perdoasse com o outro lhe pedir perdão de giolhos na igreja diante todo o povo com hum crucifixo nas mãos. E o injuriado tomou o crucifixo e, beijando-o, o[b] pôs no altar e abraçou ao que o injuriou, dizendo[c] que por o amor daquelle Senhor nunqua mais lhe alembraria a injuria [475*v*] que lhe tinha feito. Outros dous soldados andavão pera se matar. Acabou hum Padre nosso que o que injuriou a outro lhe pedisse perdão na igreja alevantando-se o Sanctissimo Sacramento, e com isto ficarão amiguos. Outras amizades desta sorte, de que Nosso Senhor hé muyto servido, fizerão os nossos entre portugueses e christãos da terra que por brevidade deixo.

5. Vão os nossos, quando se oferece opurtunidade, a visitar as ilhas e luguares de christãos neste tempo da guerra assi pera os consolarem e animarem, como pera lhes baptizarem os meninos.

6. Depois d'el-rey de Tarnate se ter alevantado com a fortaleza, el-rey de Tidore veo com grande armada à fortaleza d'Amboino a fazer-se vassalo d'El-Rei de Portugual[9], o que o de Tarnate sentiu muito por ver os tidores juntos com os portugueses. E estando o rei de Tidore ausente, vendo que avia na terra do dito rei pouca gente, ajuntou el-rei de Tarnate 200 ou 300 embarcaçõis grandes e pequenas e com ellas foy destruir a terra d'el-rey de Tidore. Mas quis Deus que os não distruisse de todo, porque se acolherão a hum forte em que se defenderão atee a cheguada d'el-rey de Tidore. E como elle não sabia nada do que tinha socedido em suas terras, vindo com sete[10] embarcaçõis diante, por hum temporal lhe ter espalhada a armada, foy o dito rei tomado pollos tarnates e levado cativo[11].

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[8] No doubt, in the Lease islands.
[9] *Rel. Vasc.* 325-329.
[10] « Com doze » (*Rel. Vasc.* 331).
[11] On the war and the capture of the king of Tidore, *Rel. Vasc.* 330-333.

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7. O qual dahi a pouco tempo fugio[d] outra vez à[e] sua ilha[12] e mandou logo recado ao capitão de Amboino que lhe fosse socorrer[13], o quoal fez logo o capitão levando hum galião e huma galeota com perto de cem portuguezes[f][14]. Forão nesta armada tres da Companhia, scilicet[g], Pedro Masquarenhas e o P.[e] Jeronimo Rodriguez e o Irmão Guonçalo Teixeira[15]. Chegou esta armada a Tidore e forão recebidos d'el-rey e de todos os principais com muita alegria[16], e aos Padres mui particularmente dalguns christãos que ahi residião, porque não se estreverão[h] residir em Tarnate polla crueldade com que os tratavão [o]s tarnates.

8. Porque tanto que foy entrege a fortaleza de tarnates[i] aos imiguos, mandou lançar pregão o rey de Tarnate que todos os christãos lhe ficassem em seu poder e serviço, o que causou grande tristeza aos christãos por detreminarem de se virem connosco[j] com os nossos pera a fortaleza d'Amboino e se verem frustrados destas esperanças. Aqui se via os filhos deixar pais e mãis, e mãis e pais a filhos, parentes e terras, e esconderen-se com os nossos nas embarcaçõis donde os imigos os vinhão desencovar. E porque neste tempo[k] acontecerão algumas cousas notaveis, parece-me necessario contá-las com a brevidade possivel.

9. Huma moça honrrada natural de Tarnate, que de menina se fez christã e se criou em casa de portuguezes, lançando o pai e a mãy [mão][l] della, que erão mouros, depois de se entreguar a dita fortaleza, tomou por remedio pedir a hum portuguez casado, em cuja casa fora criada, que a comprasem a seus pais porque antes queria ser cativa christã que estar com o seu pai e mãi com perigo de a fazer moura. E alcançou[-o][m], e assi está cativa por amor de Deus.

10. Dous homens principaes, e hum delles parente d'el-rei, fizerão todo o possivel por fugirem de Tarnate e se virem pera a fortaleza d'Amboino com os Padres. E hum delles mandou hum filho, que tinha

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[12] *Rel. Vasc.* 343-346.

[13] That is to say, the Tidorese sent for help as soon as the king was captured (D 9,2-3).

[14] Vasconcelos sailed personally to Tidore and arrived there three days after the king had returned from captivity. He came in his galliot and was accompanied by Martim Afonso de Melo who had arrived in Ambon on March 1, 1577, about one month after the coming of the Tidorese envoy. Consequently, the captivity of the king must be placed *c.* the end of 1576 and early in 1577 (*Rel. Vasc.* 334-335; 340-343).

[15] Likewise the three Jesuits sailed in the company of Vasconcelos, presumably April-May 1577.

[16] See *Rel. Vasc.* 343, where Fr. Pero Mascarenhas is definitely mentioned.

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escondido diante no junquo dos Padres, pera que mais facilmente depois se pudesse acolher com sua molher, e assi[n] fizerão depois vindo-se pera a[o] terra dos christãos escondidos numa nao.

11. Outro moço de 18 atee 20 annos, regedor do[p] principal e maior luguar do Mouro[17], que tinha de baixo de sua jurisdição quoatro ou sinquo mil almas christãas, antes da entrega da fortaleza foy cativo pollos tarnates. E tornarão[q] a mandar ao[r] seu luguar insistindo muito com elle os irmãos d'el-rei que se fizesse mouro. Fez praestes duas embarcaçõis como que vinha visitar el-rey de Tarnate que então estava sobre a[s] fortaleza e teve tal manha que tomando suas [476r] armas se veo por terra a meter na fortaleza que dahi a poucos dias foi entrege[t] aos imiguos. E ainda que os tarnates o buscarão por todas as partes, escapou escondido em hum quintal dos Padres. Estando já os Padres embarquados huma legoa da fortaleza, de noite, parte por terra parte a nado, chegou à embarcação dos Padres onde esteve sempre escondido atee se vir com elles a Amboino.

12. Hum Dom Rodrigo e sua molher Dona Cisilia que por serem christãos estavão com os nossos em Tarnate, ambos primos comirmãos d'el-rei de Tidore, deixarão quoanto fato tinhão na fortaleza e se meteram em hum paró[u] muito pequeno e se forão pera Tidore, onde sua molher tinha pai e mãi [e] irmãos, e elle muitos parentes, e el-rei que era seu primo. Onde por serem christãos não forão recebidos[v] bem com o amor e aguasalhado que o parentesco requeria, e tomarão seus parentes por meio de os fazer retroceder a pobreza e necessidade em que os vião, sendo fortemente cometidos[w] dos pais[x] e parentes e do proprio rei que se fizessem mouros. Vendo elles isto, detreminarão como bons christãos de busquar de comer por proprias mãos fazendo[y] hortas, e do[z] que semeavão comião, e se sustentavão com muito trabalho. Este Dom Rodrigo foy o que veo à fortaleza d'Amboino da parte d'el-rei de Tidore pedir socorro contra os tarnates[18]. E logo em cheguando os Padres na arma[da] do socorro, a molher e mais christãos os receberão com grande agazalhado e lhes pidirão os confessasem e desem o Sanctissimo Sacramento.

13. El-rei de Tidore recebeo com muyta alegria o capitão e portuguezes, que forão em seu socorro contra os tarnates, como assima comecei a dizer, especialmente aos Padres. E logo deu gente pera fazerem humas casas aos Padres e a igreja[19], dando carrego disso a hum

[17] The principal town of the Moro area was Tolo (DM I 135).

[18] In the *Rel. Vasc.* the chief envoy of Tidore is called Kaicil Kota (o.c. 334).

[19] From 1577 to 1605 the Jesuits had a church on Tidore island; for 1596 it is called «of the Mother of God» (*Lus. 25* f. 107).

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homem principal dos seus. E os Padres forão visitados de todos os principais, e de huma principal irmã d'el-rei por algumas vezes com praesentes, que a seu modo e custume hé[a] sinal de amor e alegria de os Padres irem à sua terra. Esta gente de Tidore depois dos tarnates é a mais politica de todo o Maluquo. Hé gente de bom juizo e conversavel, e amiguavel de ouvir boas cousas, e de ouvir contar das antiguidades e cousas da criação do mundo, como mostrarão em hum cathequismo que fez hum Padre nosso[20] que tratava da criação do mundo, o qual folguavão muyto de ouvir[b]. Os chacises principais pedirão muito que lhes deixasem tresladar porque folguavão[c] de ouvir e saber o modo que Deus tivera em criar as cousas. El-rei tambem o ouvio huma vez, do que fiquou muito contente, e disse que se os seus cacises lhe soubera[m] dizer o terço do que lhe ally[d] dizia o cathequismo, que lhes não paguaria com muito. E virando-se pera a sua gente, lhes[e] dice: « A lei dos portuguezes e seus Padres são os verdadeiros e os nossos são huns desaverguonhados ».

14. Tratando-lhe hum Padre diante dos seus da morte, juizo, penas do inferno e da aeternidade, e espantando-se o rei dice, se as penas do inferno erão eternas, como atee então o não tinha ouvido, antes os seus cassizes lhes tinhão metido em cabeça que erão temporais! Tem elle, todos os seus principais com os cassises muyto respeito aos Padres. O primeiro dia que os Padres disserão missa em terra em hum altar portatil[f] em huma casa d'ola[g][21] por não aver ainda igreja feita, passando por ahi hum irmão d'el-rey, o principal, se edifiquou muito de ver os ornamentos com que o Padre dizia missa, que erão de cetim quermesim, dizendo que por derradeiro os christãos em tudo lhes levavam aventagem assi nos seus custumes como em honrrar a Deus.

15. Huma irmãa d'el-rei, que era casada com hum Sangai[22], o maior de Maluquo, que tem suas terras vinte legoas distantes da ilha

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[20] Lost document, 10*a*. Already in DM I 54* we pointed to the uncertain authorship of Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues, to whom SOUZA (II 3 2 15) ascribed the catechism. Comparing this passage with DD 18,7 and 20,4, we feel inclined to attribute it to Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, for he is expressly called the author of a Malay catechism and it is not likely that every Jesuit had to compose or composed one of his own. For the rest, we should not imagine that this catechism was a voluminous work.

[21] *Ola* is the palm leaf as used for constructing walls and roofs of the native house. It is not a Malay term, but Indo-Portuguese from Malayalam (DALGADO II 117; *Treatise* 374). It is considered having become a Portuguese term.

[22] Moluccan Malay *sengaji*, governor of a district, head of more than one village (CLERCQ 277; *Treatise* 375).

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de Tidor, vendo que não podia alcançar licença de seu marido pera vir ver el-rei seu irmão, tomou por intercessora a Virgem N. Senhora cuja imagem tinha consiguo, a quoal o marido tomara na queima de Maluquo. Conta ella que acabado de fazer oração a seu modo sentio em seu coração huma confiança certa de alcansar o que desejava, e a cabo de tres dias alcansou o que pedia. Mandando o marido fazer praestes as embarcaçõis a mandou às terras d'el-rei seu irmão. E trazendo consiguo a imagem de Nossa Senhora, a mandou aos portuguezes. Hé molher de bom juizo, folgua de tratar com as molheres dos portuguezes e pregunta-lhes polla nossa lei, e deseja ser christã mas espera tempo.

16. Por dia de Natal armarão os Padres em Tidore a igreja[23] muito bem com muytas peças riquas. Era tanta a gente natural de Tidore que vinha a ver assi homens como molheres, que nem de dia nem de noyte estava a igreja sem gente. Parece-lhe [476*v*] [a] esta gente muito bem o nosso custume e muitos dos principais estão movidos a serem christãos, e do povo muitos cometerão já que o querião ser. Os Padres os detem[h] com palavras esperando por tempo oportuno.

17. Dom André[24], primo comirmão d'el-rei, hum dos principais homens que ouve em Maluquo, de grande saber e grande capitão, que averá 13 ou 14 annos que hé christão, o qual sempre residio na fortaleza de Maluquo, sendo mouro foy senhor de dous ou tres luguares, e depois de christão antes da guerra sempre lhe obedecerão e servirão. Foy muito riquo e no tempo da guerra veo a muyta pobreza, morrendo-lhe filhos com fome, sofrendo isto e doensa de sua molher e morte e perdas de scravos com muita alegria por amor de Deus. Hé este homem mui sojeito aos Padres. Depois de começada a fortaleza nova que se aguora faz em Tidore[25], andando os Padres buscando perto della hum bom chão pera se fazerem as nossas casas, sendo o mais commodo [o] deste Dom André, o ofereceo muy liberalmente aos Padres, no qual consentio com a mesma alegria sua molher. Depois disto contou o dito Dom André que elle tinha prometido a Deus no tempo da guerra, estando ainda a fortaleza em pé, que se Deus permetisse que em algum tempo se fizesse fortaleza em Tidore, que elle daria hum chão dos seus pera nelle fazerem os Padres suas casas. Tem este chão que deu hum sitio muyto bom com muitas arvores de fruito, como são

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[23] See note 19. At Christmas 1577 the church was in use already.
[24] He is mentioned as a convert as early as 1564 (DM I 435).
[25] See D 11,2 and note 8 there. The building proceeded slowly.

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mangueiras[26], larangeiras e outras muytas, e tem oitenta braças de comprido e mais de 50 de largo.

18. Da christandade destas partes[i] se offerece contar algumas cousas de edifiquação e consolação. Em hum luguar onde hum Irmão nosso[27] foy visitar alguns christãos, que estavão afastados 10[j] legoas da fortaleza d'Amboino, vierão com tanta fee a elle huns christãos trazendo huma criança muito doente parecendo-lhes que acharião remedio em o Irmão. Vendo elle sua fee, disendo-lhe hum evangelho e pondo-lhe huma cruz ao pescoço, se achou melhor a criança e derão muitas graças ao Senhor.

19. A exemplo destes, outros em semelhantes casos tendo grande fee alcançarão saude pera outra criança com as reliquias que o Irmão tinha, emprestando-as a huma pessoa que estava em muito periguo do parto. Quis N. Senhor livrar assi a criança como a mãy deste periguo. E conhecendo-se de muita gente esta virtude das reliquias, creceo muita fee e devação às sanctas reliquias e[k] cruz. E outros casos desta sorte forão remedeados da mesma maneira[l] com muita edificação dos novos christãos.

20. Andando alguma gente da fortaleza de Amboino, christãos da terra, buscando no mato alguma cousa pera sua sustentação, como era tempo de guerra, estava-lhes armada huma silada dos imiguos, os quoais arrebentarão sobre a nossa gente e matarão alguma. Entre esta gente se acharão duas moças da doutrina honrradas, as quoais em vendo os imiguos chamarão muyto rijo pollo nome de Jesus. E animando-se huma à outra a fogir, dizendo que Deus as levaria pois aquelle dia tinha[m] ouvido missa, e ainda que os imiguos cheguarão a ellas e ellas cairão de medo, nunqua os imiguos tiverão mão pera as matar. E levantando-se ambas escaparão e se vierão à igreja direitas dando graças a Deus pollo beneficio recebido e prometerão de se confessar logo, porque huma das cousas que dizião que lhes dava maior pena naquelle tempo era lembrar-lhes alguns peccados de que não estavão confessadas. Huma dellas fez logo huma confissão geral de toda a vida e de antão pera quá se vee nella notavel emmenda.

21. Das ilhas e christãos dos Celebes vierão boas novas, as quoais são que Dom Jeronimo, rei[m] de Sião[28], andar lá muy prospero e victu-

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[26] The mango tree. The term is formed from the Malay *mangga* (mango fruit) and the Portuguese *-eira*.

[27] No doubt, Br. António Gonçalves.

[28] See D 5 note 4. He reigned 1549-1578 (ELIAS 71; but of his war against Ternate this author does not seem to have any knowledge).

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rioso contra os inimiguos, porque indo lá huma armada e hum grande capitão dos tarnates pera os destruir ou trazer a ssi, o rei de Sião lhe armou huma silada em que desbaratou os inimiguos, matando muitos delles e os que ficarão se embarcarão a nado.

22. El-rey de Bachão[29], depois de ver a fortaleza perdida e os portugueses quasi todos fora de Maluquo, começou a sentir seu mal e secretamente se confederou com el-rei de Tidore e com [o] Sanguagem[30] da ilha de Maquião[n][31], ao qual prometeo de dar sua filha, a principal, por molher. Estando já a cousa consertada com embarcaçõis prestes pera fazerem todos tres guerra ao Tarnate, sendo disto sabedor el-rey de Tarnate, parecendo-lhe que emquanto el-rei de Bachão vivesse, por ser homem de saber e conselho, não teria Maluquo seguro, mandou-lhe dar tam boa peçonha que em pouquos dias lhe tirou a vida[32], e depois de sua morte lhe foy tomar posse das suas terras. Tomou então el-rei de Tarnate o novo reizinho[33] e seu irmão e irmãs, e os filhos dos principais e os levou pera Tarnate, onde os tem [477*r*] retendo-os na fortaleza, crendo que sem as cabeças não poderá a outra gente levantar-se contra elle e vir-se pera nós. E hé tam sabedor que

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[29] Dom João, 1557-1577. He was baptized in 1557 (DM I 233-234). On different stages of his disloyalty (feigned or not) toward the Portuguese and the Christian faith, see *Rel. Vasc.* 236-237; LEMOS 468; DM I 690 no. 35.

[30] Another spelling for *sengaji* (note 22).

[31] Makian.

[32] In 1606, the king of Bacan complained that «le havía muerto el dicho rey de Ternate [Baab Ullah] a su padre y a un primo, debajo amistad» (D. Pedro de Acuña to King Philipp III, Manila, June 4, 1606, in *AGI, Patr. 47 ramo 18 no. 2*).

[33] Comparing several Portuguese and Spanish sources of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, I do not find other kings of Bacan than 1° King Laudim (Ala Udin) who abdicated in 1557 and was called then the «old» king; 2° King D. João, the Christian, the same of whom our text says that he was killed by Baab Ullah of Ternate *c.* 1577; and 3° this *reizinho*. On April 26, 1606, he wrote to Philipp III that his father had professed vassalage to Captain Álvaro de Mendonça of Ternate (1564-1567), and that he himself, being about seven years of age, was captured by the king of Ternate and imprisoned during three years (COLIN-PASTELLS III 52 note). He calls himself Laudim (Ala Udin II?) and he names his father Xhayro (Hairun). His Christian name is given as Dom Henrique. It seems rather difficult to reconcile these facts with the lists of Bacan rulers composed by some authors (COOLHAAS, *Mededeelingen*, Bijlage E; ENI V 288). It is embarrassing that in the quoted letter King Laudim-Henrique does not mention the murder of his father. See also SOUZA II 3 2 16.

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tem huns apartados dos outros para que não possão fazer juntos algum conseilho contra elle.

23. E agora quoando o capitão foy a Tidore[34], falou o rei[35] e seu irmão com os portuguezes que lá mandou o capitão[o], e isto secretamente, e mandarão dizer ao capitão e ao Padre que seus desejos não erão outros senão verem os portuguezes; e se Deus lhes abrice o caminho por onde pudessem fugir com[p] os seus irmãos, que elles se lançarião[q] logo com os portuguezes. O mesmo recado mandarão ao capitão os principaes do Mouro que então se acharão[r] na fortaleza, e que tanto que elles vissem embarcaçõis de tidores com os portuguezes, que elles não verião mais o[s] rosto[t] aos tarnates, antes matarião e entreguarião todos os que se achassem nas suas terras.

[. . ., *On Malacca and Macao*]

24. Isto hé brevemente o que se ofreceo dar conta a V.P. das annuas que recebemos de Maluquo, Malaca, e China. Resta pidirmos todos ser encomendados na benção e sanctos sacrificios de V.P.

De Goa, aos 14 de Novembro de 1579.

De Vossa Paternidade indigno filho em o Senhor,

Lourenço Pinheiro.

[478*v*] Pera o nosso Padre Geral. Summario das novas que vierão no anno de 78 das partes do sul, que por virem tarde não poderam ir nas naos do anno passado de 79. — 2ª via.

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[a] *add.* alguns *B* ‖ [b] *interl.* ‖ [c] dizindo *ms.* ‖ [d] tornou *B* ‖ [e] pera a *C* ‖ [f] *add.* homens *BC* ‖ [g] *add.* o Padre *BC* ‖ [h] por não se estreverem *B*, por não se attreverem *C* ‖ [i] Tarnate *C* ‖ [j] *om. BC* ‖ [k] *om. BC* ‖ [l] mão *BC* ‖ [m] -o *BC* ‖ [n] *add.* o *B* ‖ [o] de *C* ‖ [p] de *ms.*, do *BC* ‖ [q] tornado *BC* ‖ [r] pera o *C* ‖ [s] sobre a] subola *C* ‖ [t] foi entrege] se entregou *BC* ‖ [u] parao *C* ‖ [v] *om. BC* ‖ [w] combatidos *C* ‖ [x] pais e *om. C* ‖ [y] *add.* suas *C* ‖ [z] e do] o *C*

[a] são *C* ‖ [b] ver *C* ‖ [c] folgarião *C* ‖ [d] *perhaps corr. fr.* elle ‖ [e] *om. C* ‖ [f] *d. r.*, portatil *BC* ‖ [g] dela *C* ‖ [h] dilatão *C* ‖ [i] destas partes *om. C* ‖ [j] 10 des *ms.* ‖ [k] da *C* ‖ [l] sorte *C* ‖ [m] Jeronimo rei *underl.* ‖ [n] Mamaquião *ms.*, Mamachiem *B* ‖ [o] *del.* e ao Padre ‖ [p] *corr. fr.* p . . . ‖ [q] elle se lançaria *B* ‖ [r] *add.* ahi *B* ‖ [s] *interl.* ‖ [t] os rostos *B*

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[34] The actual captain of Maluku was Diogo de Azambuja, who arriving in early 1578 and not knowing that a new fortress was started on Tidore island, visited King Baab Ullah of Ternate, for whom he brought letters from the king of Portugal and from the viceroy of India, and who treated him in a friendly way (*Rel. Vasc.* 365; LEMOS 473).

[35] The young arrested king of Bacan.

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18

FRANCISCO CHAVES, COMMISSIONED BY FR. DUARTE LEITÃO, RECTOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter
MALACCA, NOVEMBER 20, 1579
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV 986 (where *Septembre* should be read *Novembre*).

II TEXTS:

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 515*r*-520*v*, earlier 264-268. Copy in Portuguese, presumably made in Cochin. Folio 515*r* contains only a note « 79. Malace. Annua », its *verso* is blank; the text starts on f. 516*r*. In the second half of the letter three titles are inserted « Residencias de Tydore », « Amboyno », and « Casa da China ». Folio 520*v* contains the address, written by Fr. Manuel Teixeira in Cochin. It is he who forwarded the letter as a « 1ª via » to Europe, presumably in early 1580. Another hand added « 1579 » beside the address.

B. *ARSI, Goa 38 I* f. 177*r*, formerly 110. Fragmentary contemporary copy in Portuguese, containing nos. 3-6. Two summaries in the margin in the hand of Fr. João Rebelo.

III OUR EDITION: We print text A.

Text

1. *Writes according to recent regulation for Annual Letters.* — 2. *Malacca residence a transit house for Jesuits travelling to Japan, China, and Maluku. Fr. Ferrari arrived with two companions, bound for Maluku; he is visitor of Malacca and superior of the Maluku Jesuits.* — 3. *Two residences in Maluku: Tidore and Ambon. In Tidore, one Father is living by himself; his work.* — 4. *Distress of the Portuguese in Tidore. A questionable armistice.* — 5. *The Christians of Moro and Bacan want to rebel against Ternate.* — 6. *This is the news until February 1579.* — 7. *In Ambon, one Father and one Brother take care of the Portuguese and of the Christians near the fortress; sometimes they visit the Lease islands. The Father wrote a Christian doctrine; it became a great success. The island of Buru switched from Ternate to the Portuguese side.* — 8. *Works of reconciling enemies.* — 9. *Fr. Visitor [Valignano] ordered Fr. Provincial to dispatch three Jesuits to Maluku. One of the Malacca Fathers was sent on a temporary visit there.* — 10. *The three destined for Maluku are in Malacca; they will sail by the Java route in a galleon sent from India. Five Fathers will henceforth live in Maluku.* — 11. *Conclusion.*

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† Jesus
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Nesta darei brevemente conta a V.P., seguindo a ordem que o ano passado de Roma se mandou acerca da distinção das annuas desta Provincia[1], do que Noso Senhor teve por bem obrar este anno de 79 polos que neste collegio de Malaca residimos e nas duas residencias de Tidore e Amboino, e na casa da China.

[. . .]

2. Hé este collegio como hospedaria dos que passão pera o Japão, China, Maluquo. E entre outras missões que este ano ouve, mandou o P.e Provincial tres Padres às ilhas de Maluco[2]: por superior de todos, assi dos que hyão como dos que lá estavão, o P.e Bernardino Ferrario, ao qual ordenou o P.e Provincial que de caminho visitase tambem este collegio, e de sua parte nos consolase a todos, já que por ser tão distante Sua Reverencia em pessoa o não podia fazer. E realmente que nos consolou muito com sua chegada e estada neste collegio, aynda que a estada não foy mays que mes e meio, poor ser este o tempo somente que por respeyto da moução se podia deter[3].

[. . . 518v]

Residencias de Tydore[4].

3. Temos em[a] Maluco duas residencias, huma em Tidore que estaa duas legoas de Ternate onde dantes estava a fortaleza, outra em Amboyno que dista desta sesenta legoas. Em Tidore esteve ategora hum Padre soo[5], o qual não se ocupa mays que com os portuguezes e alguns christãos, que são como reliquias daquela grande christandade que ouve em Maluco. Com os naturaes da ilha não se entendeo ategora por não termos posse na terra, aynda que o rey favorece muito aos portugue-

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[1] See D 9 note 1.

[2] Another Father wrote in Malacca on December 3, 1579: « Agora chegarão aqui, scilicet, o Pe Bernardino, o Pe Jorge Fernandez, o Pe Gomez do Amaral, os quais vão pera Maluco » (DI XI 781).

[3] Scheduled time: arrival in Malacca from Goa, late October; departure to Maluku from Malacca, January 1. Actually, the galleon must have left Malacca early in December, for on December 27 it was already near Gresik in NE Java (D 21,1).

[4] Understand: *Residencias de Maluco*; the first *Tidore*; the other (at no. 7) *Amboino*.

[5] Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues.

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zes. Hé tão affeyçoado às nosas cousas que indo ahy hum Padre noso [6] a pregar jamays quis perder pregação sua, preguntando muitas vezes aos portuguezes o que elle della não entendia; e sobretudo tem aynda [b] arreygado o odio contra os ternates [c] pella destruição que fizerão em sua terra aos christãos que [se] lançarão [d] connosco.

4. Estiverão os nosos em Tydore este anno em grandissimo aperto de fome por na terra não aver mantymentos e não sermos senhores do mar, mas quis Noso Senhor que, estando os nosos neste aperto fora de toda a esperança, lhe pedirão os ternates paz com muita instancia ou ao menos tregoas [7] até vir recado da India. E aynda que em tanto aperto disimularão, parecendo-nos ser traição, todavia forçados das necessidades e da muita instancia que fazião os ternates, lhe concederão tregoas e com ellas se fortificarão milhor e proverão de mantimentos. Depoys souberão os nosos fazer isto el-rey de Ternate forçado [e] por sentyr dos seus quererem-se alevantar, enfadados da prolongada guerra e muitas traições [f] que com elles usa [g].

5. Os christãos do Moro e da ilha de Bachão e doutras daquele arcipelago mandaram dizer a Tydore òs nosos que se querião alevantar contra o Ternate, que lhe mandasemos dizer se era tempo pera o poderem fazer, e se lhe poderiamos ser bons lançando-se comnosco. Mas visto o pouco poder que então tinhamos, principalmente no mar, que hé o de que elles tynhão necessidade, lhe responderão que dissimulassem com muito segredo até vir algum socorro da India e que então fariam mays a seu salvo.

6. Nestes termos ficavão os nossos em Fevereiro de 79 [8]. D'antão pera quá [519*r*] não sabemos o que socedeo. Há muitos anos que todas aquelas ilhas de Maluquo não estiverão tão dispostas, pera se nellas fazer muito serviço a Deos Nosso Senhor e a El-Rey, como agora com [h] qualquer ajuda. Noso Senhor por sua misericordia infinita ponha os olhos em quantas [i] almas, quantas naquelas partes podem vir ao gremio da Igreja; o desejão se se virão en nosa posse.

Amboyno

7. Em Amboyno esteve ategora hum Padre com hum Irmão [9], occupando-se com os portuguezes da fortaleza e com mays de sinco

[6] Fr. Pero Mascarenhas. In the wording, this Father is clearly distinguished from the former. Mascarenhas stayed in Tidore from *c.* May 1577 to February 1578.

[7] See DD 7,3 and 12,4.

[8] He mainly used DD 11 and 12.

[9] Fr. Mascarenhas and Br. António Gonçalves.

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mil christãos que morão ao redor della. Fazem entre o anno algumas saidas às ilhas do Liaser e a outras de christãos que distão da fortaleza algumas legoas. Fez o Padre que ahy reside este anno huma doutrina na lingoa da terra [10], na qual notavelmente se sentio muito proveyto nos christãos e já se começão a confessar nella. Tomam-na os christãos com tanto fervor, que pagão às suas[j] custas os meninos da escolla pera a treladarem [11], e dizem pubricamente que ategora não sabião nem entendião que cousa era ser christão. E assi muitas pessoas se confessão geralmente[k]. Reduzindo-se este anno à obediencia d'El-Rey a ilha do Burro [12], qu'é huma mor força que el-rey de Ternate tynha nas partes d'Amboyno, e de mays gente christam que[l] quanta há em Malaca, porque hé muito grande e toda povoada [e] de muitos mantimentos [13].

8. Occupam-se tambem aqui os nosos nos solitos exercicios da Companhia, scilicet, confessar e administrar os sacramentos e fazer algumas amizades, entre as quaes foy huma de hum soldado que avia muito tempo que tinha recebido huma injuria doutro, e tynha promitido de não cobrir a cabeça até se não vingar. Por meio de hum noso lhe perdoou e cobrio logo a cabeça, edificando o povo muito polo escandalo que nisso avia.

9. Quando os portugueses tomarão posse da ilha de Tydore pareceo bem ficar aly hum Padre com elles, e porque não erão mays que dous ficou outro em Amboyno. Porque de huma fortaleza destas pera a outra não pode aver recado nem monção senão huma vez no anno, e ysto aynda com muito perigo e trabalho, ordenou o P.e Visitador, estando em Malaca pera partyr pera a China [14], mandar dous ou 3 Padres pera estarem acompanhados e terem com quem se confessarem, e assi o escreveo à India ao P.e Provincial em Junho de 78 [15]. Mandou hum Padre dos quatro que residião em Malaca [16] pera confesar o Padre que em Tydore estaa, e de caminho o de Amboyno e

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[10] See D 17 note 20.

[11] That is, to copy. Of course, it was not a printed work.

[12] The island of Buru. Consult *Rel. Vasc.* 321-325; DM I 715: Buru.

[13] The sentence is incomplete and seems out of place between the foregoing and the following.

[14] Valignano stopped at Malacca October 1577 to July 1578 (SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* I 43).

[15] Such a letter is neither listed in the « Verzeichnis » of SCHÜTTE (o.c., p. XXXIV), nor does it occur in DI XI. So it must be considered a lost letter; see 6*a*.

[16] Diogo Pinto.

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se consolase com elles. Partyu de Malaqua[17] o Padre em Agosto de 78, chegou a Tydore em Novembro onde esteve até Fevereiro e dahy partio pera Amboyno onde chegou em Março e dahy tornou pera Malaca em Maio, onde chegou no principio de Junho de 79. Fez o Padre muitos serviços a Noso Senhor assi no caminho como [519*v*] aos portugueses, como em Tydore e Amboyno o tempo que se ahy deteve com muita consolação dos Padres[18].

10. Agora ficão em Malaca os tres Padres pera hyrem pola via da Jaoa a Amboyno, e dahy quando for monção a Maluco. Vão os Padres no galeão que se manda da India e huma galiota que daqui se manda, vista a necessitade que della ahy e do que se espera por ella, poys que dahy se escreve que sem huma galee se não pode fazer nada. E assi ficarão por agora em Maluco sinco Padres, dous em Tydore e dous em Amboyno, e o superior que posa estar ora em huma parte ora em outra. Permityraa Noso Senhor que estes principios abrirão outra vez a porta aaquela christandade que por seus occultos juizos se fechou. Isto hé o que brevemente pude colligir destas duas residencias de Maluco pera escrever a V.P.

[. . . 520*r*]

11. Isto hé o que[m] em summa pude colligir do collegio de Malaca, residencias de Maluquo e casa da China pera o escrever a V.P., em cuja benção e santos sacrificios todos os deste collegio pedimos humilmente ser encomendados.

A 20 de Novembro de 1579 annos.

Por commissão do P.[e] Reytor.

De V.P. indino filho em o Senhor,

Francisquo de Chaves.

[*Address* 520*v*:] † Annua do collegio de Malaqua e partes do sul. 1[a] via. Pera noso P.[e] Geral e toda a mais Companhia de Europa.

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[a] de *B* ‖ [b] tam *B* ‖ [c] tydores *wrongly ms.*, ternates *B* ‖ [d] se lançam *B* ‖ [e] *om. B* ‖ [f] tiranias *B* ‖ [g] usão *ms., perhaps corr. fr.* usa, usa *B* ‖ [h] com . . . ajuda] e isto com qualquer ajuda nossa *B* ‖ [i] tantas *B* ‖ [j] *del.* os ‖ [k] *del.* resudind. . ‖ [l] *ins.* ‖ [m] *del.* he

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[17] He travelled with the royal galleon, the « nau da carreira », following the normal route as can be seen from the dates given here.

[18] Fr. Pinto reported on his visit in November 1580; see D 25.

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19

FR. JORGE FERNANDES TO FR. PERO LOPES, PORTUGAL

[MALACCA, NOVEMBER 1579]

I TEXT: DI XI 782-785 [782-783]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 38 I* ff. 178*r*-179*r*. Contemporary copy in Portuguese.

II DATE: The heading of the copied letter contains the place Malacca and the year 1579. As the galleon sailed from Goa on September 11 (D 21,1), it was due to arrive in Malacca in late October. The scheduled time for sailing to India from Malacca was about November 15. So we may guess that Fernandes wrote his letter in November.

III NOTE: For Fr Jorge Fernandes, see *Gener. Introd.* III 4 no. 43. For the identification of Fr. Pero Lopes, see DI XI 782 note 2.

Text

1. *Sails to Maluku in a galleon with two companions, with a captain bringing answer of King Henrique to the king of Ternate, and with the murderer of the former king of Ternate.* — 2. *The king of Tidore allowed the construction of a fortress on his island; the king of Ternate requested an armistice. Good hopes.*

†

1. Coube-me por sorte ir a Maluco com outros dous companheiros em hum galeão, em que vai hum capitão [1] com reposta d'el-rey Dom Henrique [2] pera o Ternate que, por lhe matarem o pay, tinha a fortaleza pedindo justiça do que lho matou. Vay preso em o mesmo galeão o matador [3] e não se sabe pera quê.

2. Espera-se que se concerte per esta via tudo, porque hum rey grande, imigo deste e vizinho seu, recolheo os portugueses e em Tidore, ilha sua, fazem agora fortaleza, o que elle muito sente, porque sabe que com este favor o outro lhe há-de dar mao trato, e já tem

---

[1] His name was Agostinho Nunes (D 21). SOUZA states that he was sent as successor of Sancho de Vasconcelos in the fortress of Ambon (II 3 2 17).

[2] King-Cardinal D. Henrique had succeeded D. Sebastião in August 1578; he died in January 1580.

[3] Martim Afonso Pimentel (DM I 592; D 21,7).

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pedido tregoas. Pelo que, ou dê a fortaleza ou a negue, já ficamos reforçados em Maluco. E com isso os christãos, que com nossa perdição se tinhão perdido, esperamos que se tornem a cobrar com acrecentamento de muitos outros.

[...]

Jorge Fernandez.

Lost Letter

19*a*. — *Rui Vicente, Provincial, Goa, to Fr. Leão Henriques, Portugal, November 1579.*

Sousa II 3 2 4: « Certifica que tirou a limpo o negocio do Padre Prancudo, e tinha mui certa informação de pessoas de muito credito, que dizião que se o Padre não soccorresse a fortaleza com mantimentos da gente paga à sua custa, tirando o bocado da boca dos companheiros, se houvera a fortaleza de entregar muito tempo antes ». The letter was quoted by Fr. Sebastião Gonçalves in the lost second part of his *História dos Religiosos*. Cf. DI XI 717, 95*a*.

20

FR. MANUEL TEIXEIRA TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

Cochin, January 30, 1580

I Text: *ARSI, Goa 13 I* f. 41*r-v*, formerly 106, earlier 311 [*del.*], and no. XVI. Original in Portuguese with autograph conclusion and signature. The text is divided into nine numbered paragraphs. The paper has been cut off at the margins, so as to eliminate some of the paragraph numbers. On f. 41*v* there is an archivist's note, presumably cut as well, saying only « Giapan. 1580 ». Once, before paragraph 5°, there is an intermediate title. An address is lacking. No. 5 is taken from D 12,3-4; no. 6 from D 2,5; no. 7 from D 11,3, and no. 8 from D 18,7.

II Note: 1. We cannot share the opinion that our document is simply to be considered a « Supplement » to another letter of Teixeira of January 10, 1579 (See DI XI 794-802, especially what is said under I 1 in the introduction to that document on p. 794). In the postscript to his first letter, Teixeira clearly states that he will communicate the later news in *another* letter (« Por *outra* as escreverei a V.P. »; o.c. 801 no. 16), and he did so twenty days after the first

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letter. In the codex *Goa 13 I* of *ARSI*, the two letters are not joined, but separated by 37 intermediate folios.

2. Fr. Manuel Teixeira was one of the outstanding Jesuits in SE Asia. He arrived in India in 1551, made his studies in Goa, and was ordained a priest in 1560. He lived in Macao 1562-1566, afterwards always in India: Goa, Bassein, Cochin, more than once a superior, and 1573-1574 a viceprovincial. He was a professed Father, and excelled both as an apostolic worker and as a writer of a life of Francis Xavier. He died in Goa in 1590 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 34; EX I 79*).

III OUR EDITION: We edit the parts regarding Maluku, which, in the numbered text, bear the numerals 5-8. As these numerals form part of the MS text, we consider it needless to add new numbers, 1-4, to the paragraphs.

Text

5. *Distress and lack of food in Tidore fortress. Taking of a Javanese junk. The king of Ternate asked for peace.* — 6. *Building the new fortress makes good progress. The Tidorese and all the other people are enemies of Ternate and expect a Portuguese fleet.* — 7. *Expeditions of the Spaniards against Mindanao and Borneo.* — 8. *The town of Ambon numbers 5,000 Christians. Buru submitted to Portugal. The Christian doctrine was translated into Malay. A Brother visited the Lease islands.*

† Jesus

Novas de Japão, China, Maluqo, Malaqua e do Dachem
que chegarão a Cochim a 17 de Janeiro de 1580.

[...]

De Tidore, fortaleza nova

5° Que depois da vinda dos navios do anno passado estivera em muito aperto de fome, polla guerra que lhes fazia o rei de Ternate. Os socorreo N. Senhor com hum junco de mantimentos dos jaos que, querendo-os levar ao rei de Ternate, seu imigo, não poderão nunca passar [41*v*] lá, asi lhes foi forçado vir a Tidore. E que depois estando no mesmo ou maior aperto, lhes veo o proprio rei de Ternate a pedir pazes com tanta instancia, que os nossos[a] lhe concederão as tregoas como elles quiserão, e somente até que de quá[b] chegasse recado da India. E que agora ficava com ellas em muita abastança, quanto há muitos annos se não vio em Maluquo. E que depois se soube[c] pedir o Ternate estas pazes, por se sentir em aperto dos seus se lhe quererem alevantar contra elles, os quaes com isso reprimio.

6° Que a fortaleza nova fica já em muito bons termos, com seu baluarte muito grande e fermoso, e sua artelharia posto de modo que, tendo mantimentos, a não poderá já tomar todo Maluqo, com ajuda

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do Senhor. E os tidores contentes de nós e mui immigos dos ternates, e todos os mais mui escandalizados delles, arependidos de os ajudarem contra nós e esperando armada nossa pera todos serem da nossa parte e se tornarem ou fazerem christãos, segundo affirmão.

7° Que os castelhanos chegarão já o anno passado a Mindanao com quatro gualés e 20 ou 30 caracoras dos Luções, e saquearão todo Mindanao e tiverão o rei delle enforcado pollas pernas tres dias (dizião os celebes que era pera que se fizesse christão) [1]. Saquearão e destruirão Borneo tomando-lhe toda armada que tinha, que dizem que seria mais de 50 fustas, afora muitas lancharas e mais de 300 peças de artelharia. E diz a gente da terra que dizem elles que virão a Maluqo, já que os portugueses o largarão.

8° Que a fortaleza de Amboyno fica bem com huma povoação perto de si de cinqo mil christãos que pera ella se vem de outras partes. Que em muitas saidas que o capitão [2] fez, lhe fez N. Senhor muitas mercês e deu muitas vitorias. E que se lhe veo sogeitar à obediencia d'el-rrei de Portugal a ilha e terras de Burro,[d] que são grandes e de muita gente e[e] mantimentos, e huma das maiores forças que tinha o imigo de Ternate, os quaes prometerão vasalagem e parias a Sua Alteza. Que se lhes traduzio a doctrina christã em malayo, de que os christãos folgão e se aproveitão muito. E que são vindos pera elles mais de mil e tantos christãos, dos que andavão com os imigos, e alguns outros lugares que todos se agasalharão junto da fortaleza. Que foy o Irmão [3] visitar os christãos das ilhas de Liacer, e que nesta visitação baptizaria mais de cento e trinta crianças.

[...]

[*Autograph*] Vay sumado na verdade das proprias cartas que de Japão, China, Maluquo e Malaqua vierão. Em Cochym, a 30 de Janeiro de 1580.

Manoel Teixeira.

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[1] This picturesque particular, or rather this tale of horror, is lacking not only in D 11, 3, but in all sources of the expedition against Mindanao. The Muslim raja of the « River of Mindanao »(Rio Grande or Pulangui; at its mouth the present-day town of Kotabatu) was not captured, but fled into the mountains, as is evidenced by the Spanish sources. Consult COLIN-PASTELLS I 141-142 and II 25-27. So where did Teixeira take this story from? Presumably, it was only a rumour, a mere product of popular phantasy.

[2] Sancho de Vasconcelos.

[3] Br. António Gonçalves.

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[a] *del.* que || [b] *add. interl.* da India *and del.* || [c] *interl., w.corr.* || [d] *rep. interl.* || [e] e mantimentos *interl.*

Lost Letter

20*a*. — *Fr. Jorge Fernandes, from the roadstead of Gresik, to Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Panarukan; January 8-12, 1580.*

D 21, 2: Fr. Amaral fell ill again.

21

FR. BERNARDINO FERRARI TO FR. GOMES VAZ, SUPERIOR, MALACCA

[PANARUKAN, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1580]

I AUTHORS: H. JACOBS, *Un règlement de comptes entre Portugais et Javanais dans les mers de l'Indonésie en 1580.* This article deals extensively with just this letter, and it lists all the authors who ever recorded in their works the tragic facts of the loss of the Portuguese galleon or at least of the death of two Jesuits in it, which make the contents of this document. But to all of them this letter was unknown, and it corrects many of their statements. The article, however, does not bring the text itself, which is published here for the first time.

II TEXT: Alcalá de Henares, *Archives of the Toledo Jesuit Province, Varia historia III* ff. 496*r*-497*v* no. 154. Fragmentary copy in Portuguese, written in an all but clear hand and sometimes difficult to read, the more so because the ink shines through the paper. The copyist proves not to be familiar with the proper names. On f. 496*r*, at the top, another hand noted in Spanish « Otra nueba de Maluco de un galeón que passaba allá »; f. 497*r* is blank but for a few last lines of the letter; its *verso* contains a secretary's note « Copia de huma do P^e^ Bernardino Ferrario sobre a perdição do galleão que hia pera Maluco », followed by the names of some Spanish towns, residences of the Society, where this letter was read to the community: « Leida en Ocaña. Leida en Villarejo. Leyda en Huete. Leyda en Belmonte. Vista en Murcia. En Caravaca », showing the keen interest this letter roused among the Jesuits. The usual opening and the conclusion with date and signature are lacking.

III DATE: From D 18,2, and from the fact that Ferrari sailed from Gresik on January 7 [1580] and received the news « depois de sete ou oito dias » and again « depois d'alguns dias » (here no. 2), it follows that the massacre took place in January 1580. Ferrari is likely to have written his report as soon as he had

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received the particulars of the tragic event. So we have to date the letter in January-February 1580.

IV PLACE: There is no certain indication of the place of writing. Presumably Ferrari drew up his report at Panarukan where he had met with a kind reception.

Text

1. *Arrived on St. John's day [December 27, 1579] at Garsaim [Gresik]. Pastoral work on board ship. Went to Panarukan to hear confessions.* — 2. *Was informed first of the illness of Fr. Amaral, then of the massacre of the crew and passengers, and finally of particulars of it.* — 3. *In revenge for the loss of ships and the murdering of their men by the captain of Ambon the people of Tuban and some allied rulers planed to capture the Portuguese galleon; they were favoured by the carelessness of the crew.* — 4. *The captain Agostinho Nunes was too long in stopping at Gresik and needlessly wanted to take up fresh water at Surabaya. By this the Javanese fleet got the opportunity to come nearer.* — 5. *While the captain called to arms the Javanese started boarding the galleon.* — 6. *Entering the galleon the Javanese killed Fr. Amaral. Fr. Fernandes animated the Portuguese and heard confessions.* — 7. *Heroic fight of some Portuguese; among them Martim Afonso [Pimentel].* — 8. *Death of the captain Agostinho Nunes.* — 9. *Death of Fr. Jorge Fernandes.* — 10. *The surviving Portuguese were sold; some of them were ransomed.* — 11. *Others were ransomed at Panarukan by Fr. Ferrari.*

†

Parte de huma carta[a] do P.e Bernardino Ferario
pera o P.e Gomes Vaz[b] [1]

1. Fizemo-nos à vela desse porto aos onze de Setembro [2]. Tivemos muito boa viagem; surgimos o dia de São João [3] em Garsaim [4]. Pregava o P.e Jorge Fernandez, que Deos aja, todos os domingos e festas, e heu disia missa seca [5]. Contentava o Padre jeralmente, ainda que al-

[1] Gomes Vaz had been appointed superior by Ferrari when the latter stopped at Malacca as visitor of the Jesuit residence in October-November 1579 (DI XI 696; XII 278).

[2] That is, on that date Ferrari sailed from Goa, not from Malacca.

[3] St. John the Apostle's day, December 27 [1579].

[4] Gresik, Garsik, also Grisee, a little N of Surabaya, once the main centre of the clove commerce with Maluku. As a port it was later outrivalled by Surabaya. See DM I 346 note 2; Tomé PIRES 192-195; ENI I 819; PIGEAUD-DE GRAAF 137-155. SOUZA (II 3 2 17) disforms it to Zaem (from Garzaem).

[5] A mass consisting in the recitation of the prayers only, without the consecration. It was the only form allowed on board ship. See D. MAURICIO GOMES DOS SANTOS, *A missa a bordo das naus da Índia*.

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guns, que estão no outro mundo, se me queixavão[c] das amoestações. Heu como estivese ocioso[d] no galião e [com] algum descontentamento dalgumas cousas que heu não podia remediar, ofereceu-se-me que era bem passar-me para Panaruca[6] a confesar os que ahi[e] envernarão, entretanto que se fizese prestes o galiam pera Amboino.

2. Tomando primeiro o parecer dos Padres e do capitão, parti-me do galiam o dia seguinte da Epifania na fusta de Francisco de Fr[c]itas[7]. Cheguei a Panaruca, fui recebido daquella gente com muito amor e mostras do desejo de se querer aproveitar do sacerdocio. Admenistrey aqui os sacramentos e depois de sete ou oito dias recebi hum escrito do P.[e] Jorge Fernandez, no qual me[f] dizia que o P.[e] Amaral tornara a recair[g] e a se sangrar, que estavão a pique para se partir, porque não acodia nada ao galião. Parti-me para o galiam[h], mas no meo do caminho me derão novas que o galião era tomado e que os portugueses todos morrerão. E posto que não pudemos saber as particularidades que passarão, depois dalguns dias escreveo Eitor Borges, casado de Malaca, que estava em Surbaia[8], contando o desastre da maneira que lho contara Baltesar Clemente, feitor que foi de Agostinho Nunez[9], o qual escapou nadando depois de o[i] botarem os jaos por morto no mar. O desastre aconteceo desta maneira.

3. Os de Tubão[j][10] estavão injuriados dos portugueses, porquanto o capitão d'Amboino o anno passado lhes tomara muitos juncos e matara todos os jaos[11]. E por isto estavão esperando ocasião para se

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[6] The town of Panarukan in E Java. Like Blambangan, of which it formed part, it was still Hindu and resisted being islamized. « With the help of the Portuguese Panarukan was long able to maintain itself as a Hindu-Javanese principality, until towards the end of the sixteenth century it was forced to yield to the power of the ruler of Surabaya » (SCHRIEKE, *Indonesian Sociologieal Studies* II 236). See DM I 305; PIGEAUD-DE GRAAF 55-56; cf. also D 26,7.

[7] The Freitas family was bound up with Maluku, especially with the isands of Ambon, since the year 1537 (DM I 157 note 1).

[8] Surabaya, well-known port in E Java.

[9] Agostinho Nunes was the captain of the galleon and at the same time he had been provided as captain of the fortress of Ambon in succession to Sancho de Vasconcelos. He brought his brother (nos. 3 and 8) and more people of his family (no. 6).

[10] The town and port of Tuban on the N coast of E Java. See PIGEAUD-DE GRAAF 130-136; PIRES 189-192; ENI IV 384-385; SCHRIEKE o.c. I 20.

[11] For Sancho de Vasconcelos' action against the Javanese, see *Rel. Vasc.* 376-378. According to this relation the junks were three or four, and more than hundred and sixty Javanese, all from Tuban, were killed.

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vingarem[12], e assi vigiavão todas as embarcações que passava[m]. Surto que foi o galiam, Agostinho Nunes começou a dar ordem que os soldados viziasem de dia com armas para que não entrassem jaos armados no galiam. Todavia como esta ordem se promulgase por via de seu irmão, fizerão pouco caso dela e assi se encomendou esta vigia a alguns cafres, e os soldados se ocupavão em jugar, de maneira que se entendeo este descuido dos nossos. Dizem que para tomar o galiam se consertarão o rei de Tubão[k] com o rey [de] Sidaio[l][13] e de Bradão[14] e de[m] Joatão[15] e de Goni[n][16]. A tardança que fizerão os nossos mais do necessario todos ha atribuem à cobiça[o] de querer comprar negros e negras.

4. Parece que quis Deos Nosso Senhor desemparar Agostinho Nunez para que não entendesse o que lhe convinha pera que aprendão todos a não se confiar e estribar muito em ssi mesmos. Basta que não lhe bastando a tardansa que fizerão em Garsaim, quis fazer[p] agoada em Surubaia podendo-a fazer em Panaruca. E assi chegou a armada dos reis, a qual como soube que estava o galião surto, mandou algumas embarcações[q] pequenas de viniagua[17], e que dixessem, quando a[r] ar-

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[12] From this it is manifest that the real motivation of the massacre was political vengeance and a desire for requital of wrongs suffered from the Portuguese, and not directly or in the first place the *odium fidei*, even if an anti-Christian sentiment was certainly not to be excluded. But to the Portuguese of that time any way of dying by the sword of the Muslims was dying for the faith (no. 8), and the Jesuits liked to consider the two Fathers killed real martyrs.

[13] Sidayu, ancient port on the N coast of Java, E of Tuban. To-day, the town has declined in power and importance and owing to silt it is situated at a far distance from the sea (PIRES 192; ENI III 768).

[14] No doubt this is Brondong, an ancient port between Tuban and Sidayu. VALENTYN (III a 36-38, and map there) writes Brendon and calls it a village. Incorrectly he situates it E of Sidayu. SCHRIEKE, speaking however of the fourteenth century, calls it a trading centre of only secondary importance (I 24).

[15] The town and port of Jaratan (Djaratan, Joartan, Jortan) on the opposite river side of Gresik, has vanished from the map. VALENTYN (o.c. 47) spells Jatan. See PIRES 193 « Grisee has two towns which are separated by a little river »; PIGEAUD-DE GRAAF 167, 284; TIELE VI 194; SCHRIEKE o.c. I 246 note 85.

[16] Here we are at a loss. See crit. app. The country of Boni in S Sulawesi is to be excluded as being both too far away and not a seafairing nation. But what is Goni? Could it be an erroneous reading for Gresik or Giri? In the series of names one would expect Gresik.

[17] *Viniaga, veniaga*, Portuguese term derived from the Malay (*ber*)*niaga*, to trade, and meaning merchandise (DALGADO II 411).

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mada chegasse à vista do galião, que não era armada de inimigos, mas que era d'el-rey da Balabuão[18]. E assi foi, ocuparão-se os nossos em comprar. E como pareceo a armada, perguntou Agostinho Nunes ao piloto que embarcasõis erão aquellas? E respondeo que de amigos, porque assi lho tinhão dito as molheres javas que fasiam o bazar[19].

5. Todavia vindo a armada mais perto e enxergando-se as lansas dixe o sobrinho d'Agostinho Nunes: « Pesar de tal vem armados, e dizem que são amigos! » Bradarão tãobem os da champana[20] de Manoel Pinto que se aparelhase. E assi mandou o capitão ao condestabre e aos soldados que acodissem com armas. Mas foi tarde, porque em se tanger o atambor os imigos abalrroarão. Atirou ho condestabre hum tiro e passou o piloro alto, deu todavia no baileo[21] que trasião humas embarçasõis grandes e matou quatro ou sinco pessoas, entre as quais foi hum capitão. Fez outro tiro e não tomou fogo a pessa por estar molhada a polvara, e assi poderão chegar [496*v*] as embarcasões dos jaos sem lhes faser dano o galião.

6. Toda armada era de sento e sincoenta embarcasõis. As nove erão calaluses[22], as outras erão pequenas. No primeiro impeto quasi entrarão o galião, porque os nossos não tiverão tempo de tomar armas. Acodio todavia Domingos Nunes à proa e outros e matarão alguns, mas como os jaos fosem muitos, logo o matarão por estar desarmado. Aires Nunes pelejou no convés muito bem, mas durou pouco[e] porque ho atravessarão com huma lansa, e logo vendo-se ferido retirou-se pera a popa pera se confesar. Chegou ao[t] camarote do P.[e] Amaral e o confesou, ao menos lhe morreo[u] diante, e ahi matarão ao P.[e] Amaral, não sei com frechas ou com lansas. O P.[e] Jorge Fernandez sahio logo fora com hum crusifixo exortando a todos e confe-

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[18] The ancient Hindu realm of Blambangan in the easternmost part of Java. It resisted being islamized and maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese (PIRES 198; ENI I 105; MOLLEMA, *Eerste schipvaart* 322-323; PIGEAUD-DE GRAAF 192-198).

[19] The Persian term *bāzār* means market. In Malay it became *pasar*, but in most European languages it survives as *bazar* or *bazaar* (BAUSANI, *Note* 17 no. 129; DALGADO I 106; YULE 76-76).

[20] *Champana*, sampam, sloop, small vessel.

[21] *Baileu* or *baileo* is the village community house, the place for meeting to discuss the village affairs or to celebrate community meals. But it is also used, and it is in this case, for the cabin on deck of a vessel and from where the armed soldiers are operating (*Treatise* 156-159; DALGADO II 461).

[22] The *kelulus* is a light and rapid rowing boat without outriggers (Malay *lulus*, to slip through). See *Treatise* 162-163; ENI V 114.

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sando a gente. Porque não preguntava mais aos feridos senão: « Mentiste a Christo, irmão? » e assi o asolvia falando rijo. Derão-lhe huma frechada na testa e ainda desta maneira acodia a todos.

7. Dizem que Felipe Rabelo pelejou muito bem com huma espada e rodela, cortando muitas lansas aos jaos, as quais erão tão compridas que atravessavão o galião de huma parte a outra. Tandem lhe derão huma lansada, e vendo que era mortal quis-se retirar pera o castelo da popa, e sobindo a escada lhe derão muitas cotiladas nas pernas. Todavia chegou aonde estava o Padre e ahi acabou o bom mancebo. O celebe[v] que veyo por embaxador[23] pelejou muito bem, todavia assi elle como hum amboyno que foy de Diogo Jurdão, o qual matou hum capitão dos mouros, forão mortos. Martim Afonso[24] pelejou com os machos nos pés com huma espada e rodela de maneira que não deixava passar os jaos polo lugar onde estava.

8. Agostinho Nunes pelejou tãobem com hum montante mas não teve tempo de se armar. Confesou-se e, como se acabou de confessar com o P.e Jorge Fernandez, perguntou se estava vivo seu irmão, e lhe dixerão que era morto. E o Padre lhe perguntou, disendo: « Senhor, não averá algum remedio? » Respondeo: « O remedio hé morer pola fé de Jesu Christo ». E tomou huma lanssa, a qual como não fose tão comprida como as dos jaos, primeiro chegou ao seu peito a do jao que a[w] sua ao jao[25], e assi cahio morto sem botar samgue da ferida. Parece que lhe deu no coração.

9. Como moreo o capitão os outros se retirarão à camara da varanda, e os jaos se senhorearão do castelo de poupa e comesarão a accometer com a porta da camara. Os de dentro não queriam abrir.

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[23] Evindently Fr. Gomes Vaz, superior of Malacca, to whom Ferrari is writing, knew many of the crew and passengers who had embarked in that town. We do not know who was this man from Sulawesi, nor by whom and to whom he was sent as an envoy. Most probably « o celebe » means a man from Siau or Manado.

[24] Martim Afonso Pimentel, the murderer of King Hairun of Ternate. He was put in irons and should be extradited to Baab Ullah. It is very important that his name is mentioned here, so as to exclude the opinion of some authors that the unfortunate prisoner was Diogo Lopes de Mesquita, captain of Ternate at the time of the murder, who is said to have favoured it. See, e.g., SOUZA II 3 2 17; WESSELS, *Amboina* 69.

[25] When the first Dutchmen came to Tuban, they reported that the king's body guard bore « long spears, very beautiful, much better and longer than in our country » (*Waerachtigh verhael* . . 9). ARGENSOLA (99) mentions « lanzas de veinticinco palmos ».

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O Padre parecendo-lhe que quanto mais tardasse[m] tanto[z] pior, disse que lhes abrisse[m] para que lhes perdoasse[m] a vida e que elle queria ser o primeiro. Abrirão, e logo comesarão a matar aos que primeiro se lhes oferecião, e assi matarão o bom P.e Jorge Fernandez. E depois os outros entregarão as armas e lhes amararão as mãos e ainda destes matarão muitos, maxime se estavão feridos. Depois vendo que ficavão poucos não os matarão.

10. Dizem que morerão dos jaos sento e sincoenta, dos nossos até quorenta e sinco. Ficarão vivos vinte e sinco portugueses. Estes depois de lhes fazerem mil afrontas, os repartirão huns para se venderem em Garsaim, outros para Japara [26]. Jorge Tomás com Manoel Pinto e outro Pero Vas se resgatarão em Garsaim com outros moços, entre os quoais resguatei Matheus malavar nosso mosso, porque Francisco gusarate moreo com o P.e Jorge Fernandez depois de o defender com huma espada e rodella [27].

11. Os demais portugueses forão resgatados em Panaruca, para onde os mandou o rey de Pasaruão[y] [28] para o resguate dos quoais recebi muito trabalho, primeiro em buscar o dinheiro e segundo em tratar com estes mouros porque são demonios, porque quando homem cuida que tem concluido com elles então commesa. Gastamos para resgate destes cativos perto de tresentos crusados. Resgatei tãobem corenta livros, os[z] quoais com Mateus resguatei por corenta e dous crusados e meio, o qual dinheiro fis de [497r] algumas cousas que me derão os que vierão da China. Ho[a] dinheiro do resguate dos portugueses foi parte d'esmola e parte do dinheiro d'El-Rei [29] que mandara Agostinho Nunes para este porto pera matalotajem [30].

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[26] Japara, one of the most important commercial towns of Java in the sixteenth century. Though being subordinate to Demak, the ruler of Japara often acted as an independent king (PIRES 187-188; ENI II 179-181; PIGEAUD-DE GRAAF 103-107.

[27] This is one of the relatively scarce mentions in the Jesuit letters of their boys, this one illustrating the affection towards each other: a Father ransoming one of the boys, and a boy defending the life of a Father and dying with him. One was from the Malabar Coast, the other from Gujarat.

[28] The MS has Pasamão, obviously a less correct transcription for Pasaruão, that is, the town and coutry of Pasuruhan, an E Java port S of Surabaya (ENI III 354-359; PIGEAUD-DE GRAAF 179-184).

[29] The king of Portugal; in other words, money of the royal agency.

[30] When, in 1596, the men of Tuban tried to play the same trick, and in nearly the same way, upon the first Dutch sailing in those waters, they did not score a success. See the vivid description of this similar surprise attack in VALENTYN IV a 76.

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[a] *corr. fr.* casta ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* Vão ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* aqueixavão ‖ [d] *w. corr.* ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* aqi ‖ [f] lhe *ms.* ‖ [g] *w. corr.* ‖ [h] para o galiam *interl., corr. fr.* a Panaruca ‖ [i] *ins.* ‖ [j] *w. corr.*, Tu- *rep. m.* ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* Sibão ‖ [l] Sibaio *ms., corr. fr.* Sidaio ‖ [m] *ins.* ‖ [n] Goni *corr. fr.* Boni *or vice versa* ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* cobissa ‖ [p] fasser *ms., w. corr.* ‖ [q] *w. corr.* ‖ [r] *ins.* ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* poco ‖ [t] *del.* a ‖ [u] *corr. fr.* moreo ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* selebe ‖ [w] *ins.* ‖ [x] tão *ms.* ‖ [y] Pasamão *ms.* ‖ [z] *corr. fr.* aos
[a] *corr. fr.* do

Lost Letters

21*a*. — *Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Panarukan?, to Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, Maluku; January-February 1580.*

D 22,5-6: Reported on the killing of his two companions, and promised to sail to Maluku on the next occasion *via* Borneo.

21*b*. — *Fr. Pero Mascarenhas (?), Maluku, to Fr. Gomes Vaz, Malacca; February-May 1580.*

D 26,15: Reported on an English ship [of Francis Drake] visiting Ternate. The author of this letter could be Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues as well. Mascarenhas stayed in Tidore November 1579 to May 4, 1580 (D 22,4-5), and Drake anchored at Ternate in November 1579.

22

FR. PERO MASCARENHAS TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 15, 1580

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 182 no. 12.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 70.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 19*r*-20*v*, formerly 26 and IX. Autograph in Portuguese. Written with black Chinese ink in a bold, steady, and regular hand; divided into some paragraphs. On f. 20*v* there is only the autograph address and an archivistic note «20. Amboyno 80. P. Pero Mascareñas, 15 de Mayo»; it contains a well preserved seal.

Text

1. *He and a Brother reside in Ambon; another Father in Tidore.* — 2. *Great benefice of the armistice with Ternate.* — 3. *At the request of the king of Tidore and*

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of a Father residing there, he sailed to Tidore, leaving the Brother alone in Ambon. — 4. Visiting Tidore proved very useful. The galleon arriving there on November 18 [1579] brought no Jesuits. Great disappointment. Sends the other Father to Ambon and plans to return there himself toward the end of the monsoon. — 5. Arrives at Ambon on May 4. Instead of new Fathers, he finds the news of the massacre of two Fathers in the galleon near Java, and how Fr. Ferrari escaped. — 6. Plans to sail to Tidore again, hoping to meet Fr. Ferrari there at his arrival.

† Jesus

Muito Reverendo en Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Os da Companhia que rezedimos nestas partes de Maluco são os mesmos que o ano passado, scilicet, dous sacerdotes e hum Irmão [1]. O Irmão e eu resedimos nestas ilhas d'Ãoboino, e o outro sacerdote em Maluco na nova fortaleza que aguora se faz na ilha de Tidore. Todos pola bondade divina procedem conforme as regras e institutu da Companhia.

2. Este ano aprouve a Nosso Senhor que se fizessem treguoas [2] em todo Maluco e Amboino com os ternates, que foi grande mercê de Deos pera nós, porque com a guerra, como elles sejão muitos e nós muito poucos, temos muitos trabalhos de fomes, e estes christãos muita perda das fazendas e escravos, e com a pax todos passamos bem.

3. Por el-rei de Tidore me pedir muito afincadamente em duas cartas que me escreveo, que se fosse possivell me fosse a Tidore a ver com elle, e o mesmo me escreveo tãobem de llaa o Padre [3] ser necessario pera a conservação da terra ir eu a Maluco, porque o rei de Ternate cometia ao rei de Tidore grandes partidos, oferecendo-lhe muito pera que se concertasse com elle e matasse todos os portuguezes que tinha na ssua ilha, e o mesmo lhe aconselhavão alguns tidores prencipaes amiguos do rei de Ternate, persuadindo-o que nunqua avia de ser socorrido da India, por verem a tardança do ssocorro em tantos anos de guerra; finalmente que o rei de Tidore se via mui atagantado duns e dos outros, e, como se mostra meu amiguo e em algumas cousas ouve meu conselho pondo-o por obra, pareceo-lhe [19*v*] que estando

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[1] Fr. Superior Mascarenhas himself, Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues, and Br. António Gonçalves.

[2] D 11,1.

[3] Lost Letters; see 12*a-c*.

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eu em Tidore cobraria elle mais animo pera resestir a tantas promessas, pelo que me pedio afincadamente que fosse a Tidore, o que eu com parecer do Irmão [4] fiz por ser cousa de tanta importantia. E por então se oferecer boa occasião, que era ir o capitão desta fortaleza [5] a Maluco a ver-se com o rei de Ternate [6], e concertar a terra pera mais quietação destes christãos, moveo [a] -me alem desta rezão ir a Maluco por esperar que viesse por aquela via armada e Padres, e por tãobem esta terra ser muito sadia, que em muitos annos não há nella doenças periguosas, e deixei o Irmão pera doutrinar estes christãos na linguoa da terra [7].

4. Cheguamos a Maluco e aprouve a Nosso Senhor que aproveitou muito a nossa ida assi pera com o rei e mais gente de Tidore, como pera com o capitão [8] e portuguezes. Cheguou hum gualeão de Malaca a 18 de Novembro e não vierão nelle Padres, por de Guoa não partir nenhum navio pera Malaca senão hum que veio de Cochim pera a China, que foi pera mim grande desconssolação por andar quá oito e dez mezes sem confissão e, se não acertara de ir a Maluco, ouvera d'estar polo menos 21 mez sem confissão [9]. Veja V.P. quão grande desconssolação hé esta, pera quem anda quá no meio de tantos trabalhos e persiguissoens, não ter [b] sequer com quem se possa conssolar. Quisera-me tornar loguo pera Amboino com o capitão que se queria tornar pera sua fortaleza, mas fiquei-me em Maluco por mo pedir o capitão e o rei e o mais povo que ficasse, e mandei o Padre [10] com o capitão pera Amboino, com determinassão de me ir em o cabo da monssão com embarcassões de Maluco a Amboino, assi pera poder escrever à India, como pera esperar os Padres que virião pola via da Java.

5. Cheguaei a este Amboino a 4° de Mayo com esperãoças que acharia em Amboino armada e Padres. E por nossos pecados não achei nem hum nem outro, senão huma carta do P.e Bernardino Ferrari que o P.e Provinciall quá mandava a vesitar Maluco, e trazia consiguo

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[4] Br. Gonçalves had to stay behind in Ambon alone.

[5] Sancho de Vasconcelos. He sailed in November 1579 (D 26,9).

[6] We do not have another proof of a meeting of Vasconcelos with the king of Ternate. It was surely not impossible. Or is « Ternate » a mistake for « Tidore »?

[7] First evidence that Br. António Gonçalves mastered a native language. In the documents of DM I he was not yet evinced to do.

[8] Diogo de Azambuja (D 10 note 19).

[9] Fr. Mascarenhas had been able to make his confession to Fr. Diogo Pinto, March to May 1579 (D 18,9).

[10] Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues.

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mais dous companheiros. E vinhão em hum gualeão em que vinhão muitos soldados que os jaoos tomarão segundo dizem à treição e matarão os [20*r*] soldados e Padres [11]. E quis Deos que o P.[e] Bernardino Ferrari tinha ido diante a outro porto da Java a confessar alguns christãos, e assi escapou de não acabar com os companheiros. Veja V.P. quais ficariamos nós con tais novas, em tempo que estes enemiguos aparelhão grandes armadas[c] contra nós, que têm neguoccadas em reinos estranhos. Mas em Deos Nosso Senhor temos confianssa que nos livrará dellas, assi como nestes dez anos de guerra nos livrou sempre de muitos periguos.

6. Aqui estamos aguora todos tres juntos, mas determino com ajuda divina de me partir outra vez pera Maluco por a nossa casa estar laa soo, e tãobem pera ir esperar o P.[e] Bernardino Ferrari que á-de vir pola via de Borneo. Não me occorre mais que possa escrever a V.P. senão pedir que nos mande encomendar a Nosso Senhor pola grande necessidade que temos. Na benção e orações e sanctos sacrefícios de V.P. muito me encomendo.

Desta fortaleza d'Aoboino, aos 15 de Mayo de 1580 annos.
Filho indigno de V.P.,

Pero Mascarenhas.

[*Address* 20*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo en Christo Padre, o P.[e] Everardo Mercuriano, jerall da Companhia de Jesus. De Pero Mascarenhas.

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[a] meoveo *ms.* || [b] *interl.* || [c] *corr. fr.* armas

23

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR: SECOND SUMMARY OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

SHIMO (JAPAN), AUGUST 1580

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL VIII 406 sub D; STREIT IV no. 984 sub 1; SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* I, XXXIV no. 69; XXXV no 79.

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[11] D 21.

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II AUTHOR: SOUZA II 3 2 2, where he appeals to this document for establishing the date of surrender of the fortress of Ternate, and where he calls it « um tractado manuscripto, dirigido ao muito Rev° P^e Everardo Mercuriano . . . no anno de 1579 ».

III TEXT: DI XIII 134-319 [192-195; 235-236; 242-243; 245; 284; 285; 311; 315], taken from *ARSI, Goa 6* ff. 1*r*-59h*v*. Original. Spanish. It contains forty marginal notes added by Valignano in India in 1583. In the title the indication of the year was omitted. Valignano started writing this second Summary in 1579 and finished it in 1580. In the title of another text, in *ARSI, Goa 7* ff. 1*r*-77b*v*, occur the words « dirigido a nuestro Padre Everardo Mercuriano en el año 1579 »; this obviously was the text Fr. Francisco de Souza consulted.

IV PRINTED: The chapter on Maluku and some other pieces, in SÁ IV 149-163, after the manuscript in the British Museum (now Library), *Addit. 9852* (see DI XIII 137 n. 3).

V OUR EDITION: We print the chapter on Maluku, and some fragments that especially regard that mission. However, for a fruitful study, one will have to consult the whole of this lengthy report as is was edited in the DI.

Text

1. *Many islands and four kingdoms in Maluku. The king of Ternate is the most powerful.* — 2. *Geographic position. People. Language.* — 3. *Portuguese fortress of Ternate. There also Fr. Superior of the Jesuits resided. Another fortress in Ambon, likewise centre of Jesuit activity.* — 4. *The Jesuits numbered about ten. Their royal payment.* — 5. *Murder of the king of Ternate. Loss of the fortress. Destruction of Christianity.* — 6. *New fortress in Tidore. Hopeful expectations.* — 7. *Could not visit yet Maluku.* — 8. *Shipping opportunities.* — 9. *Like Japan, also Maluku needs a higher superior.* — 10. *An eventual viceprovincial needs the faculty to change the local superiors. He must be able to cope with the continuous navigations.* — 11. *His term must be five years, and he should stay in Malacca at the time the ships sail off [to India].* — 12. *He can be viceprovincial of Malacca and Maluku only, and not at the same time of Macao and Japan as well.* — 13. *The superior of Maluku has to be virtuous and prudent.* — 14. *Need of language schools.* — 15. *One should be erected in Maluku for the Malay language.* — 16. *Maluku, after Japan, has to be provided for with preference.* — 17. *Every Portuguese settlement of Maluku should be supplied with a Jesuit preacher.*

† Ihs.

SUMMARIO DE LAS COSAS QUE PERTENECEN A LA PROVINCIA DE LA INDIA ORIENTAL Y AL GOVIERNO DELLA,
compuesto por el P.^e Alexandro Valignano, visitador della, y dirigido a nuestro Padre General Everardo Mercuriano en el año . . .
[. . .]

De las residencias de Maluco.
cap. 13

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1. Maluco es un reyno de muchas islas o, pera mejor dezir, es una región de diversas islas que contienen en sí muchos reinos. Porque Maluco propriamente se divide en quatro reynos, scilicet, Ternate, Tidore, Bachán y Zilolo, mas comúnmente por Maluco entendemos todas las islas que están en aquellas partes. Y así allende de los dichos quatro reinos, incluye las tierras de los Siaos, del Moro, de los Selebes, de Amboino y de muchos otros lugares. Y porque el rrey de Ternate es el más poderoso entre ellos y como señor de los otros, por esso se dize rey de Maluco.

2. Están todas aquellas islas o debaxo de la línea o uno, dos, tres hasta quatro grados apartadas della. Y son[1] muy semejantes quanto a sus qualidades y a su color a la demás gente de la India. Y aunque tienen propria lengoa differente de las otras, todavía se entiende también por aquellas partes la lengoa malaya que corre en Malaca. Y son todas aquellas islas por la maior parte de moros, entre los quales avían hecho los nuestros más de setenta o ochenta mil chrystianos[2], y entre ellos algunos reyes, es a saber, el de Bachán y de los Siaos[3].

3. Y porque en la isla de Ternate tenía Su Alteza una pequeña fortaleza con quarenta o cincoenta vezinos portugeses, por la qual era como señor de aquellos reynos, muy temido y obedecido de todos, teníamos nosotros también aý una casa pegada a la fortaleza con su yglesia, en la qual residía ordinariamente el superior de todos los Padres que estavan en equellas partes en otras diversas residencias alderedor de Ternate, como son las tierras del Moro, de los Siaos, de los Selebes y de Bachán. Otra casa más principal después de aquella de Ternate tenían en la isla de Amboino, que está de Ternate ochenta leguas, en la qual tiene Su Alteza otra pequeña fortaleza. Y desta casa acudían a las más islas que están alderedor de Amboino, adonde avía grande número de chrystianos.

4. Estavan en estas partes de Maluco hasta diez de los nuestros[4], no porque no fuessen necessarios más mas por falta de obreros. Estos diez acudían y visitavan como mejor podían aquellos chrystianos, administrándoles los sacramentos y haziendo todo lo más que se ha dicho de las otras residencias. Susténtanse los Padres de Maluco con seiscientos pardaos que Su Alteza mandava darles en la alhóndiga de Malaca,

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[1] Here the grammatical subject, not enuntiated, has to be *los hombres, people*.

[2] A much more realistic number than the 200,000 he gave in 1574 (DM I 655).

[3] See D 5 notes 4-5.

[4] This number of Jesuits in Maluku was not often reached.

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y con algunos quintales horros de derechos de clavo, de que es aquella tierra abundantíssima, que importavan otros quatrocientos pardaos [5]. Y para cada uno de los Padres que estavan en las partes de Amboino davan en la misma alhóndiga de Malaca cada día como sesenta maravedís [6].

5. Yvase aquella chrystiandad con mucho provecho dilatando. Mas por nuestros peccados y mal orden de los capitanes de aquellas partes, mataron al rey de Maluco [7] y no acudieron de la manera que se devía a sujetar el reino. Y así se llevantó el hijo del muerto [8] y por descuido dellos se fue poco a poco de tal manera apoderando, que destruyó toda aquella chrystiandad haziendo que los reyes que eran chrystianos y todos los demás tornasen a su seta de moros. Y finalmente cercó la fortaleza de Ternate y después de la tener cercada cinco años, no siendo socorrida a tiempo de nuestra parte, la tomó por hambre el año de 1575 [9], quedando como señor de toda aquella tierra. Y los portugeses con los Padres parte se fueron para la India y parte quedaron en la fortaleza de Amboino [10].

6. Mas en el año de 1577 hizieron los portugeses otra fortaleza en la isla de Tidori [11], que está una o dos leguas de Ternate, y así se repartieron los Padres y los portugeses en estas dos fortalezas. Mas como toda aquella tierra está rebuelta, no pueden hazer ni en la conversión, ni en doctrinar los chrystianos lo que es necessario. Mas con la gracia de nuestro Señor se espera que Su Alteza dará a esta desorden remedio sujetando de nuevo a Maluco. Y entonces se mandarán para allá muchos Padres, y se podrá hazer un seminario de los naturales como se ha dicho de las otras partes [12].

7. Esta es la relación que tengo de Maluco, el qual hasta agora no pude visitar por estar todo rebuelto con estas guerras, mas tornán-

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[5] See DM I 659 no. 2.

[6] At the time of King D. João III a maravedí was 27 reis (SCHURHAMMER *Franz Xaver* I 707). Compare this with what Valignano mentioned in 1574 (DM I 659 no. 3).

[7] On February 28, 1570, Martim Afonso Pimentel stabbed King Hairun to death by order of his uncle, Captain Diogo Lopes de Mesquita (DM I 580; 592).

[8] King Baab Ullah (D 10 note 7).

[9] On one of the last days of December.

[10] See DM I 706 note 10.

[11] The first stone was laid on January 6, 1578 (D 7 note 7; D 11 note 8).

[12] See D 5,9-10.

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dose a concertar con la ayuda de Dios, se visitará y se pondrá nueva orden en aquella viña, que era una de las maiores que teníamos en todo el oriente.

8. Está Maluco más de quatrocientas leguas de Malaca, adonde se va en dos mociones, hoc est, en dos tiempos ciertos del año, que son el 1° en Agosto por la vía de Burneo, y el 2° en Deziembre por la vía de la Java y de Amboino [13]. Mas todavía no tornan de allá a Malaca más que una vez en el año, que es en Julio o principio de Agosto [14], y porque es camino muy differente del de la China y Japón, no se puede de Maluco yr a la China ni Japón, ni de aquellas partes a Maluco, si no es tornando a pasar por Malaca.

[... *Chap. 21: On the Superiors requested*]

9. En Maluco y en Japón son también necesarios sus superiores universales que tengan la superintendencia de aquellas partes, porque como la christiandad está hecha en diversos reinos, y hai en diversas partes muchas residencias, no se puede escusar un superior universal así en Maluco como en Japón que vaya visitando y tenga la superintendencia en todas ellas [15]. Los quales no pueden estar atados al govierno de una casa particular, y como aquellas partes sean tan remotas y cada día se offrezcan nuevas impresas para dilatar nuestra ley, no puede qualquiera hombre ser superior de aquellas partes, sino persona muy prudente y muy grave.

[... *Chap. 22: On the Qualities and Faculties of the Superiors*]

10. El viceprovincial de las partes del sul, quando se hiziere, ha de tener quasi las mismas qualidades, aunque no es necessario ni conviene en muchas cosas darle tanta facultad, y especialmente quanto al excluir y admitir en el cuerpo de la Compañía los subjectos, mas bastarle á la facultad ordinaria que se concede a los provinciales de Eu-

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[13] See DM I 9*; Valignano's departure times, from Malacca, are somewhat on the early size.

[14] That is to say, the galleon had to leave Tidore in February and to wait out the monsoon in the Bay of Ambon until *c.* May 15; from then it could sail to Malacca whenever it was suitable during the months May to August.

[15] For the problem of a viceprovincial or superintendent with seat in Malacca, cf. D 2. In one of the marginal additions Valignano declared: « Después que visité todo Japón, entendí que no puede en ninguna manera aver un viceprovincial de todas estas partes yuntas, mas quedando de una parte China y Japón, este viceprovincial como está dicho ultra Ganjem o de las partes del sul, entendrá solamente con las casas y residencias de los malayos y malucos » (DI XIII 235).

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ropa. Y si al Provincial pareciere le podría acrecentar la facultad de mudar los superiores de aquellas partes, así porque están muy remotas del Provincial, como porque, teniendo sobre ellos más poder, podría mejor proveer, consolar y acommodar los subjectos al tiempo que los visita. Y con esto ha de tener mejor disposición y más salud corporal, y particularmente ha de tener buena comprexión para navegar, porque ha de ir quasi continuamente embarcado por muy largas, trabajosas y peligrosas navegaciones.

11. Este también ha de estar en su officio a lo menos cinco años en los quales ha de visitar una vez todas aquellas partes de Maluco, Malaca, China y Japón, las quales no puede visitar en más breve tiempo. Y quanto pudiese al tiempo de las mociones deve procurar de allarse en Malaca porque es lugar cómmodo así para el despacho de todas aquellas partes, como también para tratar y escrevir al Provincial al qual ha de dar siempre relación de lo que haze siéndole en todo subordinado y obediente.

12. Ya se ha dicho que este viceprovincial no á de ser juntamente de Malaca, Maluco, China y Japón, mas de los malayos y Maluco solos. Y como tendrá subordinación al Provincial de la India, bastarle an las facultades aquí dichas, con la de mudar los superiores, y aun parece que se le á de dar de fazer residencias nuevas [16].

[...]

13. El superior de Maluco, porque está también muy lexos de su Provincial, y se offrecen nuevas impresas y muchos negocios que tratar en diversas partes, ha de ser hombre de virtud y prudencia, aunque como no es cosa tan grande como Japón, no es necessario tener tantos talentos.

[... *Chap. 33*: *On Seminaries to be founded*]

14. Siendo el principal cuidado de los nuestros en aquellas partes la conversión de los gentiles y conservación de los christianos, lo qual no se puede en ninguna manera hazer bien si no saben las lengoas de las tierras, bien se entiende quán necesario sea hazerse en esta Provincia seminarios donde los nuestros aprendan las dichas lengoas. Pues sin ellas se trabaja debalde y no se cumple con la obligación que tenemos, ny los nuestros pueden bivir consolados entre los christianos, ni los christianos con ellos no se entendiendo.

[...]

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[16] This no. 12 is one of the later additions made by Valignano. It is only to be found in the MS of the British Library. It repeats the ideas of the one cited in the foregoing note.

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15. La 2ª provincia es de Maluco [17], la qual aunque agora no está dispuesta para esto, todavía quando fuere nuestro Señor servido de tornarla a quietar y poner del todo debaxo del dominio de Su Alteza, como estava primero, tendrá también necessidad de un seminario, porque hai mucha christiandad y conversión. Mas porque aquella lengoa es muy fácil de aprender [18], y es cosa de menos importancia que Japón, bastará que sean Padres los que se embían allá [19], y no es necesario que sea este seminario ni tan copioso ni tan ordenado, porque aprendiendo un año pueden en todo servir como muy buenos obreros, y el tiempo irá mostrando el número de la gente que será aý necessaria.

[... *Chap. 38: On Assigning the Right Men to the Various Places*]

16. La enpresa maior después de Japón es la que tenemos en Maluco, quando estuvieren en paz como estava primero. Y así porque hai fortalezas de portugeses, como porque hai mucha conversión y están en partes remotas, se deven primero mejor proveer que las otras.

[... *Chap. 39: On the Number of Subjects in every Station*]

17. En Maluco ha de estar en cada lugar de los portugeses uno que les pueda predicar, y el tiempo da a entender que número de obreros se deve allí embiar.

[...]

Acabóse este Sumario en el mes de Agosto del año 1580.

Finis.

Lost Letters

23a. — Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Malacca, to Fr. Everard Mercurian, General, Rome; before August 30, 1580.

D 30,1.

23b. — Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Malacca, to Fr. Giovanni Battista de Loffreda, Goa; prior to August 30, 1580.

D 28: « Me scrive che torna in Malucco ».

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[17] In the planning of Valignano such language schools were to be erected 1° in Japan, 2° in Maluku, 3° on the Malabar Coast, 4° in Salsete near Goa, and 5° in the North of India (DI XIII 284-286).

[18] Such was the impression of many Jesuit missionaries, for instance: « A lingoa malaya, que por todas estas partes corre, hé a mais facil que se pode crer » (Francisco Vieira, Ternate, March 9, 1559: DM I 267). In our days an author wrote « Malay is an easy language. Bafflingly easy. At the end of ten weeks you feel that you know all that there is to be known ». But he added: « At the end of ten years, you know that you never will ». (M. B. LEWIS, *Teach yourself Malay*, London 1965, p. XI).

[19] That is, no young Scholastics should be sent there.

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24

FR. RUI VICENTE, PROVINCIAL, [TO FR. GENERAL, ROME]

Annual Letter

GOA, OCTOBER 20, 1580

DOCUMENTO 24

TEXT: DI XII 93-114 [101], taken from *ARSI, Goa 31* ff. 431*r*-442*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

1. *The Portuguese of Tidore, suffering from lack of food, were prodigiously helped by a Javanese ship forced to touch there.* — 2. *They made armistice with the king of Ternate. Good news from Ambon and from Aceh as well.*

[...]

1. De las partes de Malucho vino nueva que la fortaleza de Tidore, donde fueron portuguesses llamados del mesmo rey, iba ya en muy buen punto, y que, estando con mucha falta de mantenimientos por la guerra que les hazía el rey de Ternate, fueron socorridos divinamente yendo allí, o siendo llevado, un navío de jaos que queriendo passar a Ternate no pudo y fuele forçado tomar Tidore y vender allí los mantenimientos que llevaba [1].

2. Y estando en otro aprieto de hambre, les vino a pedir pazes el rey de Ternate [2]. Los nuestros le concedieron treguas hasta irles recado de la India, y esto muy a contento de los portuguesses. De Amboino también se contaron muy buenas nuevas, y también de la muerte

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[1] On this junk from Java, see D 12,3.

[2] D 12,4.

[3] According to the Genealogic Synopsis in ENI (I 72-73), Sultan Husein Ali Riayat Syah died in June 1579, and was followed first by his baby son who died after a few days, then by Sri Alam who was murdered soon, then by Zainul Abidin on whom fell the same lot in October 1579, and finally by Sultan Ala ad-din Mansur Syah, 1579-1585 or 1586. See LOMBARD 186 and 263.

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el rey de los achens[3], y como el reyno quedava diviso y muy apareado para ser entrado y conquistado de los nuestros[4].

[. . .]

Deste collegio de S. Paulo de Goa, hoy 20 de Octubre de 1580.
De V.P. indigno hijo en Christo,

Ruy Vicente.

25

FR. DIOGO PINTO SJ TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, NOVEMBER 25, 1580

Second *via*

TEXT: DI XII 142-146 [143-144], taken from *ARSI, Goa 12 II* ff. 513*r*-514*v*. Autograph in (poor) Spanish.

Text

1. *Sailed in the fleet of Matias de Albuquerque to Malacca with three fellow Jesuits.* — 2. *Was sent to Maluku. Stayed for three months with Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues [at Tidore].* — 3. *His work as a preacher there.* — 4. *Visited Fr. Mascarenhas and Br. Gonçalves in Ambon. Stimulated the writing of a catechism in Ambon-Malay. Returned to Malacca.*

[. . .]

1. Yo vine de Portugal com el P.e Lorenço Mexía y con otros dos, scilicet, el P.e Matheus López[1] y con el Hermano Amador de la Costa, en la era de 1576, en la armada que embió el Rei a Malaca, cuio capitán era Mathías d'Albuquerque[2]. Anduve en esta armada quasi dos años confessando y predicando y serviendo los dolientes.

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[4] Despite Aceh's interior quarrels it was out of the question that the Portuguese were able to conquer the country.

[1] This is the author of D 10.

[2] Beside the regular fleet of four ships sailing for Goa, two more left Lisbon in March 1576 bound to sail straight to Malacca and to serve there in defense of the Portuguese stronghold (*India Oriental* f. 226*v*). The *capitão-mor* of this small fleet, and successively *capitão-mor do mar* at Malacca was Matias de Albuquerque (See D 15 note 1). He became a viceroy of India, 1589-1595.

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2. Daquí me embió el P.e Visitador Alexandre Valignano a visitar los Padres de Maluco [3]. Alhé la tierra mucho destructa et pene eversa, y que se hazía poco fructo en la christianidad, por no querer el rei de Tidore, aonde ahora se haze la nueva fortalezia, que alguno se haga christiano até que sea destruido su inimigo el rei de Tarnate [4], ubi antea habitabant nostri. Consérvanse contudo los que huen para los nuestros y házese fructo con los portugueses. Estuve alhí tres meses con el P.e Hierónymo Rodríguez confessando y predicando.

3. Holgava mucho el rei de me oir. Venían sus cacizes también siempre a la predicatión, e así el rei como elhos preguntavan a los portugueses lo que yo dizía, y parecíale mucho bien. Declaré en las predicationes algo de la Bulla de Caena Domini [5], praecipue in quibus casibus incurrebatur excomunicatio vel non incurrebatur ferendo vel subministrando arma sarracenis vel aliis inimicis nominis christiani [6], y todo lo demás que alhé ser necessario, y creo que se hizo mucho fructo con aiuda del Señor. Los christianos todos gritan que los libren del poder del rei de Tarnate. Quiera nuestro Señor alumbrar alguno vicerei para le socorrer. El Padre tenía alhí dado mui buena edificatión así [a] portugueses como moros.

4. De alhí me partí para Ambueno que dista de Tidore cien legoas, aonde alhé el P.e Pedro Mascarenhas con el Hermano Antán Gonçalvez. Tiene el Padre alhí conservado con la aiuda del Señor aquelha christianidad con mucho trabajo suio, zelo y edificación. Aquelha gente no es tan capaz como la de Maluquo ni tan affable. Son como brasis [7]. Comen carne humana entre elhos de sus inimigos, y por causa

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[3] D 9,4 and D 18,9.

[4] First mention of a drastic hindrance of the work of conversion, founded on an apparently valid political consideration; and this despite the king's friendship for the Portuguese.

[5] The bull *In Coena Domini* was a papal constitution of the 15th century, promulgated in Rome every year on Maundy Thursday (hence the name), which contained a series of excommunications against several delicts. The contents, however, varied with the different popes.

[6] A point of current interest in those days. The first Provincial Council of Goa of 1567 had already legislated on this issue on account of the bull (APO IV 47-49).

[7] For cannibalism in the Ambon islands, see DM I 12 and 683. It was restricted to enemies captured in war. The cannibalism of the Brazilian natives seems to have been much more fierce and savage. See, for instance, *Mon. Brasiliae* I 227-229.

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de las continuas guerras convírtense pocos. Mas siempre se haze fructo con la gracia de Dios y con mucha patiencia de los nuestros. Trabajé que se acabasse en lengua de la tierra malaia la doctrina christiana[8] (como V.P. por las cartas del año pasado terná entendido[9]), y así se acabó y se ensenhava ya en todas aquellas partes. Creo que se hará con ella mucho servicio a nuestro Señor. Lhegada la monçón me vine para este Malaca adó estoi esperando por el P.e Visitador que está en Japón.

[. . .]

De Malaca, y oi 25 de Noviembre de 1580.

Indigníssimo hijo de V.P.,

Diogo Pinto.

[*Address*] Al mui Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro, el P.e Everardo Mercuriano, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús en Roma. 2ª vía. De Malaqua.

26

FR. GOMES VAZ SJ, SUPERIOR, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 3, 1580
Annual Letter, second *via*

I AUTHORS: SOUZA II 3 2 18; WESSELS, *Amboina* 69.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 15*r*-18*v*, formerly 22-25 and no. VIII. Copy in Portuguese, probably made in Cochin. Text written in several hands and inks' and neatly divided into paragraphs. Some ink blots; however, not injurious to the legibility. Twice a title is found between the text, the one preceding our no. 3, and, further on, « Caza e residencia da China ». On f. 15*r* an archivistic note reads « Malacca e Moluche. 80 »; f. 18*v* is blank but for the quasi-address « Annua do Collegio de Malaca da era de 80. 2ª via ».

III PRINTED: In DI XII 153-159. That edition contains our nos. 1-2, but, respecting the division once established between *Documenta Indica* and *Documenta Malucensia*, the editor omitted the chapter on Maluku, which consequently is printed here for the first time.

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[8] The context confirms the opinion that Fr. Mascarenhas was the author of the Ambon-Malay catechism (See D 17 note 20). Obviously, Fr. Diogo Pinto only animated the work.

[9] D 18,7.

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Text

1. *Writes the « Annua » of Malacca, Maluku, and Macao.* — 2. *Fr. Ferrari sailed to Maluku for the second time, accompanied by a Brother.* — 3. *No good news from Maluku owing to lack of succour from India.* — 4. *Disaster of the galleon of succour near Java; massacre of the Portuguese.* — 5. *Death of Frs. Amaral and Fernandes.* — 6. *How Fr. Ferrari escaped the misfortune.* — 7. *How he returned to Malacca, accompanied by ambassadors of the king of Blambangan.* — 8. *Three Jesuits in Maluku, besides the two new ones. Work of the Father in Tidore.* — 9. *Fr. Mascarenhas sailed to Tidore from Ambon in 1579; hoped in vain for new Fathers to come from India; sent Fr. Rodrigues to Ambon.* — 10. *Tidore lived in armed truce with Ternate. Lack of succour from India caused anxiety among the Portuguese and Christians.* — 11. *The Christians were distressed and persecuted; many came flying to the Portuguese; some apostatized feignedly.* — 12. *Pastoral work among the Portuguese. Good impression upon the Muslims seeing the missionaries contrast favourably with their own self-interested cacizes.* — 13. *The* Misericordia *was erected in Tidore through the medium of the Jesuits.* — 14. *Work of reconciling enemies and of restituting unjust acquisitions, also to Muslims. Difference of Muslim from Christian fast.* — 15. *Visit of an English ship at Ternate; it was caulked at the Sula islands.*

† Jesus

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Comforme a destribuisão das annuas desta Provincia e segundo a ordem que V.P. tem ordenado[1], darei breve e summaria rrelação do que Deos Noso Senhor ouve por bem obrar neste colegio de Malaca, juntamente das duas residencias de Tidore e Amboino e da casa da China[2].

2. Os que neste colegio resedimos este anno de oitenta, fomos oito, quatro saserdotes e quatro Irmãos. Hum dos Irmãos pareceo bem mandá-lo a Maluquo em companhia do P.e Bernardino Ferario, que o anno pasado, como se a V.P. escreveo, hia por superior das ditas partes. Mas sosedendo sertas causas, as quais em seu lugar se escreverão[3], foy forsado aribar a este colegio de Malaca, donde depois de alguns dias que nele esteve, tornando-se pera Maluquo[4] pareseo conveniente levar o Irmão por seu companheiro[5], por ir soo.
[. . . 16*v*]

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[1] Consult D 9,1.

[2] That is, Macao.

[3] See nos. 4-7.

[4] He sailed from Malacca for the second time on August 30, 1580 (D 30,1).

[5] The mention of this Brother, companion of Fr. Ferrari in his secndo

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Rezidencias de Tydore e Amboyno

3. Folgara poder escrever a V.P. prosperas novas destas partes, e conforme as que sohião escrever olim daquela grande christandade de Maluquo, mas parece que Deos Nosso Senhor se não há ainda por servido dellas. Porque, como todo o bem e quietação destas partes depende da ajuda e socorro que da India há-de vir, faltando este, de necessidade se há-de conseguir o outro.

4. O que mais acrecentou esta desaventura (que creo será parte pera se efeituar tarde a quietação que muito dezejamos), foi que vindo o anno passado da India por mandado do Viso-Rei [6] hum galeão com o socorro necessario, e conforme ao que o tempo podia dar de ssi, quanto se podia dezejar, assi de soldados como de mantimentos, e de muniçoins e mais petrechos de guerra, de que a fortaleza tinha muita necessidade, permitirão [a] nossos peccados soceder-lhe hum cazo nunqua esperado. E foi que passando pola costa da Jaoa, caminho corrente pera Maluquo, forão aportar a huma terra onde [b], esperando prover-sse de mais mantimentos e couzas necessarias pera a viagem, à falsa fé foi tomado dos negros da terra, onde forão mortos todos os portuguezes que nelle hião, tirando alguns poucos que escaparão [7].

5. Entre estes tambem matarão dous Padres nossos, scilicet, o P.e Jorge Fernandez, que hum anno avia era vindo de Portugal, e o P.e Gomes d'Amaral. Ambos viverão na Companhia desasete ou desoito annos com [c] edificação e bom exemplo, e particularmente o P.e Jorge Fernandez tinha ajudado com ler Humanidade, pera o que tinha bom talento. E por ser pessoa de boas forças e virtude, que pera aquelas partes se requere, era inviado do P.e Provincial a esta christãodade. E assi ambos em seus officios e pola obediencia acabarão, hum delles

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voyage to Maluku, creates a double perplexity. First, who was this Brother? We have no catalogues of Malacca between 1576 and 1584. Consequently, we know little of the names of the Brothers living there (from 1578 on, one of them was Gonçalo Teixeira, DM I 55*). Secondly, did the Brother really sail with Ferrari? There can be no doubt, as is manifest from the dates: collate the date of this letter with the date mentioned in note 4. (And see DI XII 144 no. 5). But how is it possibile then that of this Brother no mention whatever is made in any letter of Ferrari from Maluku in the following time (DD 30, 34, 35, 37)? What he writes in D 30,12, even seems to exclude the presence of another Brother. Is this silence a sign that there was something wrong with the person in question? Or was he merely a voyage companion, due to return from Maluku on the first occasion?

[6] D. Luís de Ataíde, second term (1578-1581).

[7] For this and the following nos., see D 21.

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estando confessando e outro com hum crucifixo nas mãos animando aos purtuguezes.

6. Aprouve a Nosso Senhor livrar deste perigo o[d] P.[e] Bernardino Ferrario, que em companhia dos mesmos Padres hia por superior dessas partes. Partio alguns dias antes pera Panaruca, cidade de hum rey gentio nosso amigo, pera confessar alguns purtuguezes que alli estavão há annos sem se confessarem, aonde fez muito serviço a Nosso Senhor [17*r*] e foi muito bem recebido do rey, dando-lhe licença pera fazer huma igreja onde[e] pudessem os portuguezes e aos mais christãos da terra administrar os sacramentos.

7. Aqui neste lugar sabendo o Padre o desastrado cazo que avia acontecido ao galeão e aos mais companheiros, foi forçado tornar-sse pera Malaqua pera se refazer dalgumas couzas necessarias pera essas partes pera onde hia, e juntamente buscar algum companheiro[8]. Em companhia do Padre mandou o mesmo rey de Balambuão[9] seus embaixadores a pedir ao capitão de Malaqua lhe quizesse mandar pera lá Padres, oferecendo-lhe lugar pera se fazer igreja e morada pera os mesmos Padres. Mas ategora se não mandou por não termos recado do P.[e] Provincial[10].

8. Quanto aos de Maluquo, são os que ao prezente lá estão (tirando o P.[e] Bernardino e hum Irmão que agora pera lá vay), sscilicet, dous Padres e hum Irmão. Hum dos Padres residio ategora em Tydore em companhia do capitão-mor[11] e dos mais purtuguezes que naquela nova fortaleza estão. E posto que huns morão na fortaleza e outros na povoação, aonde está tambem a mais da gente christam da terra, todavia os domingos e santos todos acodem à igreja a ouvir missa e praticas que de quando em quando se lhes fazem[12].

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[8] See note 5.

[9] See D 21 note 17. The principality of Panarukan formed part of the realm of Blambangan. The king was not so much interested in the Christian religion as in being assisted by the Portuguese.

[10] This could have been the start of a Jesuit mission in Java. For shortage of Fathers it did not go through. It is the Franciscans who in connection with this embassy sailed for Blambangan, but not before 1584 or 1585 (WESSELS, *De eerste franciscaner-missie op Java* 122; MEERSMAN, *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago* 43-51).

[11] Diogo de Azambuja.

[12] It causes wonder that no vicar is mentioned in this context. According to D 30,9, he must have arrived in late 1579 or early in 1580, and this was surely known in Malacca. The text suggests that there was no vicar and that a Jesuit served the main church in the fortress.

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9. No mes de Novembro de 79 foi o P.e Pero Mascarenhas, superior que então era dessas partes, de Amboino aonde estava, pera Tidor à petição do mesmo rey e do capitão-mor, por el-rey de Ternate nosso imigo trabalhar muito com o de Tidore que botasse os purtuguezes de Maluquo. E sendo a couza de muita importancia, e el-rey se arrecear tanto dos/ seus como dos mesmos purtuguezes, tendo pera ssi que o avião de deixar e hir-sse pera Ternate, pareceo necessario hir-sse o Padre pera Tidore, como de feito se foi em companhia do capitão de Amboino[13], que tambem se foi com pretexto de esperar a armada que da India avia de vir ou se esperava que viesse, onde cuidava o Padre poder prover o Moro e Alabra[14] (que são lugares de christãos) de Padres que da India viessem. Mas tudo ficou em branquo e assi foi necessario mudar-sse o Padre, que dantes em Tidore residia[15], pera Amboino pera suprir a falta que nella avia do P.e Pero Mascarenhas. Fez-sse muito serviço a sua divina Magestade com a vinda do Padre a Tidore com se atalhar muitos desaranjos e apasigarem muitos que estavão desunidos.

10. Quanto às novas da terra, são ficar Tidore de pas com o Ternate, mas contudo ambos com armas nas mãos pera cada dia pelejarem, porque nuncua serão amigos. Comtudo, como o Tydore tenha suas esperanças e escora em nossa armada, pera a guerra que lhe pretende fazer, o areceamos agora com não vir nada da India, e com tão ruins novas do reino/[16] desespere de ser socorrido e por necessidade fassa pazes com o Ternate. E queira N. Senhor que não seja em perjuizo nosso, porque tambem os christãos do Moro e Alabra e Bachão vivião com estas mesmas esperanças do socorro. Muitos se alevantarão contra o Ternate pedindo Padres pera o[s] doutrinarem, mas agora vendo-sse frustrados e sem socorro da India arreceamos que tornam a retroceder.

11. Estes christãos que se vierão pera nós avia muitos que por não negarem a fé passarão muitos trabalhos e perssiguiçõins, até lhe

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[13] Sancho de Vasconcelos.

[14] That is, Labuha in the island of Bacan. The news that it was a Christian village seems unprepared here, but it shows that the conversion to Islam in 1553 had not been whole-hearted (DM I 151 and 155).

[15] Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues.

[16] Presumably the sad news regarded the tragic death of the young King D. Sebastião in 1578, followed on the throne by the old Cardinal D. Henrique, whose death would render the question of succession fatefully critical. D. Henrique's death in January 1580 could scarcely be known in Malacca, the accession of King Philip II (I for Portugal) not yet at all.

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porem o cutelo na garganta, deixando muitos delles sua pobreza, terra e parentes por se virem pera nós. E posto que alguns, por medo dos mouros e da morte, negaram a fé voce tenus[17], todavia sempre a tiverão inteira no seu peito, e assi tanto que virão opportunidade se acolherão pera nós. E cada dia vem muitos escravos de purtuguezes que laa estavão cativos, porque com estes se uza de todos o[s] favores. Vem tambem fugidos os escravos dos mesmos ternates pera se fazerem christ os, com os quais se trabalha o possivel pera a liberdade pera que com este favor venh o outros muitos. [17*v*]

12. Com os purtuguezes se uza tambem dos minist[e]r[i]os[18] da Companhia confessando-os e sacramentando-os, fazendo a doutrina christã na lingua malaia os domingos e santos, declarando-lhes as couzas da fé assi aos[h] christãos da terra como aos escravos dos purtuguezes. E porque estamos na povoação dos mouros[19], vem-nas muitos ouvir e fição muito edificados destas couzas, conhecendo e vendo quanta aventagem tem os nossos sacerdotes aos seus casizes; que até o propio rey o diz muitas vezes que seus casizes não pretendem em tudo mais que seu proveito e interece. E quando estes mouros vêm que tudo quanto fazemos hé de graça, soomente por amor de Deos, e que os seus o fazem por dinheiro, por estas e por outras couzas que v;m em nós dezejão muito de ser christãos. Maxime por verem no dia das Endoenças fazerem os christãos penitencia dos seus pecados, disiprinando-sse, frequentando a igreja, claramente affirmão que não há ley mais verdadeira que a dos christãos.

13. Polla muita pobreza e falta assi dos purtuguezes como dos christãos da terra, ordenou-sse por via dos nossos (que neste interim com sua pobreza os hião sustentando) a caza da Misericordia[20], fazendo com[t] o capitão-mor que fosse provedor della, pera a qual deu logo mil cruzados pera estas cazas. Tambem pera o principio dellas se ouverão outras esmolas, o que foi grande serviço de Deos. Porque já agora têm os pobres quem olhe por elles, e a nós se nos aliviou huma grande carga. Porque os ajudamos agora com os ministerios da Companhia soomente, servindo-os e consolando-os em suas infermidades. Desta obra se edificão muitos maluquos, porque, como hé gente mui

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[17] Latin; only with the mouth, with words, but not with the heart.

[18] See critical apparatus.

[19] This points to the fact that there was no Portuguese town proper in Tidore as it had been earlier in Ternate beside the fortress. See D 102,12.

[20] After Ambon (D 17,2), also Tidore received its own Brotherhood of Mercy.

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ılhea de charidade, quando a vêm entre[j] os christãos, se confundem ɛ não podem deixar de confessar ser esta obra de Deos e de homens humanos.

14. Fizeram-sse este anno algumas amizades de importancia que, como hé terra de guerra e de soldados, sempre há odios e inimizades que dão não pouco trabalho aos Padres em nos apasiguar, e dá-sse por bem empregado pois hé pera serviço de Nosso Senhor e quietação delles. Fizeram-sse algumas restituiçõins, entre as quaes duas forão groças e a mouros de que ficarão asás edificados. E porque a hum cacis lhe tinhão tomado huma certa contia de cravo, de que elle não sabia parte, e fazendo-lhe[k] a restituição ficou pasmado. Disse ao Padre que sem duvida a ley dos christãos era verdadeira, pois em furto tão secreto se fazia restituição delle. E ficou mais maravilhado em ver que o mesmo Padre lhe deu o cravo, dizendo que nenhum cacis fez em Maluquo nem faria outro tanto, mas antes o tomaria pera ssi. E declarando-lhe que couza era a nossa Coresma (porque então se lhe fez esta restituição), disse que esta era a verdadeira coresma e não a sua, porque nella, posto que jejuem ao comer, todavia não aos pecados, nem à emmenda[l] da vida[m], pois se dão mais nella a delicias que em todo outro tempo. Por estas e outras couzas não podem deixar estes infieis de confessar a verdade da pureza da ley de Christo.

15. Por huma do Padre que em Maluquo residi[21] soubemos que vierão ali ter ingrezes que com sinquo naos vierão de Inglaterra a descobrir estas ilhas, mas não chegou ali mais que a capitania. Vierão ver a despocisão da terra e dos portos, e depois que fizerão alguns mantimentos a troco de rozairos e imagens, dando-os aos mouros, se forão pera a Axula levando hum sinete d'el-rey de Ternate de seguro, prometendo-lhe a torna viagem, armada e mais gente. E segundo se diz[n] hirá à Inglaterra, porque têm hum navio mixiriqueiro e de boas manhas no mar, e em[o] Axula o espalmarão e concertarão muito bem carregando o navio de mantimentos[22]. E agora está em Banda[23] segundo

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[21] Lost letter; see 21*b*.

[22] The English captain Francis Drake visited Ternate in the *Golden Hind* in November 1579 and was very kindly received by Sultan Baab Ullah who hoped to find in him an ally against the Portuguese. At the Sula islands Drake caulked his ship. WAGNER (*Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World* 183-186) did not know this document and is not quite sure about the place of caulking.

[23] In Wagner's reconstruction of the voyage of Francis Drake there is some crossing in the Banda Sea, but not any approaching of Banda islands. This *agora* obviously is referring to the time the informing letter (note 21) was written, as Drake had returned to Plymouth already in September 1580.

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nos affirmão os que de lá vierão, que são huns patanes[24] que estão nestas ilhas, porque dizem que virão lá huma nao dos purtuguezes, o que não pode ser, pois de Malaqua não foi nada pera lá até o prezente. [18*r*]

[...]

De Malaqua, oje tres de Dezembro de 1580 annos.
De V.P. indigno filho em o Senhor,

Gomez Vaz.

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[a] *corr. fr.* premitirão ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* donde ‖ [c] *del.* ef... ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* ao ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* donde ‖ [f] *del.* nossos ‖ [g] do reino *corr. fr.* da India ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* os, a *ins.* ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* que ‖ [j] entres *ms.* ‖ [k] *del.* aquella ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* monenda [?] ‖ [m] da vida *corr. fr.* delles ‖ [n] *del.* em ‖ [o] hum *ms.*

Lost Letter

26*a*. — *Fr. Pero de Fonseca, Assistant, Rome, to Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Maluku; 1580-1581.*

D 37, 1 and 5: « Confio que V.R. assi como hé successor do P. Fonseca no officio, que tambem o será em me facer muitas caridades todos los anos, como o ditto Padre me as facia ». Cf. D 37 note 3.

27

FR. RUI VICENTE SJ, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 14, 1581

First *via*

I AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 69.

II TEXT: DI XII 250-252 [252], taken from *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 58*r*-59*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

1. *Frs. Jorge Fernandes and Gomes do Amaral were killed at a port of Java.* — 2. *Fr. Bernardino escaped this fate by going to visit the Portuguese at Panarukan. Having returned to Malacca, he departed again for Maluku, accompanied by a Brother.*

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[24] *Patanes* means trading people of Patani, then a flourishing port on the Gulf of Siam, to-day in the extreme South of Thailand.

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[...]

1. De los Padres que iban para Malucho tuve muy tristes nuevas, y son que, estando el galeón en que iban (y que se esperava remediasse Malucho) en un puerto de la Jaoa, vinieron a trayción aquellas gentes con muchas embarcationes y gente armada, y sin remedio tomaron el galeón y mataron los portuguesses que estavan descuidados, y con ellos al P.e Jorge Fernandez y al P.e Gomez de Amaral que allí estaban.

2. El P.e Bernardino[1] escapó porque avía ido visitar los portuguesses que estaban en Panaruca, otro puerto de aquella isla. Fue este de los mayores desastres para Malucho, o castigos de nuestro Señor, que le han acontecido. El P.e Bernardino se tornó a Malaca y, en Agosto[2] de 80, se tornó a embarcar para Malucho en un junco que mandaron allá con mantenimientos, y llevó consigo un Hermano.

[...]

De Cochim, a 14 de Henero de 1581.

De V.P. filius in Domino,

Ruy Vicente.

28

FR. GIOVANNI BATTISTA LOFFREDA SJ TO FR. BENEDETTO PALMIO SJ, ROME

GOA, MARCH 20, 1581

I TEXT: DI XII 260-261, taken from *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 169*r*-170*v*. Autograph in Italian.

II NOTE: On Fr. Loffreda, see DI XII 7*; on Fr. Benedetto Palmio, see SCADUTO, *Catalogo* 110.

Text

Recounts the death of Frs Fernandes and Amaral. Fr. Ferrari wrote him that he sails again to Maluku.

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[1] Ferrari.

[2] On August 30 (D 30,1).

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[. . .]

Quanto alle nove di questa India, non so che scrivere se non una cosa che, andando il P.e Bernardino Ferrari, nostro italiano, con doi altri Padri per visitar Malucco, nel camino se ritirò il galione in un porto[1] e, sbarcando il Padre Bernardino a confessare alcuni in terra, restorno i doi Padri nel galione. E venendo una armata de mori javi[2] ammazorno il capitano del viagio[3] e quasi tutti i soldati che andavano con lui. E restorno morti i beati doi Padri nostri portoghesi, un de quali se chiamava il P.e Giorgio Fernandes, molto santo e molto letterato, e l'altro se chiamava il P.e Guomez de Amaral, il qual era anchor multo santo, e morì stando in atto de confessione egli col suo penitente. Il Padre Bernardino me scrive[4] que torna in Malucco e que desidera molti de nostri in quelle parti, armati non d'altro se non de virtù con un breviario e una disciplina.

[. . .]

Di Goa, ogi 20 di Marzo 1581.

Di V.R. servo in Domino e minimo figlio spirituale,

Giovanni Battista de Loffreda, Nolano.

[*Address*] Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre, il P.e Benedetto Palma della Compagnia de Giesù, in Roma[5]. De Goa.

29

FR. RUI VICENTE, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, MARCH 30, 1581

I TEXT: DI XII 272-284 [277], taken from *ARSI, Goa 47* ff. 173*r*-175*v*. Original in Spanish.

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[1] The port of Gresik.

[2] That is, the Javanese.

[3] Agostinho Nunes.

[4] Lost letter, 23*b*.

[5] At the time this letter arrived in Rome, Fr. Palmio was no longer an Assistant to Fr. General, but lived in Venice. Therefore, another hand changed *Roma* into *Venetia*.

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II NOTE: Fr. Provincial could not know yet that Fr. Mercurian had died on August 1, 1580, and was succeeded by Fr. Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615). As the letter travelled by land, it may have arrived in Italy by Venice. It is presumably there that the address was changed and the letter was directed to the new general.

Text

After the death of Frs. Fernandes and Amaral Fr. Ferrari returned to Malacca and sailed from there again to Maluku with a Brother in August 1580.

[. . .]

En Malucho es superior el P^e Bernardino Ferrario, el qual antes de llegar allá tornó a Malaca, porque los jaos nuestros enemigos tomaron el galión en que iban, y mataron los portuguesses y al P.^e Fernández y al P^e Gómez de Amaral que estavan confessando la gente. Tornó a partir de Malaca el dicho Padre con un Hermano el mes de Agosto de 1580.

[. . .]

De Goa, a 30 de Março de 1581.
De V.P. filius in Domino,

Ruy Vicente.

[*First Address*] Al muy Reverendo Padre en Christo, el P^e Everardo Mercuriano, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús em Roma. De la India Oriental.

[*Second Address*] A nuestro mui Rev. en Christo Padre, el P^e Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús en Roma.

30

FR. BERNARDINO FERRARI, SUPERIOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 12, 1581

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 303; WESSELS, *Amboina* 186 Ferrari 1.
II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 71-75; ID. *Noord-Celebes* 383; ID., *Batjan* 129.

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III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 81*r*-83*v*, formerly 62-64 and no. XXVII. Autograph in Italian with some parts in Latin and many portugalisms in the use of words and in the orthography. The last folio, 83*v*, contains the address and the seal, moreover an archivistic note « 81 vel potius 82. 12 Maii, P. Bernardino Ferrari, Amboino, 62 », and another note in Spanish pointing to a decision of Fr. General and his council in Rome: « Al P^e^ Valignano, que el P^e^ Bernardino Ferrario le avrá escrito las necessidades del Maluco. Que tenga por encomendado el socorro de aquella christiandad y el bien de los nuestros, que no anden ni estén solos en aquellas tierras », a secretary's hand adding « Está proveído ».

IV DATE: The letter is dated on May 12, 1581, but in no. 1 it mentions « l'anno passato de 81 ». Therefore, on f. 83*r* a Roman secretary made a gloss in Spanish to the date: « Parece de 1582, porque al principio dize que el año passado de 81 escrivió acá ». The true year of writing was certainly 1581. In no. 16 Ferrari leaves no doubt that he is writing before Fr. Mascarenhas died, which was on December 6, 1581 (D 34,5).

V NOTE: Fr. Mercurian died in August 1580; the letter went to Fr. Acquaviva, his successor.

Text

1. *His voyage to Maluku from Malacca.* — 2. *Found Fr. Pero Mascarenhas much weakened by poison in Tidore. Stayed there three months; moved the Jesuit house and church to the new fortress.* — 3. *Charged Mascarenhas to absolve the king of Bacan. Sailed to Ambon; had two churches built for the natives.* — 4. *Will write on needs of Maluku, and to Fr. Provincial as well.* — 5. *The former Christianity is lost. People are not to be blamed for it; they were ignorant and abandoned.* — 6. *How the Moro Church was destroyed.* — 7. *And that of Bacan.* — 8. *And the Christians of Ambon often were such only in name. Consequently Islam spread and consolidated under the guidance of cacizes.* — 9. *Constancy of the Christians of some Ambon villages, of Siau, Sangi, and Sulawesi.* — 10-11. *The Maluku mission needs at least fifteen Fathers to remedy the losses suffered: three for Sulawesi, Siau, and Sangi; two or three for Moro; two for Tidore; two for Bacan; four for Ambon and Lease; two for Buru.* — 12. *They should be accompanied by five or six Brothers.* — 13. *Proposes educating young boys with a view of preparing some of them for the priesthood.* — 14. *How such a number of missioners and boys could be supported.* — 15. *It should be avoided that the Fathers live by themselves without opportunity to go to confession.* — 16. *The Fathers Pero Mascarenhas and Jerónimo Rodrigues, and Br. António Gonçalves are no longer able to bear the burden of the mission work.* — 17. *Plans to visit the Christians of Ambon, Lease, and Buru, and to return to Tidore.* — 18. *Conclusion.*

Ihs.

Molto Reverendo Padre nostro in Christo

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Dopo l'ultima che scrissi a V.P. di Malacha l'anno passato de

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81 [1], me partì a 30 di Agosto [2] la volta de Malucho per la via di Borneo, e piacque a sua divina Maestà che arrivassimo [3] salvi alli 23 di Novembre, passando nel camino alcuni pericoli communi a naviganti. Ritrovassimo la terra di guerra, anchorché meglior della nostra parte che sin'hora si habbi visto.

2. Ritrovai in Tidore al P. Pietro Mascharegnas molto debilitato del molto veneno che l'han dato a bevere e mangiare questi mori. L'ultima volta fu questo Agosto passato stando nell'isola del Burro di camino per Tidore, ma volse il Signore che se remediasse con le medicine che contra questo ha in queste parti [4]. Tutto il tempo che dimmorei in Tidore, che fu quasi tre mesi, si occupassimo in passar la nostra casa e chiesa nella nova forteza che hora si a fatta, dove ancho si passorno tutti i christiani tanto portuguesi come di queste terre [5]; non si lasciò tuttavia il ministerio ordinario di nostra chiesa.

3. Partime per Amboino, lasciando al ditto Padre in Tidore con ordine che, passata la Coresma [6], fossi in Bacciano con un galione che per quella terra havia de andare, acciò absolvessi dell'apostasia al re di Bacciano (che è un giovanetto di 18 o 20 anni) con gli altri apostati, i quali tutti volevano tornare alla nostra santa fe [7]. Io arrivai in questa isola de Amboino il primo dì de Marzo, e passati alcuni giorni, vista

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[1] As Fr. Ferrari sailed from Malacca in August 1580 and did not return to it, this 81 no doubt is a slip of the pen for 80. A letter of Ferrari from Malacca in 1580 is not extant. See Lost letter 23*a*.

[2] Of 1580 (D 27,2).

[3] Could this plural form (*arrivassimo* and *ritrovassimo*) point to Ferrari *plus* a Brother (D 26,5)? It can mean the crew in general just as well.

[4] On the use of poison and antidotes in Maluku, see *Treatise* 177; ENI IV 552.

[5] From D 17,16, it is manifest that the Jesuits had a church in Tidore before the building of the fortress was started. The latter seems to be situated in a place at some distance from the Jesuit dwellings and church. Therefore between November 1580 and February 1581 the Fathers moved to the new fort, and so did all the Christians, both Portuguese and natives. In later years they lived again remote from the fortress (D 171 note 7).

[6] In 1581 Easter was on March 26.

[7] See D 17 notes 29 and 32-33. Even if we put the killing of King D. João of Bacan by Baab Ullah and the capture of the new young King D. Henrique as early as 1575, yet the 18 or 20 years of our text do not agree with the age of about seven years (which implies that he was born around 1568) quoted in note 33 there. — According to D 34,9 the king did not return to Christianity. On his weakness, political and moral, see DM I 690 no. 35.

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la necessità spirituale della gente di questa terra, trattai con il capitano[8] acciò si facessero due chiese fora della forteza, nelli borgui di essa[9], acciò la gente di questa terra (che non ardiva per vergogna de portuguesi e per altri respetti de venir alla chiesa, che stava dentro della fortaleza, et il capitano non ardiva constregerla[10] ad venire timendo alcun moto) potessi commodamente venir alla missa e predica. E cossì se fece, dove hora se empino le chiese tanto nel tempo della missa come alla doctrina christiana, e del loro istesse vengono a confessarsi, de manera che non se lor può satisfare, e molti si tirano del concubinato, altri si casano[11].

4. Et per questo et altro che ho visto et inteso, tanto da Padri come d'altri, mi parve necessario scrivere a V.P. tutto quello che screvo al P. Provinciale accioché V.P. vista la necessità di queste parti proveda conforme [81*v*] a quel che judicherà convenire in Domino.

5. Dico prima in universale che tanto numero de christiani che haveva in queste parti quasi tutto è perso. Vinea Domini dissipata est, singularis ferus depastus est eam[12]. Il qual danno, conforme a quel che se dice et si vede per esperienza, non si può attribuir tutto all'inconstanza di questa gente, poiché da sua parte il comun del populo era molto ignorante delle cose di nostra fe, per causa che i nostri Padri in quel tempo non sapevano la lingua[13], e contuttoció il populo christiano non abandonò il pastore tanto temporale come spirituale, ma piutosto esso abandonato sicut oves absque pastore occisi et dispersi sunt[14].

6. Quelli dell'isole del Moro, seguindo il capitano et il Padre[15], si persero parte nel camino navigando in barquette piccole con fan-

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[8] Sancho de Vasconcelos.

[9] So from 1581 on the town of Ambon had three churches, not counting an eventual chapel or church of the *Misericordia*. This remained so until 1605. The two new churches (of course very simple ones, made in the native way) were called St. James and St. Thomas (D 93,2). The town numbered nearly three thousand souls (here no. 11).

[10] Read *costringerla*.

[11] Portuguese *casar-se*, Italian *sposarsi* (to marry).

[12] Ps 79 14.

[13] This seems exaggerated. D 22,3 reports that Br. António Gonçalves, who for many years worked in Ambon, taught catechism in the indigenous tongue. DM I reports mastering of Malay by at least seven other Jesuits (See DM I 734, under Malay).

[14] Free after Ezk 34 5; Cf. Mt 26 31, Jn 10 12.

[15] On the extinction of the Moro Church, see DM I 562-568 and 690 no. 36. The captain was Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque (or perhaps a local captain

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ciulli e donne, per causa de una tempesta che lor sopravenne. Et li altri che non si persero, arrivati nella forteza de Ternate, patendo alcuni giorni l'assedio e fame, all'ultimo il medemo capitano[16] della forteza le buttò fora come gente inutile e che non se poteva sostentare. E con tutto questo non volsero alcuni principali uscir fuora senza che prima il capitano lor dessi una patente, come essi non si partivano de loro propria voluntà, ma mandati e forzati a questo[17]. E cossì molti di essi restorno cattivi de nostri inimici, altri al meglior modo che potevano per boschi si fugirno a pouco a pouco per le loro terre.

7. Quelli de Bacciano ferno[18] il medesimo, perché vedendo che il capitano e portuguesi lasciavano la lor terra e se raccoglevano verso Amboino, e che non valsero nulla le loro lacrime e priegui, essi anchora con le loro mogleri e figli se imbarcorno, lasciando il loro re fugito ne boschi, e seguirno i portuguesi. Et andando navigando quella povera gente in barquette piccole vicino di terra, non potendo seguir li nostri che andavano in navilii grandi, furno oppressi dell'armata de ternati, restando parte morti, parte cattivi, et in questo modo restò destrutta la christianità de Bacciano[19].

8. Questi de Amboino similmente altri furno perseguiti, altri ingannati de ternati acciò si rebellassero contra portuguesi. E come era gente più rustica di quella di Malucho, per causa che sono di lengue molto differente e gente de boscho, non teneva altro di nostra religione salvo che il nome o pouco più, lasciò facilmente il nome e religione christiana, salvo che alcuni pochi. Di manera che tutte queste terre restorno maumettane, non mancando casis per insignare e circuncidere questi populi, i quali casis non fanno il loro ministerio gratis ma molto

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over a small number of Portuguese soldiers), and the Father most probably Nicolau Nunes. About one hundred and fifty people: soldiers, women, and children, sailed with them to Ternate (*Rel. Vasc.* 236; LEMOS 468). This happened in late 1571.

[16] Presumably D. Álvaro de Ataíde (1570-1574).

[17] Interesting particulars, not to be met with elsewhere as far as we could ascertain.

[18] Ancient form of *fecero*.

[19] This happened early in 1576, shortly after the surrender of the fort of Ternate. The Portuguese had no fortress proper in Bacan (Kasiruta), but perhaps they did have a small agency with some men under a captain. A Father is not mentioned here. As to Christianity, there had been much wavering under the pressure of Ternate; see *Rel. Vasc.* 236; LEMOS 468. Consult SOUZA II 3 2 16 and 19.

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ben pagui. Et in questo si vede quanto son più diligenti i figli delle tenebre [20] de noi altri, che in brevissimo tempo si multiplicò la lor setta per la loro diligenza, et anchora si multiplicorno i maestri di detta setta. Di modo che non si contentò il re di Ternate di cattivare al re di Bacciano, ma anchora volse e ordinò che li suoi figli inparassero arabico per essere casis [21].

9. Finalmente che sole alcune ville di queste isole de Amboino restorno christiane, e quelle dell'isole del Selebe, Siao e Sanguin, per essere discoste di Ternate, anchorché alcuna puoca gente del Selebe, che se ritrovò in Ternate nel tempo che [82*r*] si perse la forteza de portuguesi, fu molestata accioché si facessi maumettana. Ma essi resposero che ben serviriano al re di Ternate con sue caracolle, ma che non volevano recevere altra legge di quella de christiani che già havevano recevuta. Et insin'hora perseverano col nome christiano, ma son diece o dodici anni che non furno visitati di nostri [22] per le continue guerre di Ternate, solamente hora son due anni quasi che, passando per quelle isole un galione che veniva de Malaqua con il vicario de Malucho, intrando in quel porto battizò alcuni fanciulli [23]. Di [a] modo, concludo, che se si è persa tanta christianità, la causa fu per essere molto teneri nella nostra fede e senza niuno aiuto e favore. Pruina persecutionis decoxit eos [24].

10. Mittat Dominus operarios in vineam suam [25]. Per il meno son necessarii quindici Padri per remediare alcun tanto questo danno. Tre Padri per residire nell'isole del re del Selebe: uno per residir nel Selebe, un'altro nel Siao et un'altro per visitare l'isole de Sanguin e del Manadu [26], e per si poter confessare i detti Padri insieme senza incommodo

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[20] Cf. Lk 16 8.

[21] A very illustrative particular of Islam propaganda methods.

[22] The last Jesuit visiting N Sulawesi was Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, in 1569.

[23] This is the first mention of a vicar for the new fortress of Tidore. He was sent from Malacca, obviously by the bishop. His arrival, « nearly two years ago », must have been about October 1579. The sea route around the N of Borneo passed by the island of Siau. (What we wrote in our article *Brief Notes*, p. 277 and note 112, is to be corrected).

[24] St. Augustin, *Sermo 10 de Sanctis*. This sermon was in the breviary, to be recited every year on Innocents' Day.

[25] Mt 9 38; Lk 10 2.

[26] Obviously Ferrari had not yet got a clear idea of the geographical and political situation. If *re del Selebe* means the king of Siau, so why is *Selebes* mentioned again as distinct from Siau? If, however, it indicates the king of Manado, why is Manado enumerated apart as a place to be visited?

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de christiani e senza aventurarse molte volte a pericoli del mare. Altre due o tre Padri son necessarii per l'isole del Moro, le quali al presente stanno desiderando de ritornarse all'obediencia del nostro re di Portugallo, e già vennero alcuni principali alla fortezza a dar obedienza al capitano e dommandarli soccorro, ma non se lor potette dar [27].

11. Due altri Padri son necessarii a Malucho e due in Bacciano, e quattro almeno son necessarii nell'isole de Amboino: due per residir nell'isole del Iliacer, che son tre, e due nell'isola de Amboino, uno per continuamente residir nella forteza, intorno da quale habitano quasi tre mila alme, et un'altro per visitare le ville de christiani, che sono sette o otto o più [28]. Oltre di questi son necessarii altri due Padri per residir nell'isola del Burro dove sono sei o sette ville de christiani, i quali dopo che furno battizati non viddero Padri [29], salvo che l'anno passato quando passò [b] per là il P. Pietro Mascharegnas senza poterli visitare [30]. E questi hanno mostrato alcuna constanza, per quanto furno molte volte molestati de nostri nemici e mai volsero lasciare il nome de christiani, essendo già quasi 30 anni che furno battizati [31].

12. Di modo che per il meno son necessarii quindici o 16 Padri per poter alcun tanto remediare e soccorrere a questa necessità. E si con questi Padri fossero accompagnati cinque o sei Fratelli coadiutori scelti come questo che qui hora stà, che se chiama Antonio Gonçalvez, se faria grande servicio al Signore e se daria [c] grande consolatione a queste anime [32].

13. Oltra di questo remedio, un'altro è non meno necessario al bene spirituale di questi populi, e questo è che ordinasse V.P. che in Amboino, Bacciano, Malucho, Moro e Selebe, s'insignasse leggere e screvere et alcun poco di canto a dodici o quindici fanciulli, i quali vivessero sotto la protettione e cura di nostri, e non si occupassero in

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[27] A new start of mission work was not made in Moro before the year 1606.

[28] That is, in Ambon island itself.

[29] Only once the Christians of Buru are said to have been visited by a Jesuit, a Brother (DM I 691 no. 37).

[30] Fr. Mascarenhas sailed to Tidore from Ambon in August 1580 (no. 2). Halting in Buru he could not visit the Christians, but he could be poisoned by the Muslims !

[31] In 1553 four to six thousand Buru people were baptized by Portuguese merchants (DM I 151).

[32] Strikingly in this context the Brother, companion of Fr. Ferrari, is not mentioned. He does not seem to be present in Maluku.

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altro salvo che al culto divino, de quali poi se facessi ogn'anno scelta di quelli che mostrano meglior abilità, e si mandassero in Malaqua o in Goa ad imparare latinità e l'altre scienze che son necessarie per il sacerdotio [33]. E con questi si po-[82v]-trebbe dopo più facilmente aiutare questa gente, tanto per la molta diversità di lingue che in esse se ritrova, quanto anchora che l'affecion naturale alli suoi servirebbe molto ad affettionarse più alle cose di nostra santa fe come meglior V.P. entende, et interim se celebrariano i divini officii con più devotione di quel che un solo Padre può fare, poiché si a tutti sono aiuto le ceremonie della santa Chiesa, serano molto più a questi che sono molto più sogetti a sensi e cose sensibile.

14. Per questo priego a V.P. che, iudicando questo che dico essere conveniente, lo raccommandi al P. Provinciale e li mandi soccorso di gente come per questo è necessaria. E si V.P. me dice come si potrà sostentare tanta gente, dico che il Signor è richo e che accostuma non mancar alle necessità. E per descendere più al particolare, dico che con la limosina che il Re da per sostentatione de nostri, e con instituire due persone devote di nostra Compagnia, le quali se incarrichino di sostentare questi fanciulli de alcune limosine, che si potranno facilmente havere e moltiplicarle, con che essi mandassero a vendere a Malacha quello che costì se lor da (*come già se hè comminciato a fare per complir quello che V.P. ordenò acerca del negocio de nostri in queste parti) [34], facilmente tutti se potranno sostentare. E con questo seria tenuta in più prezo e stima la nostra religione da questi maumettani di quel che al presente si vede esser tenuta.

15. Quanto a quel che ho proposto a V.P. circa del numero de nostri necessario in queste parti, deseo che non lo iudichi per grande ma molto piccolo, non havendo al presente aiuto di gente di queste parti. E priego molto V.P. che non consenta che i nostri Padri vivano soli, senza potersi confessare se non di anno in anno [35], perché, oltre il grande pericolo che la persona se ritrova in queste solitudini, non essendo noi altri come São Paulo primo eremita, né come Santo Anto-

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[33] A progressive idea. Not before the twentieth century will an Indonesian become a priest. Ferrari did not even manage to erect a single elementary school in any of the places mentioned.

[34] He alludes to DM I 669 II ad 44.

[35] Going and living alone was against the rules of the Jesuit Order, but unfortunately often inevitable in Maluku. See DM I 506 note 2. As purity of conscience was considered one of the chief supports of any fruitful apostolate, the great drawback of being alone was the impossibility of going to confession.

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nio [36] o altri Santi, ma siamo accostumati a confessarci almeno ogni otto giorni [37], e perciò sentiamo molto il pericolo a morir senza i santi sacramenti, e sentirse anchora indurir la conscienza di manera che non sente se non percossa molto grande, il qual danno non solo è proprio de noi altri, ma anchora ridonda al nostro proximo, et utinam nunquam sic eveniat, propterea obsecro et obtestor te per viscera misericordie Dei nostri [38], ut mittat nos binos ante faciem Domini Dei nostri in quemcumque locum est Dominus iturus [39].

16. Quanto più che non si deve l'asino (honor sit auribus tuis) carricar[e] de manera che cada sotto la carrica, poiché in questo se raddoppia il travaglio e danno, come si vede in questi tre di nostra Compagnia che per li molti travagli stanno pieni de infirmità e debolezze. Il P. Pietro Mascharegnas tiene un ventre come un tamborro, che se non se cura tutti i giorni, se affoca senza poter resfiatare [40]. Il Fratello Antonio Gonçalvez con difficultà può caminare. Il P. Jeronimo Rodriguez steve infermo de una infirmità che qui chiamano bere bere [41] [83*r*] che commincia de piedi toglendo la virtù motiva, et il medemo fa nelle mani e va crescendo insino che occupa il cuore e cossì more. La qual infirmità al principio è curabile ma, como va occupando la magior parte del corpo, non ha remedio. Et cossì se curò il Padre al principio e al presente sta sano, ma poco habile per caminare per questi monti de Amboino. Questo dico perché, essendo pochi, non è possibile in tanta necessità a non sforzarsi a far più di quel che se può, il che havendo compagnia non sarebbe necessario.

17. Io sto determinato, passata questa festa della Pentecoste [42], visitare queste ville de christiani, tanto in questa isola de Amboino come quelle dell'isole dell'Iliacer e dopo tornarme per Malucho visitando de camino i christiani del Burro [43], per quanto il capitano di questa forteza manda un navilio a carricarse de sagu (che è il pan di questa terra) in quella isola e dopo che vada per soccorrer Tidore, et in questo modo potrei aiutare sei mesi al P. Pietro Mascharegnas, et espettarei ivi il

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[36] St. Paul and Anthony, Egyptian desert hermits of the fourth century.

[37] See note 35; *Examen Generale* IV 25 (*Mon. Ign. Const.* II 65).

[38] Cf. Lk 1 78.

[39] Lk 10 1.

[40] In correct Italian *rifiatare*.

[41] For beri-beri, see DM I 255.

[42] In 1581 Whit Sunday was on May 14.

[43] Fr. Ferrari did not sail from Ambon until July 19, and he continued his voyage from Buru on September 7 (D 34,4-5).

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soccorso che questo anno si espetta dell'India. Faccia sua divina Magestà che sia tal il soccorso, con che si possa extinguere questa maledetta setta maumettana, la qual si è tanto moltiplicata in queste parti.

18. Pater mi, commendo Paternitati tuae hunc palmitem Societatis nostrae, qui ad indicos hos recessus extensus est[44]. Vide ac prospice ex ista specula in qua positus es disponente Domino, ne inutilis fiat et ne a bestiis conculcetur ac corrodatur. In magno nanque periculo versatur, et nisi commoda aliqua ratio instituatur et instituta servetur in regendis his populis, vereor ne, dum alios purgare ac illuminare volumus, ipsi immundi caecique efficiamur. Et haec satis. Alla reverenda vostra Paternità molto ci raccomandiamo, pregandola che nelli suoi santi sacrificii et orationi se ricordi di questi suoi inutili figliuoli e servi.

De Amboino, alli 12 di Magio de 1581.

Di V.P. figlio e servo inutile,

Bernardino Ferrari.

[*Address* 83*v*] † Al molto Reverendo Padre nostro em Jesu Christo, il P. Everardo Mercuriano, preposito general della Compagnia de Jesù, in Roma.

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[a] do *ms.* ‖ [b] *del.* de ‖ [c] e se daria *corr. fr.* tirando ‖ [d] *bracket lacking in ms.* ‖ [e] *interl.*

Lost Letter

30*a*. — *Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Ambon, to Fr. Rui Vicente, Provincial, Goa; May 1581.*

D 30,4: On the needs of the mission.

31

FR. RUI VICENTE, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

Goa, November 8, 1581

Annual Letter, Second *via*

Text: DI XII 403–431 [419], taken from *ARSI, Goa 32* ff. 443*r*–450*v*. Original in Spanish.

Text

Two Fathers and a Brother sailed to Maluku. The year before, Frs. Jorge Fernandes and Gomes do Amaral were killed by the Javanese.

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[44] Perhaps reminiscence of Ezk 17 7 or Ps 79 12.

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[...]

Para Maluco fueron dos Padres y un Hermano [1], porque la missión del año passado, para la qual fueron electos el P.e Jorge Fernández y el P.e Gómez d'Amaral, no tuvo effecto, por servirse nuestro Señor dellos en el camino, siendo muertos a traición por los jaos estando confessando, en cuyos puertos estava el galión del trato tomando mantenimientos debaxo de su palabra y fidelidad [2], la qual no ay en los enemigos de nuestra santa fe y nombre portugués si no quando no pueden más.

[...]

De Goa, 8 de Noviembre de 1581.

De V.P. filius in Domino,

Ruy Vicente.

32

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO SJ TO FR. GIANFRANCESCO CARETTONI SJ, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 8, 1581

First *via*

I TEXT: DI XII 431-440 [436], taken from *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 166*r*-168*v*. Autograph in Italian.

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[1] A very important communication regarding Maluku. Unfortunately the number arriving was much less than Fr. Provincial intended and Maluku needed. The name of the Brother is unknown, but he certainly did not arrive in Maluku. One of the Fathers was Simão Rangel, an inconstant and restless man who got stuck in Malacca, was called back to India, and dismissed from the Society (DI XIII 746-747 no. 12). The only one to reach Maluku was Fr. Berwouts/Corrado. Having sailed from Goa with the other two in April 1581 (D 32,2), he arrived in Malacca in late May. Fr. Pero Gómez, bound for Japan and making the same voyage but in another ship, wrote from Macao on October 25, 1581: «En Malaca estuvimos 20 días consolándonos con los Padres y Hermanos que allí están, y con dos Padres que aý llegaron de la India pera Maluco el mesmo día que nos llegamos», which was after 27 or 28 days of sailing (MHJ I 115 and 384). Corrado, however, did not arrive at Maluku that year (See D 34,2-3). But in early 1584 we find him stationed there. (D 44,2). He may have seized the first opportunity to sail from Malacca after 1581, perhaps in the galleon that brought D. Álvaro de Castro as the new captain to Maluku (Diogo de Azambuja Tidore April 3, 1583, in AGI, *Patr*° *25 ramo 1* no. 3).

[2] See D 21.

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II NOTE: Fr. Laerzio was born in Orte, Italy, in 1557, entered the Society in Rome in 1576, and sailed to India in 1579 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 210). He became one of the outstanding Jesuit missionaries of India. He died in Cochin in 1630. — Fr. Carettoni was born at Rome in 1556, entered the Society in 1575, and worked as a professor, a preacher, and an author mostly in Rome. He died in 1639 (DI XI 631 note 1). He obviously was a personal friend of Laerzio.

Text

1. *Description of the care-free life of the Maluku people.* — 2. *Though Muslims, many of them were converted, also some kinglets. King Philip will send a fleet and subdue all of them. Some Jesuits are working there, for instance, Fr. Ferrari, superior, and Fr. Rogerio Conrado.*

[. . .]

1. In Malucco sono molte insole debasso della linea equinoctiale, terra fertilissima et dove gli habitatori mangiano et viveno senza fatica. Perché nelli boschi ritrovano infiniti fructi et nel mare senza niuna fatica pigliano quanti pesci vogliono, perché buttando un panno [1] nel mare se gli attacano tanti pesci che non vogliono tanti. Et questo non è amplificatione perché li nostri Padri che là sono stati [2] dicono questo, oltre tutti l'altri che de là vengono. Et il suo mangiare in luocho di pane è un pezzo di arbore [3], che se ritrova in qualsivoglia parte di quelle terre.

2. Gli habitatori di questo Malucco sono mori. Per questo difficilmente si converteno, et insino dal principio sempre hanno mantenuta la guerra con i portuguesi [4]. Nondimeno molti se ne sono convertiti, et ancho alcuni re di loro per il tempo passato. Ma adesso il re Philippo [5] venendo con un'armata dal Perù, che sta molto vicino [6],

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[1] A superficial and much too simple representation of fishing procedures in Maluku. All the authors describe fishing with nets, lines, spears, fish-traps, and by doping, but never by putting a cloth into the water.

[2] He had perhaps the opportunity to speak with Fr. Fernando Álvares, or Br. Manuel Gomes, or Br. Vicente Dias (DM I 39*, 41*, and 43*).

[3] Simplified indication of the *sagu* food.

[4] Also this is a very rough way of depicting a complex situation.

[5] King Philip II of Spain.

[6] Another proof that the Portuguese of the sixteenth century had no inkling of the vastness of the Pacific Ocean. See DM I 326: New-Guinea is near to New-Spain.

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pigliarà tutti quelli paesi, velint nolint. Stanno in questo Malucco alcuni della Compagnia nelli castelli di portuguesi et ben' se affaticano. Il loro superiore è il P.e Bernardino Ferraro. Sta anchora là il P.e Rogerio Conrado, fiammengo, che sono 8 mesi se partì per quelle parti[7]. [. . .]

Di Goa, 8 de Novembre 1581.

Seu amorevolissimo servo et fratello in Christo,

Alberto Laertio.

Lost Letters

32*a*. — *Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues, Ambon, to Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Tidore; November 1581.*

D 34,8.

32*b*. — *Br. António Gonçalves, Ambon, to Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Tidore; November 1581.*

D 34,8.

33

INFORMATION ON THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA, LATE 1581?]

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 6* ff. 92*r*-97*v*, text proper 92*r*-96*r*, under the heading « IHS. Provincia de la Yndia Oriental ». Probably an original. Spanish. Paper (in 8°), ink, and handwriting, suggest a document of the sixteenth century. Any indication of author, date, place, and addressee is lacking. An internal examination of the text shows that it was written by someone very well acquainted with the world of Portuguese SE Asia, therefore with great probability in India (Goa). A different hand added two pages dealing with Brazil (ff. 96*v*-97*r*). The text on India is divided into three parts: 1. *Goa*; 2. *De Goa para el Sul* (92*v*); 3. *De Goa para el Norte* (95*v*). Often geographical names are repeated in the margin. Our part is on f. 94*v*.

II DATE: J. Wicki, who did not publish this document in the DI, equates it with another which he ascribes to November 1581 (DI XII 349, introduction

[7] If in April 1581 three Jesuits sailed to Maluku, why does Fr. Laerzio mention only one? Obviously because his addressee, Fr. Carettoni, and he himself as well, had known Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Conrado in the Roman noviciate in 1576.

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to Doc. 59). The filling of the Maluku mission with three Fathers and two Brothers (no. 3) was realized in late 1580, that is, after Fr. Ferrari and a Brother were said to have sailed from Malacca in August 1580; this was known by Fr. Provincial in India in January 1581 (D 27,2). As a matter of fact, the Goa Jesuits knew that in April 1581 three more companions were sent to Maluku, but by the end of the year they may have got notice that none of them had forthwith continued his voyage from Malacca. So for a Goa observer the situation of late 1581 remained the same as in the beginning of the year. The death of Fr. Mercurian and the election of a new Fr. General (for whom the document was perhaps intended) were known in Goa in, or shortly after, September 1581 (DI XII 332). For these reasons we put the document to the end of 1581 before the sailing of the ships to Portugal in early 1582.

III NOTE: This is a complete though short description or information of the entire showplace of Jesuit mission work in Asia, composed in favour of someone rather ignorant of the Indian situation, so presumably for a European Jesuit, be it in Portugal or in Rome, possibly the new General, Claudio Acquaviva, or his new Portuguese Assistant, Manuel Rodrigues. The location of the document in the ARSI makes a Roman addressee preferable.

Text

1. *Maluku is situated at three to four hundred leagues from Malacca. Under this name Ambon and Moro generally are not included, but sometimes they are.* — 2. *Fort and Jesuit residence of Ambon.* — 3. *Tidore has another Jesuit residence, erected after the loss of Ternate and subordinated to that of Ambon. The number of Jesuits is three Fathers and two Brothers.*

IHS

PROVINCIA DE LA YNDIA ORIENTAL

[...]

1. Trezientas leguas y trezientas y[a] cinquenta, y quatrocientas de Malaca, está gran número de islas, en las quales se cuentan las de Maluco. Y aunque las de Amboyno y del Moro[b] se pudieran contar con las Malucas (de las quales a quien va de Malaca Amboyno es la primera y Moro postrera [1]), costúnbrasse todavía más comunmente hablar dellas como de diversas del Maluco, y alguna vez las comprenden a todas debaxo deste nonbre Maluco [2].

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[1] That is, when sailing by the Java route. When, however, one took the N Borneo route, Tidore was the first and Ambon the last port to reach. The official Portuguese ships never sailed to Moro.

[2] On the use of the name *Maluco*, see DM I 2*.

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2. Amboyno está trezientas y cinquenta leguas de Malaca. Ay aquí fortaleza de los portugueses y residencia de los nuestros.

3. Maluco o Tidore tanbién tiene residencia de los nuestros. Era en Maluco la cabeça Ternate, ochenta o más leguas de Amboyno, donde avía residencia de los nuestros. Y siendo esta ciudad tomada por un enemigo[c] gentil[d] [3], deshízose la residencia. Pero agora con una nueva fortaleza que los portugueses hizieron en la ysla de Tidore, quatro leguas de Ternate, se ha hecho tanbién en el mismo Tidore residencia de los nuestros, que es como miembro de la de Amboyno [4]. Residen en ellas al presente tres Padres y dos Hermanos [5].
[...]

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[a] *corr. fr.* o || [b] *rep. m.* || [c] *corr. fr.* ynimigo || [d] *corr. fr.* gentio

Lost Letters

33*a*. — *Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Visitor, Japan, to Frs. in Maluku ; presumably in 1581 (perhaps earlier).*

D 35,8: « Por las cartas que Su Reverencia [Valignano] embió se ha sabido . . . ».

33*b*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Visitor ; February 10, 1582.*

D 41,1; D 43; DI XIII 402-403, nos. 7-8: « . . . en quanto a lo que toca a hazer un superior de las partes de Malaca, Maluco y Amboyno ».

33*c*. — *Fr. Antonio Sedeño and other Fathers, Manila, to the Fathers in Maluku ; February-March 1582.*

Sedeño to Fr. Provincial of Mexico, June 12, 1582: « Consoláronse [the Maluku Jesuits] mucho con las que fueron de acá » [i.e., in the frigate of Francisco de Dueñas] (*Varia Hist.* III f. 583*v*; D 35 note 1).

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[3] Better said: by a Muslim.

[4] This is a sudden new view of the Maluku Jesuit mission. Practically Fr. Mascarenhas resided in Ambon when a superior, and went visiting Tidore from there. The latter station was the newer one and it was as yet only held in little esteem. The Latin document parallel to this and edited in DI XII 349-351 contains the same point of view speaking of « . . . residentia amboinensis cum malucana » (in no. 2), and stating that « Residentia malucana nunc temporis est membrum residentiae amboinensis, et utraque subditur collegio malacensi » (in no. 8).

[5] Frs. Pero Mascarenhas, Jerónimo Rodrigues, Bernardino Ferrari; one Brother was António Gonçalves; on the other, see D 26 note 5.

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34

FR. BERNARDINO FERRARI, SUPERIOR, TO FR. EVERARD MERCURIAN, GENERAL

TIDORE, MARCH 21, 1582

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 303; WESSELS, *Amboina* 186 Ferrari no. 2.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 77-78; ID., *N. Celebes* 384.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 118*r*-119*v*, earlier 79-80, and no. XLI. Autograph in Italian, betraying a strong Portuguese influence. On f. 119*v*, besides the address, a later note: « 82. Tidori, 21 martii. P. Bernardino Ferrari. 6 »; another hand added « Aedificationis. Ad P. Hieronymum » (This is Fr. Girolamo Benci, 1554-1616, appointed to the General's secretariate in Rome). The same hand noted « Aedificationis » in the margin of f. 118*v* at no. 5, and a little beneath it we find a capital letter « B », underlined.

IV ADDRESSEE: As Fr. Mercurian had died, the letter was received by Fr. Acquaviva.

V OUR EDITION: In the notes we indicate at least the principal portugalisms.

Text

1. *Writes by way of the Philippines. Hopes that reign of Philip, new king of Portugal, may be beneficial to the Christians [of Maluku]. — 2. Very disappointingly, no letters and no succour arrived from India. The king of Tidore made war on Ternate succesfully. — 3. Nevertheless, people remained dissatisfied. Unwise zeal of Mascarenhas. — 4. He, Ferrari, having visited all the villages of Ambon, sailed to Buru where the population is divided between Portugal and Ternate. Two oddities of Buru: the hog-deer [babirusa] and a mountain entirely grown over by ginger. — 5. Illness, treatment, and death of Fr. Mascarenhas. — 6. Earlier sufferings of Mascarenhas. — 7. Five or six times he was given poison, and allegedly he died from it. His zeal for the Christians, and knowledge of Malay and Ternatan. — 8. News from Ambon: many villages side with Portugal again. — 9. Plans to visit Bacan; as soon as a Portuguese fleet arrives, the king, now a Muslim, will return to Christianity with all his people. — 10. The king of Siau does not visit the Fathers for fear, not knowing what the Spanish are after.*

Ihs.

Molto Reverendo Padre nostro in Jesu Christo

Pax Christi, etc.

1. L'anno passato scrissi a V.P. de Amboino per via dell'India

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Orientale[1], questa mando alla ventura per via delli nostri Padri che residono nelle isole Philippine[2], per una fragata che mandò il Governatore[3] di dette isole al capitano[4] de Malucco, dandoli nova della morte del serenissimo Re Cardenale di Portugallo, de felice memoria, e di come il Re Philippo li succedeva nel regno, del qual già haveva la possessione. Piaccia a sua divina Magestà che queste mutatione siano fine de nostri mali e principio de magior bene del servicio de Dio e ben delle anime.

2. Questo anno non recevessimo né lettere né aviso dell'India, mancandoci tutto l'humano soccorro[5] solito mandarsi tutti gli anni[6], il che non fu piccolo flagello per questa povera gente, cuja sustentatione pende del ditto soccorro, benché il Signor come misericordioso non mancò di soccorrerci con vettuaglie di queste parti. Et il re de Tidore adunò bon numero di gente et armata per mare per resister al re di Ternate. E non solamente i[a]- portuguesi con il detto aiuto[a] resisterno alli soi insulti, ma gli causorno tanti mali che ha molti anni

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[1] D 30.

[2] An entirely new aspect of the Maluku mission opens here: the vicinity of another Jesuit community in Manila, the possibility of communicating more easily and quickly with them than with Goa, and the opportunity of a more suitable communication, by way of Manila, with Fr. General in Rome. The first four Spanish Jesuits entered Manila, by way of Mexico, in September 1581. Two of them, Frs. Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sánchez, will as yet play a role in our documents. The union of Portugal with Spain under one ruler favoured the political and military contacts between the Spanish Philippines and Portuguese Maluku.

[3] Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa (1580-1583) sent the sublieutenant Francisco de Dueñas with a frigate to Maluku. Dueñas left Manila on November 26, 1581, stopped at Tidore March 10-24, 1582, and on May 22 he put again into Manila harbour. The report of his survey is in the *AGI, Patr° 46 ramo 14*.

[4] Diogo de Azambuja. For Ronquillo's message to Azambuja, see COUTO X/I 308-310 (he incorrectly calls the governor Santiago de Vera, who, however, did not arrive in the Philippines before 1584); for Azambuja's answer, ibid. 310-312; the latter's message to the bishop of Manila is in *AGI, Filip. 34 ramo 3 no. 59*.

[5] Portuguese *socorro*, Italian *soccorso*.

[6] Azambuja to Ronquillo, March 20, 1582: «... eu não tinha novas de Portugal, nem da India, por me faltar o galeão dos provimentos este anno» (COUTO X/I 310). This proves that Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Conrado had not arrived at the scheduled time, that is, about October-November 1581, nor at any other occasion before the writing of this letter (D 32,2).

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che non soffriò i simiglianti. E poco mancò che nol cattivassero, ammazandoli molta gente e prendendo sette sue caracole[7], che son como sette fuste. E li sachegiorno nella sua isola una villa et la abrugiorno, et un'altra volta incontrandosi la nostra armata con la sua la possero in fuga ammazandoli molta gente e de principali del suo regno.

3. Con tutti questi soccesi resta la gente anchora mal' contenta per haverli mancato il suo accostumato soccorro. Piaccia al Signor che questo sia in penitentia de nostri peccati. Alla nostra casa non mancorno occasioni per esercitare la patientia, principalmente al P. Pedro Masquarenhas, mio compagno, il quale per voler aiutare un povero molto necessitado, mosso dala charità che devemo al proximo, sed fortasse non secundum scientiam[8], se causò tanto travaglio a sse medesimo che[b] li causò per sorte la morte[9].

4. Io me partì de Amboino dopo de haver visitato tutte quasi le ville de christiani e battizato[c] i fanciulli et altri grandi. Me partì dico alli 19 di Julio et fui all'isola del Burro dove visitai alcuni christiani che allì resideno. Ma per star la terra di guerra in quanto una [118*v*] parte segue al re di Ternate et l'altra al re di Portugallo et[d] al rei de Tidore, non potessimo far altro che persuadire ad alcune ville de christiani[10] che si pacificassero con quelli che stavano per il re di Portugallo e se discostassero di Ternati. È l'isola del Burro molto fertile de victovaglie di queste parti, habundante de molti animali sylvestri, come de porci et altri animali di queste parti. Fra quali vi sono uni semeglianti al porco ma bianchi. E li due denti grandi, con i quali i porci combetteno, questi animali le tengono diretti[e] di modo che furano il musso del detto animali, e uscindo[f] sopra appariscono come due chiodi grandi[11]. La carne è molto bona. Tiene un monte tutto di gengivre che la terra produce naturalmente. E dopo, con la forza del calore tanto del medemo gengivre come del sole, se accende fuogo de modo che se

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[7] Moluccan Malay *korakora*.

[8] Rom 10 2.

[9] Nos. 5-7.

[10] The Christian villages were situated principally along the N coast of Buru (*Rel. Vasc.* 322).

[11] This is the famous pig-deer or *babirusa*. See WALLACE 211-212; SARASIN, *Reisen in Celebes* I 19-20; ENI I 100. In *Rumphius Memorial Volume* Jacobus Bontius (1592-1631) is called « the first author to give a description of this curious animal » (29). Apparently Bontius finds here a serious rival in Fr. Ferrari.

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abrugia tutto il monte, e dopo con la pioggia torna a nascere un'altra volta [12].

5. Partì di quella isola a sette di Settembre et in tre o quattro giorni arrivamo in Tidore. Ritrovai il P. Masquarenhas travagliato. Consolossi molto con la mia venita [13], ma la[g] melanconia che haveva passato li causava[h] un[i] dolor di testa che non poteva predicare se non con molto travaglio, di modo che dopo che io arrivai in questa terra non predicò più che tre volte nella lengua malaya, volendo catechizare questi pochi christiani di queste parti. Dopo li sopragionse una febre molto grande e volendoli cavar sangue il chirugiano li donò una lancettata che li fece gonfiare il brazo causandoli insieme dolore. Con tutto ciò l'altro giorno li cavò sangue dell'altro braccio e si purgò. La febre lo lasciò, un giorno dopo tornò e comminciò buttare materia della lancettata, e la febre crescia con dolor di testa. Finalmente un'altro giorno li se gonfiò la gamba sinistra con grande dolore, e pensando il chirurgiano che in quel luogo se li generava alcuna postema, li applicò alcune medicine mollificative, et il successo fu tale che il gonfiamento se li mutò al ginochio e coxia. Et il chirurgiano pensando che la postema era madura, contra mia voluntà li volse dar un button di fuogo [14]. E non ritrovando nulla salvo che sangue, dopo due giorni passò il detto Padre di questa vita il dì di Santo Nicolao [15], havendo recevuto tutti i sacramenti della santa Chiesa e mostrato molta conformità[j] con la voluntà del Signore, molto contento de tutti travagli e dolori che li sopravignano[k].

6. Soffrió per amor del Signore questo Padre in vinti e più[l] anni che residette in queste parti [16] grandissime persecutioni tanto de infideli como de fideli. Fu cattivato nella Java e requiesto con grande minaccie di negar la fede, apparigliandosi un elefante per lo far in pezzi, et confessus est bonam confessionem[m] [17]. Un'altra volta fu assediato nella sua casetta da inimici ponendosi[n] all'intorno di essa che humanamente non poteva fugire, ammazandoli alcuni che lo servivano. Tuttavia per mezo

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[12] No mention of this ginger mountain seems to have been made by any author.

[13] Spanish, and (rarely) Portuguese *venida*, Italian *venuta*.

[14] That is, he applied cauterization.

[15] December 6, [1581].

[16] He arrived at Ambon for the first time in February 1562 (DM I 35*).

[17] 1 Tim 6 12. For this story, see DM I 38*; the particular of the elephant is new and interesting. It in also in D 35,3.

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de inimici si fece il camino basciando[18] per una costa abascio rivoltandosi sopra la testa insino che arrivò al pie del monte senza rice[ve]r danno niuno. Stette otto giorni nel bosco, che stava de tutte parti cercundato de inimici, senza gustare cosa veruna, salvo [119*r*] che un poco di aqua. Et intrando nel bosco i inimici per ritrovarlo, mai potessero haver vista di esso, et incontrandosi una volta con uno di essi, non fece altro che mirarlo senza dirli cosa niuna. Finalmente ricercato da christiani fu subito ritrovato[19].

7. Cinque o sei volte li fu dato veneno et alla fine a iudicio del populo morriò attoxicato, perché li restorno le unghie negre dopo morto[20]. E per concluderla, credo che avanti del Signore ritrovò luogo[o] scelto. Era grande il deseo che haveva de aiutare questi christiani, per questo effetto haveva imparato la lengua malaya e ternate, et in ambedue lengue predicava essendo alioquin de poca memoria. Quel che[p] sostenne questo anno è per spa[ve]ntare chi ben lo consyderassi e sapessi tutte le particularità, e potria iudicare che Christo Signor nostro li volse dare questa occasione per sua corona.

8. Ha quattro mesi che de Amboino recevemo lettere del P. Jeronimo Rodriguez e del Fratello Antonio Gonçalvez[21], de come stavano di salute e procedevano avanti nell'instruir aquella povera gente, e che la terra stava de pace e che molte ville che non obedivano al capitanio de Amboino, che al presente erano ritornate al servigio del re di Portugallo.

9. Io al presente sto determinato, passata questa quadragesima[22], andar a visitare certi christiani nel regno di Bacciano che stanno soggetti ad un subdito del re di Bacciano[23]. Il re di Bacciano anchorché si apartò del re di Ternate, tuttavia non lasciò la setta maumettana per causa che non venne armata de portuguesi[24]. E esso si teme che tornandosi christiano che li suoi, tanto subditi como amici, non lo abandonino. Ma venendo armata all'hora si discoprirà essere christiano e castiguerà li suoi subditi che non lo volrano seguire.

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[18] Portuguese (*a*)*baixar-se*, Italian *abbassarsi*.

[19] This was amply reported by Fr. Jerónimo de Olmedo in 1571; see DM I 620-622.

[20] Reason why some Jesuit authors considered him a martyr. See, for instance, TANNER 233-238.

[21] Lost Letters, 32*a-b*.

[22] In 1582, Easter was on April 15.

[23] Evidently the *sengaji* of Labuha.

[24] See D 30, 3.

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Questo è, Padre mio, quel che al presente mi occorre di scrivere a V.P. Resta pregarla che ni tegna per raccommandati nelli suoi santi sacrificii e orationi e de tutta nostra Compagnia.

De Tidore, aos 21 de Marzo de 1582.

10. Il re del Selebe e Siao me mandò a dire con un suo servitore che esso stava apparechiato per venire a visitare i Padri, ma per non lasciare la sua terra sola, non sapendo se li castigliani erano nostri amici o no[q], e che per questo non vene.

Di V.P. servo e figlio em Jesu Christo,

Bernardino Ferrari.

[119*v*] Ihs. Al molto Reverendo Padre nostro in Jesu Christo, il P. Everardo Mercuriano, preposito general della Compagnia di Jesù a Roma. De Maluquo.

[a–a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* a se il quale ‖ [c] *del.* tutti ‖ [d] eto *ms.* [*sic*] ‖ [e] *del.* come ‖ [f] *del.* fora ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* li, *del.* era entrata tanta ‖ [h] causata *ms., w. corr.* ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* una ‖ [j] *del.* de quest [?] ‖ [k] *del.* era ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* tanti ‖ [m] *del.* altre ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* ponendoli ‖ [o] *del.* e a ‖ [p] *del.* su ‖ [q] o no *rep.*

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FR. BERNARDINO FERRARI, SUPERIOR, TO THE JESUITS IN MANILA

TIDORE, MARCH 21, 1582

TEXT: Alcalá de Henares, *Archives of the Toledo Jesuit Province, Varia Historia III* ff. 566*r*-567*v*, and no. 171. Copy. Spanish. Heading: « Ihs. Copia de una del P^e^ Bernardino Ferrari, italiano, escripta en Tidore en las Malucas para los Padres de la Compañía que estavan en Manila que es en las Philipinas ». Another hand added: « a 21 de Março 1582. Avisa lo que sucedió en 16 meses ». Folio 567*r* is blank, its *verso* contains a note « Copia de una del P^e^ Br^no^ Ferrari de Tydore para los P^es^ qu'están en las Phylippinas, a 21 de Março de 1582 ». The text is written without any division into paragraphs. As to the contents, many things are a repetition of what was written in D 34.

Text

1. *Received news from the Jesuits of Manila by means of Francisco de Dueñas.* —
2. *Death of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas, who for good twenty years lived there and preached*

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in both Malay and the Moluccan language; a heavy loss for Fr. Ferrari. — 3. Twice Mascarenhas was nearly put to death by enemies. — 4. And five or six times he was given poison. All people say that he also died by poison. — 5. It is consoling to have fellow Jesuits so near. Neither letters nor any succour did arrive this year from India. There is another fortress eighty leagues away. — 6. Likewise consoling was the provision sent by the governor [of the Philippines]. Sorrow on account of the death of King-Cardinal Henrique. — 7. Good outlooks for the work of conversion, if only the cacizes were not there. — 8. Asks for letters and news of Latin America, of Spain, and of Japan where the Jesuits started a noviciate and one of the chief princes showed himself interested in Christianity.

Ihs

Pax Christi et caetera

1. Con las nuevas que el alférez Francisco de Dueñas me dio de V.ªsR.ªs assí se me levantaron los spíritus, como a los que en el monte espeso hallan el camino y compañeros que avían perdido [1].

2. El mes de Deziembre pasado fue el Señor servido de llamar para si un Padre de la Compañía muy antiguo, que era en estas partes compañero nuestro, llamado Pedro de Mascareñas, persona quanto al mundo noble y quanto a nuestra religión muy exercitado en las virtudes sólidas y de mucha experientia en estas partes, muy conocido y reverenciado de los régulos de esta tierra [2], y assí con su ausencia quedé como persona que no sabe por donde ha de caminar por ser nuevo en estas tierras, pues que no ha más que deziseis meses que llegué a este Maluco [3]. Y el dicho Padre no solamente tenía la experientia de veinte y tantos años de estas tierras, mas aun sabía la lengua maluca y malaya, de manera que predicava y oía confessiones en ambas lenguas.

3. Y lo que más importa, era de grandes merecimientos delante

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[1] Consult D 34 note 3. Fr. Antonio Sedeño, superior of the Manila Jesuits, wrote to Fr. Provincial of Mexico on June 12, 1582: « Antes desto avía embiado el gobernador otro navío al Maluco a visitar los portugueses que guardan aquellas islas de la especiería, y abrá como 15 días que bolvieron. Y me truxeron cartas de nuestros Padres que allí están, y otros para nuestro Padre General. Consoláronse mucho con las que fueron de acá, y se animaron porque con las revueltas de España avía mucho tiempo que no avían visto navío de la India y no sabían nada de lo que pasava » (*Varia Historia III* f. 583*v*).

[2] For Fr. Mascarenhas and the king of Ternate, see DM I 438; of Sangi, ibid. 536; of Siau, ibid. 540; of Tidore, see D 22,3-4.

[3] Fr. Ferrari disembarked in Tidore on November 23, 1580 (D 30,1).

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de Dios, porque por la predicación evangélica fue captivado y en un punto para ser despedaçado de un elephante. Y otra vez assí lo cercaron los enemigos para lo prender que humanamente no podía escapar, principalmente siendo de cuerpo grande y pesado. Dióle nuestro Señor a entender que [se] echase [por] una cuesta abaxo por medio de los enemigos, por la qual en tiempo de paz no se puede baxar ni subir sin peligro. Y el buen Padre fuesse con tanta priesa que a algunos de los enemigos parecía que bolava, como en verdad no fuese assí, sino rodando hasta que llegó al pie del monte sin ningún daño. Y pasó ocho días en el bosque sin comer, tiniendo los contrarios cercado el bosque por todas las partes y travesándolo cada día muchas vezes sin nunca topar con el dicho Padre. Y una vez dieron con él, mas parece que nuestro Señor les mudava las especies no le juzgando por hombre. Al fin unos christianos entraron en el bosque en busca del Padre y luego dieron con él, y le llevaron a cuestas por quanto por la flaqueza no podía caminar [4].

4. Diéronle los enemigos de nuestra sancta fe cinco o seis vezes ponçoña, y con los remedios contra ponçoña que en esta tierra se hallan se libró de la muerte. Finalmente assí fue perseguido por la justicia evangélica que me parece aver alcançado una corona en el cielo. Y finalmente murió al juizio de todos de ponçoña con dolores y calentura estraordinaria, no harto de padecer por el amor de Jesu Christo nuestro Redemptor. Falleció el día de S. Nicolás aviendo recebido todos los sacramentos de la Iglesia. Todavía, porque alia sunt iudicia Dei, alia hominum [5], encomiéndolo a los sacrificios y oraciones de Vuestras Reverencias.

5. De manera que, como tengo dicho, estando en este estado, con entender tener por vezinos a Vuestras Reverencias quedé muy consolado, confiando en su divina Magestad que muchas vezes nos podemos consolar a lo menos por cartas. Porque de la India desde Malaca no recebimos cartas salvo una vez cada año, y este año nos faltaron cartas y toda ayuda temporal, de modo que aun para hostias ya me ha faltado la harina. Tenemos de aquí a ochenta leguas para el sur otra fortaleza donde reside otro Padre y un Hermano [6], los quales tienen quatro islas de christianos para governar y están con la mesma

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[4] Cf. D 34,6.

[5] Not a quotation from Holy Scripture. Perhaps an allusion to Is 55 8 or similar texts?

[6] Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues and Br. António Gonçalves.

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necessidad o mayor. Estávamos este año con grandes esperanças de socorros de soldados y de Padres, y a lo más necessario para la vida, mas quiso el Señor que nos faltase todo para que aprendiésemos a estribar solamente en su divina Magestad [7].

6. Y assí nos lo mostró, porque no nos faltó socorro de lo que se puede hallar en estas tierras tanto[a] de mantenimientos como de gente, con la qual no solamente se resistió a los enemigos mas aun los desbarataron. Mas como todo esto a nosotros que teníamos estas esperanças no nos faltase, quiso nuestro Señor consolarnos con el recaudo que nos embió el Señor Governador de esas partes [8] y con ver gente de nuestra Europa. Bien es verdad que sentimos la muerte tan apresurada de nuestro santo Rey Cardenal [9], del qual se esperava biviendo algunos años que concertara [566*v*] de manera las cosas del reyno[b] que no ubieran de pasar las muertes y males que el affligido r[ey]no de Portugal ha pasado. Sed quis novit sensum Domini aut quis consiliarius eius fuit [10], Padres mios?

7. Aquí teníamos una viña muy grande y de la qual se esperava grande fruto por ser esta gente capaz y [de] buen juizio y de entendimiento, sed singularis ferus depastus est eam [11]. Tiene necessidad de algunos caçadores que maten estos javalís de los chaciques [12], y assí todo nos quedará llano y en nuestra mano. Mittat Dominus operar[ios] in vineam suam [13] et venatores sed non in spiritu gladii et forti subvertente montes et conterente petras [ante] Dominum [14] et caetera[c] [15], sed in sibilo aurae tenuis [16]. El Señor lo ordene como fuere su santo servicio. Quien me diese ver una o dos [do]zenas de Padres por estas partes para se repartir por los Selebes[d] [17], Siaos, Sanguin, Moros[e], Malucos,

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[7] This statement excludes the arrival of Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Corrado; see D 34 note 6.

[8] D. Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, governor of the Philippines.

[9] Cf. D 19 note 2.

[10] Rom 11 34, after Is 40 13 and Wis 9 13.

[11] Ps 79 14.

[12] A far from flattering style of the Maluku rulers (*cacique*, despot, potentate). Or could it be that Ferrari confused *cacique* and *caciz*, and that he meant the latter?

[13] Mt 9 38; Lk 10 2.

[14] 1 Kings 19 11, but *gladii* is perhaps a contamination with Is 27 1.

[15] See *app. crit.*

[16] 1 Kings 19 12.

[17] In the following series of proper names the copyist proves to be far from familiar with them. See the *app. crit.* The names are: Selebes (Sulawesi), Siau,

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Bachan[os], Amboinos, o por los reynos del rey del Machacal, Butun, Bexis, Vanda, Solor, Bima, e Xava, Borneo, et caetera, sed de his hactenus [18].

8. Vuestras Reverencias por la charidad de nuestra Compañía offreciéndose ocasión no me dexen de esc[ri]vir y embiar muchos avisos para pasar entre esta gente sin escándalo y con fruto spiritual y de los christianos. Deseamos saber aquí nuevas de los Padres que residen en la Nueva España y en el Perú. También no dexen Vuestras Reverencias de darnos alguna noticia de las provincias de España, de como va en augmento la Co[mpañía] en aquellas partes[f]. No sé si Vuestras Reverencias abrán tenido nuevas del Japón después que pasó para al[lá] el P.e Visitador Alexandro Valellano embiado de nuestro P.e General. Por las cartas que su Reverencia em[bió] [19] se ha sabido que se avía ordenado una casa de probación [20] para poder criar novicios conforme a [la] nuestra Compañía y que ya avía buen número y se comiençan a recebir japones, aunque se levantav[an] tantas guerras qu'el dicho Padre no podía[g] visitar todos los lugares y residencias como deseava. En el Meaco [21], cabeça de todo Japón, ay grandes guerras, aunque el Numonanga [22], señor universal de aquellas partes, va con victorias, y estava determinado él con todos sus hijos oir la ley de Dios y baptizarse acabando aquella guerra que entonces traía entre manos. En los sanctos sacrificios y oraciones de Vuestras Reverencias mucho me encomiendo [23].

De Tidora, a 21 de Março de 1582.

De Vuestras Reverencias siervo en Christo,

Bernardino Ferrari.

Sangi, Moro, Maluku (i.e., Ternate and Tidore), Bacan, Ambon, Makasar, Buton (also Butung), Tukang *Besi* islands (?, or perhaps a deformation of Buru which is lacking here), Banda, Sula (?, Solor was entrusted to the Dominican Fathers, so it was no business for Fr. Ferrari), Bima (port of Sumbawa), Java, Brunei.

[18] CICERO, *De divinatione* 2 24: « enough of this ».

[19] Lost Letter, 33*a*.

[20] The first Jesuit noviciate of Japan was started on December 24, 1580 (SCHÜTTE, *Introductio* 694; cf. MHJ I 1256).

[21] Miyako, the present-day Kyoto, from 794 to 1869 the capital of Japan.

[22] More correctly: Oda Nobunaga. His several military expeditions and victories see in SCHÜTTE, *Introductio* 978. On his familiarity with the Jesuits in 1580, ibid. 644.

[23] The letter had a prosperous voyage to Manila (note 1), and was forwarded to Mexico by Fr. Sedeño: « Con esta embio a V.R. la carta que me escrivió el Padre Bernardino Ferrari que allí está, para que vea la mucha necessidad que

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[a] *del.* que ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* reynos ‖ [c] *d. r.* ‖ [d] Selebeles *ms.* ‖ [e] Sanguinmoros *ms.* ‖ [f] *del.* Me ‖ [g] *w. corr.*

Lost Letter

35*a*. — *Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Superior, Maluku, to Fr. Provincial of India; May 1582.*

D 44,1: He wrote to Fr. Provincial every year. (Fr. Visitor Valignano at that time was still far away in Japan and Macao). For the year 1581, see D 30 and 30*a*; for 1582, to Fr. General, D 34; for 1583, D 37 and 37*a*; for 1584, D 44 and 44*a*.

36

FR. ANTONIO SEDEÑO SJ, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

MANILA, JUNE 12. 1582

First *via*

I TEXT: There are two autograph originals in Spanish:

A. *ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 650 B no. 518*. This no. 518 is a wrapper containing four letters of Fr. Sedeño. Our letter consists of four folios numbered in leadpencil. Folio 4*v* contains the autograph address and traces of a seal; moreover the note: «82. Manila. P. Sedeño. 12 de Junio. Recibida en 20 de Mayo 1583». The document is well conserved, and divided into many paragraphs. This is the first *via*.

B. *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 7*r*-10*v*. The last page contains the autograph address and a trace of a seal. A Roman secretary noted: «82. Manila en las Philippinas. El Padre Antonio Sedeño, 12 de Junio. Historia y principio de habitación de la Compañía en Manila. 2ª via».

II NOTE: This letter is to be considered an Annual Report (the first ever written by Jesuits from the Philippines). It went accompanied by a shorter covering letter of the same date, which is in *Philip. 9* ff. 5*r*-6*v*.

III OUR EDITION: We print text A, giving the variants of text B in the apparatus.

Text

1. *Received a letter from Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, and another to be forwarded*

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allí ay de Padres de la Compañía, aunque no sea más de para conservar lo ya nuestro» (Letter quoted in note 1, f. 584*r*).

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to Fr. General. Situation of the Philippines is favourable for frequent contacts with China, Japan, and Maluku. — 2. Jesuits appointed to these areas could travel more easily and more quickly by way of the Philippines than by India.

[... 2*v*]

1. Del Maluco me escrivió el Padre Bernardino Ferrari con un navío que de aquí embió el governador[a] a visitar los portugueses que están en aquellas fuerças, y a ofrecerles todo lo que oviesen menester[b]. También embió cartas para V.P.[c] que van con esta[d] [1]. Consoláronse mucho el capitán y los demás[e] con la visita y lo que se les ofrecía[f], porque havía mucho tiempo[g] que no tenían nuevas[h] d'España, y el Padre con nuestra venida a estas yslas, porque nos podremos comunicar[i] a menudo, por estar esta ysla en medio[j] de la China y de[k] los Japones y Malucos, y a qualquiera destas partes se puede yr[l] de aquí en quinze o veynte días.

2. Y así podrán venir ya[m] por aquí (si el Señor y V.Pd.[n] lo ordinare) los Padres de nuestra Compañía[o] que ovieren de yr al Japón y Malucos y China[p], por venirse con mucha brevedad y ser el viage tan bueno [2]. Porque por la India es cosa muy larga y de años, como V.Pd. sabe[q], que entiendo no se va en menos de[r] tres, y por estotro[s] camino se viene[t] en uno. Y podrán reposar en el collegio[u] de México quatro o cin[co] meses a lo menos[v]. Desto podrá servir la casa y sitio tam bueno que el Señor a proveydo[w], sin buscarlo ni pretenderlo nosotros[x] [3].

[...]

De Manila, a 12 de Junio 1582.

De V.P. mínimo hijo y siervo en el Señor,

Antonio Sedeño.

[*Address* 4*v*] Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro, el

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[1] DD 34 and 35.

[2] Sedeño, who had sailed from Mexico to the Philippines himself in 1581, made his judgment after his own experience. Weighing anchor in Acapulco on March 29, he made his landfall in the Philippines early in July. « The voyage was uneventful. They suffered somewhat from the heat as they dropped slowly down to the region of the trades, but as soon as they reached 12 degrees north latitude they struck a cool, steady, following wind that swept them across a sea so calm it was like sailing on a river » (De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 9). The scheduled duration of the voyage Seville-Vera Cruz was forty to forty-five days.

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Padre Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús en Roma. Via 1ª. De las yslas Philippinas.

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[a] embió .. governador] fue *B* ‖ [b] están .. menester] allí están *B* ‖ [c] V.P. *corr. fr.* nuestro P. General ‖ [d] estas *B* ‖ [e] el .. demás] los portugueses *B* ‖ [f] y .. ofrecía *om. B* ‖ [g] *om. B* ‖ [h] tenían nuevas] sabían nada *B* ‖ [i] *add.* muy *B* ‖ [j] en medio] como en el centro *B* ‖ [k] *om. B* ‖ [l] puede yr] va *B* ‖ [m] *om. B* ‖ [n] y V.Pd. *om. B*; V *corr. fr.* nuestro ‖ [o] de .. Compañía *om. B* ‖ [p] y Malucos y China] China y Malucos *B* ‖ [q] como .. sabe *om. B* ‖ [r] no .. de] son *B* ‖ [s] este *B* ‖ [t] vendrá *B* ‖ [u] el .. de *om. B* ‖ [v] a lo menos *om. B* ‖ [w] querido se nos dé *B* ‖ [z] sin .. nosotros] sim pretenderlo ni buscarlo *B*

Lost Letters

36*a*. — *Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Aless. Valignano; December 1582.*

See D 30, introduction no. III: « Está proveido ». The date is inferred from a comparison with DI XII 685, doc. 120.

36*b*. — *The Fathers of Manila to the Fathers of Maluku; January-February 1583.*

D 37.1: « Por via dos nossos Padres que residem nas Philippinas entendi . . . ».

37

FR. BERNARDINO FERRARI, SUPERIOR, TO THE PORTUGUESE ASSISTANT IN ROME

AMBON, MAY 19, 1583

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 303; WESSELS, *Amboina* 186 Ferrari no. 3.

II AUTHORS; WESSELS, *Amboina* 79; ID., *Batjan* 133.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 174*r*-175*v*, earlier no. LV. Autographic original in Portuguese interspersed with italianisms. On f. 174*r*, at the bottom, a Roman secretary's note « Ferrari. Amboino. 83 »; f. 175*v* contains a double address, the first autographic by Ferrari, the second probably written in India or Lisbon. But between the lines of the first address a third hand had already noted « Pera o Padre Manuel Rodrigues ». A brief archivistic note reads « 83. P. Bernardinus Ferrarius, de Amboino, 19 Mayo ». A hole in the paper marks the place of the lost seal.

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[3] Probably Sedeño is speaking of the foundation of the Mexican Jesuit college by Alonso de Villaseca, who bestowed the sum of forty thousand gold pesos on the Jesuits for that purpose on August 29, 1576 (MM I 230-236).

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IV ADDRESSEE: Fr. Ferrari was mistaken. His Manila informers knew only half the truth (See no. 1). At first Fr. Jorge Serrão was elected Assistant as successor of Fr. Pedro da Fonseca in the General Congregation of 1581. But being absent and severely ill, he was soon replaced by Fr. Manuel Rodrigues. Which explains the correction of the address (see III).

Text

1. *Greets Fr. Jorge Serrão, allegedly the new Assistant of Fr. General.* — 2. *When arriving in Maluku two years before, he found three Jesuits, all in bad health.* — 3. *Death of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas.* — 4. *Requests many missionaries. Good qualities of the Maluku people.* — 5. *Requests books printed in Arabic.* — 6. *Asks for Roman devotional articles and for news from the Society.* — 7. *A Philippine succour sent to Maluku was not accepted by the captain. Epidemic among Spanish and Portuguese, many of whom died.* — 8. *Portuguese victories over the Ternatan forces.* — 9. *Mission work among the people of Bacan islands.* — 10. *Repeats request for help.* — 11. *Victorious actions of the captain of Ambon fortress.* — 12. *The galleon being on the verge of sailing, he greets various Jesuits.*

Ihs.

Muy Reverendo Padre em Jesu Christo

Pax Christi etc.

1. Por via dos nossos Padres que residem nas Philippinas[1] entendi como V.R. fora emlegido por Assistente das Provincias de Portugal, e que já o P. Pero de Fonseca era já descargado do ditto cargo[2]. Confio que V.R. assi como hé successor do P. Fonseca no officio, que tambem o será em me facer muitas caridades todos los anos, como o ditto Padre me as facia[3], em animando-me e acconselhando-me no servicio do Senhor e na cultura desta desemparada vinha destas partes[a],

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[1] Lost Letter; see 36*b*.

[2] See higher up, IV ADDRESSEE. Jorge Serrão entered the Society in 1544, was a Provincial of Portugal 1570-1574, and died 1590. Pedro da Fonseca entered the order in 1548, performed some important functions in the Portuguese province, was elected Assistant of Fr. General Mercurian, 1573-1581, and died in 1599.

[3] Lost Letter, 26*a*, quoted also in no. 5. « Todos los [*sic*] anos » seems too loose a phrase to justify the inference of more than one determined letter. If received still in India, such letters do not regard our volume. In 1581 no letter arrived from India (D 34,2). So there is scarcely place for another letter from Fr. Pedro da Fonseca.

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quanto mais que V.R. já conhece de vista minhas emperfeçõis, pois que V.R. me agasalhou em Portugal quando cheguei em Lisboa[4] pera passar nestas partes.

2. Eu, Padre meu, á dous annos que moro nestas partes de Maluquo, donde achei dous Padres e hum Irmão arrodeados de muitos travalhos, tendo elles todos muito poucas forzas pera os poder levar adiante, porquanto o P. Masquarenhas, que Deos haja, estava muito fraquo e doente das muitas vezes que lhe deerão ponzonha nestas partes. O P. Jeronimo Rodriguez hé quebrado e não pode caminhar por estos oiteros[5], que com difficultade as cabras podem pascer por elles. O Irmão hé já de idade[6], muy grosso e toccado como o P. Jeronimo Rodriguez de huma infirmidade que chamam berebere, que priva os membros do moto. Ordinariamente começa dos pés e vá subindo atté que chega ao corazão, e[n]tão home accaba. O remedio hé[b] accudir-le no principio com cousas quentes.

3. Assi que com tanta messe tivemos atté agora estos segadores, e quiso Nosso Senhor o anno passado de 81, pollo mes de Decembro, chamar pera si o P. Masquarenhas, que foi tirar-nos o melhor que tinhamos, porquanto elle era muy conhecido e amado e reverenciado nestas partes, como pessoa que, alem das suas [174*v*] virtudes que isto merecião, havia mais que vinti annos que nestas partes vivia, e sabia as lengoas que nestas partes mais correm, como hé a malaya e ternata, e tinha corrido todas estas partes. E assi a sua morte foi muy sentida e chorada, ainda que no ceo foi, como creo, bem festejada pollo muito que tinha padecido e as muitas boas obras que tinha feitto, pois que foi cattivo dos jaos donde padecio muito pro nomine Domini. Quattro ou cinquo vezes lhe foi dada ponzonha e na fim muito perseguido pro lege Domini[7].

4. Isto escrevo pera que V.R. nos procure muito[s] obreiros e companheiros pera estas partes, os quais agora poderão vir polla via da Nova Espanha, porquanto a navegação é mais facil e menos perigoza e mui breve[8]. E ainda que a gente destas partes não seja tão facil ne[m]

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[4] Ferrari, sailing from Sardinia, arrived in Lisbon on March 31, 1574, and found Fr. Fonseca as a Provincial there (Cf. *ARSI, Lus. 66* f. 126*r-v*).

[5] Ambon island is famed for its very rough mountains. Even to-day some inland villages are hardly accessible.

[6] Br. António Gonçalves was about fifty years of age then (See DM I 42*).

[7] D 34,5-7.

[8] Obviously Fr. Ferrari had no inkling of the highly desirable and by Philip II scrupulously observed distinction of the crowns, and consequently padroados,

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tão esperta como os jappõis, todavia não lhes falta o juizo necessario[c] e capacidade pera o que cumpre pera sua salvação. E as occasiones de padecer são maiores e mais habundantes nestas partes que em qualqueira outra, de maneira que em breve se pode alcançar huma coroa de gloria mais riqua que em outras partes caeteris paribus.

5. O P. Pero de Fonseca me escreveo[9] de como por ordem de Sua Santidade se era posta em ordem huma empressão de arabico nessa santa citade e me mandou amostra della[10], a qual contentou muito a estos cazizes e fariseos que aqui moram. V.R. por caridade não deixe de nos mandar alguns libros que na ditta lengoa se emprimirem, porquanto a lettra que nestas partes corre hé arabica, ainda que a lengoa arabica rarissimos emtendão[11].

6. Tambem rogo V.R. que reparta com os que estamos nestas partes tão remotas alguns Agnus Dei e outras cousas semelhantes que dessa santa citade se accostumão a repartir, e principalmente procure que sejamos avisados do bom progresso da nostra Companhia, porque com semelhantes cousas sentimos grande consolação nestos mattos.

7. As novas que de aqui posso mandar a V.R. são que este anno

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of Spain and Portugal (which did not exclude a gradual subordination of specific Portuguese interests to the Spanish). Nor did he consider that, from a Jesuit point of view, there was everything to be said for a clear separation of the areas of the Portuguese and Spanish Assistancies, and for a meeting of newly arriving Fathers with their Provincial in Goa before going to work in far-off regions. His proposal did not materialize. But we understand better Ferrari's view through a letter of Captain Diogo de Azambuja to the governor of the Philippines of April 3, 1583, in which he made this astonishing statement: « O capitão Dom Allvaro, que faleceo, despedio de Borneo, quando vinha, huma fusta com cartas de Sua Magestade pera V.S., em que lhe emcarregava esta conquista de Maluquo. Se a fusta laa não hé passada, nem V.S. ouve as cartas de S.M. à mão, sayba V.S. que este Maluquo estaa à sua conta, e o Viso-Rey da Imdia asy mo escreve e comtenue quá com V.S. em todos os socorros e nesecidades de Maluquo » (*AGI, Patr° 25 ramo 1* no. 3).

[9] See note 3.

[10] On this papal Oriental printing office, strongly favoured by Gregory XIII, see PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste* IX 198-199. It was not firmly established before 1584, but it knew some preparatory stages. Most probably Ferrari is alluding to a short Profession of the Faith, printed in Arabic characters by Francesco Zanetti in 1580 (LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Ricerche* 257 note 3).

[11] In the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula Malay was written and printed in Arabic script, in an adaptation of the Arabic alphabet, until in our century.

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o governador das Philippinas nos mandou de soccor cento e tantos soldados muito bem exercitados nas armas[12]. Mas porquanto o capitão de Maluquo tinha feitto tregoas com o rey de Ternate, não lhe parecendo o soccorro bastante não quiso desfacer as tregoas. E estando os soldados em ocio deu a doença nelles, assi nos castilhanos como nos portugueses que de novo vierão, e quasi todos adoecerão e morrerão muitos[13]. O rey de Ternate entretanto se fortificou muito bem em Ternate e mandou fazer guerra em Amboino, donde ao presente me acho correndo estos lugares de christãos, e quasi estoi de cerco porquanto hum capitão d'el-rey de Ternate[14] nos está esperando no caminho pera nos cattivar, mas confio no Senhor que nos librerá delle.

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[12] Governor D. Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa sent his cousin D. Juan Ronquillo del Castillo (24 years) as a general with seven frigates to Maluku. He was ordered to succour the Portuguese, to make peace with the king of Ternate and claim the old fortress from him, and to inspire the king of Tidore with awe and loyalty to King Philip. D. Juan brought three letters of his uncle, one for Azambuja (*AGI, Patr° 25 ramo 1* no. 2), one for the king of Ternate (ibid. no. 1), and one for the king of Tidore (*AGI, Patr° 24 ramo 58*), all three dated September 26, 1582.

[13] What actually happened was more complicated than Fr. Ferrari reported. After Dueñas had returned to Manila (Cf. D 34 note 3) and Azambuja saw that no succour was forthcoming from India, he sent an envoy, Manuel Ferreira, to Manila in July 1582 to call for assistance. Ferreira did not arrive before September 15 (D. Gonzalo Ronquillo to Azambuja, September 26, 1582; see note 12). Pressed by hunger the captain made an armistice with the king of Ternate. About October-November the galleon of India came sailing in and brought a new captain, Álvaro de Castro, who at once took over from Azambuja. Shortly after, the flotilla of D. Juan arrived. A disease broke out among both Portuguese and Spaniards, and Álvaro de Castro fell a victim to it. Azambuja became captain again. Seeing his own men and his succourers doomed to inefficiency (D. Juan and the captain fell ill themselves as well) the latter did not want to break the armistice and the Spaniards had to leave again in April 1583 without having effected their purpose. This is the story as it results from Azambuja's report in his letter of April 3, 1583 (note 8), in which he in defense of himself rather emphatically states that at the arrival of D. Juan he was not functioning as a captain of the fortress of Tidore. In the version, however, given by Couto (X/I 313-318) of those events, D. Juan had arrived before Castro. In his later *Décadas* Couto often appears to be less well informed than is his earlier. It is true, also Azambuja, having to justify himself before the Spanish governor, cannot be expected to practise a scrupulous objectivity in all particulars, but it cannot be denied that D. Juan at his arrival in Tidore met with the new captain Álvaro de Castro. See Colin-Pastells I 167-169, especially note 2.

[14] No doubt, this was Laulata. The *Rel. Vasc.* (378-381) describes how

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8. Os annos passados, mentes que os portugueses e os tidores pelejarão com o rey de Ternate, o puserão em grande aperto. E huma vez lhe destruirão a sua armada e, se os tidores quiserão seguir a victoria e não deter-se em roubar, sem [du]vida cattivarão ao Ternate. Outras vezes o puserão em fugida e cada dia lhe mattavão muita gente, e lhe tomavão embarcaçõis e destruião lugares[15]. Ma[s] não quiserão nossos peccados que a guerra fossi adiante, que sem duvida ao pres[ente] este tyrano seria[d] já despossado da fortaleza, e poderia correr a pregação do Evangelio sem empidimento e com muito frutto.

9. Todavia o anno passado, por [175*r*] me se offrecer huma boa occasião, fui visitar huma ilha de hum senhor que hé vassallo d'el-rey de Bachão[16], o qual era christão e nas revoltas de Maluquo, por não poder mais, seguio el-rey de Ternate. Mas despois com a primeira occasião se juntou com os portugueses em fazer guerra aos ternates. E assi atté agora desejou que os Padres fossem a visitar a sua ilha, o que não se pode atté agora. Foi[17] hay o anno passado e se fez huma igreja e se battizarão passante de 200 pessoas e se reconciliarão perto de 100. E assi agora temos em Maluquo lugar donde podemos viver a nosso[e] modo[18], porque em Tidore estamos como hospedes.

10. Esto hé, Padre meu, o que ao presente me se offrece a escrever a V.R. pera que não se esqueça das necessidades desta desemparada terra de Maluquo e Amboino, e nos procure com o nosso Padre Geral soccorro de muitos e bons suggeittos pera desterrar o morismo e paganismo destes reinos.

11. Estando nestes lugares me veo nova de como o capitão desta fortaleza mandou humas caracollas fora a fazer saltos aos imigos, e assi tornarão com tomarem aos imigos tres outras caracollas, que estavão varadas em terra, e mattaram alguma gente que accudirão pera as

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he once lay in wait at Tial in order to attack Portuguese vessels sailing from the Ambon fortress around the peninsula of Leitimur to the Lease islands, or back. It is this route also Fr. Ferrari was due to take in visiting the Christian villages there. This Laulata (or Leliatu) may be the same as the one mentioned for 1562 in DM I 346-348.

[15] The same in D 34,2. Ternate does not always seem as powerful as sometimes is suggested. And this was doubtless the salvation of the Portuguese.

[16] The sengaji of Labuha.

[17] Read *fui*.

[18] The question arises: *who* could live there in the Jesuit way? Ferrari had only a temporary stay there. May we see a faint hint at the presence of Rogerio Berwouts/Conrado? See D 44,1-2.

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defenderem. E depois o mesmo capitão foi sobre hum lugar dos imigos e o emtrou e queimou, mattando muita gente e trazendo muitos cattivos [19].

12. Agora despois que tornei a esta fortaleza se fez preste o galião da carreira pera partir pera Malaqua, e assi com isto fazo fim rogando V.R. nos tenha por encommendados aos seus santos sacrificios e oraçõis. E se ahy estiver o Padre Fonsequa que tome esta por suya, e me encommende ao P. Oliverio Manareo, se estiver em Roma, e ao Padre Toleto e ao P. Ludovico de Massellis e ao P. Lorenzo Madio [20].

Desta fortaleza de Amboino, aos 19 de Mayo de 1583.

De V.R. servus in Domino,

Bernardinus Ferrarius.

P. Jorge Serrão

[*Address* 175*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo en Christo Padre, o Padre Jorge Serrão, assistente da Companhia de Jesus, en Roma. De Amboino.

[2*nd hand*] † Pera o P.e Manoel Rodrigues, assistente, Roma.

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[a] *del.* eu Pre [?] ‖ [b] *interl.* ‖ [c] *del.* pera ‖ [d] *del.* des . . ‖ [e] *first del., then add. m.*

Lost Letter

37*a*. — *Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Valignano, Provincial, Goa; May 1583.*

D 47,2: Requests fourteen more Fathers for Maluku.

38

FR. ALONSO SANCHEZ SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, SEPTEMBER 8, 1583

I TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 19*r*-20*v*. formerly 309-310. Autograph. Spanish.

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[19] This seems to be the event reported in the *Rel. Vasc.* 381-382, regarding the village of Tial siding with Ternate (see also note 14).

[20] Ferrari greets his friends and fellow-Jesuits in Rome. Olivier Mannaerts (Mannaraeus), 1526-1614, was a German Assistant in Rome 1573-1580 (SCADUTO, *Catalogo* 90). — Francisco Toledo, 1532-1596, was a famous theologian at the Collegio Romano and became a cardinal (o. c. 145). — Ludovico Maselli, 1539-1604, rector of the Roman College 1574-1581 (o.c. 94). — Lorenzo Maggio, 1531-1605, Assistant for Italy 1581-1594 (o.c. 88).

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A Roman secretary or Assistant added three summaries in the margin. Folio 20*v* is blank but for the address and an archivist's note « Manila 83. P^e Alonso Sánchez, septiembre 8 ». The letter bears no signature. Our scrap is on f. 19*v*.

II NOTE: Fr. Alonso Sánchez was one of the first four Jesuits to land in the Philippines in 1581 (D 34 note 2). He was the type of the deeply religious, zealous, and brilliant busy-body, meddling with everyone and everything, criticizing and reforming wherever he came, and indefatigable in drawing up memorials, informations, and statements for the civil, ecclesiastical, and Jesuit authorities. He had scarcely arrived when he managed to be sent by the Manila authorities on an official mission to China in 1582, on which occasion he met with the Portuguese Jesuits at Macao. Back in Manila in March 1583, he did not spare them in this letter, and in addition those of Maluku received a drubbing. (Consult DEHERGNE no. 740).

Text

1. *From what he heard he deduces that the Fathers of Maluku are behaving scandalously in getting their livelihood.* — 2. *His informers were a captain and two Augustinians.*

[. . .]

1. En lo que aquí avemos sabido de el modo como están en el Maluco los Padres nuestros que allí residen, creo que el P.^e Rector[1] escrive a V.P. largo[2]. Porque cierto a sido para los de estas islas más que desideficativo[a], y puedo dezir scandalozo en lo que toca a su modo de sustento, porque no los tienen por religiosos, sino por clérigos tra-[ta]ntes[3] y teatinos[4] claustrales[5].

2. Y un capitán que de allá vino[6], la primera plática que me habló

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[1] Fr. Antonio Sedeño.

[2] See D 39,1-4.

[3] As a means of subsistence allowance the king of Portugal had entitled the Jesuits of Maluku to buy every year four *bahars* of cloves and to ship them freight-free to India, where they yielded about four hundred *pardaus* (DM I 616). The less edifying impression of a Jesuit choosing, buying, storing, and shipping cloves had more than once been discussed by the superiors in India (o.c. 666, 669-670).

[4] The regular clerics of an order founded by St. Caietano in the sixteenth century. By mistake and confusion the term was often applied to the Jesuits.

[5] The meaning is: the impression the Jesuits made of themselves was not of zealous, apostolic, religious men, but rather of clerics occupied in trading, and for the rest staying at home.

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en un aldea de indios, donde yo estaba mal despuesto con un Hermano, fue decirme: «En Maluco (de donde él venía) también ai teatinos, mas por Dios que no los entiendo, porque no son como los de acá, que más tratantes son que nosotros y mercaderes». Lo mismo dizen los frailes de S. Augustín[b], por aver ido y buelto dos de ellos desde aquí a aquellas islas[7].

[... 20*r*]

De Manilla, y de Setiembre 8 de 1583.

[*Address* 20*v*] † Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro, el P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús. Roma. De las Philipinas.

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[a] *w. corr.* ‖ [b] *del.* pues

39

FR. ANTONIO SEDEÑO SJ, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

MANILA, SEPTEMBER 15, 1583

TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 24*r*-25*v*, formerly 317 and no. 8. Autograph original in Spanish. Two pages written. Folio 25*r* is blank; a scrap of paper con-

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[6] Presumably in the fleet of D. Juan Ronquillo (D 37 note 12).

[7] The presence of Spanish Augustinian Fathers in the Portuguese Jesuit mission of Maluku is certainly an interesting fact. One is surprised at the silence with which Fr. Ferrari covered it in D 37. But it is confirmed by Fr. Sedeño (D 39,3) and by a later letter of Ferrari (D 44,1), who speaks explicitly of two Augustinians sailing to Tidore in the fleet of Ronquillo. The most detailed report, however, is in a letter of Diogo de Azambuja of April 3, 1583 (see D 37 note 8): «Hos Padres agostinhos, emtendendo que tem esta terra nececidade de relyjiozos e os moradores dela lho pedirem, fica quaa o Padre Frey Amtonio pryncypiando huma casa. E o Padre Pryol vay pera dar conta a V.S. e o seu pryor. Se V.S. acemtar e lhe parecer bem que eles quaa rezidão, hé necesario provê-los V.S. desa cidade de Manylha todos os annos e ordenar-lhes huma comedia cad'anno, porque a real cayxa desta feytoria não pode abranger a estes gastos». We understand that Tidore had a shortage of religious during the period that Br. Gonçalves was the only Jesuit living there (and perhaps Fr. Berwouts / Corrado by turns

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taining an additional note to the letter and dealing with Mexico is pasted on it, marked in leadpencil f. 24*a*. Folio 25*v* contains the address and a secretary's note « Manilla 83. P. Ant.° Sedeño, sept^e 15. De los nuestros que están en Maluco ». At our no. 2 a summary has been written in the margin saying « La estada de los nuestros en el Maluco ni es segura porque no son vistos, ni edificativa porque tractan en clavo con escándalo que es bien murmurado. El remedio, o sacarlos de allí, o sino que el Rey los provea. Si recobrada aquella fuerça tocare a los españoles y a estas islas, serán facilmente ayudados, que dexarlos no conviene porque ay 300.000 almas baptizadas sin otra ayuda ».

Text

1. *Will indicate some remedies against evils.* — 2. *Has to speak about behaviour of Jesuits in Maluku not harmonizing with spirit of the Society.* — 3. *They trade in cloves for their livelihood to the offence of Portuguese, Spaniards, and of some religious. They claim to be forced to it by lack of other income.* — 4. *As a remedy they should either abandon Maluku altogether or be better provided for by the king. Once the fortress is reconquered, they should be under the jurisdiction of the Provincial of New Spain.* — 5. *Then the Society will not be forced to abandon her task for the good two hundred thousand Christians. Other religious orders do not want to reside there.*

Ihs.

Muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Esta escrivo a V.P. solamente con fin y gana de que se remedien algunas cosas dignas dello ansí para lo que toca al exterior del exemplo y edificación que devemos por do andamos, como también (y quiçá con más razón) para lo ynterior de la seguridad y aprovechamiento de los nuestros.

2. Y dexando a parte otras cosas casi de la misma materia [que] el P.^e Alonso Sánchez vido en la China, de que avisa a V.P. [1], lo que yo no puedo dexar de advertir por lo que lo é sentido es lo tocante al Maluco, donde los pocos que ay no creo que están de la manera que a la Compañía conviene, ni a ellos mismos. Porque, fuera de ser

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in Tidore and in Labuha?). One of the monks was the prior, dependent on the prior of Manila; the other was Frei Antonio. The latter was ordered to stay and start a convent; the prior had to return in the fleet and report in Manila. Whether or not they did so we do not know. Sánchez' words do not necessarily imply that he met both in the Philippines. At any rate, before September 1583 they had both cleared off (DD 39,5; 44,5).

[1] D. 38.

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tam pocos y esos tan apartados que no sólo no pueden tener orden ni ayudarse en spíritu, pero ni aun sé que manera de superior reconocen ni quien los aya visitado muchos años ha ni visto como proceden, sin lo qual aunque en lo demás sé que V.P. no estará bien contento.

3. A lo menos en el modo del sustento con que pasan, causan mucha desedificación y no sé si escándalo. Porque fuera de lo que los portugueses por allá deven de murmurar (que me dizen que lo hazen[a] en esto y lo saben hazer en todo mucho más que los castellanos), los españoles que de acá an ydo y buelto ya por algunas vezes con la ocasión de aquel alçamiento an notado mucho el modo que allá los nuestros tienen; y ansí dizen que no son los teatinos de allá como los de por acá [2]. Y preguntando yo porque, me respondieron que tratan y contra[ta]n en su clavo rescatándolo de los naturales y embiándolo donde se grangeen con ello como todos los demás mercaderes. Y fuera de los seculares me an dicho lo mismo los religiosos que fueron y an buelto de allá [3]. Y lo peor es que quando a nosotros nos lo dizen de la manera que escrivo, a los otros podrá ser lo digan de otra manera, y los mismos nuestros de allá lo confiessan que viven de esta suerte. La ocasión que ellos pueden dezir que tienen de hazerlo ansí es no tener otra fundación ni sustento del Rey ni de otra parte, ni quien allí haga limosnas.

4. Lo qual V.P. juzgará si por eso necesita a la Compañía a que se esté allí con tanto travajo, y dificultoso o no buen medio. Y el remedio que en ello puede haver, o de dexarlo del todo o de procurar que se provea del Rey o de otra parte, déxolo al juyzio y orden de V.P. Sola una cosa me parece advertir, y es que, si después de recobrada aquella fortaleza de los que agora están alçados a Su Magestad, pareciere (como se suspecha) que aquello quede em poder de [24*v*] españoles y al govierno de aquestas yslas y ciudad de Manila, entonces el viage de aquí allí será muy ordinario y fácil. Y estando aquello junto con esto en lo que toca a nuestra Compañía, la gente destas partes serían más y

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[2] In a later letter, Sedeño expatiates on the differences in conduct of the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits « ansí en el comer, vestido, como en el común trato, como en el modo de las casas, como mucho más en los tratos y mercancías de clavo, ropas, sedas, y muchas particularidades » (Manila, June 25, 1586, in *ARSI, Philip. 9* f. 85*r*). « The attitudes, usages, and methods of the Portuguese were so different from those of the Spaniards, even within the Society, that they would not be able to live and work together with the requisite harmony and efficiency » (COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 61).

[3] The two Augustinians of D 38,2.

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podrían mejor governarse por el Provincial de la Nueva España. Y haviendo allá en Maluco el sustento para los necessarios, podrían fácilmente ser proveydos de gente y visitados y governados.

5. Y no se dexará la carga que ya al fin la Compañía sola se a echado y tiene a cuestas, que por quien lo sabe muy bien, de los capitanes portugueses que aquí han venido, nos certifican que son más de dozientas mill almas de las baptizadas, que no sé como se podrán dexar pues ningún otro las a baptizado ni sale al ayuda de administrarlas. Antes los frayles agustinos que havían ydo a fundar allá[4], de hecho se han buelto. Y no sólo ellos del todo se han retirado, mas an sido causa de que ningún otro lo quiera arostrar. El remedio de todo sería que Su Magestad proveyese como se esté allí con religión y exemplo, pues parece tan necessario el estar como quiera que sea, si a las almas se mira. Mas en todo le pondrá V.P. mejor que yo sé proponer. En cuyas oraciones y santos sacrificios mucho en el Señor me encomiendo.

De Manila, a 15 de Setiembre[b] 1583.

[...]

De V.P. mínimo siervo y hijo en el Señor,

Antonio Sedeño.

[*Address* 25*v*] † Al muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo, el P.e Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, Roma. De las Philipinas.

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[a] *followed by premature closing bracket* || [b] *del. illeg. word*

40

FR. ANTONIO SEDEÑO SJ, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

MANILA, NOVEMBER 13, 1583

TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 30*r*-33*v*, earlier 322-324. Original letter in Spanish.

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[4] A new point of view: the Augustinians were not merely fleet chaplains who chanced upon a certain pastoral need in Tidore, but they had premeditatedly sailed in order to found a convent of their order there.

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On f. 30*r*, in the left lower corner, another hand noted « Sedeño 83 »; f. 33*r* is blank; its *verso*, besides the address and the seal, bears some Roman secretary's notes, saying that the letter was received *via* Malacca on November 12, 1584. Five summaries have been written in the margins, probably by the Spanish Assistant or a secretary of Fr. General. For our part, on f. 31*v*, the summary runs « Lo de Maluco se podrá esperar algo, o sujetándolos por conquista, si se uniesen [?] a México o las Philipinas, o por via de contratación ».

Text

Suggests solutions for rebelling Maluku: either lose it altogether or subdue it. In the latter case, either the king keeps it under India, and then the same applies to the Jesuits; or he unites it with the Philippines, and then the Maluku Jesuit mission has to depend on the Philippine Jesuits.

[... 31*v*]

A lo de Maluco se han hecho algunas ydas y bueltas por razón de estar alçado aquello y procurar de recobrallo. Mas desto, el suceso a de ser o perderse del todo, y no avrá comercio de aquí allí, o allanarsse del todo. Y entonces, si el Rey lo dexare al govierno de la India, de necesidad lo de la Compañía se ha de reduzir allá también. Mas si el Rey por asegurarlo lo quisiese poner en manos de castellanos y unir a esta governación, entonces havría viage, que sin esto no le avrá, y caería bien la unión de aquello de la Compañía con esto, para haver más comodidad de governarse, trasmudarse, visitarse, etc.

[... 32*v*]

De Manila, a 13 de Noviembre 1583.

De V.P. mínimo siervo y hijo en el Señor,

Antonio Sedeño.

[*Address* 33*v*] † Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro, el P.e Claudio Aquaviva, preposito general de la Compañía de Jesús. Roma. De las Philipinas[a].

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[a] De ... Philipinas *underl.*

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41

PROPOSALS OF THE SECOND PROVINCIAL CONGREGATION OF INDIA

GOA, NOVEMBER 14-25, 1583

ANSWERS OF FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, TO THESE PROPOSALS

ROME, JANUARY 1585

I TEXT: DI XIII 320-355 [324-325; 326-327], taken from *ARSI, Congr. 95* ff. 168*r*-178*v* (Proposals), and 179*r*-182*r* (Answers) [text A]. Of the Answers two other texts are extant in *ARSI: Congr. 95* ff. 246*r*-249*r* [text B], and *Congr. 94 I* ff. 116*v*-120*v* [text C], faithful transcripts without variants except that in the title of the Answers (as given hereafter) text B omits *habita*, and text C omits *1585*.

II OUR EDITION: We select the parts that regard Maluku; we print the answers in a smaller type.

Text

1. The sixth proposal was to appoint a higher superior for the area of Malaka and Maluku. — 2. The Congregation, considering the scarcity of Jesuits and their houses in that area, decided that such an appointment should be postponed until Portugal controlled the islands of Java and Sumatra and the presence of the Society be stronger there. — 3. Fr. General approves the decision. — 4. The eleventh question was which parts of India Fr. Provincial was due to visit in person. — 5. The answer was that he should not go as far as Malaka. — 6. Fr. General approves this opinion.

PROPOSITA CONGREGATIONIS INDIAE ORIENTALIS
HABITAE ANNO M.D. LXXXIII
RESPONSA DATA MENSE IANUARIO 1585 AD EA QUAE CONGREGATIO
PROVINCIALIS INDIAE HABITA ANNO 1583 PROPOSUERAT

[...]

1. 6. Quaesitum est, an placeret Patribus superiorem malacensis et malucensis orae constitui, iuxta id quod per litteras R.P. Generalis P. Visitatori commendaverat[1], si videretur?

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[1] Such a letter of Fr. Acquaviva to Fr. Valignano has not been preserved, though more than once it is mentioned by the latter, see, for instance, DI XIII

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2. Responsum est non videri pro hoc tempore necessarium huiusmodi superiorem, quandiu per illas regiones Societatis domus non multiplicantur, praesertim cum tam Malacae quam in insulis Malucis pauci de Societate degant[2] et nimis exigua sit illa iurisdictio. Unde visum est talem superiorem non creandum, praesertim cum modo Iaponiae et Chinae sit unus Viceprovincialis[3]. Quando autem antea de superiore malacensi actum est, omnes illae regiones simul cum Iaponia et China ipsae tanquam Viceprovinciali subiiciendae esse significabantur. Cum vero divino auxilio ditio lusitana per illas partes fuerit prorogata et ad Javam Traprobanamque[4] se protenderit, tunc de eo superiore constituendo agi poterit[5].

3. Ad 6m: Propterea iudicio P. Visitatoris promiseramus, num constituendus esset superior unus Malacae et Maluci. Et quandoquidem ibidem nostri nunc pauci sunt, qui et poterunt visitari ex itinere a Visitatore Indiae vel ab alio, probamus iudicium Congregationis nec hoc tempore constituatur huiusmodi superior.

[. . .]

4. 11. Undecimo quaesitum est, quas Indiae partes Provincialis tempore sui muneris esset visitaturus?.

5. Placuit ut Provincialis Malacam non adiret[6] propter loci distantiam et absentiae eius detrimenta exiguitatemque collegii. Quod vero attinet ad eum Indiae tractum qui citra Gangen[7] continetur, visum est ut tempore quinquennii, v.g. si munus ad id tempus prorogaretur, bis septentrionalis ora, malavarica vero saltem semel usque ad S. Thomae domum inclusive visitaretur.

6. Ad 11. Placeret quidem iudicium Congregationis propter consolationem nostrorum et utilitatem visitationis, sed quia sunt alia incommoda graviora non

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373 no. 7, 402-403 no. 7-8, where Valignano calls it a letter of February 10, 1582. Lost Letter, 33*b*.

[2] In December 1584 Malacca numbered eight Jesuits, and Maluku six (DI XIII 646-648; D 48).

[3] In late 1581 Japan and China (= Macao) had been made one vice-province under a vice-provincial (MHJ I 122).

[4] Sumatra.

[5] See D 23,9-13; DI XIII 233-234; 373 no. 7.

[6] Consequently a Fr. Provincial's visiting of Maluku could still less be considered.

[7] The name *citra Gangem* covered the whole of the W and E coast of India, « from Damão to São Tomé » (DI XIII 143); the area *ultra Gangem*, also called « as partes do sul », comprised Malacca, Maluku, China, and Japan (ibid.).

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videtur obligandus Provincialis, praesertim cum sint habituri superiores utriusque orae. Commendamus tamen Provinciali ut rationem habeat visitationum quas hic proponit Congregatio.

[...]

42

FR. DUARTE DE SANDE SJ, BY ORDER OF FR. ALESS. VALIGNANO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

GOA, DECEMBER 5, 1583

Annual Letter, First *via*

I TEXT: DI XII 891-910 [901-902; 903], taken from *ARSI, Goa 32* ff. 451*r*-458*v*. Original. Portuguese.

II NOTE: On Fr. Duarte de Sande (1547-1599), see DI XI 21*-22*. Fr. Alessandro Valignano having returned from his visit in Japan arrived in Goa in November 1583 and found there his appointment by Fr. General to the office of Provincial of India.

Text

1. *Fr. António Francisco was ordered to sail to Maluku, but the ship was con-strained to return.* — 2. *He sailed in April* [*1583*].

[...]

1. Este anno se fizerão poucas missõis por se esperar a vinda do P.e Visitador[1] e a ordem que a isso avia de dar. Todavia alguns hião pera as partes de Malaqua e Maluco, dos quais hera hum o P.e Antonio Francisco, ao qual juntamente com o Padre Rodolfo[2], que do Mogor veo com grande alegria de todos, Deos tinha nestas partes guardado a gloriosa coroa do martyrio[3], como per outra se saberaa. Todos os

[1] Fr. Alessandro Valignano.

[2] Fr. Rodolfo Acquaviva, a cousin of Fr. General.

[3] He arrived in India in 1578. He was among the first Jesuits to be sent to Emperor Akbar of Mogor. When in July 1583 a rebellion broke out among the people of Salsete island near Goa, many Portuguese civilians and five Jesuits were cruelly murdered. Their superior was Fr. Rodolfo Acquaviva, and one of the other four was Fr. António Francisco (WICKI, *Liste* no. 193; DI XII 6*).

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que pera as partes do Sul partirão, arribarão com hum tempo trabalhoso que lhe deu [4].

[...]

2. O 3º, o Padre Antonio Francisco, que acometendo a viagem de Maluquo o Abril passado [5], foi Nosso Senhor servido que arribasse e viesse mais perto alcançar o que em terras tam remotas mais que tudo podia pretender [6].

[...]

Deste collegio de Goa, oje 5 de Desembro de 1583.

[*Autograph*] Por commissão do P.e Provincial Alexandre Vallignano.

De V.P. filho indignissimo,

Duarte de Sande.

[*Address*] Annua de Goa e partes do norte da India Oriental do anno de 1583. 1ª via.

[*Other hand*] Para nuestro Padre General.

43

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

GOA, DECEMBER 10, 1583

TEXT: DI XIII 369-376 [373], taken from *IapSin 9 II* ff. 204*r*-205*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

For the time being no vice-provincial will be appointed for the area of Malacca, Maluku, and Ambon.

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[4] We have to understand this in this way that one ship, carrying the Jesuits for Malacca, Maluku, Macao, and Japan, had to return, whereas another galleon continued the voyage. (Cf. D 44,6).

[5] Of 1583.

[6] This is the fourth sending of missionaries to Maluku for the period of this volume. It did not materialize. Nevertheless the document is important since it shows the care and attention Fr. Provincial paid to that far-away mission.

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[...]

Acerca del artículo 6° en que la Congregación[1] concluye que por ahora no se haga superior universal de Malaca, Amboyno y Maluco como V.P. en una carta me encomendó[2], aunque se remite a lo que pareciere aquý, digo que por ahora está bien concluydo lo que apunta la Congregación en este 6° artículo, mas andando el tiempo y conquistando S. Magestad el reyno de Achen, y estendiéndose la Compañía como entonces se estenderá en aquellas partes, será bien que se haga este superior, como apunto en las addiciones del cap. 20 del Tractado de la India[3].

[...]

De Goa, oy 10 de Deziembre de 1583 años.

Di V.P. figlio inutile nel Signore,

Alexandro Valegnano.

[*Address* 205*v*] † Al muy Reverendo yn Christo Padre, el P^e^ Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, Roma.

Trata de algunos artículos de la Congregación. 3ª vía. Del Provincial de la India, del año 83.

Lost Document

43*a*. — *Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Provincial, Goa, Letters patent of Succession for Maluku; April 1584.*

D 49,3: They were opened in Tidore on December 4, 1584, and they appointed Fr. Pero Nunes superior instead of Fr. Ferrari.

44

FR. BERNARDINO FERRARI SJ, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

AMBON, MAY 14, 1584
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 303; WESSELS, *Amboina* 186 Ferrari no. 4.
II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 79-80; ID., *Batjan* 134-135.

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[1] D 41,1.

[2] The General's letter of February 10, 1582, mentioned by Valignano in his letter of December 12, 1583, in DI XIII 402-403, nos. 7-8. See Lost Letter 33*b*.

[3] DI XIII 233-234.

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III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 194*r*-195*v*, formerly 45-46 and no. LXIV. Autograph original in Italian with an unmistakable influence of Portuguese. Especially strange is the frequent use of *ni*, (or *ne*), which is an ancient or poetical particle used in stead of *ci* (= us, to us). At the bottom of f. 194*r* « 84. Ferrari »; on f. 195*v* « Amboino 84. P. Bernardino Ferrari, 14 de Mayo. 17. De las necessidades que padecen ». Seal. Two marginal notes in Spanish are added, resp. at no. 4 and no. 10, obviously by one of the General's counsellors in Rome: « 1. Que no se perda esta missión, ya que se tomó con tanto calor; o la encomiende V.P. al Provincial de Nova Spaña pera que la provea ». « 2. Sinten trabajo en esperar de la India remedio de sus necessidades; ha pedido al Provincial que sea su superior el collegio de Malaca ».

Text

1. *Three Jesuit residences: Ambon, Tidore, and Labuha. Four Jesuits. In Tidore a vicar and two Augustinians. Therefore, Frs. Ferrari and Rodrigues in Ambon; Br. Gonçalves in Tidore. — 2. Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Conrado in Labuha. The captain and Maluku rulers were displeased with the sengaji of Labuha on account of his conversion. — 3. Ferrari visited 23 villages of Ambon. Shortage of Fathers; shallow faith of the Christians. — 4. Fr. General should have pity on the mission and not permit it to be abandoned, eventually attach it to New Spain and the Philippines. — 5. Returned ill from his visit. Sailed to Tidore where he found the Augustinians gone. — 6. The royal ship did not bring a new Jesuit. Disappointment. Returned to Ambon. — 7. The combined Spanish and Portuguese soldiers did not venture to attack Ternate. A new expedition is expected from the Philippines. — 8. Victorious military action against a Ternatan captain in Ambon. — 9. Expectations for the future. — 10. Inconvenience of Fr. Provincial residing at such a far distance. The rector of the college of Malacca should wield power of a superior of Maluku, at least for urgent cases. Conclusion.*

Ihs.

Molto Reverendo Padre nostro in Christo
Pax Christi etc.

1. Per sodisfare a quel che devo, rappresentarei a V.P. la necessità di queste parti di Maluquo, come tutti gli anni si è fatto, tanto con V.P. come con il P. Provinciale e Visitatore di questa Provincia[1].

Saprà V.P. che habbiamo qui tre residencie, una in questa isola de Amboino, un'altra nell'isola de Tidore e la 3ª, che novamente si è fatta, nell'isola de Labua[2]. Et in queste residiamo quattro di nostra Compa-

[1] Lost Letters, see 35*a*.

[2] DD 34,9 and 37,9 suggest that the conversion of the sengaji of Labuha took place in 1581; Marta, in D 73,33, tells us that it was in 1582; and in 1593

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gnia, tre sacerdoti et un Fratello già vecchio. In questa isola de Amboino insino all'ano passato residette il P. Jeronimo Rodriguez et il Fratello Antonio Gonçalvez. Dopo, perché in Tidore l'anno passato il vescovo di Malaqua [3] mandò un vicario [4], et con li spagnoli che vennero delle Philippine in soccorro de portuguesi vennero anchora due frati sacerdoti dell'ordine di Santo Augustino [5], et in Amboino non haveva altro sacerdote che il P. Jeronimo Rodriguez, me determinei restar in sua compagnia e mandar il Fratello in Tidore per residir in nostra casa, il qual per saper la lengua et essere molto prattico in catechizare quelli che novamente venero a farsi christiani, poteva supplir con il vicario alla necessità di quel luogo.

2. Et al P. Roggerio [6] lasciai ordinato che fossi a far la Pascoa [7] nell'isola de Labua, e battizar quelli che restavano per farsi christiani, et dopo di quando in quando[a] fossi a Tidore per reconciliarse. Ma dopo occorsero necessità et impedimenti, che al P. Roggerio non fu possibile partirsi di quella isola, per causa di alcuni ladroni che discorrevano per quel mare. Et anchora perché il capitano di Maluquo, per cause poco ragionevole, si sdegnò contra il signore di detta isola et ordinò che niuno portuguese né per si né per altri andassero na Labua per comprar sagu, che è il pane di queste parti. Et anchora il re di Bacciano commenzò a perseguir questo signore, che è suo cognato, per causa che se ridusse al gremio dela santa Chiesa e procurò che tutti suoi vassalli si facessero christiani e non volse seguire il suo conseglio, che era che non si facessero [194*v*] christiani se prima il re di Ternate non fosse desbarattato [8]. E non solo il re di Bacciano, ma anchora tutti questi signori dell'isole de Maluquo li voleno mal, per esso solo haver voluto essere christiano et appartarsi del loro conseglio. Et perciò ferno molta

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[a] he sengaji is said to be persevering in the Christian faith for twelve or fifteen years (D 94,14). Consult SOUZA II 3 2 20.

[3] D. João Ribeiro Gaio, bishop of Malacca, 1579-1601 (Consult DI XII 561 note 1, with literature).

[4] A first vicar of Tidore was mentioned for about 1579 in D 30,9. This new vicar may have arrived together with Álvaro de Castro in late 1582 (D 37 note 13).

[5] Consult D 38 note 7.

[6] Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Conrado. This is the first evidence that he arrived in Maluku after he cleared from Goa in April 1581 (D 32,2).

[7] Easter was in 1583 on April 10.

[8] Similar principle was already reported by Fr. Ferrari in March 1582 (D 34,9).

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instancia al Padre che non le abandonassi, perché, stando il Padre presente, il re di Bacciano non ardiva per scoprirsi per inimico de christiani, et li habitatori dell'isola se animavano con sua presenza e non pareva essere abandonati de portuguesi. E perciò restò nella detta isola insino al mese di Gennaio[b] di questo presente anno, dove si serviò nostro Signore di sua opra, perché battizò quasi tutti[c] e confessò molta gente, e molti di essi si communicorno per essere di detto sacramento capaci[9].

3. In Amboino io et il P. Jeronimo Rodriguez ni ripartessimo il travaglio. Il P. Jeronimo per causa de una rottura che tiene e non poter caminare per questi colli e monti (luogui più convenienti a capre che a huomini) restò in casa per confessare la[d] gente della terra, la qual non è poca, e farli exortationi. Et io fui[e] a visitar queste ville che sono 22 o 23, repartite in quattro isole[10], per battizare i fanciulli e confessare alcuni che teneno capacità per questo sacramento. Perquanto gli altri solamente il nome teneno de christiani ma le opre son de gentili. E non si ponno por in camino sino con residir Padri fra essi, il che insin'hoggie non si è potuto fare per mancamento de suggetti, per la qual causa si perdeno i christiani dell'isola del Burro e del Selebe, Manado e Siao.

4. Perciò priego molto V.P. che si compadesca di questa povera gente, et anchora, che poi la Compagnia pigliò questa impresa dove a messo tanto del suo, non par conveniente a lasciarla, si non fossi che V.P. la raccommandassi al P. Provinciale di Nova Spagna, accioché di quella Provincia, come più fertile di sugetti, provedessi[f] a questa necessità, maxime havendo residencie de nostri nelle Philippine[11] tanto vicine a queste isole de Maluquo, et in quelle isole haver tanti religiosi che i nostri ben si potrebono occupare in Maluquo senza perjudicio della gente delle Philippine. Per questo torno a pregare V.P. una e più volte che non lasci di soccorrerci.

5. Alla fine di questa mia peregrinatione mi sopravenne una febre quartana, causata o per le pioggie e travagli che fu necessario passare in questi camini, o per altre incommodità che sentissemo questo in-

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[9] The first Provincial Council of Goa, of 1567, had imposed upon all priests: « Que não dem o sacramento da eucharistia aos que não forem capazes de o receber por falta de conhecimento com que saibão decernir *inter cibum et cibum* » (Acção 2ª, decreto 44º, in *APO*, IV, Nova-Goa 1862, 32).

[10] That is, Ambon itself, Haruku (or Oma), Saparua, and Nusalaut.

[11] At the moment Fr. Ferrari finished this letter the Jesuits in the Philippines numbered only three (of whom one, Alonso Sánchez, stayed in Macao on his second visit to China), living in just one residence near Manila.

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verno per causa de guerre, per le quali non potevano i servi de casa andar fora securamente al bosquo, di donde ni viene il mangiare et il bere. E cossì infermo al fin de Ottubro [12] m'imbarcai per Maluquo [13], per visitar i nostri [14] e confessarli generalmente e renovar i voti, et anchora per ordinare altri negotii nella venuta della nave [15] e dopo ritornar ad Amboino. Ritrovai in Maluquo che i frati de Santo Augustino si erano ritornati con li altri soldati [16], più costretti di fame [17] che di altra necessità.

6. Venne la nave et in essa niuno de nostri, il che ni causò non poca sconsolatione. Il che non fu per il P. Provinciale non lo procurar, se non perché la nave in che [195*r*] venivano per venti contrarii fu constretta a ritornar in Goa [18]. Io passati alcuni mesi me ritornai in Amboino, e cossì è necessario a quel che tiene il carico di queste residencie, che sempre vada intorno a esse, hora qua ora là, perché occorreno necessità molte periculose si non si provede quanto prima for possibile. E con questo si consolano i nostri e non senteno tanto il travaglio, perché il maggiore che passiamo in queste parti è haver de vivere senza compagnia de nostri tanto tempo. Et al presente, anchorché me ritrovi nella medesima indispositione, credo che serrei forzado a ritornar a Maluquo.

7. Nove di queste parti sono che, l'anno passato, come li spagnoli che si mandorno per soccorro non fossero più che cento soldati e li portuguesi altri tanti, non ardirno far guerra a Ternati, ma ritornarsi e dopo questo anno ritornare con più gente [19]. Dopo se ni mandò

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[12] Of 1583.

[13] Tidore.

[14] Br. António Gonçalves and Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Conrado.

[15] It was expected on schedule yearly at the end of October or in November.

[16] Azambuja to Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo, Tidore, April 3, 1583: «E sua pessoa [D. Juan Ronquillo] ... que me deyxase aquy duas fragatas com allguns espanhoes, como V.S. manda em seu regimento» (*AGI, Patr° 25 ramo 1 no. 3*). The Spanish soldiers left back in Tidore in April 1583 appear not to have stayed for a long time. When they left the Augustinian readily joined them.

[17] Pedro Sarmiento, Tidore, April 30, 1584: «Está la tierra muy cara, que vale un pescado de tres o quatro libras quatro rreales, e conforme a esto todo lo demás», whereas a poor man earns only twelve reales a month (*AGI, Patr° 46 ramo 18 no. 1*).

[18] D 42.

[19] Meanwhile another Spanish fleet, captained by Pedro Sarmiento, had arrived in Tidore from Manila on April 6, 1584. Obviously Fr. Ferrari had no

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aviso a Maluquo come il governatore delle Philippine era morto e che gli era succeduto nel governo un suo nepote [20], e che il vescovo anchora si era imbarcato per Spagna [21], e che aspettiavano novi soldati che havevano de venire di Nova Spagna, e che verrebbe il governatore in persona con molta gente per far guerra al re di Ternate. Tuttavia insino a sei di Marzo non si haveva nova di essi [22]. Non se sapeva la causa dela tardanza, di modo che stavano i nostri de tregoa con li ternati, anchorché questa tregoa ni causava più presto male che bene. Perquanto li ternati non lasciavano niuna occasione di trattare con li tidori acciò s'unissero con essi loro dicendoli che, si li portuguesi tornassero a havere la forteza di Ternate, dopo procureriano di suggettare i tidori e forzarli a essere christiani [23]. E a questo effetto venne un casis che li persuadeva questo per conservacione di sua maledetta setta [24].

8. Qui in Amboino il capitano [25] volse assediare una villa molto forte di rebelli [26], in aiuto de quali dopo passati alcuni giorni veneva un capitano del re di Ternate [27]. Del che avisato il nostro capitano, si partì subito del assedio, e con sette caracolle (che sono como fuste,

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knowledge of it as yet in Ambon. His last informations were of March 6 (here below).

[20] In 1583 Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa was temporarily succeeded by Diego Ronquillo as an acting governor.

[21] The first bishop of Manila was the Dominican Fray Domingo de Salazar, 1581-1594. He had arrived together with the first Jesuits (D 34 note 2). He is not known to have planned a journey to Spain at such an early point of time.

[22] The inference from these words is that Fr. Ferrari sailed from Tidore on March 6, 1584.

[23] These endeavours were not altogether fruitless. Sarmiento wrote that the kings of Ternate and Tidore were firm friends, that the latter spent a splendid time in Ternate as a guest of the former, « ospedado muy familiarmente », and being informed of Sarmiento's arrival had him wait for ten days, and that he was not to be trusted and only fond of presents. Sarmiento considered the peace with the king of Tidore practically broken (letter quoted in note 17).

[24] Maybe one of the Islam preachers from the Near East. This would confirm the general notice given by Melchor Dávalos on July 3, 1584: « En Maluco y Ternate ay Turcos convocados contra V.M. y an hecho renegar ynfinidad de christianos » (*AGI, Filip. 18 ramo 1 no. 17* f. 9*v*). One year later Fr. Cristóbal de Salvatierra OP reported on a Muslim « bishop » in Ternate who had arrived from Mecca (*AGI, Patr° 46 ramo 20*).

[25] Sancho de Vasconcelos.

[26] Puta in Leitimur.

[27] Laulata.

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anchorché di altra manera fatte) andò incontro al detto capitano ternate, e volse il Signore che se incontrassero nel mare. Nel principio volse il ternate combattere, ma come vidde tutte le nostre caracolle ben fornite de gente, voltò per disbarcare al pie de una villa grande[g] che sigue il re di Ternate, acciò fatto forte con molta gente defendessi le sue caracolle, se il nostro capitano volessi combattere. Ma non li valse il conseglio, perché li nostri lo seguirno con tanto impeto e, con la molta archibugeria et artiglieria, subito li ferno lasciare le sue caracole, occidendoli molta gente. E cossì pressero otto caracole de inimici, cattivorno alcuni, oltre molti feriti, e de nostri niuno morse et solamente uno fu ferito [28].

9. Piaccia a sua divina Magestà che presto si suggetti questa gente al nostro Re, perché si seguirà grande conversione alla nostra santa fede. E perciò molto ni raccomandiamo alla benedittione di V.P., pregandola che gli siamo raccommandati nelli suoi santi sacrificii et orationi, e che ci soccorra con molta gente[j]. [195*v*]

10. Sentiamo qui grande travaglio a dovere espettiare il remedio de alcune nostre necessità che occorreno quasi per spatio de due anni per residir il P. Provinciale nell'India. Io già ho avisato a S.R. che serria ben ordinare che il Rettor del collegio di Malaqua fossi nostro superiore, almeno in caso che fossi necessario mutar alcun soggetto di nostri per indispositione corporale o spirituale e mandarseni un'altro in suo luogo. Poiché costì siamo tanto pochi che, tirando uno di una parte, non habbiamo altro che darli per successore, e cossì la gente lo interpreta a male. Prego a V.P. che in questo similmente ni doni remedio.

E con questo faccio fine pregando la P.V. che ci mandi la sua santa benedictione e ni raccommandi al Signore nelli suoi santi sacrificii et orationi.

Di Amboino, alli 14 di Maggio de 1584.

Di V.P. servo e figlio inutile,

Bernardino Ferrari.

[*Address*] Ihs. Al molto Reverendo Padre nostro in Christo, [i]l P. Claudio Aquaviva, pre[posito gene]ral della Compagnia [di Ges]ù, a Roma. 2 via. De Amboino.

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[a] *del.* si ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* Febraio ‖ [c] *del.* di ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* questa ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* fossi ‖ [f] *del.* al ‖ [g] *del.* che ‖ [h] *del.* ma ‖ [i] *del.* di ‖ [j] *del.* Di Amboino

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[28] The same event is amply described, with some different particulars, in *Rel. Vasc.* 382-387.

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Lost Letter

44a. — Fr. Bernardino Ferrari, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Provincial, Goa; May 1584.

D 44,1: He writes also to Fr. Provincial and Visitor of this Province. Cf. Lost Letter 35*a*.

45

FR. ALONSO SANCHEZ SJ [TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME]

MACAO, JUNE 22, 1584

I AUTHOR: COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 54-55.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, Epistolae Selectae no. 650 A, 504*, a loose quire of ten folios, numbered in lead-pencil and with no blank pages. Folios 1-5 are European, 6-10 are Chinese paper. Autograph letter in Spanish. On f. 10*v* there is an archivist's note « Macan — 84. P. Alonso Sánchez. Junio 22 ». Our part is on ff. 7*v*-8*r*.

III ADDRESSEE: There is no address. From the first words of this letter « Bien sé que V.P. a de recebir pena con esta carta », it is manifest that Fr. Sánchez wrote to Fr. General. No one else could reasonably be turned to in order to remedy the evils smelled out everywhere.

IV NOTE: Fr. Alonso Sánchez wrote this letter at Macao where he had arrived on May 1, 1584, on his second visit to China (COSTA, o.c. 53).

Text

1. *Ill fame caused by the Jesuits in Maluku. Testimonies of a Spanish captain and of some friars. — 2. Their worldly ways of life. Help before they grow irremediable!*

[. . .[

1. Del Maluco no quisiera dezir que es la cosa más infame que nunca V.P. abrá podido creer. Llámola ansí porque lo merece, porque de las Filipinas ay viajes mui a menudo y los castellanos que van y vuelven, y los frailes[1] que también lo an hecho, traen nuevas que no-

[1] The Augustinians.

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sotros nos queríamos meter en un rincón y no verlos. La 1ª palabra que a mí me dixo un capitán fue: « Por Dios que no entiendo, que se son aquellos Padres que están allí, que no son como los de la Compañía, más mercaderes son que nosotros, y no están allí sino para rescatar clavo[2] ». Esto lo dizen ellos y los frailes que de allá vienen, de manera que toda la Compañía queda mui desflorada, y por doquiera que imos se temen que avemos de introducir mercancía como cosa que entiende que es usada y concedida en nuestra religión. Y junto esto con la poca que mostramos en lo de fuera, con la facilidad que comemos y bebemos donde nos hallamos, y con nuestro hábito tan semejante y aún aventajado a clérigos seglares, que crédito quiere V.P. que se tenga?

2. Quien ay que no traiga su llave [8*r*] o llaves en la cinta, y algunas con cordones de seda de color mui fino? Sortijas en los dedos con achaque de que son de animales virtuosos contra melancolías y otras indispositiones, y queentas de ambar y de calamba[3] y de otras maderas, y pedras exquisitas en las muñecas mui semejantes a fartoles de doncellas, ya es cosa mui común por acá. Y al fin yo no puedo saber que cosa secular puede usarse, que no sea pecado mortal, que no se use. Porque desnudarse de el todo y labarse todo el cuerpo no es tenido sino por limpieza y edificatión de quien lo sabe y de los moços que los laban algunas vezes, y esto no por achaques de enfermedad[4]. Y V.P. no crea más que al mismo diablo decir que la tierra lo necessita, porque Japón es donde más se regalan y peor anda, según yo he entendido de quien lo llora, y dize que si V.P. no lo remedea antes de 4 años a de ser cosa prorsus yremediable y scándalo de toda la Yglesia[5]. [. . . 10*v*]

De Macan, y de Junio 22, 1584.

De V.P. verdadero y indigno hijo en el Señor,

Alonso Sanches.

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[2] Cf. D 38,2.

[3] Malay *kalambak* or *kelembak*, the finest kind of aloes wood. Consult YULE 144, s.v. *calambac*.

[4] In his alarming and declamatory tirade style Sánchez, in this no. 2, proves himself unable to show clearly if he is still speaking of Maluku, as in no. 1, or again of Macao. At any rate, the documents from Maluku reveal an utterly unlikely picture of Jesuit life. The sharp criticisms of the Spanish Jesuit who knew neither Maluku nor Japan by experience, manifest rather his own over-estimation and prejudice and his inability of making shades and nuances in his observations than real defects of his more experienced victims.

[5] Fr. de la Costa (see AUTHORS) calls this letter « A lengthy report . . . on

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46

FR. MANUEL TEIXEIRA SJ TO FR. PEDRO DE RIBADENEIRA SJ, SPAIN

GOA, DECEMBER 8, 1584

First *via*

I TEXT: DI XIII 564-575 [569-570], taken from *ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 652* ff. 22*r*-25*v*. Original in Portuguese.

II NOTE: Fr. Teixeira, himself the author of a short life of Fr. Francis Xavier, felt due to propose some censures and corrections to the life of Fr. Ignatius Loyola, written by Fr. Ribadeneira (first Latin edition 1572; first Spanish translation 1583), in which Xavier was mentioned as well many times. As Ribadeneira in all later editions did not give any weight to these censures, Teixeira's endeavour is only interesting for us.

III OUR EDITION: We print the part in which Xavier's experiences in Maluku are mentioned and examined.

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what he [Sánchez] considered the worldly ways of his hosts ». Consult his pertinent answers to it, o.c. 55-56. The Visitor Valignano had his own opinions on Alonso Sánchez. In a letter to Fr. Antonio Sedeño of April 8, 1585, he revealed them in this way: «Todavía pera conservar esta unión [among different Jesuit provinces] es necessario proceder con mucho miramiento. Lo contrario de lo qual ha hecho hasta agora el P^e^ Alonso Sánchez, que con su spíritu indiscreto y particular llegando al puerto de Amacao . . . se quiso hazer reformador y visitador desta provincia. Y pareciéndole que no se caminava en ella conforme a su traça particular, no solo reprobó publicamente el modo de proceder de aquella casa, queriéndola reformar conforme a su spíritu sin tener respeto a hombres de tanta qualidad y virtud como allí estavan; mas hallando que para la sustentación de Japón se hazía allí algun trato, y juntamente hablando con un hermanito que venía de Japón a la India para aquí ser despedido . . . se escandalizó el P^e^ Alonso Sánchez con su spíritu indiscreto tanto, que sin saber nada de lo que passa en Japón y en esta provincia, y sin mirar que el trato que se haze en Amacao para Japón non solo ha sido examinado y aprovado de Nuestro Padre y de su consulta, mas también de Su Santidad, al qual Nuestro Padre dio parte de lo que se hazía, y lo aprovó como cosa hecha por necessidad y charidad, . . . dio luego por perdida y destruida esta provincia, y escrivió . . . cartas indiscretas, escandalosas, y temerarias, condenando . . . todo . . . con palabras tan feas y injuriosas, y dexó a todos . . . sobremodo escandalizados. Y cierto que semejantes cartas y palabras no las pudiera escrevir ni dezir otro que un hombre illuso con sus imaginaciones fantásticas » (*ARSI, IapSin 10 I* ff. 27*v*-28*r*).

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Text

1. *Fr. Francis Xavier never stopped at Makasar.* — 2. *The people of Moro do not indulge in cannibalism.*

[...]

1. No mesmo cap. 7º [1], donde diz que o Pe Mestre Francisco se pasou da India aos Macaçares e depois a Malaqua [2], primeiro estaa Malaqua que os Macaçares aos que vão da India a elles, e isto muitas legoas amtes. Nem se sabe cá na India que o Pe Mestre Francisco fose nunca aos Macaçares, mas que indo pera elles e [a]chando primeiro a ilha de Amboino e sabendo nella da necesidade spiritual em que estavão os christãos da ilha do Moro, se pasou de Amboino a ella. E esta pasagem consta por cartas suas que de Amboino emtão escreveo [3]. E os reis e gemte dos Macaçares que ali diz que vierão à fee por [elle], foy por outro sacerdote secular [4] e portugeses que àquelas ilhas forão teer [5]. Os quoais christãos se hião já extimgindo; e depois os Padres da Companhia de Maluco os forão visitar, como de suas cartas delles consta [6].

2. O que se diz deste mesmo capitulo da ferocidade da gente da ilha do Moro, e que comia carne humana [7], não sabemos quá na India que no Moro se comese carne humana, nen seja a gente daquela ilha mais barbara e feroz que a gente das outras ilhas de Maluco, mas semelhante a ella, segundo nos contão os Padres nosos da Companhia que della vierão e outras pessoas portuguesas que lá estiverão. Em algumas outras ilhas daquelle arcepelago, longe destas, se diz que se come carne humana, mas não sabemos que o Pe Mestre Francisco fose a ellas [8]. Por onde parece que o que de estas ilhas se diz, se atrebuio às do Moro. E asy parece se pode escusar o que aly desta ferocidade

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[1] He is speaking of Book 4, Chapter 7 (MHSI, *Fontes Narrativi* IV 636-659).

[2] O.c. 640.

[3] DM I 5-22; three letters, dated 10 and 16 May, 1546.

[4] Vicente Viegas (DM I 305).

[5] The shipmaster António de Paiva in 1544 (JACOBS, *Celebes*; edition of Paiva's report of baptism of two rajas).

[6] *Fontes Narrativi* IV 642.

[7] Here Teixeira proves badly informed confusing N Sulawesi with Makasar. The Jesuits never sailed to SW Sulawesi before 1615.

[8] It is Francis Xavier himself who describes, in his first letter (note 3), the cannibalism of the Ambonese people, restricting it to the case of war, but adding instances beyond this case (DM I 12-13).

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da ilha do Moro se diz, pois hé domestica como as mais[9]. E em special parece se pode escusar o que aly se diz, que os paes matão e comem os filhos, e os filhos aos paes, e as molheres aos maridos, e que filhos vendo a seus paes velhos [os] matão e comem, e se convidão huns aos outros com as carnes de seus paes, etc. Porque nem isto cá se sabe na Imdia de nação alguma, nem será cousa de crer a quem o não vir por ser tanto comtra a natureza humana.

[...]

Desta casa professa de Goa, na India, a 8 de Dezembro de 1584.

[...]

Indino servo de V.R. em o Senhor,

Manoel Teixeira.

[*Address*] † Aao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre, o Pe Pedro de Ribadeneira, da Companhia de Jesus, em Toledo ou Madrid. Da India. 1ª via. Da cassa professa de Goa.

47

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

COCHIN, DECEMBER 12, 1584

First *via*

TEXT: DI XIII 575-599 [584], taken from *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 210*r*-214*v*. Original. Spanish.

Text

1. *Inadequacy of the college of Goa for the needs of all the other houses, residences, and schools. The language seminaries cannot be provided with men. — 2. He could send only two Fathers to Maluku in the past year, and actually he has nobody to be sent there.*

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[9] Teixeira is right in the facts. But Xavier himself, not well informed as yet, had written that he planned to sail to an island [Morotai] where people allegedly ate the slain in war and made banquets of their old parents (ibid. 13). This makes Ribadeneira's error understandable.

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[. . .]

1. Deste colegio también se han de embiar los subjectos que aprendan la lengua de Maluco y de Jappón, y se han de prover todas las más casas y residencias. Por donde V.P. entenderá como se puede todo esto hazer con veinte y seis estudiantes que se crían en el colegio de Goa. Y assí se ve que con mucha difficultad y cansancio de cuerpo y de espíritu se provén las escuelas y se sustentan los estudios mayores aunque muy flacamente. Y los seminarios de las lenguas [1] no se pueden en nenguna manera proveer. Y assí padecen todas las missiones por no se les poder dar remedio.

2. Y todos escriven y claman comigo, todos, y no les puedo dar más ayuda que consolarlos con palabras y entretenerlos. Y assí no puedo prover Maluco, y de quatorze personas que el P^e Bernardino [2] me pedía [3], no le podía el año passado embiar más que dos [4] con hazer mucha fuerça, y este año no le podré embiar nenguno.

[. . .]

Deste colegio de Cochin, oy 12 de Deziembre de 1584 años.

[. . .]

Di V.P. figlio inutile nel Signore,

Alexandro Valegnano.

[*Address*] † Al muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo, el P^e Claudio Aquaviva, praepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma. 1ª vía. Responde a las cartas. Del Provincial de la Compañía.

48

CATALOGUE OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[COCHIN], DECEMBER 1584

I TEXT: DI XIII 599-658 [601; 608; 611; 613; 621; 631; 646; 647-648]. Taken from *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 132*r*-158^a*v*. Original. Latin.

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[1] See D 5,9-11.

[2] Ferrari.

[3] Lost Letter, 37*a*.

[4] Frs. Pero Nunes and Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz (D 49,2). They are men-

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II NOTE: 1. The document contains two connected catalogues; the first a *Catalogus Informationum*, giving factual information (names, birth-place; age; constitution; entering the Society; studies made; degree obtained; ministries performed; vows made); the other a *Catalogus particularis*, supplying the more personal moral and psychological characterization of the person, and especially his aptitude for governing. The numbering of the latter catalogue refers to that of the former, but many numbers are lacking. Names of priests are preceded by « P. ».

2. Besides the numbers printed here, the catalogue contains the names of Jesuits who had already left the mission of Maluku, for instance: no. 140: Fernando Álvares (DM I 39*); no. 235: António Vaz (DM I 29*); no. 240: Paulo Gomes (DM I 51*); no. 242: Gonçalo Teixeira (DM I 55*); no. 269: Melchior de Figueiredo (DM I 26*).

III OUR EDITION: The two catalogues are printed combined where it suits, the second being distinguished by a smaller type. The names of those Jesuits are listed who in any way belonged to the Maluku mission for the period of this volume.

Text

Information on the Jesuit missionaries of Maluku. Nos. 246-251, on those who actually were working there.

CATALOGUS INFORMATIONUM COMMUNIUM TAM
PATRUM QUAM FRATRUM SOCIETATIS
IESU PROVINCIAE INDIAE ORIENTALIS
conscriptus mense decembri anni 1584
[*combined with*]
CATALOGUS PARTICULARIS SOCIORUM INDIAE ORIENTALIS
conscriptus ultima decembris 1584

[...]

3. P. Antonius Martha, tarviginus[1] in Italia, 41 annos natus, robustus, ingressus est anno 1568 mense februario, studia confecta, docuit litteras humaniores per annum, prorector collegii brixiani[2], minister

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tioned as well in a letter of December 19, 1584: doi Padri al Malucco (DI XIII 739). Consistently the lengthy commentary of the Indian Province of December 26, 1584, puts the number of Jesuits in Maluku at six (In Malucis sex socii in duabus residentiis non sine labore degunt; ibid. 794 no. 77).

[1] Of Treviso, Veneto.

[2] Of Brescia, Lombardia. He entered the Society at Venice on March 3, 1568 (*Hist. Soc. 175* f. 65r).

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domus venetae, confessor, minister, factus est professus 4 votorum anno 1583.

3. Bonum ingenium, iudicium et prudentiam habet, experientiam gubernationis domus, theologiam mediocriter calet, biliosus, talentum ad gubernandum habet.

36. Ioannes Paulus, cossentinus[3] in Calabria, 41 annos natus, mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1580 mense novembri, officia domestica.

36. Mediocre ingenium ad agibilia, mediocre iudicium et prudentiam habet, experientiam item officiorum, videtur biliosus, talentum ad officia.

50. P. Ioannes Baptista, cochinensis in India Orientali, 27 annos natus, debilis, ingressus est anno 1573 mense martio, post cursum philosophiae audivit theologiam per 4 menses, docuit litteras humaniores fere per quinquennium.

50. Bonum ingenium, mediocre iudicium et prudentiam habet, experientiam legendi litteras humaniores, scit bene latinam linguam et philosophiam, videtur flegmaticus, talentum ad legendum.

51. P. Georgius de Afonseca, olisipponensis in Lusitania, 26 annos natus, mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1573 mense iunio, post cursum philosophiae audivit theologiam per 3 annos quam prosequitur, docuit grammaticam biennio, confessor.

51. Exiguum ingenium, iudicium et prudentiam habet, caret rerum experientia, parum scit de philosophia et theologia quam audit, videtur biliosus, nonnihil talenti habet ad legendum litteras humaniores.

[...]

58. Christophorus da Veiga, ossunensis hispalensis diaecesis in baetica regione[4], 25 annos natus, robustus, ingressus est anno 1576 mense aprili, post cursum philosophiae dedit operam theologiae per 3 annos cum dimidio quam prosequitur.

58. Habet bonum ingenium, iudicium et prudentiam, caret experientia, scit bene philosophiam et theologiam, biliosus, talentum ad legendum, concionandum et agendum cum proximis.

[...]

60. Franciscus da Cugna, oppido Castello Branco igitensis[5] diae-

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[3] Of Cosenza.

[4] Osuna in the diocese of Seville, in Andalusía.

[5] Better *aegitaniensis*, that is, of Guarda, Beira Alta, Portugal.

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cesis in Lusitania, 28 annos natus, mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1576 mense iunio, post cursum philosophiae audivit per annum theologiam quam prosequitur.

60. Mediocre ingenium, iudicium et prudentiam habet, experientia caret, scit mediocriter philosophiam et aliquid theologiae, biliosus, talentum ad audiendas confessiones et agendum cum externis.

[. . .]

102. P. Antonius Pererius, oppido Pace Iulia [6] eborensis diaecesis in Lusitania, 28 annos natus, mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1574 mense aprili, studia confecta, minister collegii goensis, confessor, concionator.

102. Habet bonum ingenium, mediocre iudicium et prudentiam, caret rerum experientia quia modo absolvit studia in quibus mediocres progressus fecit, videtur colericus et ad audiendas confessiones talentum habiturus.

[. . .]

160. P. Ludovicus Ferdinandus, olysipponensis in Lusitania, 34 annos natus, laborat ex capite, alias plus quam mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1580 mense iunio, studia confecta, licentiatus in artium facultate, minister bassainensis, pater ut aiunt neophitorum, concionator, confessor.

160. Habet bonum ingenium et iudicium, et rerum Societatis experientiam, scit bene theologiam et casus conscientiae, bonum talentum ad legendum, mediocre ad concionandum, et ad negotia externa bonum, item ad audiendas confessiones.

[. . .]

241. P. Iacobus Pintus, oppido Quintela mirandensis diaecesis [7] in Lusitania, 38 annos natus, plus quam mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1567, post cursum philosophiae audivit theologiam per biennium, confessor, praefectus ecclesiae, concionator.

[. . .]

RESIDENTIA MALUCANA

246. P. Bernardinus Ferrarius, rossonensis diaecesis in Calabria [8],

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[6] *Pax Julia* was the ancient Roman name of Beja, Baixo Alentejo, Portugal. It belonged to the archdiocese of Évora.

[7] Quintela de Lampaças, about 25 km. south of Bragança, Trás-os-Montes, Portugal. It belonged to the diocese of Miranda.

[8] Diocese of Rossano in Calabria, Italy. Ferrari, however, had died already (D 49,2).

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47 annos natus, plus quam mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1559, studia confecta, magister in artium facultate, docuit litteras humaniores, philosophiam, theologiam per 4 aut 5 annos, praefectus studiorum et rerum spiritualium, concionator, superior Malucarum, factus est professus 4 votorum anno 1570.

247. P. Hieronymus Rodericus, oppido Divi Thomae [9] cochinensis diaecesis in India Orientali, 39 annos natus, debilis, ingressus est anno 1563 mense augusto, dedit operam logicae et casibus conscientiae, docuit pueros legere et scribere, et grammaticam per 3 annos.

248. P. Petrus Nonius, oppido Seda elvensis diaecesis [10] in Lusitania, 29 annos natus, robustus, ingressus est anno 1574 mense [ ] [11], post cursum philosophiae audivit theologiam per biennium, concionator et confessor.

249. P. Rogerius Conradus, oppido trudonensi [12] leodiensis diaecesis in Belgio, 34 annos natus, robustus, ingressus est anno 1576 mense octobri, post cursum philosophiae audivit nonnihil theologiae et dedit operam iuri civili et canonico, docuit litteras humaniores per biennium, confessor.

250. P. Gabriel da Cruz, alias Rengifus, toletanus [13] in Hispania, 30 annos natus, robustus, ingressus est anno 1576, post cursum philosophiae audivit nonnihil theologiae et casuum conscientiae, confessor.

251. Antonius Gondissalus, oppido Chaves [14] braccarensis diaecesis in Lusitania, 50 annos natus, mediocriter robustus, ingressus est anno 1559 mense decembri, in cathechizandis neophitis consumpsit 19 annos.

Lost Letters

48*a*. — *Bishop Ribeiro Gaio of Malacca to Fr. General, Rome ; December 1584.*

D 52,1. Presumably also in this letter he dealt with Maluku.

48*b-c*. — *Fr. Pero Nunes, Superior, Tidore, to Fr. General, Rome ; February 1585.*

D 49,1: Two letters « ansí por vía de Malaca como la de Goa ». Cf. D 62,1.

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[9] São Tomé, to-day a part of the city of Madras, India.

[10] Sêda, a small town about 35 km. west of Portalegre, Alto Alentejo, Portugal. It was in the diocese of Elvas, erected in 1570.

[11] Open space in the text.

[12] Sint-Truiden (St. Trond), Limburg, Belgium, at that time in the diocese of Luik (Liège).

[13] Toledo, Spain.

[14] Town in Trás-os-Montes, Portugal. It was in the archdiocese of Braga.

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48*d-e*. — *Fr. Pero Nunes, Superior, Tidore, to Fr. Manuel Rodrigues, Assistant, Rome; February 1585.*

D 50,1: Two letters « por via de Malaca e de Goa ».

49

FR. PERO NUNES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, APRIL 27, 1585
Via Manila

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 305; WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Nunez no. 1.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 81; ID., *Batjan* 135-136; JACOBS, *Vicars* 278-279.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 264*r*-267*v*, formerly 56-58, and no. LXXXVIII. Original. Spanish. The text fills ff. 264*r*-265*v* and half f. 266*r*, ff. 266*v* and 267*r* being blank. On f. 267*v* is the address in the same hand and a seal of red wax. A second hand, presumably Roman, put numerals 1-9 in the margin, writing short Spanish résumés beside them, and noted on f. 267*v* « Maluco. 85. P. Pedro Nunez. 27 de Abril », followed by a list of five not numbered concrete demands contained in the letter. The same hand made some underlinings of important passages. Nunes shows that he masters the Spanish language pretty well, but not seldom he betrays his Portuguese origin, writing, for instance, *flegueses* for *feligreses*, *flegresias* for *feligresías*, *cumpre* for *cumple*, and using the term *sobroço*, which is the Portuguese *sobreosso*, not existing in Spanish.

IV NOTE: This letter was directed to the Roman headquarters together with D 50. That they both arrived and were answered can be seen from our note 19 and from an annotation on D 50 « Respondi ». It was sent from Tidore by three *vias* (D 50,4), but on our MS the *via* is not indicated.

Text

1. *Having written* via *Goa, writes again* via *Manila.* — 2. *Arrived at Tidore on November 16, 1584. Was informed, on December 4, of death of Fr. Ferrari in Ambon on September 25.* — 3. *Was appointed superior of the mission.* — 4. *Was informed by Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Corrado on good progress of Christianity in Labuha in spite of king* [*of Bacan*] *who apostatized to Islam.* — 5. *No news from the 33 Christian villages of Ambon. Frs. Ferrari and Rodrigues were too ill to visit them. Shortage of missionaries.* — 6. *By some shipwrecks they fell short of answers and help in difficulties. He proposes them anew.* — 7. *In Tidore the Jesuits cannot work among the infidels. Opposition of the vicar against baptisms administered by Jesuits.* — 8. *Vicar proceeded*

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against Jesuits by excommunication and interdict. — 9. Ignorance, arbitrariness, and obstinacy of vicar regarding rights of Jesuit order. — 10. On interpretation of a privilege and on enlarged jurisdiction of vicars. — 11. Recently the vicars erected their own parish churches, pretending that all funerals were reserved to them. — 12. The rector of Malacca should have power of a vice-provincial. Union of Maluku with Jesuits of Manila seems already out of the question. — 13. Miserable state of Maluku mission. Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz was sent to Labuha, and Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado to Siau. — 14. Security of the Fathers. Expectations of help coming from Spain.

Jesus Maria
Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Nuestro

Pax Christi.

1. Puesto que este año de 1585 aya escrito a V.P. ansí por vía de Malaca como la de Goa[1], esme necessario hazer otra vía por la Manila[2], porque a hecho naufragio la nave[3] em que yvan las cartas y no sé se se salvaron. Por esto apuntaré aquí las cosas principales que en las passadas escrevía.

2. El año de 83 fuy[a] mandado por V.P. a esta India Oriental[4], e después de aver estado en el collegio de San Pablo de Goa ocho o nueve meses, me embió el P.[e] Provincial Alexandre Valignano a estas partes del Maluco[5], ado llegamos a 16 de Noviembre de 1584. Y hallé en esta casa de Tidore al Hermano Antonio Gonçález, a quien el bendito P.[e] Bernardino Ferrari, superior destas partes de Maluco, avía dexado quando se fue a visitar los lugares de Ambueno[6]. Después de esperar algunos días o que de mí e del Padre Gabriel de la Cruz determinavan, a 4 de Deziembro tuvimos carta del P.[e] Jerónymo Rodríguez, que estava en la casa de Ambueno, em que nos avisó de la

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[1] Lost Letters, 48*b–c*. Generally the letters sent to Europe *via* Malacca were not due to pass by Goa. Often they could be forwarded to the ship sailing to Lisbon at Cochin.

[2] The best sailing time to Manila from Maluku was in April-May.

[3] Presumably the ship that carried the letters from Tidore to Ambon, where the galleon had to clear off to Malacca in May.

[4] WICKI, *Liste* no. 244.

[5] Captain of the galleon was Fernão Ortiz de Távora. Also the new captain of Tidore, Duarte Pereira de Sampaio, was on board (COUTO X/I 480, X/II 46).

[6] Fr. Berwouts / Corrado is not mentioned. The inference is that he was in Labuha at that time (Cf. D 44,2).

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muerte de nuestro caríssimo Padre Bernardino Ferrari. Al qual Dios N. Señor quiso levar para sí a 25 de Setiembre [7] cargado de muchos trabajos e merecimientos, que por la conversión de la gentilidad destas partes em quatro años suffrió, con la más extraordinaria caridad y zelo que los hombres avían visto. V.P. por caridad le mande hazer los acustumbrados suffragios de la Compañía.

3. En el mismo 4 día de Deziembre se abrió una patente de successión del P.e Provincial Alexandre Valignano, en la qual mandava que yo succediesse al Padre Bernardino Ferrari por superior destas partes del Maluco, asta que Su Reverencia ordinasse otra cosa. Por onde yo, puesto que insufficiente y flaco pera tan grande cargua, principalmente en tiempo que estas partes ardían en guerras [264*v*] hostiles y civiles [8], comencé a entender en lo que la obediencia me avía mandado.

4. Y puesto que em presencia no pude[b] visitar ningún lugar de los desta christiandad, por la poca segurança y mucho peligro que avía en salir, pues aquí en la cara nos cativavan la gente, todavía por relación del P.e Rogerio Conrrado, que asta agora abya estado en la isla de Labua [9], ado todos son cristianos, hee[c] entendido como procedían bien y se fazían muy capazes; principalmente los niños, que ya saben la doctrina assí en la lengua malaya [10] como en la portugueza, y dan muestras de venir a ser buenos cristianos, principalmente residiendo alí uno de los Padres. De cuyo emparo tiene aquella isla mucha necessidad, por aver un reizilho, hermano de la muger del sangaje de la dita isla de la Labua [11], inimiguo de la nuestra santa lei, apóstata y moro (puesto que[d] se finge amiguo de los portuguezes), que los inquieta y maltrata, y hiziera retroceder se o Padre con su sollicitud los no emparara.

5. De la cristiandad del Ambueno (ado tenemos 33 lugares de

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[7] So D 54,15 as well. D 50,2 less correctly has September 29. SCADUTO (*Catalogo* 56), following *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 42* (f. 27*v*), incorrectly gives June 25.

[8] When Duarte Pereira de Sampaio (note 5) arrived, a petty civil war broke out between his supporters and those of Diogo de Azambuja. The latter pretended to be entitled to one more year of captainship. Finally Pereira had to give way (D 50,3).

[9] Fr. Berwouts/Corrado appears to have returned to Tidore from Labuha between November 1584 and April 1585.

[10] Fr. Berwouts/Corrado apparently had learnt Malay quickly.

[11] The sengaji of Labuha was married to a sister of the king of Bacan (D 69,4).

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cristianos que están a nuestra cuenta) no tuvo relación bastante ny particular, por aver más de un año que no son visitados por causa de la prolixa emfermedad y muerte del P.e Bernardino Ferrari y yndisposición del P.e Jerónymo Rodríguez. Mas sé que están quietos y contientos por aver tenido el capitán de la nuestra fortaleza algunas victorias de los nuestros enemiguos[12]. Lo que en general tiengo entendido daquella gente es ser mucho dada a la idolatría, lo que me a mí parece sería medio pera ser devotos y buenos cristianos, se uviesse quien los enseñasse. Mas es tanta la penuria de los obreros, que de año en año se les no puede dar más doctrina que de 4, 5 ou 8 días, y a las vezes passa el año y los dos que no los podemos ver, como agora acaesció.

6. Porque ha dos o tres años en que sempre a avido naufragios, y no avemos tenido repuesta de algunas cosas que se desseavan, me a parecido apuntarlas a V.P. para que, por la vía de Malaca o de las Manilas, que son las más breves que ha, tengamos repuesta de lo que V.P. nisto nos manda. Y ansí començaré por la causa y raiz desto, que son los gentiles, con quien es nuestro principal intento tratar.

7. En este Tidore no tenemos occupación con los infieles por causa de la tierra estar de guerra, y aver algunos impidimientos de personas que pretienden sus particulares interesses. Y al presiente nos a acaecido una cosa con que V.P. podrá entender lo mucho que se requiere, seren los de la Compañía muy exentos y libres, como nuestros privilegios nos lo conceden para bien de la cristiandad. [265r] Teniendo a dez de Hebrero catechizadas[e] cien personas moros y gentiles capazes del sacramento del baptismo, pedi al vicario[13] los baptizássemos y él hiziesse como lo acustumbran hazer los arçobispos orientales con nosotros. Y respondió que el obispo[14] le mandava que no consentiesse que se hiziessen baptismos en ninguna otra parte sino en su yglesia, y no de más que de diez personas por el temor que avía de se enfadaren los cathecúmenos y no continuar con el baptismo, si no fuesse con aquel fervor, ayuntamiento, fiesta y solennidad[15].

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[12] See D 44,8.

[13] Most likely this was António Ferreira (ARGENSOLA 180; Cf. JACOBS, *Vicars* 278-281).

[14] The bishop of Malacca, D. João Ribeiro Gaio.

[15] One of the faculties of the Jesuit order was: « Possunt nostri Patres in Indiis degentes baptizare, etiam extra ecclesias, omnes ad fidem conversos. Leo X in Bulla *Alias felicis* data pro RR.PP. Minoribus 25 aprilis 1521 » (*Compendium Indicum*, Romae 1737, 19).

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8. Después de consultar con los de casa, nos pareció que los devía baptizar. Y mandando muchos recados al vicario, esperando por él mucho tiempo, no queriendo él venir, comencé a baptizarlos. Y estando en las ceremonias, vino con su sobrepeliz y estola a la puerta de la nuestra iglesia descomulgando a los padrinos y aun a nos, poniendo entredicho en nuestra iglesia. De lo qual la gente mucho se escandalizó y perturbó, y salió de la iglesia, no bastante dezirles que él no podía ponernos tales censuras, ny ir contra nuestros privilegios. Y lo mismo a hecho la quinta feria in Cena Domini [16], por nos estorvar que no encierrássemos el Santísimo Sacramento en la nuestra iglesia, diziendo que assí se lo mandava su obispo, lançando la gente fuera de la iglesia con descomulgarlos.

9. Y a llegado a tanto la ignorancia del dito vicario que diz en las estaciones que la gente no cumpre con oyr nuestras missas [17], y a un principal hombre y su muger, que de la nuestra iglesia yvan de oyr missa, a tomado por la mano y hizo con ellos que oyessen otra vez la suya. Y no a poder proceder contra estes hombres, que de ordinario no saben más que rezar y algunos poquitos de casos, y son muy voluntarios, ny dan por privilegios ny letras apostólicas porque todo lo niegan. Y en la tierra no ay quien pueda ser juez, porque no a copia de sacerdotes a los quales solamente nuestros privilegios se estienden [18]. Muy necessario es que V.P. nos mande declarar lo que en esto podemos [19], y se alguno de los nuestros o religioso o alguno de las órdenes menores pueden ser juezes, porque d'otra manera poco nos valen los

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[16] April 18, 1585.

[17] That is, he pretended people could not discharge their duty of hearing mass on Sunday but in his church. This was against an express privilege of the Society: « Omnes Christi fideles, qui concionibus nostrorum interfuerint, possunt eiusmodi diebus in ecclesiis in quibus nostri concionabuntur missas et alia divina officia audire et sacramenta recipere, ita ut non teneantur pro his adire suas parochias. Paulus 3. in literis apostolicis » (*Compendium facultatum*, Venetiis 1577, 56; *Breve compendium privilegiorum*, Romae 1586, 62).

[18] In October 1579, Pope Gregory XIII extended to extra-European areas the privilege bestowed on the Society by Pius V of choosing, in their conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities, as judges « quosvis idoneos et probos viros saeculares, clericali charactere insignitos, non tamen coniugatos » (*Compendium Indicum*, Romae 1580, 11; Id., Goae 1581, p. XVI; *Literae apostolicae*, Romae 1606, 82-89).

[19] Though Fr. General's answer was lost, we yet know its tendency from a notice in *ARSI, Hist. Soc. 115* f. 15*v*: « Unica habetur epistola ad P. Superiorem in Moluco, quem monet de lite quadam quam habuerat cum Vicario, ne in si-

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privilegios y immunidades que Su Santidad pera bien de la cristiandad nos concede.

10. Tanbién desseo de saber la fuerça que tiene aquel privilegio de Paulo 3°, del año de 45. La 6ª faculdad: « aut alias, Christi fidelibus ipsis Eucharistiae et alia ecclesiastica sacramenta sine alicuius praeiudicio ministrandi, diecaesanorum[g] locorum, rectorum parrochialium et aliarum ecclesiarum aut quorumvis aliorum licentia desuper minime requisita[20] ». Porque en aquella partícula « sine praeiudicio alicuius » estriban [265*v*] pareciéndoles que le usurpamos su jurisdición, la qual el obispo de Malaca amplia mucho haziéndoles vicarios generales[21] del todo el Maluco y dándoles todas sus vezes, haziéndolos visitadores universales[22]. Y assí pretienden visitar los lugares que están a la cuenta de la Compañía, y aun pretienden las décimas a las quales los indios no son obligados[23]; y aun entienden en querer sacramentar a los nuestros familiares y tratarlos como sus flegueses[24]. Destas cosas entendrá V.P. los sobroços y agravios que desta gente recebimos. Y siéntese esto más por nos séremos que los avemos traýdo a estas partes para

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mili amplius erret obsistendo, sed ut sustineat humiliter sese subiiciendo, etc. f. 19. In fine epistolae haec addit manu propria Generalis: Viriliter agite et confortetur cor vestrum, Patres dilectissimi, prope est Dominus ut eruat vos ab omni malo ». The notice was based on a « Registrum Indicum », which is now lacking in the Archives. See Lost Letters, 54*c–d*.

[20] Brief *Cum inter cunctas* of June 3, 1545; in *Institutum Soc. Jesu* I 10-11.

[21] The term *vicar-general* does not seem adequate. The delegate or representative of the bishop for a certain territorial district of the diocese was called *vicarius foraneus* (and in Portuguese *vigário da vara*), whereas the *vicarius generalis* had the same function for the entire diocese. It is useful to remember that the popular and local use of ecclesiastical titles often was far from technical and canonical correctness.

[22] « Societas . . . est exempta a iurisdictione omnium ordinariorum, omnium item legatorum et delegatorum . . . » (*Compendium Facultatum*, Venetiis 1577, 61). The Jesuits and their churches were not subject to visitors appointed by the bishop.

[23] One of the deepest roots of the conflict of the vicars with the Jesuits in Maluku lay in the fees due to secular priests for any ecclesiastical ministry or service.

[24] Also this was against the rights of the Jesuits. « Possumus administrare omnia sacramenta iis omnibus qui in nostris morantur obsequiis, eosque in nostris caemeteriis sepellire. Paulus 3. in literis apostolicis ». (*Compendium Facultatum*, Venetiis 1577, 35).

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nuestra quietación[25], para[h] evitarmos pleytos y contiendas con los seculares.

11. Como nuestras yglesias hasta agora ayan sido flegresías, después que se hizieron otras para los vicarios, la gente se escandaliza en no los consintirmos enterrar en nuestras iglesias[26], principalmente los beneméritos y que nestas partes han ayudado mucho a los de la Compañía, diziendo que hasta agora enterrávamos aun los esclavos y que ya ny a bienhechores queremos recebir. V.P. me mande lo que se hará acerca desto, porque bien sé que en la India se haze, y yo lo he visto hazer a bienhechores, mas no me consta por qué vía.

12. El P.[e] Bernardino, que santa gloria aya, a escrito al P.[e] Alexandre Valignano nos dee por Viceprovincial al Rector de Malaca[27], pera que pueda más commodamente acudir a nuestras necessidades. Mas la navetta que a levado las cartas a hecho naufragio y todas se an perdido[28]. Por esso se a V.P. pareciere, y el P.[e] Provincial en esto enformare a V.P., nos puede proveer de lo que fuere más conveniente pera el bien de los de la Compañía y de los desta christiandad. Porque de otra manera no podemos tener respuesta de lo que es necessario sino en espacio de dos años, y si la nave arriba o se pierde, como de ordinario acaesce, después de 3 y 4 años. Y puesto que se ha pretendido unir estas partes con las del Manila, después se a mostrado no poder ser, porque Su Magestad a impedido el commercio del clavo sob graves penas por vía del Manila, lo qual haze que no pueda aver esta communicación y ser muy incierta. V.P. escoja[i] el medio más convenible para que los destas partes no padezcan tanto desemparo y necessidad, ny acaezcan algunos desastres como han acaecido[29] por los de la Compañía andaren muy desemparados y apartados de la providencia próxima de los superiores.

13. Quanto a lo que toca a lo estado deste arcepélago del Maluco, es al presente lo más triste y miserable que puede ser, porque por causa

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[25] Not a single preceding document reveals an effort or invitation of the Jesuits to get secular parish priests.

[26] On the right of the Jesuits to have funeral services for the dead in their churches, see *Compendium Facultatum*, Venetiis 1577, 33; *Compendium Privilegiorum*, Romae 1606, 74).

[27] D 44,10.

[28] However this may have been, Fr. Ferrari's letter which is D 44 arrived safely.

[29] It is unknown to which misfortunes or lapses Fr. Nunes is pointing.

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de las guerras no se puede [266r] entender en la conversión ny salir de aquí. Todavía de los tres Padres que en este Tidore nos hallamos, ha parecido conveniente y necessario que el P.e Gabriel de la Cruz residisse en la isla del Labua [30], y el P.e Rogerio Conrrado en el reyno de Siao, que haa 12 ou 13 años no tiene Padres [31], y hanse mostrado muy constantes en la fe. Parecía crueldad en este tiempo desemparalos.

14. Los lugares en que an de residir los Padres son de su natureza inexpugnables. Y assí es necessario porque an de ser muy combatidos de los moros alevantados, que quedan muy sobervios por aver venido de la Manila, por mandado del Rei Católico, un socorro a estas partes y no les aver podido haver hecho mal [32]. Ny se espera por espacio de tres años que puedan venir de España más de dos mil hombres, que esta tierra tienga seguridad ny paz. Y ansí los que aquí quedamos, quedamos offerecidos a hazer sacrificio de nuestros cuerpos, y plega a N. Señor que no sea con detrimento y condenación de muchas ánimas.

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[30] Until that time Fr. Berwouts/Corrado had worked there from 1582 on (D 44,1-2).

[31] As far as known, the last Jesuit in Siau was Fr. Pero Mascarenhas; he left the island in 1569 (DM I 63* and 544).

[32] This was the expedition of Juan de Morón (also Morones), who arrived in Tidore with three hundred men on March 3, 1585, only to find there the Portuguese divided into the parties of two competing captains (see note 8) and more inclined to fight each other than to support the Spaniards against the king of Ternate. After Dueñas had come to reconnoitre in 1582, this was the third fruitless Spanish fleet operation to reconquer the fortress of Ternate: D. Juan Ronquillo in 1582; Pedro Sarmiento in 1584; Juan de Morón in 1585. And for some time to come it was also the last. « Los días passados el Señor Presidente embió socorro al Maluco de 300 hombres y más, para que restituyese aquella fortaleza . . . e la diesen a los portugeses que en Tidoro están . . . Y agora buelven con las manos en la cabeça con pérdida de gente y de municiones y naos » (Fr. Hernán Suárez, Manila, June 12, 1585, in *ARSI, Philip. 9* f. 44r). In another letter of June 13, the same Father recounts that the Spaniards lost 80 to 100 men and one vessel with its artillery (ibid. f. 46v–47r). That in the first talks between Juan de Morón and Diogo de Azambuja Fr. Pero Nunes played a part as a mediator, can be seen from the report of a Dominican Father Cristóbal de Salvatierra, sailing in Morón's fleet (COLIN-PASTELLS III 37), and from a testimony in the process against Diogo de Azambuja, which was started in Manila immediately after Morón's return, of July 19, 1585 (*AGI, Filip. 34 ramo 4 no. 90* f. 35v). Consult COUTO X/II 46-64.

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En los santos sacrificios y bendición de V.P. yo y todos deste arcepélago del Maluco mucho en el Señor nos encommendamos.

De Tidore, 27 de Abril de 1585 años.

De V.P. filho indino,

Pero Nunes.

[*Address* 267*v*] † Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Nuestro, el P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma. Del Maluco.

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[a] *corr. fr.* fue ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* puede ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* y ‖ [d] *rep.* ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* catechizados ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* el ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* diocaesanorum ‖ [h] *del.* nos ‖ [i] -coja *interl.*

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FR. PERO NUNES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. MANUEL RODRIGUES, ASSISTANT OF FR. GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, APRIL 27, 1585

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 305; WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Nunez no. 2.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 262*r*-263*v*, formerly no. LXXXVII. Autograph original. Portuguese. The letter fills one-and-a-half pages. In the left lower corner of f. 262*r* Nunes himself noted « o P[e] Assist. », and an archivist wrote « Nunez. Tidor. 85 ». Folio 263*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the address, a red wax seal, and a summary in Portuguese, written by Fr. Manuel Rodrigues. It is preceded by « 27 Abril 85. P. P[o] Nunez. Tidore », and followed by « Respondi ».

Text

1. *Writes again after probable loss of earlier letters.* — 2. *Arrived in Maluku with Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz. Fr. Ferrari died.* — 3. *Is superior now. They live in continuous war.* — 4. *Fr. Cruz resides in Labuha; Fr. Berwouts/Conrado is going to work on the island of Siau. He himself plans to visit the Christian villages of Ambon. Writes in another letter to Fr. General about the troubles they have with the vicars.* — 5. *It is advisable that the superior of Malacca be a vice-provincial for the entire area. A joining, however, of Maluku with Manila does not seem expedient.*

† Jesus Maria

Mui Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Por via de Malaca e de Goa escrevi a V.R., mas soube depois

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que a nao fizera naufragio e não sei se as cartas se salvarião, e por isso darei nesta conta a V.R. conforme a brevidade do tempo de nossa missão.

2. Por ordem do P.e Alexand[r]e Valignano, provincial, foi mandado em companhia do P.e Gabriel da † [Cruz] (olim Rengifus) pera este archipelago de Maluco o anno de 84, aonde chegamos por a bondade de Deos mui bem despostos a 16 de Novembro. E depois de esperaremos por recado do P.e Bernardino Ferrarii, aos 4 de Dezembro tivemos de Amboino[a] cartas do P.e Hieronimo Rodriguez, em que nos avisava como Nosso Senhor avia levado pera sy, aos 29 de Setembro[1], ao nosso bom pay, o P.e Bernardino, carregado de muitos trabalhos e merecimentos que neste Maluco por causa da conversão alcançou.

3. No mesmo dia abrimos huma patente de successão, em a qual o P.e Provincial mandava que eu lhe succedesse por superior destas partes, que são ao presente as mais afligidas e necessitadas que há, porque não somente há guerra com os[b] mouros mas tambem entre dous capitães portuguezes[2] que pretendião a fortaleza. Ouve partialidade e vierão[c] em rompimento de armas. E acrescentou-sse a isto virem trezentos hespanhoes[3] pera conquistarem Ternate, que nos tem usurpado, e fizerão tam pouco que os mouros ficão os mais soberbos e victoriosos do que nunca estiverão. E assy daqui a tres annos não se espera remedio, mas estaremos sempre offerecidos à morte e foguo, que hé commum guerra destes. E assi procurei que os Padres se fossem pera onde podessem estar seguros e fazer o que neste Maluco praetendemos, que hé a conversão.

4. O P.e Gabriel da † [Cruz] reside na ilha da Alabua, onde averá 400 christãos que procedem mui bem. O P. Rogerio Conrado[d] se vai pera o reino dos Siaos, que há 10 ou 12 annos perseverão mui constantes em a fee, posto que não tiverão por todo este tempo Padre que os doutrinasse[4]. São ambos os lugares de sua natureza inexpugnaveis, e far-se há muito serviço a Nosso Senhor nelles. Eu, se ouver commodidade pera ir a visitar Amboino, estou determinado de o fazer, porque

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[1] Correctly, on September 25: D 49,2; D 54,15.

[2] Diogo de Azambuja, captain since late 1577, for two terms, and Duarte Pereira de Sampaio, who arrived in November 1584.

[3] Under the «capitán y sargento mayor» Juan de Morón (MORGA 26; see D 49 note 32).

[4] See D 49 note 31.

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temos ali 33 lugares de christãos que há quasi dous annos que não forão visitados, por causa da prolixa emfermidade e morte do P.e Bernardino Ferrarii e indisposições do [262v] P. Hieronimo Rodriguez. Lá escrevo por tres vias ao N.P. Geral mui particularmente dos enfadamentos e vexações que com os vigairos destas partes temos [5]. V.R. por amor de Deos nos ajude nesta parte, e entenda que hé o maior empedimento (não terem estes homens freo) pera a conversão, que todos os outros.

5. Tambem soube em Malaca como o P. Bernardino Ferrarii escrevia ao P.e Provincial que desse ordem com que o superior de Malaca fosse juntamente vice-provincial destas partes de Maluco [6]. E parece cá aos Padres que será muita commodidade, porque sempre por Malaca com o comercio do cravo há poder vir recado. E ainda que o Padre praetendeo que se unisse isto com as Manillas, achou-se depois que não hé tam seguro, porque Sua Magestade mandou sob penna de morte que não se levasse cravo por via da Manilla, e por via de armada não hé certo nem seguro e assi ficaremos com a mesma necessidade. V.R. por amor de Deos queira nisto informar ao N.P.e Geral, porque nisto e no demais estou mui confiado que nos dará toda a ajuda, principalmente sendo eu cousa e[e] mui[f] particular feitura de V.R., porque o dia que V.R. foi eleito por Provincial de Portugal saii eu da primeira provação [7], e quasi que posso dizer que não conheci bem a outro provincial, e cuido que por intercessão e meo de V.R. vim à Ind[i]a onde, ajudado da proteição de V.R., confio acabar a vida. Nos santos sacrificios de V.R. muito eu e todos os deste Maluco nos encomendamos.

De Tydore, oje 27 de Abril de 85.

De V.R. filho indino,

Pero Nunes.

[*Address* 263v] † Ao mui Reverendo em Christo Padre, o P.e Manoel Rodriguez, assistente das Provincias de Portugal e India Oriental, em a casa professa da Companhia de Jesus em Roma. De Maluco.

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[a] de Amboino *interl.* ‖ [b] com os *corr. fr.* entre o ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* virem ‖ [d] *with doubtf. corr.* ‖ [e] *ins.* ‖ [f] *with corr.*

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[5] D 49, 7-11.

[6] For this paragraph, cf. D 49,12.

[7] Fr. Manuel Rodrigues was appointed provincial of Portugal on November 28, 1574 (RODRIGUES, *História* II/I 323). Of Fr. Pero Nunes it is said in a Portuguese catalogue of January 2, 1575, that one month and 17 days before, he was admitted to the college of Coimbra as a scholastic (*ARSI, Lus. 43 II* f. 476v). This means that in November 1574 he finished his noviciate.

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Lost Letter

50*a*. — *The Vicars of Maluku to Bishop Ribeiro Gaio of Malacca ; May 1585*

D 52,2: The bishop received the letter(s?) in June 1585.

51

FR. HERNAN SUAREZ SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, JUNE 17, 1585

I TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 59*r*-60*v*, formerly 313, and no. 21. Autograph original in Spanish. On f. 60*v* there is, besides the address, a trace of the seal and an archivist's note « Manila 85. P. Hernán Suárez. Junio 17 ». That the letter is autographic appears from a comparison with many other letters of Fr. Suárez in the same codex. A third hand added some apostils in Spanish. The apostil at our part, which is in f. 59*v*, runs « En el Maluco no ay que tratar, pues están casi medio perdidos, y no acaban de allanarse portuguezes con castellanos por el rey Phelipo, tanto que aun los Padres que allí están creo que dexarán aquello por estar en estado tan malo ».

II NOTE: Fr. Hernán Suárez was a Spaniard. He arrived at Manila with te second group of Jesuits on May 28, 1584. He was known for being unreservedly critical in his descriptions and opinions.

Text

1. *At the arrival of a Spanish fleet of more than 300 men the nearly 200 Portuguese of Tidore refused to cooperate effectively to the recapture of Ternate.* — 2. *They say that the Portuguese expect Dom António to reign. Therefore Azambuja repelled Duarte* [*Pereira de Sampaio*] *sent by King Philip. Pereira sailed with the Spaniards to Manila.* — 3. *The Fathers of Tidore were doomed to idleness.* — 4. *One Father went to* [*Labuha*], *another to Siau, Fr. Superior elsewhere, only a Brother stayed back in Tidore.* — 5. *Franciscans should take over ; the Jesuits should go.*

[. . .]

1. Para el Maluco no paresce que ay necessidad por las nuevas que nos dan, que son que haviendo el Presidente destas islas [1] embiado

[1] Santiago de Vera, Governor of the Philippines, 1584-1590. « Being a jurist he was by preference addressed as president, that is, president of the audiencia » (COSTA 66).

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socorro a los portugeses que estuvieron en Ternate para restituyrles en su fuerça, hallólos muy lexos de acompañarse con castellanos para batir el fuerte. Porque, aunque los portugeses que en la fuerça que tienen en Tidore sean quasi dozientos, y tenían tres galeones bien pertrechados de gente y artillería, con todo esto los españoles que de acá fueron, que serían más de 300, no pudieron con ellos que todos juntos diesen la batería. Y aunque fueron los nuestros por tierra a batirla, y los portugeses havían de venir en mar, vinieron de tal manera que no se hizo nada.

2. Suénase que[a] tienen todavía creydo que ha de reynar Don Antonio[2], y assí el[b] capitán del fuerte de Tidore, que se llama Azambuche[3], no quiso dar el[c] fuerte a otro llamado Duarte[4], aunque venía con provisión del Rey Philippo, poniendo no sé que achaques. Por lo qual este Duarte y los[d] castellanos, que de aquí fueron a darle socorro, se bolvieron a estas islas con pérdida de gente sin haver hecho cosa alguna, diziendo que primero es menester conquistar los portugeses de Tidore que los moros de Ternate.

3. Y assí los pobres de tres Padres nuestros que allí están[5] no hazen nada, porque ni pueden confessar a gente tan pérfida, ni persuadirles lo que les conviene. Y lo que es peor, ven las nuevas plantas, que ellos allí havían plantado en la Iglesia por medio del baptismo, desarraygadas del todo y apostatando a cada paso.

4. Dízenme que el uno Padre[e][6] dellos fue a una laguna[7] a reparar como quinientos christianos que estavan en un pueblo 30 leguas del Maluco, y que llegado allí le truxeron muchos niños a baptizar y lo rescibieron con alegría[f], y en su guardia fueron una colonia de portugeses[8] por moradores de aquella laguna. El otro Padre[9] fue a Siao con otros portugeses a reparar también lo que allí queda, y que el Padre

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[2] The « Prior do Crato », pretender to the Portuguese throne. Proclaimed king at Santarém in 1580, he was soon expelled by the forces of Philip of Spain. He organized a series of endeavours to regain the crown, but in vain, becoming more and more a tool in the hands of the English and French anti-Spanish politicians.

[3] Azambuja.

[4] Pereira de Sampaio.

[5] Pero Nunes, Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, Rogier Berwouts/Conrado.

[6] Fr. Rengifo/da Cruz (D 50,4).

[7] Labuha. Presumably Fr. Suárez misunderstood the name.

[8] Very interesting that there was a Portuguese settlement in Labuha.

[9] Fr. Berwouts/Conrado (D 50,4).

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que allí está por superior[10] se havía de partir a otra parte[11], y assí que en nuestra residencia de Tidore no havía de quedar más de un Hermano[12].

5. Considere V.P. como están y quedan aquellos pobres Padres. A mí se me offresce que el P.e Provincial de la India tratase con los frayles franciscos, que andan deseosos de doctrinas[13] por estas partes, que tomasen aquella a su cargo y los nuestros se la quitasen de encima[14]. Porque para aplacarlo todo y allanarlo dizen que son menester dos mill hombres, los quales ni el Rey los tiene por acá ni creo ay esperança por agora dellos.

[... 60*r*]

De Manila, 17 de Junio de 1585[g].

De V.P. indigno hijo y siervo en el Señor,

Suárez.

[*Address* 60*v*] Ihs. Al muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo, el P.e Claudio [Aqua]viva, general de la Compañía de Jesús. Roma.

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[a] *del.* El ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* a ‖ [c] *del.* cast... ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* dos ‖ [e] *interl.* ‖ [f] *del.* y que el otro padre ‖ [g] 1585 *rep., first time corr. and del.*

Lost Letter

51*a*. — *Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues, Ambon, to Frs. Pero Nunes and Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, Tidore; October-November 1585.*

D 49,2: Announced death of Fr. Bernardino Ferrari.

52

[D. JOÃO RIBEIRO GAIO], BISHOP OF MALACCA, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

MALACCA, DECEMBER 15, 1585
Second *via*

I AUTHOR: JACOBS, *Vicars* 279.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 286*r*-287*v*, formerly 47, and no. XCII. Seems

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[10] Fr. Pero Nunes.

[11] To Ambon (D 50,4).

[12] Br. António Gonçalves.

[13] That is, mission stations. See D 54 note 3.

[14] This proposal seems a little rash and heartless, typical for a man not knowing the history of the Jesuit mission of Maluku.

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to be an autograph letter. Portuguese. On f. 286*r* a few lines are underlined and the numeral « 85 » has been put at the bottom by a later hand. Folios 286*v* and 287*r* are blank. The address was written in a quite different hand; there is a large wax seal, somewhat damaged, at the top, with the legend « [D.J]OAM RIBEIRO GAIO. B. D. MALA[CA] » around his coat of arms. On the same page a secretary noted « Malaca. 85 [*corr. fr.* 86]. Do Bispo de Malaca. 15 de Dezembro [*del.* 4 11]. Pede Padres pera a fortaleza de Ternati por ser morto o P. Bernardino ». This note is crossed out.

Text

1. *Reason of writing. — 2. They say that the fortress of Ternate has been reconquered. Fr. General should send more Fathers. — 3. Fr. Ferrari died. It is not yet certain that Ternate has been regained.*

†
Senhor

1. O anno passado escrevi a V.R.ma Paternidade[1], e este anno de mil e quinhentos e oitenta e sinquo não veo nao do reino[2], pelo que nesta serey breve.

2. De Maluco, em Junho passado, tive cartas dos Padres vigairos[3], em como os espanhoes estavão sobre a fortaleza de Ternati. E depois em Agosto fuy sertificado per via de Jaoa, a dita fortaleza ser tomada pelos nossos[4]. Será Deos servido que assi seja. Se per via das Felipinas se levou recado a Espanha a El-Rey N. Senhor a serteza da dita fortaleza ser tomada, V.R.ma Paternidade fará esmola ás partes de Maluco na nao que vier pera esta fortaleza mandar Padres, porque há lá falta delles.

3. E o P.e Bernaldino[5], provincial[6] das ditas partes, hé falesido. E por faltar a moção, não tivemos serteza da dita fortaleza ser tomada. E pera Julho do anno que vem esperamos as novas sertas. N. Senhor a muito santa e R.ma pessoa de V. Paternidade guarde por longos annos pera lhe fazer muitos serviços.

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[1] Lost Letter, containing most likely things on Maluku as this one; see 48*a*.

[2] A galleon directed straight to Malacca cleared from Lisbon on April 13, 1585, but it had to return unrigged (*India Oriental* f. 228*v*).

[3] Lost Letters, 50*a*.

[4] A false rumour.

[5] Ferrari.

[6] More correctly: superior.

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De Malaca, aos 15 de Dezembro de 1585.
Irmão de V. Paternidade R.ma em Christo,
O Bispo de Malaca †
[*Address* 287*v*] † Ao Reverendissimo em Christo Padre, o Padre Geral da Companhia de Jesus, meu senhor. Do Bispo de Malaca. 2ª via.

53

FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, TO FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, PROVINCIAL

ROMA, DECEMBER 24, 1585

I AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 84; ID., *Batjan* 136.
II TEXT: *ARSI, Epp. NN. 1* f. 203*r*. Registered, shortened original in Spanish, in small handwriting, with not a few additions and corrections, often not easy to read. No address, no signature. The heading runs « India. Al mismo Padre Alexandre Valiñano, a 24 de Xbre 1585 ».

Text

Miserable position of the Jesuits in Maluku. Their less edifying example on account of the clove trade. Valignano ought to visit them.

[. . .]
Los nuestros en Maluco están mal por ser muy pocos y desacompañados y, según entiendo, el modo de sustentarse da mucha desedificación a portugueses y castellanos, porque vecn que viven de comprar y vender clavo. V.R. los visitará[a], y los consuele y ayude en quánto pudiere, quitando este trato del clavo y qualquier otro que huviere[1]. En las oraciones, etc.
A 24 de X.bre 1585.
[*Address*] India. Al mismo P. Alexandre Valiñano.

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[a] *del.* pasando

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[1] Evidently Fr. General was much impressed with the criticisms of Frs. Alonso Sánchez and Antonio Sedeño (DD 39 and 40).

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Lost Letters

53*a*. — *Fr. Pero Nunes, Superior, Tidore, to Br. Antônio Gonçalves, Tidore ; December 1585.*

D 54,4: « Deixou-me em llembransa », a written instruction on what the Brother had to do.

53*b*. — *Fr. Pero Nunes to Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado, Tidore ; December 1585.*

D 54,4: « Outra carta pera o Padre », he should return to Siau with the first best occasion.

53*c*. — *Bishop Ribeiro Gaio of Malacca to the Vicar of Maluku, Tidore ; late 1585.*

D 54,2: He will send Franciscans to Maluku.

53*d*. — *The Jesuits of Malacca to the Fathers of Maluku ; late 1585.*

D 54,2: The bishop will send Franciscans to Maluku.

53*e*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Pero Nunes, Maluku ; late 1585 or early 1586.*

D 62,1: « A 20 de Março de 1587 he recebido una de V.P. em respuesta de una que del collegio de S. Pablo de Goa screvy ».

53*f*. — *Br. Antônio Gonçalves, Tidore, to Fr. Pero Nunes, Ambon ; early 1586.*

D 54,3: « Tenho já advertido por carta ao noso Sopirior ».

54

BR. ANTÓNIO GONÇALVES SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, APRIL 20, 1586
Second *via*, by way of Manila

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 304; WESSELS, *Amboina* 184.

II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 115; JACOBS, *Vicars* 279.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 331*r*-334*v*, formerly 498-500, and no. CIX. Original. Portuguese. At the top of f. 331*r* an archivist noted « Malabarica 1586 [*corr. fr.* 1686] », another hand at the bottom wrongly « 2 april »; f. 334*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the address, a small piece of a black wax seal, and a Roman secretary's note « Maluco. 86. Antº Gzl. 20 dabril ». The letter shows a very outstanding and characteristic handwriting which could be of Br. Gonçalves himself. The orthography and the sentence construction are sometimes strange.

IV NOTE: On the author, see DM I 42* no. 26.

Text

1. *Was ordered by Fr. Superior Pero Nunes, who sailed to Ambon, to write* via

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Manila. — 2. Letters from Malacca revealed that the bishop was going to send Franciscans to Ambon, and perhaps to the northern Maluku islands as well. Drawbacks of such a measure. — 3. Is going to add some questions of personal choise. First, about Jesuits making their confession to a secular priest. — 4. A Father arrived after Fr. Superior had left, and he had scruples to confess with the vicar. Finally he did so. — 5. The scrupulous Father even objected to the Brother having gone to confession with the vicar when no Jesuit was present. — 6. Secondly, it cannot be approved that Fathers, when ill and very weak, dare not consider themselves dispensed with saying the breviary and with fasting. — 7. Various instances of this. Bad results for the work. — 8. Proposes greater facilities for dispensations or for commuting of duties. — 9. Does not ask this for himself. Tells about his life. — 10. Asks for permission to receive Holy Communion twice a week. — 11. Not having got this permission from Fr. Superior, he insists on receiving it. — 12. Another scruple of the Father mentioned in no. 4. — 13. And one of the Brother himself. — 14. A personal request. Conclusion. — 15. Death of Fr. Ferrari.

† Jesus Maria
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Como aa já muitos anos que se aajão pirdidos muitos navios desta carreira de Malluquo, huns indo e outros vindo, por cuja causa, nem os sopiriores de nós nem nós deles, não somos advertidos de muitas cousas de que hé necesario sê-llo, e por esta causa e por ao presente se ofrecer cousa nova, de que hé necesario ser V.P. advertido pera sermos bem encaminhados e não se errar em nada, e o Sopirior daqui, que hé o P.e Pero Nunez[a], que aguora na fim de Dezembro foi pera Amboino pera o visitar, me deixou dito que eu daqui, por esta via de Manila, escrevese sobre isto a V.P. Porque por esta via pode ser que seja mais depresa advertido que por via da Imdia, posto que ele tambem lleva detriminado de o fazer por llaa.

2. Como pera estas partes de Malluquo e Amboino, de seu primcipio ateguora, não pasarão frades de nenhuma relligião pera averem d'entender na conversão da christandade, e aguora tivemos por carta dos Padres de Mallaqa[1], e este vigario daqui tambem tem por carta de seu Bispo[2] em como manda pera Amboino alguns frades capuchos[3],

---

[1] Lost Letter, 53*d*. The Rector of Malacca was Fr. Duarte Leitão (DI XIII 516).

[2] Lost Letter, 53*c*.

[3] That is, Franciscans (not Capuchins). A first Franciscan convent was founded in Malacca in 1581-82 by friars coming from Spain and the Philippines. In 1584 the Spaniards were substituted by a group of twenty Portuguese Fran-

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por dizer que lhos mandarão pidir d'Amboino, parece que aa falta dos nosos[b]. E como os sopiriores pasados não consentiam a nenhuns vigarios destas fortalezas hirem visitar nenhum luguar de christãos dos que estão sob nosa protecçam, nem aimda por via de recreação, por não soceder allgum inconveniente antre eles e os nosos Padres[4], quanto mais aguora virem religiosos por mandado do Bispo de Mallaqa. Porque, tentando elles querer ir entender com alguns luguares de christãos, não se cause alguma controversia antre eles e os nosos[c 5]. E como o Sopirior isto ouvise e seja cousa nova por quá, foi-se llá pera lhes estorvar meterem-se em nada disto, até sabermos a vontade e detriminasão de V.P. Portanto por amor de Deos no-lla mande em breve, porque não tão somente dizem que os manda pera Amboino, mas tambem se fala em mandar dos mesmos pera Tarnate, e daý pera se espalharem pera o Moro[6] e Cellebes e Bachão[d], os quais tambem por os nosos são cultivados. [331*v*]

3. Até qui hé o porque foi necesario escrever eu a V.P., e o sobre que o noso P.[e] Reitor me dise que eu escrevese, e que elle tambem por via da Imdia o avia de fazer. E jaa que esta occasião tive pera escrever a V.P. (o de que eu estava bem fora por não ser eu marca pera iso), e pois aguora a tenho, me pareceo tambem em o Senhor advirtir tambem a V.P. de outras cousas que por quá tenho visto, as quais me parece terem necesidade de serem por V.P. remedeadas.

Quanto aa 1[a] que direi, desta tenho já advertido por carta ao noso Sopirior[e 7], por isto soceder despois delle daqui partido pera Amboino; e porque pode ser que tambem este Sopirior ou outro[f] tenhão sobre isto allgum escrupollo, por ser cousa, o que quero dizer, que se defende em hum dos nosos privillegios, que diz que nenhum dos da Companhia se confese com sacerdote de fora sem licença do sopirior[8].

4. Avia 8 ou 9 meses que hum dos nosos Padres[9] era daqui mandado polo Sopirior a huma certa residencia a visitar e doutrinar certos

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ciscans. It is only understandable that these were looking forward to new mission fields (See TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* II 104 and 112-113; D 51,5; MEERSMAN 25 33).

[4] Presumably a mutual agreement.

[5] See *app. crit.*

[6] Neither Ternate nor Moro were under Portuguese control then.

[7] Lost Letter, 53*f.*

[8] This was not a privilege, but a « statutum » established by Paul III (Constitution *Licet debitum* of October 18, 1549: *Institutum Soc. Jesu* I 550 no. 125).

[9] This Father is not called by his name. He must be either Berwouts/Cor-

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lluguares de christãos, e que se viese a confesar tendo momsão na primeira embarcasão que pir illi[10] pasase segura. Veio este Padre a tempo aqui a Tidore, que já o Sopirior era partido pera Amboino[11]; e deixou-me em llembransa, e outra carta pera o Padre[12], que se tornase pera sua residencia na primeira embarcasão que pera llaa tornase. E como este Padre não achase aqui o Sopirior, teve escrupullo de se confesar com o Padre vigario daqui (polo que na Bulla ou previllegio defendia). Enfim que cometia este Padre ir a Amboino confesar-se com o Sopirior e não se podia quietar se llá não fose, nem com lhe ter mandado por carta sua que se tornase pera sua residencia. Eu, tollo e rudo[13], não deixei de lhe dar como a irmão minhas rezões, e o como entendi do Sopirior o entendia. Enfim que se detreminou, pasados jaa allguns dias, a confesar-se com o vigario e o continoou ao diante enquanto aqui esteve.

5. Cheguou a tanto seu escrupollo que, confesando-me eu dantes com o vigario, e quando elle veio me quis confesar com elle, me perguntou se tinha eu licença pera me confesar com elle, ou elle se a tinha pera me confesar. E dizia ser caso reservado (estando o Sopirior daqui 50 lleguoas[g])! Diguo, Padre, se eu me confeso com Padres de fora não estando aqui os nosos nem o Sopirior, porque não me poderei antes confesar com os nosos? E sentei-me e comecei a confisão. Parecendo bem a V.P. dar remedio a isto, porque acertando de vir outro Padre com semelhantes escrupollos, se saiba detriminar se se achar tambem soo sem sopirior.

6. A 2ª é, de que tambem em o Senhor me pareceo ser mui necesario advirtir a V.P., a quall tenho visto muitas vezes acontecer neste Malluco despois que quaa sou, aa quall se não dá até o presente nenhum remedio, nem aimda ao Sopirior. Senão que a elle se daa pior que aos

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rado, stationed in Siau, or Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, who worked in Labuha (Cf. D 50,4). We have two facts to identify him: he arrived at Tidore in early 1586, and he was a scrupulous man. Both point to Berwouts/Corrado. From November to April strong N winds were prevailing so as to make the voyage to Tidore from Bacan practically impossible and to favour the voyage from Siau. So the Father arriving at Tidore early in 1586 was Berwouts/Conrado. That he suffered from scrupulosity is testified in D 65,2.

[10] Popular orthography for *por ali*.

[11] That is, shortly after the end of December; see no. 1 and note 9.

[12] Lost Letters, 53*b*.

[13] In this and the following paragraphs, the Brother proves himself a man of natural and practical good sense.

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outros, porque com os outros despensa elle omde estaa[h], e pera consiguo não ousa despensar. [332*r*] Tenho visto adoecerem por estas partes muitas vezes muitos Padres nosos asi de febres como doutras muitas e diversas enfermidades, e purguados (estando sós). E esta terra em sy hé doentia, e o Moro muito mais, e Bachão e Celebes o mesmo. Amboino hé mais temperado mas mui fraguoso e trabalhoso de andar. Mas em todos aa grande falta do necesario (que ainda que aja com que se compre, não se aacha quê). E os pobres Padres quando estão ausentes do Sopirior, allem de todos seus trabalhos e exercicios cotedianos, exercitão as obriguações da Igreja, e daqui vem terem muitos caido em diversas enfermidades, por terem escrupolo de falltarem em semelhantes exercicios. E o que pior hé e lhes acrecenta mais as enfermidades, que estando asy com as febres e dores de cabeça e outras diversas que aa, e purguados, querem ainda rezar e gejuar por não terem quem com elles despense.

7. E eu tenho visto disto muito e dito muitas vezes a muitos Padres que asy via atribullados, e muito mais aos sopiriores, pera que tem escrupolo e rezão e jejuão? E que visem que com iso se lhes altera muito mais o samgue e enfraquecem, e não se achão bem, senão mall. E ainda o Sopirior faz isto muito mais! E o que sobretudo hé muito pior, e eu tenho visto muitos, terem escrupollo de pidirem licença ao Sopirior, nem em presença nem por carta, pera não rezarem nem gejuarem. E se lha o Sopirior dá pola terem pidida, mais se lhe acrecenta o escrupolo pola averem pidida, nem com verem tão claro como estão indespostos. E o tenho visto fazer, e não aimda a quem quer, senão a muitos sopiriores que quá tem fallecido. Porque elles com os outros despensão e consiguo não ousão nem ainda a o pidir a seu confesor, e asi huns como os outros se vem tanto a debilitar, que vem a não prestar pera nada e a morrer.

8. E eu tenho dito a muitos que dem conta ao[s] sopiriores supremos do que pasão, e elles querem antes padeser e sofrer que o dizer, do que se segue o dito. Portanto, se a V.P. lhe parecer bem, que huns despensem com os outros, posto que não sopiriores, ou lhes comutem o rezar e jejuar em algum Pater noster, e não em muitos salmos, como hum aa pouquo que fez a hum doente e purguado, do que elle bem gemia com tall despensação. E aimda os suditos com os sopiriores, e lhes obedeção nisto, porque aa muitos que se querem curar como querem, e não como o mestre[14] (se o aa) ou os companheiros o enten-

[14] The surgeon.

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dem. Porque nisto se seguem muitos e tem vimdo a piorar e não a melhorar, e outros se querem mortificar tanto com extraordinarias devações — e este ano aimda foi isto asy[4] — que vem ao dito.

9. Pay em o Senhor deste minimo e indino servo, crea-me V.P. e proveja nisto por amor de Deos com brevidade. E eu me quis antremeter nisto porque não peço pera mim mas pera os outros, porque eu [332*v*] tenho 53 anos de idade e de 27 anos da Companhia, e de 25 dos descansos destas partes[15] sem numqua sair de quá (não polo não ter pidido e desejar ir morrer antre aquelles anjos do collejo de Guoa, sem me ser concedido, porque já me aqui vi em artigo de morte e ter pidida a santa hunsão, sem ter nem hum Padre nem hum Irmão da Companhia com quem me podese consollar)[16]. Mas eu espero em o Senhor se serviraa llevar-me pera sy cedo, porque estou já (como dizem) com hum pee na cova, por ser mui derreado das cadeiras e dos rins, e mui debillitado de 3 anos a esta parte, e asy já não presto pera mais que pera comer e dar trabalhos. E portanto não peço o que peço a V.P. pera mim, porque eu já sou excluido de todos os gejuns e aimda de muitos outros exercicios que na Companhia se custumão fazer. E porque pode ser que V.P. tenha dantes ouvido que estas partes são abastadas de mantimentos, é verdade que o forão. Mas aguora já o não são porque, polla muita frequencia de portugueses e espanhoes e doutra muita gente estrangeira, tem feita esta terra mui esterille do necesario de 15 anos a esta parte.

10. Diguo acima a V.P. que estou jaa com hum pé na cova polla má despossisão, mas já pode ser que Deos Noso Senhor se sirva acrecentar mais meu desterro. E como eu me veja tall e, pola indesposisão, privado dos exercicios que acima diguo, e em vez de ir adiante tornar pera trás, deu-me Deos Noso Senhor este ano hum desejo de comumguar cada somana duas vezes, ao domimguo e à 4ª ou 5ª feira, pera com a frequencia deste divino foguo se aquentar meu coração e acender sequer hum pouquo com tall foguo em o amor de tall Senhor, pera com isto sequer recompensar o que polla outra falta perco, e me conservar ao diante e não acabar de cair, pois tantos barranco[s] aa pola proa, já que por sua bondade e misericordia me tem até qui livre dos que fiquam por popa.

11. Averá 5 ou 6 meses que pidi ao Sopirior me dese licença pera o fazer, e não ma deu dando-me por rezão que pode ser que se escan-

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[15] He arrived in Maluku in February 1563.

[16] When and where he was in this precarious situation we do not know.

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dallizaria o povo vendo-me comumguar estas duas[j] vezes. Peguei-me com a resinação e mortificação de minha vontade, posto que os desejos pera tall cousa sempre os tenho grandes, [333*r*] mas com proposito de não fallar nem enfadar mais com isto ao Sopirior. Mas já que se offrecerão as occasiões pasadas de eu escrever a V.P., me occorreo propor este desejo a V.P. e pidir-lhe por amor de Deos, se bem lhe parecer consollar-me, dando-me llicença pera comunguar sempre no meio da somana outra vez, posto que não aaja Santo porque, quando o aa, então comumguo. Mas, porque não vem muitos e muitas somanas pasão sem elles, pera então o peço a V.P. E não lhe parecendo bem, faça-se sem iso e com iso a santa vontade de Deos Noso Senhor e a de V.P. E eu com o[k] mesmo animo pera o hum e pera o outro aparelhado, e peço, beijamdo com esta os santos pés de V.P., me llance de llá sua santa benção na quall muito me encomendo[17].

12. Estando neste paso da carta entrou a Coresma[18] e sobreveo ao dito Padre outro escrupollo. Pergumtou-me se, quando o Sopirior se partio pera Amboino, me deixou dito se, vimdo aqui ter o Padre na Coresma, que confesase aos do povo nella ou não, porque, se lho não deixou mandado expresamente, que não tinha obriguação a confesar e ao gejum que era obriguado. Pergumtou-me que, não podendo elle ir adiante com ambos, quall deixaria de fazer? Eu polo concurso de jente que via correr à nosa igreja, me parecia que daria escandallo ao povo se o não visem confesar, não lhe sabendo enfermidade. A isto tambem socorra V.P. por amor de Deos pera que cada hum saiba como se á-d'aver.

13. Peço tambem a V.P. por amor de Deos que, se ao diante mandarem pera estas partes algum Irmão, que mande que nenhum Padre comumgue ao Irmão jumtamente com nenhuma molher, não se entremetendo alguns omens no meio pera comumguarem, porque se tem seguido de isto se continuar por quaa nenhum bem e muito mall, porque aimda que seja em tall lluguar ally hurde mais Satanás.

14. Padre meu em Jesu Christo, peço a V.P. por amor de Deos me faça esmolla de me mandar huma conta benta e do menos rezar que poder ser, porque eu tenho tall atenção no meu rezar, que vou por eses outeiros e o Senhor lhe vira o fucinho pollo mao cheiro que tem. [333*v*] Mas que com soo chamar o santo nome de Jesus guanhe todas as vezes[l] muitas imdulgencias na vida[m], porque 'Jesus' di-lo omem

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[17] Evidently the Brother first intended to finish his letter here.

[18] In 1586, Ash-Wednesday fell on February 19.

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depresa e não entrevirão pensamentos e mo concederá o Senhor, pera asi sequer ser esta pobre[a] allma consollada da falta que tem dos exercicios que diguo. E peço, beijamdo com esta os santos pés de V.P., me llance de laa sua santa benção na quall muito me encomendo.

De Tidore, a 20 d'Abrill de 1586.

15. Não sei se V.P. já seraa adevertido como Deos N.S. se servio llevar pera sy ao P.e Bernardino Ferrary a 25 de Setembro de 84, e a 4 do Dezembro seguinte tivemos estas novas por carta d'Amboino; lhe socedeo em Sopirior o P.e Pero Nunez.

De V.P. imdinisimo filho e servo em o Senhor,

O Irmão Antonio Gonçalvez.

[*Address* 334*v*] † Ao mui Reverendo em Christo Padre, o P.e Claudio Aquaviva, preposito gerall da Companhia de Jesus, em Roma. 2ª via por Manila. De Malluquo.

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[a] que.. Nunez *interl.* ‖ [b] parece.. nosos *interl.* ‖ [c] *followed in ms. by* porque e c, *unintelligible* ‖ [d] e Bachão *interl.* ‖ [e] noso sopirior *corr. fr.* noso pirior ‖ [f] ou outro *interl.* ‖ [g] estando.. lleguoas *interl.* ‖ [h] omde estaa *interl.* ‖ [i] com.. asy *interl.* ‖ [j] *add. m.* ‖ [k] *ins.* ‖ [l] todas as vezes *interl., corr. fr.* todos os dias ‖ [m] na vida *interl.* ‖ [n] *interl.*

Lost Letters

54*a*. — *Fr. Pero Nunes, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome; May 1586.*

D 70,1: He wrote « por dos vías ». D 54,3: « Por via da India ». To be remarked that an answer from Rome could not possibly have been received; or did he write in 1585?, that is, did he mean D 49?

54*b*. — *Fr. Pero Nunes, Ambon, to Fr. Valignano, Provincial, Goa; May 1586.*

D 71,1: He wrote « por duas vias ». As to the date: Nunes sailed to Ambon from Tidore in late December 1585 (D 54,1).

54*c-d*. — *Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Pero Nunes, Maluku; June 16, 1586.*

D 70,1; 71,1: Two letters, sent by the way of Mexico and Manila, and received by Nunes on February 4, 1588. Cf. D 49 note 19.

54*e*. — *Fr. Manuel Rodrigues, Assistant, Rome, to Fr. Pero Nunes; June 16, 1586.*

D 71,1: Nunes received it together with the preceding 54*c-d*.

54*f*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Visitor of Maluku, Malacca, to Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome; November-December 1586.*

D 59,1: Reported that Fr. Valignano made him a Visitor of Maluku.

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FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, DECEMBER 20, 1586

First *via*

TEXT: *ARSI, IapSin 10 II* ff. 209*r*-213*v*, formerly 52-55. Original in Spanish. Small, regular, and generally well readable handwriting. Many times words or phrases are underlined. Another hand added 28 paragraph numbers and corresponding résumés in the margin. At the top of the first page a note reads « Cochin, 20 dec. 1586. Alex. Valignano ». On f. 213*v* we find first the number 1 [*corr. fr.* 2], being part of the Roman numbering of a series of five letters of Valignano that arrived in Rome at the same time; moreover, the address, a trace of the seal, and a Roman secretary's note « Cochim 1586. P. Valignano. 20 Deziembre. Responde a las cartas y avisos de N.P.e », and at the top of the page once again « 20 Xbre 86 ». Our passage, which is paragraph 25, is on f. 212*r-v*, and it received two short apostils « Que embió a Maluco al P. Antº Marta por Visitador », and « De un modo de trato que tienen para su sustentación ».

Text

1. *When learning that Fr. Bernardino Ferrari had died, he sent Fr. Antonio Marta as visitor to Maluku and Fr. Francisco da Cunha as his companion.* — 2. *On the trade of the Jesuits in Maluku: how it works; it is less scandalous than it is rumoured.* — 3. *Fr. Marta is instructed to report accurately on it.* — 4. *Those of Malacca and Macao, not knowing the situation of Maluku, are no good judges of it.*

[...]

1. Quanto a lo de Maluco, sobre que V.P. me escrive[1], el año passado tuvimos nuevas que era allá muerto el Pe Bernardino Ferrario, que era superior aý y muy buen obrero. Y assí embié luego por visitador de aquellas partes al Pe Antonio Marta[2], que podemos dezir

[1] D 53.

[2] See *Gen. Introd.* III 4 no. 51. He is called here only visitor of Maluku; the same in D 57,1; D 59,1; D 60,1; D 61,1; and D 62 is typically a letter of a superior. So Marta was visitor and Pero Nunes remained superior, at least for the first year. From the fact that he arrived 1º in Ambon and not in Tidore, and

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que bolvió de muerte a vida, de una enfermedad que el año passado tuvo [3]. Y no hallamos otro que mejor nos pareciece para ir a aquellas partes. Y con él fue el P^e Francisco da Cunha [4], purtugés, por compañhero. Esperamos de aquí a dos meses nuevas de aquellas partes, aunque no las podremos tener de los dichos Padres sino de Malaca.

2. Y quanto a lo que toca al modo de su substentación, es verdad^a que ellos tienen quatro bares de clavo forros que embían a Malaca. Y de Malaca se les embían paños que truecan para todo lo que compran para su substentación, porque no corre otra moneda aý. Y desde el principio hasta agora siempre corrieron desta manera. Ni sé si ay en esto los escándalos que [212*v*] algunos escriven. Ni el P^e Bernardino, que V.P. sabe que era muy buen religioso, nunca se me quexó desso. Ni^b en la primera congregación que aquí hizimos se trató desse trato y paresció que no se podía escusar, y que^c por esso no se hiziese mudança en ello [5].

3. Con todo esso el dicho P^e Marta lleva encomendado que nos embíe distinta y clara relación de todo lo que allí passa, especialmente deste tracto [6]; la qual, como viniere^d, se podrá embiar a V.P.

4. Mas asse de advertir mucho no sólo en las personas, mas también en^e los lugares de do se escriven. Porque, verbi gracia, en Malaca facilmente se enfadarán de vender el clavo y comprar los paños necessarios para Maluco, y en la China [7] se enfadan del tracto de Japón. Porque, como V.P. sabe, cada uno piença en lo que viene bien a su casa y collegio, y tienen poca o ninguna cuenta de las necessidades que los otros passan. Y assí facilmente los rectores, o outros de las dichas casas, escriven que ay escándalo en el tracto, y no saben ni entienden que no ay otra manera de vida. Y si ellos estuviessen en aquellas partes, sin dubda hablarían de otra manera, como se vé cada día por experiencia.

2° in March and not in October (D 59,1), it must be inferred that he sailed from Goa in September 1586.

[3] Valignano on several occasions wrote to Fr. General about Fr. Marta's illness, which reached its peak in late December 1585 and early January 1586 (*ARSI, IapSin 10 I* ff. 118*r*, 135*r*, 143*r*).

[4] See *Gen. Introd.* III 4 no. 52. This is the twenty-second sending of Jesuit missionaries to Maluku.

[5] For the first Provincial Congregation of December 1575, no. 44, and the General's answer to it of January 1577, see DM I 669.

[6] See D 72,69-70.

[7] That is, Macao.

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Y por esso haze V.P. muy acertadamente en remetir la resulución de semejantes cosas aquí.
[...213*r*]
De Cochin, oye 20 de Diziembre 1586.
Di V.P. inutile figlio nel Signore,
Alexandro Valignano.

[*Address* 213*v*] Al muy Reverendo en Xristo Padre Nuestro, el Padre Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús. Roma. Responde a las cartas, primera vía. Del Provincial de la India del año 86. Primera vía.

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[a] Y... verdad *underl.* || [b] *corr. fr.* y || [c] *ins.* || [d] *corr. fr.* viniece || [e] *corr. fr.* de

56

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. JERÓNIMO CARDOSO MISSION PROCURATOR, LISBON: SURVEY OF THE ORIENTAL JESUIT HOUSES AND THEIR REVENUES

[COCHIN], DECEMBER 23, 1586
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I/I p. XLI no. 172.

II AUTHOR: SCHÜTTE, MHJ I 181-200. He describes the document and its history, and edits the section on Japan.

III TEXT: Rome, *Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale « Vittorio Emmanuele », MSS Gesuiti 1374 (red no. 3503) no. 1.* This is a sewed quire of twenty folios. Original in Portuguese with autograph signature. On f. 1*r* there is a title « Sumario das casas e rendas da Provincia da India e Japão. Anno 1586 », preceded by « Pera o Padre Jeronymo Cardoso, produrador da India » and followed by another note « Deste se fará hum treslado que se mandará a N.P. Geral porque aquí não ouve tempo pera se fazer. — 2ª via ». The inference is, that what Fr. Cardoso sent to Rome was not a newly-made copy, but this original second *via*, which argues that he had received another *via* as well to keep for himself. The text starts on f. 2*r*, f. 1*v* being blank. At the foot of f. 17*r* a new chapter is started under the title « Gastos da Provincia da India em commum ». It contains a four per cent of the revenue imposition on all the houses in favour of the common charges of the Province; the mission of Maluku was assessed to sixty xerafines

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yearly: « As casas de Maluco secenta xerafines » [f. 18*r*]. Folios 19*r*-20*r* are blank; 20*v* contains an archivist's note in Spanish « 1586. Sumario de las casas y rentas de la India y Japón. Recibióse en Otubro 1587 ».

Text

1. *Previously the Fathers had many mission posts with more than seventy thousand Christians. The present situation: eight Fathers live in only two places, Tidore and Ambon.* — 2. *They are paid six hundred* patacõis *in Malacca, and they can ship and sell four duty-free bahars of cloves.*

SUMARIO DE TODOS OS COLEGIOS E CASAS, RESIDENCIAS E PESSOAS, RENDAS E GASTOS QUE TEM A PROVINCIA DA COMPANHIA NA INDIA, FEITO NO ANNO DE 1586

[. . . 12*r*]

Maluco

1. Nas ilhas de Maluco tinhão primeiro os Padres muitas residencias com mais de setenta mil christãos que ahi fizerão, que estavão espalhados em diverssas partes. Mas pollas continuas guerras que ahi ouve em tantos annos, e opressão que fez el-rrei de Maluco à christandade e tomar a fortaleza de Tarnate, se diminuirão os christãos grandemente e desfizerão diverssas residencias. De maneira que ficão agora somente duas, huma em Amboino e a outra em[a] Tidore, em que estão agora oito Padres[1] repartido[s] nas ditas residencias, e dahi vão visitando as aldeas dos christãos que estão em poder dos portugueses e se podem visitar.

2. E pera estes se lhe dá da fazenda de Sua Magestade, na alfandega de Malaca, seiscentos patacõis[2] cada anno, que são duzentos e desaseis mil reis. E alem disto tem licença por alvará d'El-Rei Dom Sebastião[3] pera mandar de Maluco pera Malaca, forros de fretes e

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[1] In December 1586 the Jesuits living in Maluku numbered seven: Fr. Pero Nunes, superior; Frs. Jerónimo Rodrigues, Rogier Berwouts/Corrado, Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz; Br. António Gonçalves; to these Frs. Antonio Marta and Francisco da Cunha, who in September 1586 had just sailed from Goa, are to be added.

[2] The *patacão* or *pataca* was a silver coin of widespread use but not always of the same value. Here it equals 360 réis. See YULE 683; SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/II 561. Practically it equals the gold pardau (D 17 note 6). Consult DM I 634: « 600 pardaos d'ouro ».

[3] See DM I 616.

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direitos, quatro bares de cravo com que se sustentão sem ter outra nenhuma renda [ou] propriedade[4].
[... 18*r*] Oje, vinte tres de Dezembro do anno oitenta e seis.
[18*v*] Alexandro Valegnano.

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[a] *rep.*

Lost Letters

56*a*. — *Fr. General Acquaviva, Rome, to Fr. Pero Nunes, Superior, Maluku; end of 1586.*

D 49 note 19. There remains a doubt if it should not be identified with 54*c* or *d*.

56*b*. — *Fr. Manuel Rodrigues, Assistant, Rome, to Fr. Pero Nunes, Maluku; end of 1586.*

See D 50, introduction no. II: « Respondi ».

57

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

COCHIN, JANUARY 14, 1587

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I/I p. XLI no. 174; REVELLI 125 no. 338*i*; RIVOLTA 86 no. 14°.

II TEXT: It is amazing that the original of this document, known in so many MSS and printed editions, seems hidden or lost. Also Schütte (*supra*) knows only « Auszüge ». The original may have been in Italian and more extensive than the *Ragguaglio*; yet the latter is likely to have remained true to Valignano's phraseology.

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[4] The four duty-free bahars of cloves realized 400 pardaus. With the aforementioned 600 patacõis or pardaus, and the 380 assigned to Ambon (DM I 659), they make the sum of 1380 pardaus or 496,800 réis, the pardau being at 360 réis. It is at this sum that the houses of Maluku had to pay a yearly four per cent tax to the Indian Jesuit Province (Cf. Introduction to this document), which is 19,872 réis. These four per cent are said to be sixty *xerafins*, which brings the xerafim to about 330 réis. (DALGADO II 424-426; YULE 974: « It varied in Portuguese currency from 300 to 360 reis »).

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A. *ARSI, IapSin 125* ff. 47*r*-50*v*, formerly 93-94. Copy in Italian, titled « Ragguaglio delle cose di Maluco, China et Giapone, mandato dal Provinciale dell'India al R.P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesù per lettere di Cocino delli 14 di Genaro 1587 ». Beautiful and regular handwriting. Folios 49*v*-50*r* are blank; 50*v* has only a note « Avvisi della Cina et del Giapone. 14 Gennaro 1587 », and again « 87 Cina ». The paragraph on Maluku opens the letter on f. 47*r*.

B. *IapSin 125* ff. 51*r*-52*v*, formerly 95-96. Italian copy, same title and same text as A, different handwriting. It is accompanied on f. 53*r*-*v* by a letter of Fr. Diego Ximénez to Fr. Ludovico Maselli, Provincial of Sicily, of November 14, 1587, saying he forwards to him, by order of Fr. General, « alcuni avvisi dell'Indie e Giapone ».

C. *IapSin 125* ff. 54*r*-57*v*, formerly 67-70, still earlier 216, 218, 217, 221 [*sic*]. A note on f. 57*v* reads « Avisi della Cina et del Giapone [*add. and del.* del 85]. Per lettere di Coccino del 1587 ». Same Italian copy with originally the same heading, which, however, was partly struck out, partly changed into « Cavato d'una del P. Alessandro Valignano, Provinciale dell'India, scritta al R.P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesù, di Cocino delli 14 Gennaro 1587 ». Parts of the text are crossed out, e.g., the first paragraph, dealing with Maluku. It is this text corrected and shortened that we find copied in *IapSin 125* ff. 29*r*-30*r*, and again in *IapSin 22* ff. 141*r*-142*v*. The latter contains at the title the precious communication « Ricevuta l'istesso anno in Ottobre ».

D. Vatican City, *Bibliotheca Vaticana, Urb. lat. 816 II* ff. 280*r*-284*v*. Italian copy, same text and title as texts A-B.

E. Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. Pinelli, R 100 sup.* ff. 306*r*-308*r*. Text in all similar to texts A-D.

F. Florence, *Archivio di Stato, MS 746 no. 27*, ff. [unnumbered; 1-7]. Identical Italian copy of the *Ragguaglio*.

III PRINTED: The shortened text mentioned under II C evidently had to serve for the printing of the document. As these imprints do not contain the paragraph on Maluku, suffice it to make only a few short indications: In Italian: *Avvisi della Cina et Giapone . . .*, a series of editions in Rome, Milan, Venice, Brescia, and Naples, of 1588 and 1589 (Cf. STREIT IV 1696-1698). In French: separated edition, Douai 1588 (ATKINSON no. 331; consult also nos. 338 and 349; STREIT IV no. 1049). In Latin: See STREIT IV no. 1052.

IV OUR EDITION: We print text A. As the variants of the several texts in the paragraph on Maluku are only of secondary and merely orthographic nature (*sono/son ; havevano/haveano*), we omit the critical apparatus.

Text

1. *No letters have arrived yet from Maluku. Fr. Marta went there with a companion.* — 2. *If the rumour that Ternate has been reconquered proves true, Maluku will need many Jesuits.*

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Ragguaglio delle cose di Maluco, China et Giapone, mandato dal Provinciale dell'India al R.P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesù per lettere di Cocino delli 14 di Genaro 1587

1. Dalle parti australi di Malacca et delle Malucche non sono ancora venute lettere quest'anno, et quelle dell'anno passato[1] già si mandarono costà. Resta solamente dire che alle Malucche è andato per visitatore il Padre Antonio Marta con un altro Padre[2] per suo compagno.

2. Et s'egli è vero quel che si diceva che la fortezza di Ternate era stata già ricuperata da Portoghesi[3] col soccorso che loro havevano dato i Castigliani del paese de Luzzoni[4], vi si tornerà a fare grandissimo frutto et vi sarà bisogno di molti operarii.

[...]

[49*r*] Di Cocino, a 14 di Gennaro 1587.

[Alexandro Valignano].

58

FR. ALONSO SANCHEZ, ACCREDITED AGENT OF THE PHILIPPINES, TO FR. ANTONIO MENDOZA, PROVINCIAL OF MEXICO

Memorial
MEXICO, EARLY 1587

I TEXT, *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 143*r*-168*v*, formerly no. 40. Copy in Spanish in a somewhat rude hand. Folios 143*r-v* and 167*v*-168*v* are blank, 143*r* containing only the year « 1587 », and 168*v* the note « 1587. Razones porque el P^e^ Alonso Sánchez fue embiado de las Philippinas a México y España ». The text, on f. 144*r*, starts with a title giving the nature of the paper. The document is neither dated nor signed. Our fragments are on f. 149*v* and 150*r-v*; the first is the sixth reason out of 22 for Sánchez' journey; the second describes two out of five dangers menacing the Spanish State of the Philippines. The document is in 8°.

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[1] DD 49 and 50.

[2] Fr. Francisco da Cunha.

[3] The same false rumour as in D 52,2.

[4] That is, the island of Luzon in the Philippines, in which Manila is situated.

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II NOTE. Unfortunately a thorough biography and a complete bibliography of Fr. Alonso Sánchez are not yet available. Consult COLIN-PASTELLS I 331-561, a catalogue of his literary production containing 42 items, 522-542, in which, however, this Memorial does not figure. Following in Colín's footsteps are SOMMERVOGEL VII 520 and STREIT IV pp. 326-331. For his life, PASTELLS, *Historia General* II p. CXXXV; LOPETEGUI, *El Padre José de Acosta* 461-483; COSTA, *Jesuits in the Philippines* 87-106. See introduction to D 38.

In 1586 he was elected by all the ecclesiastic, civil, and military estates of Manila a special messenger to the courts of Madrid and Rome where he should plead the colony's various interests. Sánchez arrived at Acapulco in the first days of January 1587, sailed for Spain in May and arrived at Seville in September. On December 15, he had his first interview with Philip II at Madrid, and further discussions with the Real Junta during 1588. Not before the end of that year did he reach Rome. In both Spain and Rome he composed a large number of memorials and treatises, now to be found in Spanish or Italian manuscript copies in many Archives and Libraries. To the great nuisance of the researcher copies of the same memorial sometimes differ in wording and in the division and numbering of paragraphs.

III DATE, PLACE, and ADDRESSEE: When Sánchez arrived in Mexico, he found Fr. Provincial Antonio de Mendoza against him. This Jesuit considered the nature of Sánchez' mission incompatible with his religious profession and he wanted to stop him from continuing his journey. In order to defend himself and his mission the unflinching agent wrote two memorials (COLIN-PASTELLS I 363). As our document explicitly mentions in the title Mexico and the year 1587, and consists of a long series of reasons recommending his mission and showing its importance, and as, moreover, it is directed not to His Majesty or His Holiness or « Vuestra Paternidad », but to « V[uestra] R[everencia] », we infer that it is one of the two memorials mentioned by Colín, but curiously not listed in his enumeration of Sánchez' writings. Our conclusion is: our document was written in Mexico in early 1587, and destined for Fr. Provincial Antonio de Mendoza.

Text

1. *The sixth reason for his journey is the fear of the Philippine people that all [the Spanish and Christian influence] could suddenly finish. They have a warning example in Maluku where Portuguese power and Christian faith were reduced to nearly nothing. — 2. An imminent danger comes from the Maluku and Brunei people. The kings of Siau and Mindanao asked for Spanish succour against them. — 3. Another danger lies in the presence of the English, who with only one ship stopped in Maluku a long time spying out the weakness of Manila.*

Memorial de las razones y causas porque el P^e^ Alonso Sánchez fue embiado de las Philipinas a México y España.

[... 149*v*]

1. La^a^ 6. y^b^ prencipal causa desta jornada es el remedio universal

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y seguridad de la tierra que todos desehan y temen por el grande miedo con que se está de poderse acavar todo en hun día. Porque se vee que en el Maluco avía dos buenas fortalezas [1] y mucha[c] poblaçón de portugueses mercaderes y soldados y más de ciento y cinquenta mill almas christianas, y aun al pie de docientas mill [2], con casas y residencias de la Compañía en la ciudad o isla de Ternate, de Tidore, de Anbueno, del Moro, y de Siao, y de otras partes y islas. Y no ha quedado un solo christiano de los naturales que no aya retrocedido a la secta de Mahoma y gentilidad ni ningún Padre de la Compañía [3]. Y uno solo que avía quedado con las reliquias y rastros agora se vino y queda en las Philipinas [4]. Y solamente ay en Maluco algunos portugueses, amigos del rey de Tidore por razón del contracto y rescate del clavo, y todo lo que toca a christiandad y evangelio perdido.

[... 150*r*]

2. El 4 [peligro]: de los Malucos y Burneys, que nos son muy enemigos y an ya perdido el miedo y respecto a los españoles. Y se teme que no se han de contentar con avellos hechado de sus tierras,

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[1] It had had in the past one fortress, Ternate. When Sánchez left the Philippines in 1586 the Portuguese had two forts in Maluku, Tidore and Ambon.

[2] Fr. Antonio Sedeño wrote on June 27, 1586: « La pérdida de Maluco, adonde retrocedieron de nuestra ley a la de Mahoma cerca de dozientas mill almas hechas por mano de la Compañía, ya llegado a tanto extremo que ninguno de ella a quedado en aquellas yslas de Tarnate y Tidore ... ». (*ARSI, Philip. 9* f. 95*r*).

[3] A strong exageration. There were Christians and there were Jesuits in Maluku, as it is clearly testified by DD 61-63.

[4] The Father mentioned here cannot have arrived at Manila after Fr. Sánchez left that place on June 28, 1586, otherwise the latter could not have known of his appearance. The only Jesuit we know to have sailed to Manila from Maluku in those years is Fr. Berwouts/Corrado (D 65,1). The inference is that Berwouts, sailing for Siau, landed in the Philippines about the middle of 1586. (The favourable SE winds started blowing in April). This inference meets with two difficulties. First, Sedeño's words « los días pasados » (l.c.) are to be interpreted in an unusually large sense, covering more than a year (from the context they cover at least more than three months !). Second, it is surprising that four letters written in Manila just before Sánchez left, do not mention Berwouts, not even where the authors remark upon Maluku (Fr. Hernán Suárez, June 25 and 26; Frs. Sedeño and Almerici, June 27, in *Philip. 9*). To represent him as kind of refugee, last keeper of the Maluku mission residues, is beyond all objective truth. Perhaps Berwouts, in an understandably depressive mood, gave a too pessimistic picture.

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sino que han de venir a hecharnos de las nuestras, como ya han [150*v*] dado[d] aviso el rey de Siao y el de Mindanao, pidiendo socorro a los españoles contra los malucos a quien temen[5]. Es este rey de Mindanao amigo y tributario[e] y por donde han de començar si vinieren a entrar en nuestras tierras.

3. El 5 peligro que se teme es de los yngleses, que con solo un navío que llegue se lo llevará todo, y tienen ya noticia de Manila y de su descuydo o pocas fuerzas porque estuvieron en el Maluco muy de espacio[6].
[. . .]

[a] lo *ms.* || [b] *del.* universal || [c] macha *ms.* || [d] andado *ms.* || [e] tributario *ms.*

59

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, VISITOR OF MALUKU, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

AMBON, MAY 30, 1587

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 1.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 85-88 and 90; JACOBS, *Vicars* 281 no. 58.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 353*r*-355*v*, formerly 58-59 and no. CXVII. Autograph in Italian with lusitanisms in wording and orthography. At the bottom of f. 353*r* Marta noted « P. Gen. »; on f. 355*v* we find the address and a black wax seal. A Roman hand noted « Amboyno. 87. P. Antonio Marta. 30 de Mayo », and wrote an extensive résumé in Spanish in five items, corresponding to numerals added in the margin of the letter. A number of underlinings are of the same hand. Alongside the résumé it moreover noted a few short answers or decisions, revealing the General's conduct of Moluccan affairs, e.g., to Marta's statement, in our no. 6, « che la Compagnia abandoni quest'impresa non conviene », the answer runs « que en ninguna manera se dexe »; to his proposal that Fr. General write to Fr. Provincial in Goa that he should rather aim at conserving the conversions already made than at looking for new areas to be converted (our no. 10), the note says « se hace »; and finally to Marta's account that he became a commissary of the Inquisition, the General's remark is « que examine muy bien esto porque en lugar de aprovechar, etc. . . »

[5] Consult D 66 I, 2.
[6] See D 26 notes 22-23.

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Text

1. *Arrived in Ambon on March 13, 1587.* — 2. *Ambon and adjacent islands are also comprised under the term 'Maluku'.* — 3. *Visited part of Christianity. The impression was of people able to learn the faith and virtues, but being neglected and abandoned for lack of pastors.* — 4. *This caused him much sorrow. Wrote to Fr. Provincial and sent him a map of Ambon.* — 5. *Sagu, palm-oil, chicken and pork, fish. The soil is not cultivated.* — 6. *Of seventy Christian villages, only thirty-four remained under Portuguese control, numbering twenty-five thousand souls. Only one Father takes care of them. The Society should not abandon them.* — 7. *The king of Spain will soon send an army, and the golden times will return. There is no reason not to send more Jesuits.* — 8. *Within twenty days he will sail to Maluku [Tidore] to visit the Fathers there, and then perhaps to Manila. Once the king of Ternate is destroyed, there will be work for more than fifty Fathers.* — 9. *They are only five Fathers and one Brother. Cannot acquit Fr. Provincial of negligence in providing for Maluku, looking for new mission fields instead of assuring the old ones.* — 10. *Fr. General should instruct Fr. Provincial in this point.* — 11. *It can be pleaded in excuse that never did a Provincial visit Maluku or know it from experience.* — 12. *Asks for encouraging letters from Fr. General.* — 13. *Is in good health. The fortress of Ambon was nearly destroyed through the fault of the vicar.* — 14. *In Goa he was made an inquisitor for Maluku.* — 15. *Conclusion.*

†

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro

Pax Christi ecc.

1. Scrissi a V.P. l'anno passado de Malaca[1] come 'l P. Provinciale mi mandava per visitar Maluco et li nostri che là vanno. Adesso scrivo de Amboino, donde gionsi a salvamento alli 13 de Marzo di quest'anno 1587.

2. Amboino non è propriamente Maluco, ma è una parte di quest'arcipelago per si, che sotto 'l suo nome contiene Veranula, Homa, Liacer et Ruscelao[2]. Che tutte sono isole[a] separate ma vicine una con l'altra, sogette parte alli portughesi et parte a mori et gentili. Ma por quanto tocca a noi, Amboino s'include in Maluco et quando trattamo de Maluco, intendemo juntamente de Amboino.

3. Ora per tornar a proposito, adesso mi ritrovo qua averà due mesi. Et in questo tempo ho visitato una parte di questa christianità[3],

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[1] Lost Letter, 54*f.*

[2] Veranula (Waranula) stands for W Seram, Homa for Haruku, Liacer for Saparua, and Ruscelao for Nusalaut.

[3] That is, of the villages mentioned *infra* in no. 6.

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che tutta non ho potuto per altre occupationi che teneva. E ancora per haver tempo de scrivere molte lettere per Goa et per altre parti con una nave que in questo tempo si parte per l'India[b], riservandomi a visitar il rimanente dopo la sua partenza. Quello che tegno visto in questa visitacione è una christianità de gente abile et capace per intender e aprender la virtù et conservarsi in quella con molta simplicità, ma totalmente destruida, senza pastor, et per questo star[c] involta in grandissime tenebre de ignoranza adorando il diavolo, et não ritenendo più di[d] christiano che un buon desiderio de se ridur, se havesseno alcuno che lhe insegnasse il vero camino.

4. Por onde non ritornei a casa se non[e] con grandissimo dolor del mio animo, vedendo tante anime perdersi non per[f] mancamento della sua volontà ma di huomo che lhe insegnasse il camino. Et con questo sentimento ho scritto al P. Provinciale informandolo del negocio minutamente, fin'a mandargli tutto Amboino depinto in una carta grande a guisa di mappa[4], accioché con la vista di questa terra infelice si risvegliasse a mandarle soccorso. Piaccia a Dio N.S. che faccia alcuna cosa con questo, perché[g] di vero la necessità è grande. [353*v*]

5. Questa terra sta sotto la linea quattro gradi et mezo dalla banda di meggio giorno[5]. È terra che sempre è verde et di molto bon aere et temperado. Tiene buone aque de fiumicelli piccioli. Non produce frumento né olho né vino, ma in luogo de frumento tiene una midolla de un arvore che chiamano saguero[6], la quale lavada e asciuta fa farina, con la qual se amassa pane bon, gustoso et stomacale. Olho non tiene se non fatto del frutto della palma, il quale serve per abruggiare ma non già per mangiare[7]. Vino si fa della palma et[h] del medesmo saguero, ma non è somilhante al nostro[8]. Non tiene carne de bue o di capra, non già perché la terra non[i] desse somiglianti animali[j], ma perché non li[k] nutriscono sendo gente che si contenta di poco; ma tiene galina, porco et peixe. È terra che daria molto garofolo e nose moscada, ma non ha cosa tale perché fin'hora non volsero seminarlo. In somma è terra che si pode habitar, ma sta inculta perché la gente non vuole e non save.

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[4] Letter and map could not be traced; see Lost Letter, 60*a*; cf. note 25.

[5] Ambon is between lat. 3° and 4° S.

[6] The *sagu* palm tree, a *Metroxylon*.

[7] He speaks of the *kelapa* or cocos oil, produced from the fruit of the *Cocos nucifera* L. (Cf. ENI II 255-257).

[8] On extracting « wines » from some palm trees, see *Treatise* 42-45; consult D 73 note 81.

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6. Li castelli che furono e sono tuttavia de christiani arrivano a settanta. Ma adesso 34 solamente stanno alla devotione delli portughesi. Et per quanto mi son'informato da huomini prattichi di queste terre, quelli che furono già christiani et adesso sono rinegati et viveno come mori, arriverano alla summa de quaranta sette mil[l] anime. Et quelli che tuttavia si conservano col nome di christiano, sono più di venticinque mil anime[9]. Et per tutti questi non ha più de un solo[m] Padre che corra con loro[10]. Hora veggia V.P. in che modo pode tanta gente caminar per il buon sentiero se non tiene guida che gl'incamini? Pertanto scrivo al P. Provinciale che è necessario de mandar gente che basti, overo abandonar totalmente quest'impresa[11] et dar luogo ad altri che vegnano per agiutarli[12]. Ma che la Compagnia abandoni quest'impresa non conviene né deve[n] de ninhuma maniera, perché tutta questa gente[o] è obra delli nostri Padri, essi la battizarono, essi lhe[p] insegnarono e conseguentemente essi l'hanno[q] da conservare. È gente ancora ben'inclinada che non tiene aversione alla nostra legge, come sono gl'indiani delle Filipine. Anzi ci pregano che[r] facciamo chiese nelli suoi castelli, che sono pronti a far tutto quello che vorremo.

7. Quanto poi tocca alla sicurezza et quiete della terra, adesso stamo di pace. Et se, come havemo per certo, viene esercito dalle Filipine per queste parti, [354*r*] senza dubbio che tutto se concerterà molto bene et che vederemo tornar l'età dell'oro in queste parti. Perché tutto 'l male et l'inquietudine di queste parti nasce dal re di Ternate, il quale fra li maluchi è il più poderoso et più temuto. Et questa gente è di tal conditione che, chi più vale et tiene, a quello rendeno obedientia et soggettione[13]. Per tanto non è perché temer et lasciar per questa causa de non mandar gente, perché questa terra non è tanto rotta et perduta che ci tronchi totalmente la speranza de vederla un'altra volta intiera dar de si grandissimo frutto spirituale.

Favorisca, suplico a V.P., queste parti, perché la rendo sicura che, tutto quanto farà per questo, sarà grande servicio del Signore et molto bene empiegato.

8. Da qui a 20 giorni ho de imbarcarmi per Maluco, il quale sta

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[9] So there had been a strong progress within the past ten years. See DM I 691 (4 to 5,000 Christians) and 703 (7,000 Christians for 1576). Cf. D 62,8.

[10] Fr. Pero Nunes. See note 15.

[11] The idea of abandoning the Maluku mission was discussed in India in 1575; see DM I 665-666; 668; 670.

[12] Marta may have thought of the Franciscans of Malacca (D 54,2).

[13] « Esta hé sua verdade, andarem com os que mais podem » (REBELO 338)

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lontano da queste isole de Amboino otto e diece giornate per mare. Là visiterò quelle altre parti[s] e luoghi donde stano li nostri, et se 'l tempo et le occupationi mi darano luogo, arriverò ancora alla Maniglia[14] donde sta un collegio delli nostri. In Maluco parimente sta una grande messe se 'l re di Ternate for destruido. E a mio giudicio non basterà cinquanta delli nostri per agiudar tanta gente, perché subito che cade in terra il nome di quel re, subito tornano alla nostra devotione tutti quelli che stavano primiero. Né haverà gente de qualsivoglia sorte che resista et non riceva il battesmo, se haverano chi voglia travagliare. Piaccia a N. Signore de aprire il cuore a molti che volentieri piglino questo carico, perché di vero la necessità è grande.

9. Qua in Maluco non siamo più di sei, cinco sacerdoti et un Fratelo[15]. Et questo numero haverà molti anni che non cresce né si diminue[t][16] con grande detrimento di questa gente, la quale ancoraché sia stata sempre travagliata da guerre et mutationi, tuttavia nunca arrivò la cosa a tale stato che chiudesse la porta alli nostri. Per questo non posso iscusar il Provincial dell'India[17] di negligentia in questa parte, che in tanto tempo non habbia mandato un sogetto che agiutasse a sostentar questa christianità che stava per rovinare. Et molte volte tegno ditto che li nostri furono causa del male di questa gente per non aiutarla al[u] tempo ch'era necessario. Ma il desiderio di voler dilatarsi per tutto 'l mondo e cercar nuovi paesi[v] fu la rovina di questi ch'erano già trovati.

10. Por onde parmi[w] che V.P. doveria ricordar al Provinciale che piutosto attendesse a conservar la christianità già fatta et cominciata,

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[14] Strange that he, visitor of the Maluku mission, at such an early date flirted already with the idea of sailing to the Jesuits of Manila who belonged to another Province, to another Assistancy of the Society, and to another padroado. This shows again that the union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal meant for some a complete amalgamation; explicable perhaps, when they hoped by the way of the other Crown for the aid they did not receive from their own.

[15] The only possible Brother is António Gonçalves. As to the five Fathers, we know for certain that at that time they were: Antonio Marta, Francisco da Cunha, Pero Nunes, Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, Rogier Berwouts/Corrado. Consequently we have to infer that Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues had left Maluku (Cf. D 62,2).

[16] Marta could not know that, at the moment of writing, a new group of four Jesuits had been sent by Valignano from Goa to invigorate the ranks of Maluku (D 67,1; D´68).

[17] Fr. Alessandro Valignano, from 1583 on. Perhaps Fr. Marta directed his criticism to former provincials as well.

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che [354*v*] cercar nuova per comenzar[18], perché la Compagnia con questa negligentia perde il buon nome ch'ella tiene, da occasione alli emuli de calumniarla col Papa et col Re di Spagna, et finalmente se incarga la conscientia dell'ira de Dio, vedendosi manifestamente che tutta questa gente si perde per mancamento de' maestri et non della loro volontà.

11. Ma iscuso il Provinciale dell'India di questo fallo perché, de quanti Provinciali furono in Goa, nessuno pode arrivar qua né ha de poder arrivar por esser questa terra fuora di mano, et ser necessario passar tre anni primero che ritorni donde vene. Che se 'l Provinciale havesse veduto et toccato con mani le piaghe di questi infelici, chi dubita che subito non havesse mandato per la posta[19] aviso et ordine che venisse gente bastante per rimediar a tanto male? Ma se da qui per l'avenire se farà quanto è necessario di fare, tutto si pode sofrire perché forse volse N. Signore con questo desemparo[20] delli nostri castigar questa gente, et noi come buoni figlioli dovemo conformarsi con la sua divina volontà.

12. Suplico di nuovo a V.P. che ci favorisca con le sue lettere et, come Padre ch'ella[x] è, compatisca a sei de' suoi figlioli, li quali correndo per queste parti tanto remote e da Roma et da Goa, si sforzano di sostentare il buon nome della Compagnia fra questa gente, e acrescentar più oltre la fede catolica. Consolici V.P. con alcuna delle sue carte et giuntamente con alguna reliquia che sia stimata, perché non solamente siamo poveri delle cose temporali et dell'agiuto humano, ma ancora de cose somiglianti.

13. Io mi trovo ben disposto del corpo, mercè del divino favore, ancoraché in questi due mesi habbia havuto molte occupationi, et ritrovato questa fortezza del Re[v] quasi destruida per un errore che haveva fatto il vicario della, et per questa causa non dir missa né confessar, né star qui altra persona che lo podesse fare[21]. Ma in tutto N. Signore ci tiene agiutati.

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[18] Cf. the pastoral rule given by Pope Pius V (DM I 498).

[19] Portuguese *pela posta*, promtly, at once.

[20] Portuguese *desamparo*, abandonment, dereliction.

[21] From the following facts that nobody said mass and heard confessions, it may be inferred that the vicar's fault was a moral one, perhaps something that brought him excommunication or suspension. The whole reveals that there was no other priest at the Portuguese fortress of Ambon. Consult D 60,1: Marta had him put in irons.

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14. Partendomi dell'India parve al P. Provinciale ben che pigliasse carico dell'Inquisitione in queste parti [22], che m'oferiva l'Inquisidore de Goa. Veni con questo poder e qua havemo fatto grande ben a questa terra con questo mezo senza scandalo né turbatione d'alcuno, anzi con honore et riputatione della Compagnia [23]. Perché in queste parti la[z] Inquisitione è tremenda et si obedisce all'Inquisidore, sia qualsivoglia, a risca [24]. Laudato sia di tutto N. Signore.

15. Nell'informatione che scrivo al P. Provinciale di questa terra [25] ho notato alcune cose [355*r*] de importantia con elle per il buon governo di queste parti, ma perché mi persuado ch'egli darà aviso di questo a V.P. non digo altro. Solamente devo racomandar molto alle orazioni di V.P. questa christianità e con ella noi altri suoi figlioli, inclinandoci tutti alla sua benedittione con quella humiltà che devemo.

De Amboino, alli 30 di Maggio 1587.

Servo nel Signore de V.P.

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 355*v*] † Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre, il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito generale della Compagnia di Jesù. Roma. De Maluco.

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[22] The question of the Jesuits in the Inquisition had been discussed many times. Generally the Roman superiors preferred to see them not partaking in any way in it. Soon they had to add: if the king does not constrain us. And the local circumstances of India (lack of priests well grounded in theological and moral questions) drove them to a more differentiated point of view: they should on no account take one of the main and permanent functions of the Inquisition (inquisitor, agent, commissary); but to be a consultor in some determined questions, where one had to judge a doctrine or an opinion and not a person, could be tolerated. See, e.g., DI X 277 and 337-338 (1575); XI 659: some Jesuits were forced to be members of the « Mesa del santo Oficio de la Inquisición » in Goa (1579); XII 874 no. 62: « en ninguna manera conviene » (Acquaviva, 1583); XIII 125: not every form of cooperation can be avoided. Fr. General certainly did not like to see Fr. Marta fulfil the part of a Commissary of the Holy Inquisition (D 60,1; D 72 note 16; D 77).

[23] Marta shows that he feels the need of speaking up for himself and of defending the office he had taken. And though mentioning the vicar, he politically suppresses the fact that he had him put in irons, as he reported candidly and with pride to a fellow-Jesuit who was not his superior (D 60,1).

[24] Portuguese *à risca*, precisely, exactly.

[25] Unfortunately, this information or report on Ambon is lost. Presumably it was of the same size as the other later one on N Maluku (D 73). Perhaps the lost letter of no. 4 is to be identified with it.

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[a] *del.* pro ‖ [b] *del.* que ‖ [c] *del.* in gran ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* del ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* não ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* por ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* porche ‖ [h] *del.* della ‖ [i] *del.* la ‖ [j] somiglianti animali *interl.* ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* la ‖ [l] *del.* almas ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* nostro ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* do ‖ [o] *del.* he ‖ [p] *corr. fr.* gl' ‖ [q] l' *corr. fr.* la ‖ [r] *del.* vamo [?] ‖ [s] *del.* de ‖ [t] *del.* non so ‖ [u] *interl.* ‖ [v] *del.* causò ‖ [w] *corr. fr.* parece mi ‖ [z] *del.* he ‖ [y] *del.* come ‖ [z] *corr. fr.* ha

60

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, VISITOR OF MÀLUKU, TO FR. MARIO BERINGUCCI SJ, ITALY

AMBON, MAY 30, 1587

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: RIVOLTA 86 (15° *c*); REVELLI 125 (338 *k*).

II TEXT: Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, *R 100 sup.* (Codici Pinelli) ff. 327*r*-328*v*. Transcript in a poor Italian, corrupted by many lusitanisms. The text fills three pages; f. 328*v* is blank. The first page at the top bears an old classification number « cc-32 », outlined, and in the left corner the name of the man who obviously was the addressee « Al S[ignore] Padre Mario Biringuccio [*w. corr.*] ». Regular handwriting without corrections.

III ADDRESSEE: Though an address in due form is lacking, the aforementioned notice certainly contains the name of the addressee, Fr. Mario Beringucci, who was the first Provincial of the Province of Venice, 1578-1583. Earlier, on October 31, 1584, Marta, when still in Goa, had already written a letter to this Fr. Beringucci, in which he thanks him for a letter received. This shows that the two men corresponded with each other as friends (On Beringucci, see SCADUTO, *Catalogo* 14; Marta's letter from Goa: *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, *S 96 sup.* ff. 82*r*-83*v*).

IV NOTE: The contents of this letter are nearly the same as those of D 58. See also the footnotes there.

Text

1. *Can never forget his addressee. Was sent to Maluku as visitor of the Jesuits and as Commissary of the Inquisition. Put the vicar and another Portuguese in prison.* — 2. *Position and physical condition of Ambon. Substitutes for bread and wine. No meat. Only fish and chicken. Pork for those who can pay for it.* — 3. *The people's way of dressing.* — 4. *For lack of priests the Christians fell back into worshipping the devil.* — 5. *An imminent war will bring the country under Spanish control. This is the only way to save the Christian faith.* — 6. *In Ambon thirty-three villages are Christian.* — 7. *Before long he will sail to Maluku* [= *Tidore*]. *Hopes to send a present.* — 8. *Is rejoiced at the magnificent reception arranged for the young Japanese by the Venetian Senate.* — 9. *Greetings. Conclusion.*

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Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre

1. Ovunque io mi for[1] ha da venir sempre con esso meco la dolce memoria de V. Reverenza. Adesso mi ritrovo in Maluco, terra donde nasce il garofolo e la nose moscada, e di qua scrivo a V.R. perchè son certo che per l'amor ch'ella mi porta che si consolerà molto, intendendo che ancora vivo e favorido da N. Signore più che non merito, poiché mi da occasione e campo larghissimo per servirlo in queste parti. Perché oltra che 'l P. Provinciale mi tiene mandato a visitar questa parte de Maluco, donde vano li nostri correndo per questa christianità, et oltra di ciò quando (riderà V.R. di questo) son Comissario della Inquisition, e faccio prender e por in carcere, e do penitentie publiche come huomo che porta in mano la spada, e questo ancoraché mi costi travaglio. Tuttavia si fa grande servitio a N. Signore, perché in queste parti l'Inquisitione è tremenda e ogni huomo, ainda que grande seia[2], se gl'inchina e obedisce ad unguem. E già finhora tengo posto in prigione il vicario del domo[3] di questo castello, che è come in nostra terra il preposito overo curato d'alguna parrochia, e con esso un'altr'huomo portughese[4].

2. Questa terra è molto salutifera. Sta sotto la linea quattro gradi e megio dalla parte di tramontana[5], è sempre verde, tiene molto buona aqua e frutti, ma totalmente diferenti dalli nostri. Non ha frumento ma la natura in cambio che[6] tien[7] dado un arbore che tiene la midola come farina e con quella dopo di esser lavada e concertada[8] si amassa pam[9] e si cose[10] ogni giorno meza hora avanti de mangiar e save molto ben, et è cosa che nutrisce. Et da questa istessa arvore tirano un liquor somilhante all'acqua ma un poco più spesso che serve da vino, non già tanto gustoso come il nostro, ma in sua qualità grato al gusto

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[1] Lusitanism for *ovunque andrò*.

[2] Lusitanism for *per grande che sia*.

[3] A term too high-sounding for the fortress church of Ambon. Probably a substitute for the Portuguese *matriz* or *sé*.

[4] In his letter to Fr. General (D 59) Fr. Marta does not mention this drastic measure. It surely was not able to bring about a reconciliation between vicars and Jesuits (see D 49,7-11).

[5] See D 59 note 5.

[6] *Che* MS, read *lhe* (Portuguese), *le* (Italian).

[7] Lusitanism for *ha*. (It often recurs).

[8] Read *preparata*.

[9] Portuguese for *se impasta pane*, the bread is kneaded.

[10] Portuguese *coze*, Italian *cuoce*.

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e conforme alla natura dell'huomo. Non tiene carne de bue, non jà perché la terra non la desse, ma perché questa gente è tanto pigra naturalmente che non si dileta più che di quello che gli dà la natura per li boschi, per onde il più delle volte si mangia pesce, overo alcuna galina, overo porco che di questo non manca a chi tiene di moneta. [327*v*]

3. Vestono sopra la carne una camisa curta senza colare con un paro de calzoni, ambidue di tela, ma ordinariamente in casa e nelli boschi vanno nudi fuorché la parte vergognose. Le mogliere[11] vano della medesima maniera, ancorché molte d'elle, delle più honorate e ricche, vestono certi como nenzuoli[12] longhi ma tessuti overo depenti de molti colori, ma quando stano in sua casa vanno nude dalla cintura a cima, né si vergognano; et molte fanciuole vanno nude fuori di casa mostrando il petto et nessuno si meraviglia perché così è costume.

4. È gente ordinariamente simplice e che tiene molto rispetto alli nostri. Ma perché vissero molti anni senza sacerdote et maestro, adesso tengono molti costumi barbari, e adorano il diavolo perché non li ofenda, costumando egli per li boschi e per le sue case aparer loro et fargli paura, e per questo gli fanno alcune ceremonie e gli oferiscono algune cose. Le quali poi finalmente, come li nostri viveranno fra loro, caderano subito in terra perché dicono che saranno defesi da essi come huomini contra li quali il demonio non tiene forza.

5. Ma con tutto questo, Padre mio, è cosa degna di pianto veder tanta christianità come perdita sine pastore et medico, e questo avenire per le guerre che quasi di continuo vanno devastando queste parti. E ancoraché per adesso vivano in pace, tuttavia non passerà molto tempo che vederemo guerra, perché adesso si tratta di questo nella Corte del Re[13] come di cosa molto necessaria se vogliamo conservar questa terra sotto il scettro di Spagna. E per mi desidero di vederla di breve, perché d'altra maniera impossibil cosa è ordenar e diriziar questa christianità, et tornar un'altra volta a fondar le chiese e inalzar lo stendardo della croce per questi colli.

6. Questa parte de Amboino è molto grande perché contiene cinque isole[14], ma non tutti gli habitatori di quelle sono christiani.

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[11] Portuguese *as molheres*, Italian *le donne*.

[12] Read *lenzuoli*.

[13] Fr. Marta apparently knew about the mission of Fr. Alonso Sánchez to the Spanish Court. Sánchez' reports were discussed there in late 1587 and early in 1588 (Cf. DD 58 and 66).

[14] For their names, see D 59,2.

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Trenta tre casteli solamente sono sogetti alli portughesi et in tutti questi haverà il numero de [15] anime, et queste tutte stano sotto la cura della Compagnia. Ora verà V.R. quanta necessità tegna questa parte d'operarii, e perché ci mancano perdensi per questa causa molti che con la cura delli [328*r*] nostri si salvariano. Per tanto V.R. oret Deum ut mittat operarios in vineam suam [16], e que già ci renda il lume ch'egli per li nostri peccati tiene cuberto.

7. Io di qui a pochi giorni m'imbarco per Maluco, il quale sta longe da questa terra de Amboino otto over diece giornate per mar, et è terra che sta molto più sotto la linea et che si va più aprossimando a Spagna [17]. Se là havesse alcuna cosa che mandar a V.R. lo faria molto voluntieri per darle un nuovo testimonio dell'osservanza che le tegno, ma questa terra non produce altra cosa che garofolo, e questo non va a Portugalo per altra via che per l'India, ch'è camino da qui fin'a Venetia de infinità de miglia. Ma al meno accetti la buona voluntà che tegno per servirla poiché non posso con gl'effetti.

8. Credo che V.R. mi haverà scritto alcuna cosa per via de quelli giovanetti japonesi [18] che là furono, ma perché io era già partito de Goa per queste parti quando essi gionsero in Goa [19], pertanto fin'hora non aparecerono le sue carte. Ma con tutto questo mi son consolato molto intendendo per altri avisi l'honore che quel senato fece a quelli giovanetti [20], perché in queste parti è cosa di meraviglia quanta fama guadagni il nome venetiano con questa magnificentia, e ben V.R. pode

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[15] Open space in MS. Compare this with D 59,6: 34 villages with more than twenty-five thousand Christians.

[16] Lk 10 2.

[17] A strange statement. Perhaps he wanted to say: nearer to the Philippines which were Spanish and whence there was a shorter way to Spain than by Portuguese India.

[18] On the good-will mission of a small group of noble young Japanese ambassadors to the Holy See, 1582-1590, see SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* II 358-369; PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste* IX 717-722; X 134; RODRIGUES, *História* II/II 463-470.

[19] The Japanese ambassadors arrived in Goa from Lisbon on May 29, 1587 (SCHÜTTE, *Introductio* 53); Fr. Marta had sailed from Goa in September 1586.

[20] Having been received with great splendour by Popes Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, they left Rome on June 3, 1585, and made their way to Lisbon *via* Venice, Milan, Genoa, and Spain, everywhere given the most honourable reception, e.g., by the Venetian Senate. In April 1586 they left Lisbon in order to return to their native country.

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dire a quelli senatori che tutto quello che essi fanno et spendono per questo rispetto, tutto è molto ben et con molta laude impiegato.

9. Abraccio sin di qua tutti li miei carissimi Padri et Fratelli di cotesta santa casa. Ma particolarmente al P. Provinciale[21] e al P. Benedetto Palmio[22] desidero che V.R. faccia loro a sapere la memoria che tengo de ambidue nel mio cuore. Et s'io sapesse indovinar chi adesso se ritrova con V.R., vorrei nominarli tutti ad'uno ad'uno, ma perché questo non posso fare, basterami[23] abracciarli tutti in genere et pregarli con molta instantia che si ricordino di questa christianità nelle loro orationi, accioché N. Signore si degni per sua bontà darli abondantia della sua gratia e convertirla tutta a laudare et benedire il suo santissimo nome. Amen.

De Amboino, alli 30 de Maggio 1587.

Servo de V.R. nel Signore,

Antonio Marta.

Lost Letters

60*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Visitor of Maluku, Ambon, to Fr. Valignano, Provincial in Goa; May 1587.*

D 59,4 and 15; 61,3; 63,6; 73,1: Extensive report on the Ambon Church, with « una carta grande a guisa di mappa ».

60*b*. — [*Fr. Antonio Marta, Visitor*], *Maluku, to Fr. Alberto Laerzio, India; May-June 1587.*

D 74,2: « Di Maluco recevetti l'anno passato lettere ». Consult D 74 note 2.

61

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, VISITOR OF MALUKU, TO FR. MANUEL RODRIGUES, ASSISTANT FOR PORTUGAL, ROME

AMBON, June 1, 1587

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 2.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 356*r*-357*v*, earlier no. CXVIII. Autograph

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[21] Probably he had in mind Fr. Giulio Fazio, who was provincial of Venice, 1583 to 1587.

[22] Fr. Palmio had been visitor of the Venetian Province, 1581-1583.

[23] Read *mi basterà*.

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in Portuguese. An archivist noted « Marta. Amboino. 87 » at the bottom of f. 356*r*; ff. 356*v* and 357*r* are blank; f. 357*v* contains the address, a black wax seal, and a secretary's note « 1 Junho 87. Pe Anto Marta. Amboino, pede muitos sace[r]dotes ».

Text

1. *Came as Visitor of Maluku to Ambon. Visited part of the Christians. Twenty-two thousand remained loyal whereas fifty thousand renegaded, which is due to undermanning the Portuguese strongholds.* — 2. *Hopes for a Spanish fleet. If it comes, a big number of priests will be needed for Maluku.* — 3. *Requested fourteen priests from Fr. Provincial. The twenty-two thousand Christians [of Ambon] are attended to by only one Father.* — *Conclusion.*

†

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. De Goa são passado a Maluco e agora me acho em Amboino. A causa da minha vinda foi per visitar estas partes de Maluco a nome do P. Provincial. Visitei huma parte destas ilhas de Amboino e achei toda esta christandade como destruida por não ter Padres que a encaminhe. Sarão per todos os christãos que guardão a fé aos portugheses 22 mil almas[1], e os que forão já christãos e agora renegados cincoenta mil almas[2]. Hé[a] gente simple e disposta por abraçar a verdade, ne[m] tem aversião à nossa lei. E se a maior parte della ribelou dos portugheses, foi porque os portugheses sempre furon poucos nesta terra e por isto não os puderon defender dos ternates, os quais agora são os mais poderosos antre os mouros deste arcipelago.

2. Mas temos speranza che 'l Rei acudirá com huma armada da Nuova Spagna e, se vier, V. Reverencia aparelhi tres[b] e quattro duzias de sacerdotes, porque cá há-de aver tanta christandade como terra. E somente huma ilha que se chama do Moro, que terá perto de cem mil almas[3], há-de ter necessidade de 80 sacerdotes. Não falo de outras terras porque este arcipelago de Maluco tem infinità de gente, e se Ternate for destruido tem lugar por todas as religiones.

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[1] In D. 59,6: twenty-five thousand.

[2] In D 59,6: forty-seven thousand. Under conditions of forced renegading it obviously remained doubtful whether some village was Christian or Muslim. Cf. D 63,1.

[3] Quite certainly an exaggerated number. In 1918 the population of the island of Morotai was taken to be four thousand (ENI II 787).

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3. Tenho scritto ao P. Provinciale que me mandi 14 sacerdotes, não sei se mi ouvirá[c]. Mas a necessidade hé evidente porque por 22 mil almas e mais que temos à nossa conta não tem mais de hum Padre. E estas quasi todas se perdem porque por falta de pessoa que os enseñe têm alguns erros que com elles se danão. No demais a terra hé muito boa, ainda que não tenha trigo, vinho e vacca. Mas em seu lugar tem sagu que hé hum miolo de huma arvore que serve de pão, vinho de palmera, peixe, galinha e porco, e agoa eccelente.

4. V. Reverencia nos encomendi a N. Senhor porque, se elle quiser, avemos de fazer grande serviço a sua divina Maestà e acrecentar muito os merecimentos da Companhia. Favoreça-nos V. Reverencia com alguma sua carta e encomendi esta christandade ao P. Geral e ao P. Provincial destas partes.

Deste Amboino, ao primeiro de Junio 1587.

Servo em o Senhor de V. Reverencia,

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 357*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre, o P. Manoel Rodriguez, assistente della Companhia de Jesu. Roma. De Amboino.

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[a] *corr. fr.* E ‖ [b] *del.* ou ‖ [c] *del.* nest

62

FR. PERO NUNES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, JUNE 5, 1587
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV p. 305; WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Nunes 3.

II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 87-88; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 384.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 358*r*-361*v*, formerly 55-57, and no. CXIX/a. Original. Spanish. Folio 361*r* is blank; on f. 361*v* are the address, an entire seal in red wax, a secretary's note « Amboino 87. P. Pero Nunes, 5 de Junio », followed by a summary of three numbered items; the corresponding numerals were added in the margins of the letter. The amanuensis' handwriting is stately, regular, and clear. The address is written in a different hand in Portuguese.

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Text

1. *Remarks on earlier letters.* — 2. *Mission posts of Maluku; Jesuits residing there.* — 3. *Their state of health.* — 4. *Their good spiritual condition.* — 5. *Hostility shown by Maluku kings: openly by Ternate, underhand by Tidore.* — 6. *Portuguese embassy to the king of Ternate did not lead to much.* — 7. *Fr. Marta's work as an officer of the Inquisition and as a Visitor. Praise of the people of Nusa Laut.* — 8. *In the Ambon islands there are 25,700 Christians in over 30 villages, and 47,000 renegades who would easily return to the faith. More Jesuits needed.* — 9. *On no account should the Society abandon these Christians.* — 10. *The sad situation is due to the fact that neither a Provincial of India nor a Visitor sent from Europe ever visited Maluku.* — 11. *Some privileges bestowed on the Society should be more easily communicable to subjects.* — 12. *The same ought to be said for some dispensations and for the reconciliation of apostates. Conclusion.*

† Jesus

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Nuestro

Pax Christi.

1. A 20 de Março de 1587 he recebido una de V.P. em respuesta de una que del collegio de S. Pablo de Goa screvy [1], y con ella summo consuelo em V.P. se aver dignado de ter memoria de min y consolarme yn Domino em estas partes tan llenas de tribulación y angustia. Y puesto que no tuve recaldo ny respuesta de nynguna de las que he scrito el año de 85, pienço ser por la brevedad del tiempo. Mas bivo muy confiado que V.P. me consolará, aunque tiengo areselo no[a] sean tomadas de los yngleses que han saqueado la isla de Sancto Domingo [2] las que por la vía de México embiava [3]. Mas porque en las respuestas a la Congregación de la Yndia [4] se ha respondido a algunas dubdas que V.P. proponýa, no pienço ser neseçario repetir nada de lo passado.

2. Residen al presente neste arcipélago de las islas Malucas seis de nuestra Conpañía, divididos per 4 residencias, conven a saber: el P.[e] Rogerio Conrado en los reynos de Siaos o Celebes, y el P.[e] Gabriel de la Crus en la isla de Labua, y en Tidore [358*v*] el Hermano Antonio Gonçales y yo, que he andado peregrinando por estas residencias [5].

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[1] Lost Letter, see 53*e*.

[2] The island of Santo Domingo was assaulted by Francis Drake in 1586.

[3] In 1585, Nunes wrote our D 49, which sailed *via* Manila, and consequently *via* México.

[4] See D 41; DI XIII 320-355.

[5] From this it can be seen that, also after the arrival of Fr. Visitor Antonio Marta, Fr. Nunes stayed on in the function of superior.

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Y al presente estou [6] en esta de Anboino con el P.e Francisco da Cunha, que el año de 86 foy enbiado en conpanhía del P.e Antonio Marta, venezeano, que por orden del P.e Provincial Alexandro [b] Valignano [c] vino a visitar esta christiandad de Maluquo [7].

3. Quasi todos han sido probados y tocados de la mano del Señor con enfermedad, mas pluvo a la divyna Magestad que[d] recuperasen la salud, aunque han quedado algo tanto conbalidos [8], maxime el P.e Gabriel de la Crus, al qual sobrevyenen unas calenturas que dan senhas de poder quedar en quartana; y el Hermano Antonio Gonçales, cuya dolencia se puede más llamar cansacio y vegés [9] que dolencia. El[e] qual[f] por orden del P.e Provincial este año de 87 ha echo con gran consuelo los votos de coadyutor tenporal, lo que ha causado edificación por ser conosido por honbre de exenplo y muy benemérito desta christiandad, en la qual con mucha religión y provecho per spacio de 26 años se ha enpleado [10].

4. La salud spiritual ha el Señor conservado en los nuestros con speciales deseyos de la perfeición, lo que se ha visto notablemente con la carta de renovación de spíritu[g] [11] y yubileu que V.P. nos ha echo caridad enbiar, y con los Exercicios Spirituales que quasi todos han echo con esta ocasión por lo myyor modo possible, por causa del pouco apareyo que hay pera ello por halta de operarios.

5. En el Maluco, isla de Labua y reynos de Celebes no ha avydo cosa extraordinaria de que sea[h] neseçario avizar a V.P., más que estaren al presente estes reys moros muy más adversos a la nación portugueza y espanhola do que nunca lo han estado. Y non digo yo los ternates nuestros capitales ynimygos, sino aun los tidores, en cuya isla y de baixo [359r] de cuya protectión bivvimos, tan contrarios al nombre christiano y hazeren tantas vexaciones, que apenas se pode entender de quales con menos peligro nos podamos confiar. Porque los ternates son ynimigos manifestos, y tanto que no consenten que los nuestros entren en su tierra sino sin barete y descalços [12], diziendo no ser lícito

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[6] Portuguese *estou*, Spanish *estoy*.

[7] The inference from this enumeration of names is that Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues was no longer residing in Maluku.

[8] Portuguese *combalidos*, Spanish *desvalidos*.

[9] He was 54 years of age (D 54,9).

[10] He arrived in Maluku in early 1563.

[11] Fr. Acquaviva directed a letter on the renewal of the spirit to all the members of the Society on September 29, 1583.

[12] The king of Ternate «mandou lançar hum pregão que todos os Portu-

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que los cáfares (como ellos llaman a los portuguezes) entren calçados ado vienen en peregrinación los arabios de Meca[13]. Mas los tidores son ynimigos domésticos, y tales que ni bever ni comer[i] nos consenten quando les da gusto, lo que no una ny duas vezes mas a minudo han echo con assás leves cauzas, y no hay esperanças de otro remedio que por vía de las yslas Felepinas.

6. Y como pienço V.P. avrá sido advirtido por el P.e Alonso Sanches de[j] nuestra Companhia, que el año de 86 a ynstancia de la Audiencia Real de Manyla y más pueblo ha ydo con los negocios de Maluco y más christyandad de las partes del sul a[k] Su Magestad[14] en conpanhía de hun honbre espanhol, que por vía de la Yndia Oriental vino a tomar ynformación destas partes yuntamente con hun embaixador, que por orden del Rey el Vi-Rey de la Yndia enbió al rey de Ternate[15]. Y posto que la enbaixada aya montado poco por no azerce della caso, el desengano y resolución de no se poder aver la fortaleza sino a força de armas nos da esperança de cedo se remediar tanto dezenparo, quanto padece esta miserable y afligida christyandad. Y los nuestros podrán a su salvo enplearce en el ministerio de la converción, y será nesseçario mandarnos V.P. muchos operarios que ayuden levar el pezo del trabayo que acá se padece.

7. Al P.e Antonio Marta, que vino pera visitar el Maluquo, ha conmetido el Ynquisidor de aquesto Estado de la Yndia Oriental sus vezes. Lo que puesto que por huna parte enpide nuestros ministerios, por otra es tanto el fruto que promete, que sin duda se alla por espiriencia aver sido ynspiración divina, por la facilidad que ha pera con los que se reduzien a nuestra sancta fee. No obstante esta ocupación enpeçó el Padre su visita por una isla que llaman Rocelao[16], que hé la más bárbara y ferina que aquá ha, cuyos naturales parecen [359v]

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guezes que fossem a Ternate descalçassem na praia os çapatos, sob pena de serem prezos » (COUTO X/II 284).

[13] Cf. D 44,7, note 24.

[14] Fr. Alonso Sánchez sailed to Spain from Manila on June 28, 1586 (COLIN-PASTELLS I 348). He had received proctorial powers from the Manila estates to act for them in the royal court at Madrid and in the papal curia at Rome on various affairs of the Philippines and only indirectly on those of Maluku. Not until late 1588 did he arrive in Rome.

[15] The ambassador was a Portuguese, Artur de Brito; the Spanish nobleman who accompanied him is called by Couto « Fernao de Aranda ». On this abortive mission, consult COUTO X/II 36-37, 274-285.

[16] Nusalaut.

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ser aquellos de que nuestro Padre Pedro de Ribadaneira abla en el cap. 7 del 4 libro, fol. 285, de la Vida de nuestro S. Padre Ygnacio, de gloriosa memoria, y no los moros[17]. Llámanse assí no solo por guardaren la seita de Mafamede, la qual ha pocos años profesan avendo sido christianos[18], sino por abitaren una isla llamada Moro o Morotay y Morotía[19], entre los quales no ay tal barbarismo. Antes es la gente más pulida y de meyor ýndole que ha en este arcypél[ag]o[l]. Diguo esto porque se notará de los siculares de falcidad o ynorancia lo que naquel capítulo se escrive, porque ny aun los rocelaos, que son los más bárbaros y agreste[s], comen carne humana a mengoa de bastimentos. Antes su ysla tiene tantos que sustenta a ssí y a otras partes que están cercanas. Mas hazen esta ferocidad pera mostrar el odio que a sus ynimigos tienen, y será fácil cultyvándolos echar esta barbaria. Dellos quedó el Padre tan satishecho que sen duda, se tuviera Padres, considerada la nesecidad estrema que padiecen, se los deixara y quedaran seguros, porque no digo yo Padre mas qualquer esclavo estará tan seguro, que antes poderán morer todos que entregarlos.

8. En las demás islas del Liacer alló el Padre lo mismo desenparo y mayor oportunidad pera se hazer mucho fruto, por seren muy más leales y apareyados pera observaren nuestra sanctíssima ley, se les fueren emseñada[m], porque asta oy no tienen más que sonbra de christianos. Y si no veya V.P. se uno solo Padre, y muy yndispuesto, qual era el P.[e] Yerónimo Rodríguez que ha 13 años residió en este Anboino[20], podría cultivar 25 mil y sietecientas almas christianas dispargidas por trinta y tantos lugares o poblaciones que están a conta de los nuestros, siendo de muy diferentes lengoas y custunbres y yslas diversas a las quales si no puede yr sino con monción por seren[n] costas bravas. Alen desto deixo de apontar corenta e ciete mil almas qui han retrocedido por halta de quen los defenda y anpare, que cada día se reduzerían si los nuestros resediran en las poblaciones de los christianos confines.

9. Pondere V.P. esta nesecidad y la obligación que la Conpañía

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[17] Consult the modern edition of the original Latin and Spanish texts in MHSI, *Fontes Narrativi* IV 642-643 no. 32.

[18] On the loss of the Moro church, see DM I 58*-59*.

[19] *Morotai*, meaning Moro-oversea, was the name of an island off the NE point of Halmahera; *Morotia*, meaning Moro-on-the-land, was the NE coastal region of Halmahera, to-day the country of Galela and Tobelo.

[20] So he lived in Ambon from 1574 on. But about four of these thirteen years he spent in Tidore. The words « era » and « residió » confirm that Jerónimo Rodrigues had left Ambon (See DM I 53*).

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le tiene, pues los della los principiaron [360*r*] en las cosas de nuestra sancta fee, que sin duda allará no nos podermos librar de grave culpa delante de Dios y honbres en tanto nos descuidar de les dar el remedio convenible, que es mandar obreros que les cultiven. Y no será esta ynpresa de menor ynportancia que a del[o] Yapón, Salcete[21] y Cabo de Cumurín[22], y de mayor obligación que algunas que de novo se aprenden con desenparar esta, ado entre christianos y que han retrocidido ha más de cien mil almas, no contando los del reyno de Celebes cuya summa al presente me no consta, que a la mengua perecen.

10. Cuya causa total pienço yo ser no se visitar nunqua por los Provinciales de la Yndia ni Visitadores que V.P. de Europa ynbía, y terse como cosa desmenbrada, de lo que se sigue no sólo la christiandad ser la que es, mas aynda entre los nuestros aver grandes naufragios[23], por se veren tan remotos y desenparados de la providencia del Superior. Porque los que vienen a visitar por mandado del P.[e] Provincial se queden acá. Y por más que se escriva, nada provecha por la carta ser relatador muerto y que no exeprime al bivo lo que honbre siente, y portanto mueve tan poco y se iscreve con tan pouco fructo. Y se V.P. con entranhas paternales no ayuda con tomar el assunto[p] della, encomendándola a los Provinciales, no diguo la christiandad mas los subjeitos de la Conpañía que acá bivimos padeceremos la mengua que padecen los abortivos.

11. Al Padre Provincial escrivimos aserca del uso de nuestros privilegios que trate con V.P. se amplíen, quoanto[q] a las perçonas, algunas cousas que tocan al bien de la christiandad, por sser estremamente neseçario que los superiores los puedan conmunicar a los súbditos[r], que son los que ymmediatamente si ocupan en la converción, y los superiores no pueden per sí acudir a todo puesto que anden en perpetua peregrinación. Los privilegios son estos: uti oleo sancto per tres aut quatuor annos, uti altari portatily, bis in die diversis in locis missas celebrare, eligere in conservatorem aliquem laicum aut aliquem ex nostris, denuntiationes et alias caerimonias [360*v*] et extrinsecas solemnitates omit-

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[21] Island near Goa, India.

[22] Southernmost region of India.

[23] The documents available keep silence on « shipwrecks » among the Jesuits. The only case we can imagine is that of Fr. Jerónimo Rodrigues who had left Maluku (notes 7 and 20), and who was dismissed from the Society (D 73, 19), which could suggest some misconduct. Consult, however, D 49,12 and D 26 note 5.

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tere in matrimonio [24]. Las quales solamente se conceden a los superiores, y como él no puede estar en todas las partes, ny tener comunicación sino de dos yn dos y tres años, padiésese la misma nesecidad como si no tuviéramos privilegios.

12. Y tanbién si me ofrece ser ynportante por la misma causa poderles el Superior cometer sus vezes en algunas dispiençacion[es] y en poder reconsiliar y absolver a los apóstatas que se reduzien de los naturales, y que puedan reconciliar las yglesias profanadas. Y aun parese muy mucho necesario que V.P. haga rever los previlegios ýndicos [25] que son más acomodados pera los que nos ocupamos en la converción de las ánimas, porque ha en ellos algunos que acaban el año de 1589 e otros el año de 1593, y tienen las dubdas y difficuldades que hey apuntado.

Y pera que más a nuestro salvo y con mayor provecho spiritual nos podamos enplear en el servicio del prócximo, pedimos ser encomendados en los sanctos sacreficios de V.P[s]., en cuya sancta bendictión yo y todos los deste[t] arcipélago de Maluco mucho en el Señor nos recomendamos.

De Anboino, 5 de Junho de 1587.

De V.P. hijo em Christo,

Pero Nunes.

[*Address* 361*v*]: † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso, o P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, praeposito geral da Companhia de Jesus, em Roma. 1[a] via. Maluco. Do P.[e] Pero Nunes. De Amboino.

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[a] *corr. fr.* nos ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* Alenxandro ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* Vaglignano ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* de ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* e ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* qal ‖ [g] *w. corr., del.* de ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* ssea ‖ [i] *del.* diguo ni comer ni bever ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* da ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* de ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* parte ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* emxenda ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* ceren ‖ [o] *del.* a ‖ [p] *d. r., corr. fr.* ayunto ‖ [q] quoantos *ms.* ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* subtos ‖ [s] *del.* en cuyos sanctos sacreficios de V.P. ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* destes

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[24] Some of these privileges were mentioned in D 49; see notes 21-26 there.

[25] Printed at Goa in 1584 in the *Compendium Indicum* (See Bibliography).

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63

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, VISITOR OF MALUKU, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, JUNE 6, 1587

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 3.

II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 90.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 363*r*-364*v*, earlier 61-62 and no. CXIX/c. Autograph. Italian. A secretary added a summary in two small not numbered paragraphs at f. 364*v*, preceded by « Amboino. 1587. P. Antonio Marta. 6 de Junio »; at the text, however, he wrote the numeral « 2 » at the top of f. 364*r* (in our no. 6), and « Maniglia que » [*sic*] at the beginning of our no. 7. Near the address is a black seal in wax.

Text

1. *Visited part of Ambon mission. 50,000 apostates and 22,000 Christians there. To be blamed are not the people but the Jesuits who did not send missionaries.* — 2. *For the moment they live in peace, which is worse than war. They set their hopes, founded on Fr. Alonso Sánchez' diplomatic mission to Europe, on a Spanish army. Then two hundred Jesuits will not be sufficient for Maluku.* — 3. *Meanwhile Fr. General should send two dozen Fathers in addition to the five actual ones. Over 100,000 people would return to the faith in Maluku* [*Tidore*] *and Moro.* — 4. *Moral influence of the Jesuits with native population.* — 5. *He was made an officer of the Inquisition; this proves very beneficial for both the people and the Society. Fr. General might approve of it.* — 6. *Will soon sail to Maluku* [*Tidore*] *to visit the other part of the mission. A superior in Maluku and another one in Ambon are needed, and over them a vice-provincial.* — 7. *Plans to sail to Manila.* — 8. *Christianity of Maluku will flourish as soon as the king of Ternate is defeated. Hope is placed on an army coming from New Spain in 1588.*

†

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Adesso mi trovo in Amboino, che è terra apartenente a Maluco, e per commissione del P. Provinciale ho visitato una parte di quella. Li christiani di queste isole che ribelarono dalla nostra fede e dalli portughesi arriverano al numero de cinquanta mila, e quelli che tuttavia obediscono sarano 22 mila. Ma è christianità solamente de nome per-

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ché non ha sacerdote né chiesa né cruce [1], e molti de quelli se chiamano col nome de moro overo di gentile. E tutto[a] questo non aviene totalmente per loro colpa ma per la nostra, che non lhe mandamo gente qui li amaestri e insegni. Perché essi lo desiderano e domandano ma non sono intesi, e por questo molti[b] moreno dannati che a mio iudicio se salvariano. Questa gente è ben inclinada e naturalmente è sogetta, e ancoraché fra loro ha molti que sono grossi e barbari, tuttavia in general è gente disposta per ricever con frutto le fatiche delli nostri.

2. Adesso stamo di pace, ancoraché miglior saria la guerra per finire li travagli per la vicinança degl'inimici molte volte proviamo. Ma se N. Signore non ci abandona totalmente, è cosa probabile che da qui a due anni, alla più lunga, vediamo un esercito dalla Nuova Spagna per questo effetto, il qual se venisse, senza dubbio ci daria tutto quello che stamo desiderando, né haveria luogo né terra che non ci facesse christiana. E in quel tempo non basteriano ducento delli nostri per coltivarla. La speranza che havemo di questo esercito hè per stare adesso[c] persona nella corte que lo procura [2], e ancora perché[d] ci fu riferito che 'l P. Alonso Sanches, uno delli Padri che sta nella Maniglia, levava a suo cargo de trattar ancora sopra di questo punto co'l Re juntamente con altri che apartenevano a quella terra.

3. E se V.P. intende alcuna cousa per sua via de Madrid, cioè, che già il Re tenha scritto che se faccia l'impresa, ben puode aviar due dozene de Padri per queste parti de Maluco. Perché sarano sommamente necessarii qua, sendo Maluco la più abandonata parte di tutta questa Provincia, né havendo in quella più de cinque Padri e un Fratello [3] già consumato dalli travagli; e sendo questa christianità la maggiore di tutte queste parti se si riducesse, ancora di quella del Japone. Perché, oltre li settanta mila delli quali tegno scritto di sopra che sono sparsi per queste isole de Amboino, haverà in Maluco e nella isola del Moro più di cento mila anime che già furono christiane, e che adesso torneriano [363*v*] alla verità se 'l re di Ternate fosse destruido. Piaccia a N. Signore di esaudire il desiderio de tante anime que vogliono servirlo.

4. Qua la Compagnia è molto ben vista dalli portughesi e molto

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[1] When a village received Christianity, this change was due to be marked by the erection of a huge wooden cross in its centre or along the beach.

[2] Marta presumably alludes to the Spanish nobleman Hernando de Aranda (D 62 note 15).

[3] See D 62,2 and D 59 note 15.

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più dalli naturali, né è cosa che li Padri intentassero con essi che non conseguisse[ro], perché gli riveriscono et stanno sospesi da loro come da oraculo. E ancora in questo tempo, che stamo di questa maniera divisi di legge e di costumi, fano li nostri più con loro che qualsivoglia altra persona. E se N. Signore ci favorisce con mandar esercito, non è cousa che resista alla deligentia delli nostri. Ma adesso che stamo cinque sacerdoti, che cosa si pode far che degna sia de ser scritta? Assai si fa in conservar alcune poche reliquia di questi christiani solamente co'l desiderio di abracciar la verità[4], nonché dilatar la fede per altre parti. E così questi pochi que aqui stano, oltra una iglesia ch'essi tengono a suo cargo, vano visitando ora una ora altra per conservarli il desiderio e la speranza che se ha di vedere un giorno algun rimedio alle sue piaghe.

5. E già pare che N. Signore comincia a mostrare la sua mano in atto de medico e di cirugiano, perché quando più stava questa gente fuori di pensiero, l'Inquisidor de Goa[4], partendomi io de là per queste parti, mi diede facultà de inquirir contra la heresia et li altri peccati apartenenti all'Inquisitione[5]. La qual cosa quanto più fu impensada, tanto più fu di salute a queste parti, e juntamente diede occasione alla gente, et specialmente alli buoni, di sperare che già cominciava il rimedio venir dal cielo dopo tanti anni di tumulto e travaglio. Né si maravigli V.P. perché io acettasse questo carico et[7] il Provinciale[6] mi desse questa licentia, come cosa insolita a Compagnia[7], perché in queste parti l'Inquisitione non è come in Italia, donde la gente è più fiera et ribelde al castigo et alla medicina. Qua ciascun'huomo, per grande che sia, se abassa all'Inquisitione e all'Inquisidore, né ha huomo che abra la bocca contra de lui e delle sue cose. Né per questo se impediscono li nostri ministerii o sono li nostri perseguitati, anzi acade tutto 'l contrario, perché li nostri con quest'oficio sono più venerati e tengono maggior forza per estirpare li vitii. Por onde V.P. non ha de estragnar esta licentia che pigliamo, anzi ha de aprovarla e pregar N. Signore che si degni dar forza e virtù a questa medicina per il suo santo servicio.

6. Ho visitato una parte di queste isole de Amboino e già viene

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[4] The two last inquisitors appointed before Fr. Marta left Goa in September 1586, were Frey Gaspar de Melo OP, and Rui Sodrinho de Mesquita (BAIÃO I 164).

[5] Consult D 59 note 22.

[6] Fr. Alessandro Valignano.

[7] But Fr. General was much amazed indeed ! See D 77.

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il tempo per me embarcar per Maluco, donde sta l'altra parte per visitare. Tegno [364*r*] dado una larga informatione al P. Provinciale [8] delle cose che qua passano, delli inconvenienti che ha et del rimedio che se li può dare. Et fra le altre cose gli tegno ditto che queste parti de Maluco non si podeno governare con frutto della christianità et sigurezza delli nostri, se[g] nel Maluco non si fa un Superiore sotto 'l qual vivão le altre residentie, et in Amboino un'altro[h], et sopra di questi sia un terzo che tenga nome de Vice-Provinciale. Perché queste due parti, Amboino et Maluco, sono de tal maniera disparate, che se un superior visita Maluco[i] ha da tardar otto mesi a tornar a Amboino, et se visita Amboino ha de star quattro mesi per visitar Maluco. Et questa tardanza è venenosa alli nostri, perché le occasioni de se perder sono grandi in qualsivoglia luogo, por onde hè necessario de vigilar sobre d'essi e visitarli di quando in quando, e mudarli quando conviene e consolarli et rinovar li voti, e finalmente cercar quanto si pode per conservarli, altramente hão de seguir de molti inconvenienti come altre volte seguirono [9].

7. Ma se oltra di questo si ha de agiuntar la Maniglia a queste parti, non tegno determinado la cosa se prima non vedo la terra et li Padri che là stano [10]. Et così col divino favore mi determino, gionto ch'io sarò in Maluco, de passar alla Maniglia per dar depoi[j] più certa et sicura informatione.

8. In summa racogliendo con brevi parole quanto posso dir de Maluco, digo a V.P. che Maluco è terra per far grandissimo frutto a Dio N.S., e che questa gente, et specialmente la dell'isola del Moro, è abile et capace della verità, et che coltivada et insegnada ha de ser molto christiana. Ma che non si può far cosa alcuna che buona sia, se Ternate non for destruido, perché li portughesi non li possono difender non arrivando essi al numero de tresento fra soldati et maritati. 2°, digo che probabilmente havemo de veder un'esercito dalla Nuova Spagna al principio dell'anno seguente de 1588. Il quale se aparisce, senza dubio che già havemo guadagnato il campo et vederemo per questi monti fiorire li arbori della santa croce nel più alto de quelli. N. Signore inspiri al Re Filippo di pigliare questa cosa al petto, perché questo ci basta solamente. E V.P. si degni de raccomandarci al Signore perché grande necessità havemo, caminando noi per queste

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[8] Already mentioned in D 59,15.
[9] Allusion to the « shipwrecks » of D 62,10.
[10] Consult D 59 note 14.

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terre piene d'infidelità e lontane dalla conversatione et agiuto delli nostri.

De Amboino, alli 6 de[k] Junio 1587.

Servo indignissimo de V.P.,

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 364*v*] † Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro, il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito generale della Compagnia di Gesù, Roma. A Portugal pola via de Malaca.

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[a] *corr. fr.* tudo ‖ [b] *del.* se condo ‖ [c] *del.* gen ‖ [d] *interl.* ‖ [e] *del.* che d ‖ [f] *del.* la ‖ [g] *del.* non em ‖ [h] *del.* con la mesma ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* una desse ‖ [j] *del.* mas ‖ [k] *del.* Maio

64

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, VISITOR OF MALUKU, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, JUNE 16, 1587

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 4.

II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 90-91.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 362*r-v* and 365*r-v*, formerly 60 and no. CXIX/b. Autograph original in Italian. Folio 365*r* is blank; the *verso* contains the autograph address and a Roman secretary's addition consisting of a note « Amboino. 87. P. Antonio Marta. 16 de Junio » and a Spanish résumé.

Text

1. *Comes out with a too early request in order not to regret afterwards that he did not make it.* — 2. *When a royal fleet appears at Maluku, the number of Christians will increase unexpectedly. Then new houses and churches must be built.* — 3. *The Jesuits have four houses and five churches, all of wood and of a duration of only ten years. They are subject to fire risk.* — 4. *Requests two Italian Brothers masons. They will not only have to build houses and churches, but to instruct native boys in the craft as well.* — 5. *Urges the request. Conclusion.*

†

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre nostro

Pax Christi.

1. Con altre mie lettere ho scritto a V.P. quanto mi occorreva dire

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di queste parti di Maluco. Scrivo questa per la necessità che vedo che ha de ser, e anticipo il tempo a domandar per non mi pentir da qui a due anni, se tanto viveremo, de non l'haver fatto.

2. Se aparisce armada del Re in queste parti, come è cosa molto probabile che ha da aparire per il bisogno in che stamo, senza dubbio ha de haver tanta christianità che non ha de bastar tutta la Compagnia per catechizarla. Perché[a] tutte le isole di questo arcipelago, che sono molte e tutte habitate[b], dependeno da Ternate et sono infideli perché non possono resistire alla sua forza. Et li portughesi non le possono difender per esser pochi e per haver molti anni che dall'India non viene soccorso de soldati. Et fu miracolo manifesto come fin'hora si sia conservato questo picciolo seme del nome christiano fra tanto numero d'infideli e con tanto poco numero de portughesi, che non arrivavano a ducento[1], sparsi per molte parti. Por onde destruido Ternate, conseguentemente hassi[2] da sciogliere questo nodo e de liberar tutto questo populo perché si possa dar liberamente a Dio. E se questo aviene, a noi altri che caminamo per queste parti sarà necessario fabricar chiese e case per esercitare e trattare li nostri ministerii. Perché fin'hora non havemo si può dire cosa alcuna, e sarà necessario comenzar da principio a negociarsi e ordenar tutto conforme alla necessità e alli luoghi.

3. Fin'hora havemo quattro case e cinque chiese. Ma et le case et le chiese sono tutte de legno molto mal fatte, e perché marciscono in diece anni, è necessario tornar un'altra volta a fabricarle. E fuora di questo a temer sempre del fuogo, il quale et dentro et di fuori nelle case vicine pode accendersi e abrugiare tutta una contrada in tre hore. Di maniera che non solamente havemo de vigilar sopra delli nostri de casa, ma anchora sopra gl'altri di fuora perché il pericolo è comune. E benché per tutte queste parti sia comune fabricar tutte le case di legno et coprirle de foglie de arbori, tuttavia se havesse industria fra questa gente, si podriano far molto facilmente di pietra et di calcina, perché qua ha grandissima abondantia de legne et di pietra [362*v*] per farla. Et quello che in Roma et Venetia si faria con mille scudi, qua si farà con cinquanta.

4. Hora quello che domando a V.P. è che conceda a queste parti di[c] Maluco due de' nostri Fratelli muratori italiani, delli più giovani che ha et più trattabili. Perché, come tegno ditto, qua non ha gente che sappia far somelhante oficio, et ancora l'India ha caristia, et se ha

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[1] In D 63,8 they were estimated at 300.

[2] Read *si ha*.

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alcuno, non vogliono venire in queste parti. Ma se V.P. me li concede, saria necessario di mandarli a Goa ma dirizzati per Maluco, perché altramente Goa tiene la bocca tanto grande che tutto engiotisce, e se non havesse espresso mandado de V.P. ben potressemo gridar ma non ser esauditi. Se questi due vengono, sarano il seme de molti altri, perché sotto la loro disciplina aprenderano giovani di queste parti che li daremo per insegnar et agiutar, et con questo insieme andaremo ordinando le chiese et le case delli nostri.

5. Potrei exagerar questa nostra necessidade con molte parole, ma basterano le sopraditte, perché voglio che più vaglia nel cuore di V.P. l'affetto paterno con che desidera di favorire questa christianità et noi altri insieme, che stamo esposti a infiniti pericoli per sostentarla et dilatar il nome della Compagnia, che la moltitudine delle mie parole. In tanto pregheremo il Signore che mandi horamai questa tanto desiderata pace, perché per questi mari et monti risuoni il suo santissimo nome et non si perdano tante anime per non haver chi le socorra. Alla benedittione di V.P. molto mi raccomando.

Di Amboino, alli 16 di Giugno 1587.

Servo indignissimo di V.P.

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 365*v*] † Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro, il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito generale della Compagnia de Jesu. De Maluco. Unica.

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[a] *del.* non so || [b] *del.* hanno da || [c] *corr. fr.* del

65

FR. ANTONIO SEDEÑO, SUPERIOR, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, JUNE 22, 1587

I AUTHOR: COLIN-PASTELLS I 361-362.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 253*r*-255*v*, formerly 285-286, and no. 54. Autograph original in Spanish. Of the sheet of f. 255 only three fourths are left; its *recto* is blank, the *verso* contains the address in Sedeño's hand, a note saying « Manila 87. P. Antonio Sedeño Junio 22 », and a summary in Spanish in nine items in accordance with the figures 1-9 added in the margin. Under it, the same Roman hand, with reference to our part, noted « Bene lo del Padre Rogier ». Our fragment is on f. 254*v*.

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Text

1. *Fr. Rogier [Berwouts/Corrado], when sailing to Siau from Maluku [Tidore], was diverted to Manila and stayed here three months. He had been ordered to live in a far-off island [of Siau] without any Jesuit companion. — 2. He was well received and helped by us. Hardships of his mission. — 3. Wrote to Fr. Provincial of India he might provide the Fathers of Maluku with companions.*

[...]

1. Los días pasados vino el P.e Rogier, que fue embiado del Maluco a la ysla de Syao[1], derrotado a esta ysla, y estuvo aquí en casa más de tres meses. Díxenos el desconsuelo que por allá ay de andar solos los de la Conpañía. A él le embiaron a una ysla donde ay algunos christianos sin compañero más que unos indios esclavos, y uno de ellos lo ayudava a missa. Y de tal suerte está apartada del Maluco que, como las cosas van agora, ni el tornar ni de allá venir podrá ser por ventura en más de dos años. Otro Padre tanbién estava solo en otra ysla con el mismo desconsuelo[a 2].

2. Aquí le ayudamos y animamos, y quitamos de muchas dudas y escrúpulos[3]. Hízonos mucha lástima, porque andar solo entre infieles, y para los que ay fieles no tener[b] mano, sino que han de vivir como ellos quieren, etc., ultra del peligro que ay en conservarse para lo que toca a sí, parece ser de poco effeto para los demás, porque no hazen caso ni se les da nada del Padre, ni van a missa, ni oyen dotrina, ni guardan casi nada de la ley de Dios. Y en esto[c] de los matrimonios se casan christianos con gentiles y gentiles con christianos, etc.

3. El Padre creo escrive bien largo a V.P. Yo escreví de aquí al P.e Provincial de la India[4] en quanto fuese posible le remediase, a lo menos, ya que aquello no se puede dexar, diese compañeros a los Padres que andan solos y desconsolados.

[...]

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[1] The Father to whom the mission of Siau was assigned was Fr. Berwouts/Corrado (D 62,2). Apparently he made himself known to Fr. Sedeño with his Flemish name « Rogier ». Colín, calling him Rogerio, makes him a Superior and an Italian (COLIN-PASTELLS I 361).

[2] Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz in the mission of Labuha in the island of Bacan (ibid.).

[3] See D 54,4.

[4] Lost Letters, 65*a-b*.

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De Manila, a 22 de Junio 1587.
De V.P. mínimo siervo y hijo en el Señor,
Antonio Sedeño.

[*Address* 255*v*] † Al muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo, el P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma. De las Philippinas.

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[a] *del., corr., and illeg. words* || [b] *corr. fr.* ter || [c] *corr. fr.* lo

Lost Letters

65*a*. — *Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado, Manila, to Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome; June 1587.*

D 65,3: « El Padre creo escrive bien largo a V.P. ».

65*b*. — *Fr. Antonio Sedeño, Manila, to Fr. Provincial, Goa; June 1587.*

D 65,3: « Yo escreví de aquí al P. Provincial de la India . . . ».

65*c*. — *Br. Giampaolo Manfrida, Malacca, to Fr. Minister of the Professed House of Rome; May-August 1587.*

D 87,3: « De tudo o que se me tinha offrecido pola viajem atee este Maluco . . . de Malaca e Amboyno escrevi . . . » (Cf. 71*b*).

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FR. ALONSO SANCHEZ SJ: MEMORIAL ON THE GENERAL SITUATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

I *Original shorter version*

TO KING PHILIP II OF SPAIN

MADRID, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1587

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: COLIN-PASTELLS I 529 (« . . noticia . . . de las Filipinas y de sus calidades . . . »); STREIT IV p. 328 no. 21.

II TEXTS: We know only of two copied texts of a later time.

A. *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 243*r*-252*v*, formerly no. 48, of which ff. 250*v*-251*v* contain « otro memorial » and f. 252*r-v* is blank. Copy of a later time, i.e., of 1618, in Spanish. The paper is of a small quarto and the pages are divided into two columns: the right one containing the text of our document, the left some notes to it made by Fr. Francisco de Otazo who, in 1618, sailed to Spain in the same function as Sánchez did in 1587. Very clear, regular, and readable handwriting. No date nor signature at the end. Our fragment is on f. 247*r*. It constitutes

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nos. 5 and 6 of chapter 3 dealing with « Otras cosas maiores que tienen las Islas Philipinas ». Three characters, T, V, and X, are inserted into the text, corresponding to Otazo's notes.

B. *ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 848, no. 4* ff. 3*r*-8*v*. Another, but incomplete Spanish copy, identical with text A, likewise in two columns with the notes of Fr. Otazo of 1618.

We leave it to others more specialized in Spanish Jesuit history to look for other MSS that undoubtedly can be found in Spanish archives.

III NOTE: Both texts are directed to « V.Mag^{d}. », both are marked with the year 1587. This is a first or introductory memorial that the king should read before all the other ones, as it is explicitly said in the opening sentence. Therefore it was certainly presented to H.M. in the first audience Sánchez had with him on December 15, 1587; hence, it was written in Madrid in November or December of that year. (For Sánchez' travel dates, see introduction to D 58).

IV PRINTED: in COLIN-PASTELLS I 368-374, after a MS or an imprint which is not indicated by Fr. Pastells.

II *Amplified later version*
TO FR. GENERAL, AND TO POPES SIXTUS V AND GREGORY XIV
ROME, 1589 AND 1591

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: COLIN-PASTELLS I 537 (« . . tratado . . . del viage . . »); STREIT IV p. 330 no. 44 (various titles).

II AUTHOR: J. CALBRECHT, *Een document der XVIe eeuw*, in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer* II 969-984.

III TEXTS:

C. *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 173-178*v*, text on ff. 174*r*-176*v*, formerly no. 43. Original in Spanish in a very small calligraphic handwriting, and directed to « Vuestra Paternidad », i.e., to Fr. General Claudio Acquaviva. An archivist noted in Italian on f. 173*r* « Del P^{e} Alonso Sánchez, relatione delle Filippine e del viaggio a quelle; sine anno », whereas its *verso* contains only « 1589 ». The *Noticia* has three intermediate headings: « De la grandeça de las Philipinas y de su población y gente »; « De otras calidades más particulares de la tierra »; « De otras cossas mayores que tienen las Philipinas ». This last chapter is divided into eight numbered items; no. 4 deals with Maluku, and no. 6 with Siau, both on f. 176*r*.

D. *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 179*r*-182*v*, formerly n. 44. Italian translation of the foregoing, titled « Notitia della più rimota et nuova christianità dell'Indie di Ponente chiamate Philippine e del suo sito e qualità per il nostro Santissimo Padre Sixto V^{to} ». Beautiful clear handwriting with the same three intermediate titles and the same divisions of text C. The translation of our part is on. f. 181*v*. Folio 182*v* is blank but for a later note in two hands « Relatione dell'Isole Filipine, [*h2*:] data a S.Sta dal P. Alonso Sanches, 1589 ».

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E. *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 183*r*-196*v*, formerly n. 45. A quite different Italian translation of the Spanish *Noticia*, headed, on f. 184*r*, « Della nuova et più rimota Christianità dell'Indie Occidentali dette Filipine, del sito et qualità loro. Relatione fatta alla S.ta del Papa Greg° XIIII nostro Signore dal P^e^ Alonso Sánchez della Comp^a^ di Giesù », to which at the top of the page the word « Noticia » has been added. On f. 183*r*, a secretary noted « P. Alfonso Sánchez, [*ins.* italiana] Relatione delle Filipine e del viaggio a quelle, sine anno », on the *verso* « 1591 ». There are some variants in the division and numbering.

N.B. Also here many more MS texts, at least essentially identical, may be available in various libraries and archives. Some instances: *Arch. Secr. Vaticanum, Miscellanea Arm. II 93* ff. 312*r*-319*v*; ibid., *Miscellanea Arm. II 97* ff. 281*r*-308*v*; ibid., *Politicorum 92* ff. 310*r*-317*v*; ibid., *Fondo Borghese I 43* ff. 77-107, and *124* ff. 132-138; Milan, *Bibl. Ambrosiana H 179 inf.* ff. 61*r*-70*v*; ibid., *Q 115 sup.* ff. 286 sqq.; ibid., *S 81 sup.* ff. 166 sqq.

IV NOTE: In Rome, where he arrived in late 1588, Sánchez had many discussions with Fr. General Claudio Acquaviva and with members of the papal curia. Within a few years he had to deal with five popes, Sixtus V (1585-90), Urban VII (1590), Gregory XIV (1590-91), Innocent IX (1591), and Clement VIII (1592-1605), following in quick succession. He wrote new memorials and had them translated into Italian, often using texts that had earlier served him in Spain, and directing the same text , with due modifications, to different persons, for instance, to Fr. General and to some succeeding popes, as can be seen in our case.

V OUR EDITION: Evidently, version II is only a repetition and amplification of version I, at least as to our part, and it does not furnish any really new facts. Therefore we publish both versions under one number. In version I, we leave out the notes of Fr. Otazo. We print texts A and C.

Text

I

1. *Maluku, rich by the clove trade and in Christianity, numbering 150,000 baptized, is lost and cannot be regained but by means of the Philippines.* — 2. *The kings of Siau and Mindanao requested Spanish help against the raiding Maluku people.*

II

1. *Maluku, once rich by the clove trade and in Christianity, numbering 160,000 baptized, is wholly lost and cannot be regained but from the Philippines.* — 2. *If the Philippines had earlier been populated* [*with Spaniards*], *they would have saved Maluku which was badly neglected by India.* — 3. *The succour sent three times from the Philippines saved what is left there.* — 4. *Maluku can only be reconquered by means of the Philippines.* — 5. *The kings of Siau and Mindanao requested Spanish succour against Maluku. People of Borneo are hoping the Spaniards will come and expel a tyrannic Muslim king. So all depends on the Philippines.*

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I

Memorial del Padre Alonso Sánchez de la Compañía de Jesús procurador que vino de las Philipinas a Madrid. Año de 1587 [... 247*r*]

1. Lo 5°, que el Maluco, que es agora lo mejor y más rico de aquellas partes por raçón de la especiaría, y la mejor christiandad de todas ellas, que certifican los estrangeros portugueses y Padres de la Compañía que eran más de ciento y cinquenta mil almas[1], y muy asentadas en nuestra santa fee, agora queda todo tan perdido como allá sabemos, y no tiene reparo, ni se puede recobrar ni conservar, sino por medio de las Philippinas, o a lo menos hazen ellas mucho al caso para esto y para todo lo dicho.

2. Lo 6°, que el rey de Siao, donde ya avía christianos, y el de Mindanao, donde ay ya encomiendas repartidas, y se cobran tributos, han ymbiado dos vezes embaxadores a Manila[2] a pedir socorro para defenderse de los malucos que se atreven ya a salir de sus tierras, y comienzan a entrarse por las nuestras...
[...]

II

Noticia de la más remota y nueva christiandad de las Yndias de el Poniente que llaman Philipinas, y de su asiento y calidades

[... 176*r*]

1. Lo 4°, que las yslas de el Maluco, que eran en su tanto la cossa más rica de todas las Yndias por raçón de la especería, principalmente de el clavo, que en ninguna otra parte de el mu[n]do se halla; y la christiandad de ellas era tan grande, que certifican los portugueses y Padres de la Compañía, que eran cassi ciento y sesenta mill[3] almas

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[1] D 5,2: «more than 150 thousand» (Valignano in 1577).

[2] It is interesting that the king of Siau (still D. Jerónimo Pasuma; DM I 414 note 11) had drawn his conclusions from the personal union of Portugal and Spain, and before June 1586 had sought help from the Spaniards in Manila, which he did not receive from the Portuguese.

[3] Ten thousand more than in version I.

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baptiçadas y instruídas, y muy asentadas en nuestra fee, y aora todo está tan perdido como allá sabemos.

2. Lo primero, es cierto que si en aquel tiempo las Philipinas estubieran pobladas como aora no se perdiera, porque les fuera muy fácil darles socorro, el qual nunca les fue de la Yndia en seis años que estubieron cercados, porque es muy lexos y el viaje tan malo que las más veces se pierde el navío [4].

3. Lo 2°, es cierto que lo poco que a quedado[a] en el Maluco, se oviera perdido y acabado si de las Philipinas no se les oviera socorrido, una vez con quince fragatas cargadas de arroz y vino, y otros bastimentos de puercos, gallinas etc., y ducientos hombres, y con mucho vestido y calçado para los de allá, armas y municiones. Otra vez embiaron otro capitán con cien hombres, y con quatro mill hanegas[4a] de arroz y gran suma de puercos y vino, y otros bastimentos y municiones. La tercera vez les embiaron quatrocientos hombres con veinte y siete fragatas, que son lo mismo que saetías [5] francesas, y un galeón cargado todo de municiones de respecto, fuera de ir las saetías mui bien armadas, sin los quales socorros es cierto[b] que no oviera quedado rastro de todo el Maluco [6].

4. Lo 3°, también es cierto que, si aquellas yslas y christiandad se oviere de recobrar, lo an de hacer las Philipinas por estar tan a la mano, o a lo menos no se puede ganar ni conservar sin ellas, por ser tan grande el poder y ánimo que an cobrado los malucos y grandes las fuerças y artillería.

[...]

5. Lo 6°, que el rey de Siao, que está entre nossotros y las Malucas, y donde ya avía christianos, y el de Mindanao, que es otra ysla allí junto mayor que España [7], donde también ay principio de christiandad y de españoles, an embiado dos veces en mi tiempo enbaxadores a Manila pidiendo socorro para defenderse de los malucos que les

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[4] Consult D 3 note 7, but also D 10 note 8.

[4a] Hanega, fanega: dry measure of 55.5 litres in Spain; also « equivalente a tres litros, pue se usa en Filipinas (Martín ALONSO, *Enciclopedia del idioma*, Madrid 1968, II 1962 and 2226).

[5] Saetía: « Embarcación latina de tres palos y una sola cubierta, menor que el jabeque y mayor que la galeota » (Martín ALONSO, o. c. III 3682).

[6] For the expeditions to Maluku from the Philippines, see D 49 note 32.

[7] Mindanao measures 99,300 square km., Spain without the islands measures 492,500 square km.

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hacen guerra, porque son amigos de christianos. Y en la grande ysla de Burney, que es dos veces mayor que la dicha de Mindanao [8], donde la más gente y la natural son amigos nuestros [9], nos están cada día esperando para hechar de su tierra al rey y a los otros yndios moros de otra nación [10] que los tienen subjetos, y ansí parece que todo aquel mundo está pendiente de las Philipinas.

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[a] quedadado *ms.* || [b] es cierto *interl.*

67

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 20 - DECEMBER 6, 1587
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* I/I p. XLI no. 177.

II TEXT: *ARSI, IapSin 10 II* ff. 291*r*-295*v*. Original in Spanish with autograph signature. Folio 295*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the address, a Roman secretary's note « Goa 87. P. Alexandre Valicaño [*sic*]. 6 de Xbre », and the answers to two points of the letter marked A and B; moreover a red wax seal. The handwriting is minute, regular and beautiful. After the date, Valignano had a Postscript added of December 6 (f. 294*r-v*). Our parts are on f. 291*v* (no. 1) and f. 292*v* (nos. 2-3).

Text

1. *Sent this year three Fathers and one Brother to Maluku, and in the past year two Fathers.* — 2. *The Jesuits sent to Maluku and other outward missions were always selected and perfect men, so the near missions had to content themselves with the stopgaps.* — 3. *Fr. General recommended the Maluku Christians to him; if this year Fathers arrive from Portugal, two of them will be sent there.*

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[8] The island of Borneo measures 746,000 square km.

[9] Here, for sure, the wish is the father to the thought.

[10] Islam was introduced into the SE Asian archipelago by Arabs and S Indian Muslims. PAREJA, dealing with Borneo, says « . . . constituyéndose una faja de sultanatos con dinastías árabes » (*Islamología* I 309).

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[... 291*v*]

1. Para Maluco embié el año passado tres Padres de mucha cuenta con un Hermano [1], y el año antes, como ya tengo escrito, fue el Padre Antonio Marta por visitador con otro [2], y assí están agora ahí ocho Padres y dos Hermanos [3], y todos hombres de letra[s] y de confiança.
[... 292*v*]

2. Quanto a lo que V.P. encomienda de nuevo, que no se embíen imperfectos en las residencias y missiones, crea V.P. que se haze lo que se puede, y puede vivir descansado que todos los que se embiaron para Japón, China y Maluco y las cuestas de Travancor y de la Pescaría, fueron hombres escogidos sin ninguna mezcla de imperfectos, mas las casas y colegios y residencias, que están entre los portugueses, quedan con esto muy faltas y despejadas, y assí no puede dexar de aver en ellas algunos imperfectos; y la christiandad que está más cerca, como es la del Salsete y del Norte, es la que más padece, porque siempre se provee de remiendo, y no se pudiendo acudir perfectamente a todas las partes, assí es necessario que se haga.
[...]

3. Quanto a la christiandad de Maluco que encomienda, por lo que acima se ha dicho della entenderá V.P. quán bien se ha proveído después de la muerte del Padre Bernardino [4]. Y si este año venieran algunos Padres del Reyno [5], estava determinado embiar a Maluco otros dos Padres, mas quedará encomendado al Padre Provincial para el año que viene [6].
[... 294*r*]

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[1] From a catalogue (D 68) they appear to be Frs. António Pereira, Luís Fernandes, Francisco Poliasca/da Cruz, and Br. Giampaolo Manfrida. They sailed from Goa in 1587.

[2] Frs. Antonio Marta and Francisco da Cunha arrived at Ambon on March 13, 1587 (D 59,1).

[3] That is, with the earlier resident Frs. Pero Nunes, Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, Rogerio Berwouts/Corrado, and Br. António Gonçalves.

[4] Fr. Bernardino Ferrari had died in Ambon on September 25, 1584 (D 49,2).

[5] In 1587, no Jesuits embarked at Lisbon for India (WICKI, *Liste* p. 279).

[6] Valignano, Provincial of India since October 1583, appointed a new Provincial, Fr. Pero Martins, in September 1587, and from that date on he himself was a Visitor again (SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* I/I 44). However, not until 1590 did Fr. Martins send two Fathers to Maluku.

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De Goa, 20 de Noviembre de 1587.
[... 294*v*]
Oy 6 de Deziembre de 87.
[*Autograph*] Di V.P. figlio inutile nel Signore,

Alexandro Valignano.

[*Address* 295*v*] Al muy reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo, el Padre Claudio Aquaviva, praeposito general de la Compañía de Jesu en Roma. 2ª vía. Responde a las cartas del nuestro Padre. Del visitador de la Compañía de la India Oriental.

68

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA], DECEMBER 1587
First *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 159*r*-162*v*. Original in Latin, with autograph signature of Fr. Alessandro Valignano on f. 161*v*. Written in two columns in a calligraphic very readable handwriting. Division according to houses and residences. Folio 162*r* is blank, its *verso* contains the quas-address « Cathalogus Patrum et Fratrum Provinciae Indiae Orientalis anni 1587. 1ª via. Para N.P.e General », and a note « Catalogus Indiae. Decembr. 1587 ». Our part is on. f. 160*v*.

II NOTE: This catalogue contains under Maluku already the names of the four Jesuits who sailed there in 1587 (D 67,1). Probably they weighed anchor in Goa in April, or otherwise in September. Manfrida writes in March 1592 that he has been living in Maluku nearly four years (D 87,2). Fr. Pero Nunes, in his letters of March 5, 1588 (DD 70-71), manifests not to have the least knowledge of the four new missionaries. We have to conclude that they arrived in Maluku after that date. In his Information (D 73,19) Fr. Marta lists them as living there already. At any rate, the author of this catalogue, writing in Goa in December 1587, could not have notice of their arrival nor of their spreading over the mission posts. Hence it seems that Fr. Valignano himself assigned previously the particular station to each of the Jesuits, newscomers or otherwise. This catalogue, therefore, is not founded on informations received from Maluku, but is rather a wishful scheme for the future. The spreading does not seem borne out by any document following hereafter, but they scarcely inform us of the stationing of the Fathers in the subsequent years. We fear that any conclusions from this catalogue about the real situation are not justified.

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Text

1. *Jesuits stationed in Tidore.* — 2. *In the island of Siau.* — 3. *In the residence of Ambon.* — 4. *In Labuha.*

Cathalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesu Provinciae Indiae Orientalis, mense Decembri confectus, anni 1587.

[... 160*v*]

1. Domus et residentiae Malucenses
P. Antonius Marta, visitador,
P. Petrus Nunez, superior domus Tidorenis, concionator, etct.
F. Ioanes Paulus[1], aeconomus domus.

2. In residentia Selebensi sive Siauensi
P. Franciscus[a] de Cruce[2], superior[3].
P. Rogerius Conradus, eius comes.

3. In residentia Amboinensi
P. Aloicius Fernandez, superior.
P. Franciscus de Acunha, concionator et confessor.
F. Antonius Gonçalvez[4], coadiutor et aeconomus domus.

4. In Laboensi residentia
P. Antonius Pereira, superior.
P. Gabriel de Cruce, eius comes.
[...]

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[a] *corr. fr.* Gabriel

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[1] Br. Giampaolo Manfrida.

[2] Poliasca/da Cruz.

[3] Curiously, the three new Fathers: Cruz, Fernandes, and Pereira, by preference were appointed local superiors over the more experienced ones. That Fr. Poliasca/da Cruz has actually been stationed in Siau, as Fr. Wessels is likely to infer from this document (*Noord-Celebes* 392), is not a justified conclusion, but it receives some probability from D 94,52.

[4] He left Maluku about May 1588 at nearly the same time Br. Manfrida arrived there.

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69

[FR. PERO MARTINS, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL] ANNUAL LETTER OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA, DECEMBER 1587]

I TEXT: A MS. text seems to be lacking. We know only of a printed version which is a reduced Latin translation, in *Litterae Societatis Iesu duorum annorum M.D.LXXXVI et M.D.LXXXVII*, Romae 1589, 576-592. The translation was made and prepared for the press by Fr. Francesco Benci SJ. As a matter of fact, the responsible author of the original letter who at least had to sign it was Fr. Provincial Pero Martins. Our part is on pages 588-589.

II DATE: Fr. Benci suppressed the date in his printed edition. According to the title of it the letter covers the years 1586 and 1587; consequently it was written in December 1587, this being the usual time for composing Annuals and Catalogues. It remains uncertain whether there were originally two distinct Annual Letters, combined into one by Benci or only one serving for two years. The author ascribes eight Fathers and two Brothers to Maluku, and this, from a Goa viewpoint, was exactly the case in late 1587 when the four of the 23rd sending had left India and Br. António Gonçalves had not yet returned to Goa. It agrees completely with the catalogue of December 1587 (D 68).

Text

1. *Staff of the Jesuit houses of Malacca and Maluku.* — 2. *New missionaries sent to the four residences of Maluku.* — 3. *In Ambon thirty-six villages are Christian, more than forty in Maluku and Sulawesi. Work of converting people.*

Collegium Malacense, sedes Malucensis, Iaponiorum domicilia aliquot et Sinarum

1. Malacense collegium habent cum tribus laicis sacerdotes tres. Malucensem sedem multiplicem sacerdotes octo, cum laicis duobus[1]. In Malacensi expeditum templum et collata ad rem sacram lauta supellex non pauca. Ea res decorem urbi attulit. Aucta quoque aliquo vectigali res domestica.

[1] See D 68.

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2. Ad Malucas insulas anno priore missu Patris Visitatoris ierunt duo [2], posteriore sacerdotes tres cum socio [3], ut in quattuor sedibus laborem partirentur. Earum duae in ora Malucarum [4], in regione Amboini a Malucis et Tridore [!] tercentum fere millibus alterae [5]. Utile id genti, cui iam plures sacrorum administri; ipsis administris iucundum, quorum paucitas prior defatigationi propior erat. [589]

3. In Amboini tractu, litterae venere, esse iam christianorum oppida sex et triginta [6], in Malucis et Selebribus amplius quadraginta [7]. Ea cum inviserentur, reperti in duobus plures cum pellicibus, quas postea, de indignitate edocti, iustis sibi nuptiis uxores fecere, et restituta disciplina. In uno salutari aqua tincti nongenti, e quibus fere sexcenti quartum annum egressi; in altero octodecim cum baptismo cesserunt e vita. Messis ubertate laetior fit labor operarum [8].
[... *on Japan and China*]

Lost Letter

69*a*. — *Fr. Aless. Valignano, India, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Superior; 1587-1588.*

D 101,3: «Escrevi da India ... ao Padre Antonio Marta que está em Maluco por superior». Valignano left India for Japan in April 1588.

70

FR. PERO NUNES, SUPERIOR OF TIDORE, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

TIDORE, MARCH 5, 1588

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Nunez no. 4; STREIT IV p. 305.
II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 83.

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[2] In 1586, Frs. Antonio Marta and Francisco da Cunha (Cf. D 59,1).

[3] In 1587, Frs. António Pereira, Luís Fernandes, Francesco Poliasca/da Cruz, and Br. Giampaolo Manfrida (DD 67,1; 68).

[4] Tidore and Labuha.

[5] The other two residences were not both at Ambon, but one was there, and the other in Siau.

[6] Thirty-three in D 49,5.

[7] A clear overrating.

[8] Operariorum?

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III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 393*r*-394*v*, formerly 40, and no. CXXXI. Original. Spanish. Autograph signature. One page is written upon, two pages are blank, the fourth contains the address, a black wax seal, and, in the hand of a Roman secretary, the note « Tidore. 88. P. P° Nuñez. 5 Março », and an abstract in three items in Spanish. Beside it a few decisions are noted: « 2 cosas: una, procurar los sacerdotes; la 2ª, que ent[i]enden todos que no lo haga como [?] curas », and, to the request of books in no. 7, « se embia, Procurador ».

Text

1. *Received two letters from Fr. General of 1586. To his own letters of 1586 no reply arrived.* — 2. *The Jesuits were relieved of the care of parishes. But as four vicars fell out, the Fathers were involved in it again.* — 3. *Therefore Fr. Berwouts/Corrado is stationed in Tidore, but without the duties of a parish priest.* — 4. *Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz has his residence at Labuha where the* sengaji *took an apostatized wife.* — 5. *Fr. Francisco da Cunha is stationed at Ambon ; he has difficulties with learning the native language.* — 6. *Fr. General should see to freeing the Fathers from being parish priests.* — 7. *Asks for recent editions of the* Compendium Indicum, *and of the bull* In Coena Domini.

†

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Nuestro

Pax Christi.

1. A quatro de Hebrero deste presente año he recevido por la vía de la Nueva España y Manila dos de V.P. de 16 de Junio de 1586[1] con mucha consolación, y tanto mayor quánto más olvidados y desamparados somos, los de la Compañía que por estas partes andamos, de la India. Lo que V.P. podrá entender si supiere que aun no se ha respondido a las que el mismo año por dos vías se an escrito[2], una de las quales con un naufragio ha quedado, y la otra ha arribado a la China, y hasta oy no se ha podido aver respuesta ninguna. El año de 87 por la vía de la India y Malaca se ha dado largua enformación a V.P. de las cosas deste arcipiélago[3]. En esta no repitiré nada desso por no ser molesto, mas diré lo que al presente ha acaecido.

2. Por industria del P.e Alexandre Valignano estávamos descarreguados de la obligación de párrochos y vicarios de los portugueses, porque, dado caso que los vicarios nos amolesten, más fácil es suffrir

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[1] Lost Letters, 54*c-d*.

[2] Unfortunately, also these two letters have not been preserved. See Lost Letters, 54*a*.

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a él que a todo el pueblo. Mas agora nos han querido tornar a embuelver en ella, porque de quatro sacerdotes seglares que acá residían, no ha quedado ninguno. Los dos fueron presos por el Sancto Officio [4], el 3° tiene echado (por no ser de su gusto) el capitán, el 4° por le persiguieren y maltrataren, sin le dar la devida sustentación, se quiere también yr, y este año ha quedado por nuestra importunación por ser persona devota de nuestra Compañía [5].

3. Y por esta causa en este Tidore queda el P.e Rogerio Conrado solo, que de la tierra y christiandad de los Celebes [6] vino para se confessar, para que como religioso de nuestra Compañía socorra a tan estrema necessidad, administrando los sacramentos sin más otra obligación de cura. Lo que a la gente es muy agradable, por que como[a] enemigua de toda disciplina no quieren que aya quien entienda en sus maldades y vicios, mas los demás se satisfazen con la cappa de christianos.

4. El P.e Gabriel de la Cruz reside en su isla y christiandad de Labua con assás pezadumbre y peligro, por se aver rebuelto el sangaje [7], que es el principal, con una arreniegada, media hermana de su muger defuncta y hermana del rey de Bachan, que muy muchas vezes ha pretendido que el dito sangaje retrocediesse. Mas él muestra buen ánimo y pide se despense con él, sin lo qual toda la christiandad de aquela isla passa mucho riesgo de apostatar.

5. En Ambueno reside el P.e Francisco da Cunha, el qual con los portugueses exercita su taliento, aunque tiene mucha difficuldad en aprender la lengua de los naturales, sin la qual se haze muy poco. Y ansí los demás la sabemos quanto sea necessario pera confessar y catechizarlos [8].

6. El P.e Visitador Antonio Marta escrive algunas dubdas que se han offrecido a V.P. [9] y por esso no las apuntaré, sólo lembrar que

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[3] DD 59 and 61-64.

[4] Consult DD 59,13; 60,1; and 71,4.

[5] JACOBS, *Vicars* 281-282.

[6] That is, from Siau. Apparently the system was that the Father sailed to Siau yearly in May, and returned to Tidore in January-February, always using the favourable monsoons. An awkward consequence must have been that during Lent and at Easter time the Christians of Siau were without a priest.

[7] The *sengaji* Rui Pereira of D 44,1-2. He was a vassal of the king of Bacan.

[8] The fact that Fr. Nunes does not mention the four new comers of D 67,1, shows that these had not yet arrived.

[9] Lost Letter, 71*a*.

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V.P. provea con que no seamos acá vicarios; porque pienso que se en Europa se imaginasse tal cosa, bastaría para resfriar toda la calor que tuviessen de la missión para la India y Jappón.

7. Puesto que se aya embiado el Compendio Indico, renovado con algunas bullas de la India nuevamente impressas, hasta oy no ha venido a nuestra noticia. Y ansí la Bula de Caena Domini[10], puesto que variada muchas vezes, no se halla acá entre los nuestros sino muy antigua, y que cottejada con las de los vicarios nos confunde de ver el descuydo que ay en nos prover de semejantes cosas. Por las llagas de Christo que V.P. dee orden con que o por la vía de México o Malacca se nos embíen para que no parezcamos totalmente olvidados. En la bendición y santos sacrificios de V.P. mucho en el Señor yo y todos los deste arcipiélago nos encommendamos.

De Tidore, a los 5 de Março de 1588.

De V. Paternidad hijo indino en el Señor,

Pero Nunez.

[*Address* 394*v*] † Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Nuestro, el P.[e] Claudio Acquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma. Del Maluco.

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[a] *interl.*

71

FR. PERO NUNES, SUPERIOR AT TIDORE, TO FR. MANUEL RODRIGES, PORTUGUESE ASSISTANT OF FR. GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, MARCH 5, 1588

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Nunez no. 5; STREIT IV p. 305.

II AUTHOR: WESSELS, *Amboina* 91; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 384-385.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 13 II* ff. 395*r*-396*v*, formerly no. CXXXII. Autograph. Portuguese. In the lower corner of f. 395*r*, a secretary noted « Nugnez. Tidore. 88 ». On f. 396*v* the address is between the end of the letter and the signature; it is accompanied by a black wax seal.

Text

1. *Received letters from Fr. General, but never any reply from Goa.* — 2. *Fr.*

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[10] See D 25 note 5.

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Antonio Marta arrived with powers of the Inquisition. Troubles with the captains arising from this situation. — 3. *Fear, distrust, and incompleteness in confessions.* — 4. *Two priests being arrested by the Inquisition, and another being sent away by the captain, the Jesuits have to take care of the parish churches again, so e.g., Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Corrado at Tidore.* — 5. *Maluku is populated by the rabble of Portugal, India, and, lately, New Spain. Trouble of being a parish priest among such wicked people. The bishop, living far away, is not held in regard; the Jesuits are considered scrupulous.* — 6. *In Manila the bishop pretended to visit the religious as if they were parish priests; they shifted their Christians off to him and locked themselves up in their convents. This could happen also in Maluku. Complaints about the bishop.* — 7. *Better being a baker or a cook than a parish priest in Maluku. The secular priests often give up their parishes.* — 8. *Points to an abuse: Maluku needs well instructed Fathers, whereas those sent from India prove to be little prepared.* — 9. *Requests recent editions of the* Compendium Indicum *and of papal bulls.* — 10. *Troubles with a chief whose new wife renegaded and is akin.* — 11. *The hostile if allied king of Tidore. Decline of Christianity, even among the Portuguese.* — 12. *Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz is stationed in Labuha.* — 13. *And Fr. Francisco da Cunha in Ambon; he does not manage to learn Malay.* — 14. *Conclusion.*

† Jesus
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Aos 4 de Fevereiro de 1588 recebi em Tydore huma de V.R. de 16 de Junho de 1586 juntamente com as de N.R.^{do} P.^{e} Geral, e com ellas a consolação que não posso declarar, principalmente por ter reposta de algumas cousas que no mesmo tempo escrevi ao P.^{e} Provincial Alexandre Valignano, às quaes, posto que por duas vias, se não tem respondido. E assi, avendo 4 annos que estou neste Maluco, até agora não tive reposta de nada que escrevesse a Goa, por causa de se perder huma via em hum navio e a outra ir à China. Digo isto pera que V.R. entenda o desemparo em que vivemos. E posto que se tenha dado ordem que cá nos resolvamos com o P.^{e} Provincial, não estranhe tentaremos por todas as vias achar remedio pera as duvidas que se nos offerecem. E com mayor rezão por ver que dentro de hum anno e meyo podem daqui hir as cartas por via de Manila a Roma e vir em outro tanto tempo a reposta, que hé causa de grande consolação pera os que neste degredo vivemos.

2. O anno passado dei conta a V.R. de como viera por Visitador, por ordem do P.^{e} Provincial Alexandre Valignano, o P.^{e} Antonio Marta que juntamente com a nossa armada veyo de Europa [1]. E como

[1] Both Marta and Nunes sailed to India in the fleet of 1583 but in different ships (WICKI, *Liste* p. 277).

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trazia do Inquisidor da India commissão pera devassar e proceder até prender e mãodar pera a India os portuguezes e mistiços, e aos naturaes da terra castigar como lhe parecer, agora direi o como procede este negocio e as difficuldades que delle nacem. Porque, posto que em parte seja cousa de grande serviço de Deos, todavia nos faz mui odiosos com os capitães assi das fortalezas como da viage, por ser necessario obrigá-los com censuras a arrecadar os prezos e levá-los a entregar ao Inquisidor da India, o que não se faz nem pode fazer sem algum estrondo e inquietação nossa.

3. Alem disto, como a gente não hé tam ladina nem excercitada nas cousas de Deos, nos temem demaziadamente. E hé occasião pera que não se confesse inteiramente e nos arguão de quebrantadores do sigillo sacramental [2], obrigando-os a se descobrir pera alcançarem o beneficio da absolvição.

4. Outro embaraço nos sobreveyo este anno. E hé que, posto que estavamos desembaraçados de ter conta com a administração dos sacramentos e [395*v*] mais obrigações de parrochos, por o Bispo de Malaca [3] ter provido de vigairos a instancia do P.e Provincial [4], todavia este anno fiquamos outra vez[a] no mesmo laço, por hirem presos por a Inquisição o vigairo de Amboyno e outro clerigo que neste Maluco [5] residia, e tambem o capitão fazer embarcar o vigairo deste Tydore [6] por certas differenças que com elle teve. E assi, ou por viverem mal ou por não serem de gosto dos capitães, são lançados fora. E o P.e Rogerio Conrrado fica neste Tydore pera dizer missa e confessar como religioso da Companhia, mas não entender nem se encarregar de cousa nenhuma do que toca ao officio de vigairo se a extrema necessidade o não constranger; e os moradores livres e desembaraçados pera viverem como luteros [7] com quantas mancebas lhe vier à[b] vontade, e quantas injustiças e forças gente desta laya costuma fazer.

5. Porque bem entende V.R. que Brasil e Maluco não se povoa

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[2] That is, of the secret of the confessional.

[3] D. João Ribeiro Gaio.

[4] Fr. Alessandro Valignano.

[5] Tidore.

[6] The name of the captain was Duarte Pereira de Sampaio; and the unlucky vicar was Father António Ferreira (*Boletim da Filmoteca* V 555: letter of the bishop of Malaka to Filip II of December 31, 1588; Cf. JACOBS, *Vicars* 282).

[7] *Luteros*, or *luteranos*, in those years general name for all reformers and their followers, and even for all those who deviated from good Christian morals.

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senão de quantos açoutados e desorelhados vem de todos os caceres da[c] India e Portugal. E agora se accrescentão os de Nova Espanha que vem en socorro desta fortaleza, em cuja comparação os portuguezes ficão sendo religiosos. Julgue pois agora V.R. que quietação terá o religioso que tiver a seu cargo tam má canalha sem medo nem temor de Deos nem das justiças. Porque nestas partes com tanta facilidade se matão como se fossem galinhas sem nisso aver nenhum genero de castigo. E com tanta facilidade tomão as molheres alheas dos naturaes da terra, sabendo-o os capitães, como se não fora[d] nenhum peccado. Sobre tudo isto se accrescenta não terem nenhum medo nem respeito ao Bispo, por estar mui longe e por entenderem que com qualquer leve pena pecuniaria acabão tudo com elle. E a nós nos tem por homens escrupulosos e agastados se os reprehendemos.

6. Outro inconveniente não menor se segue, que a experiencia em Manilla se tem visto, e hé que o Bispo pode praetender, conforme ao capitulo 11 da[e] sessão 25 do Concilio Tridentino [8], querer-nos visitar como a curas. O que quis fazer o Bispo de Manilla [9] com favor de Sua Majestade, e por essa causa lhe emcamparão todos os religiosos de S. Francisco e S. Agostinho a christandade que à sua conta tinhão, e se recolherão a seus moesteiros a fazer vida monastica e não entenderem mais que, conforme a seus institutos, ajudar o proximo da maneira que em Europa o fazem [10]. E todos os tem por homens prudentes por não quererem acceitar ta[l] subjeição. O que cuido que, se se não atalha com tempo, nos acontecerá a nós porque, como o Bispo [396r] seja todo jurista, não entende em outra cousa que em jurdição e a dá a taes homens que, de tres delles, dous vão presos por a Inquisição e outro por ter brigas com o capitão.

7. Veja V.R. se appetecerá nenhum religioso ajudar ao proximo com taes sobrosos. Eu de mim digo que, se algum hora cuidara que avia de ser parocho de Maluco ou Brasil, que antes apprendera pera[f] forneiro ou cozinheiro. E não sou eu o soo deste parecer, mas os mesmos sacerdotes seculares se vêm tam desautorizados e desprezados que, dando de mão a todo interesse spiritual e temporal, largão de boa vontade as frequezias sobre que tem prometido obediencia ao seu

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[8] « In monasteriis seu domibus virorum seu mulierum, quibus imminet animarum cura personarum saecularium . . . personae tam regulares quam saeculares huiusmodi curam exercentes subsint . . . iurisdictioni, visitationi et correctioni episcopi » (Sessio 25, caput 11).

[9] Fray Domingo de Salazar OP.

[10] On this conflict in Manila, see COSTA, *Jesuits in the Philippines* 258-259.

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Bispo. Dilato-me tanto neste ponto pera que V.R. saiba o que passa, quando por via da India se isto tratar com N. Reverendo P.e Geral.

8. Tambem folgaria que V.R. o advirtisse de hum abuso que cá há. Porque, como a gente com quem tratamos hé tam exercitada em a maldade, como são de ordinario homens de limoeiros [11] e emxovias e troncos, hé necessario que os que hão-de tratar suas conscientias sejão muy destros officiaes e confessores. E acontece pello contrario que se pratica na India que não são necessarios homens letrados em Maluco. E assy se mãodão Padres que difficultosamente saibão casos, e tam mal exercitados nas confissões, que eu posso dizer de mim que nunqua tinha confessado a ninguem, e a noite que me parti aprendi a forma da absolvição [12]. Donde se seguem grandes inconvenientes e embaraços de conscientia a pessoas dos nossos, que estão hum e dous annos sem se confessar nem ter com quem se resolvão e aconselhem.

9. As bullas da India novamente impressas e o Compendio Indico renovado ainda cá não chegarão. Peço a V.R. por amor de Deos queira encommendar a alguem que nos faça participantes de semelhantes cousas por esta via de Nova Espanha, como tambem de alguma Bulla da Cea [13]. Porque as que cá vem[g] são tam antigas, que hé pejo mostrá-las aos que novamente vem a estas partes, que sabem serem mudadas seis, sete vezes e nós não temos disso nenhuma noticia.

10. Aconteceo que hum sangaje[h] [14], que hé como duque em Europa, se embaraçasse com huma meya irmãa de sua molher defunta, filha d'el-rei de Bachão e de huma sua manceba. Pedem dispensação, e posto que parece necessario por conservar a paz entre o rey e o sangaje, parece algum tanto duro por ser no primeiro grao de affinidade. Temo-los entretidos pera ver se se offerece algum desvio ou esperança de remedio. Folgaria que V.R. me desse seu parecer porque, posto que os privilegios o concedem, todavia parece alguma indecentia, par-

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[11] *Limoeiro* is a lemon tree; it was also the name of the principal prison of Lisbon.

[12] Fr. Pero Nunes arrived, not yet a priest, at Goa about September 1583. When, in 1584, he sailed to Maluku, he was a priest. Wicki holds that he was ordained in Goa in 1584, not giving a source for this opinion (DI XII 15*). Nunes' words show the complete unpreparedness with which sometimes Fathers were sent out into far-off missions.

[13] That is, *In Coena Domini*; see D 70,7.

[14] Of Labuha; see D 70,4, which, however, stresses one side of the difficult case, i.e., apostasy and propaganda for Islam, whereas the present document points to another side, the affinity; but see also no. 12.

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ticularmente onde há tão maos portugu[e]zes que nos grozão[15] disso e nada se aedifficão.

11. O estado de Maluco hé o mesmo que tenho escripto, somente lançaren-se com el-rei de Tydore alguns dos ternates. E posto que o Tydore seja nosso amigo, contudo hé mouro e não nos tem senão por ter necessidade de nós. E fazendo-se forte hé pera mais nos aperrear como seus cativos, e não como amigos, por os agravos que cada dia nos faz. E assi, se saimos de guerra dos ternates, caimos em outra pior e tanto [396*v*] mais perigosa, quanto mais occultamente nos persegue debaixo de capa de amigo[16]. E assi a christandade não tem nenhum aumento, antes cada dia retrocederem não somente os naturaes mas ainda portuguezes e castelhanos. Temos todavia os Celebes[17] aonde até agora residio o P.e Rogerio Conrado. E agora, vindo a se confessar, foi necessario ficar nesta fortaleza por a causa que tenho dado.

12. Na Labua está o P.e Gabriel da Cruz com grande afflição por o sangaje estar, como digo, embaraçado com huma cunhada sua, que hé arrenegada e acomete cada dia ao sangaje que se faça mouro; que hé o que mais pretendem, ou que os despensem, o que sem difficuldade não pode ser, e assi nos tras perplexos.

13. Em Amboyno, onde há 33 lugares de christãos que nem ainda o nome de christãos sabem, está o P.e Francisco da Cunha que o anno passado veyo[18]. Hé bom religioso, mas tem quasi perdidas as esperanças de poder aprender a lingoa malaya, sem a qual não se pode fazer quasi nenhum fruito com os novamente convertidos; e assi os demais que cá residimos a sabemos quanto hé necessario pera confessar e caticizar.

14. Isto se me offereceo pera dar a V.R. alguma noticia do que se pode esperar desta terra e o fruito que os nossos podem fazer, e o perigo em que vivem expostos a mil perigos e desastres. Por amor de Deos que não se enfade V.R. com estas preluxidades[19], porque o cuidar que com favor de V.R podemos ter algum alivio, desabafo com esperança de o alcançar com N.R.do P.e Geral ter quem lhe possa dizer o que por cá há, a quem não escreverei tam largamente por não lhe occupar o tempo, e tambem por não navegar tanto em popa com vella

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[15] Read *glosão*, criticize.

[16] This enmity under the guise of friendship was shown for the first time in 1580 (D 25 note 4).

[17] People of Siau.

[18] On March 13, 1587 (D 59,1).

[19] Read *prolixidades*.

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de[f] lingoa espanhola[20]. Nos sanctos sacrificios de V.R. muito me encomendo.

De Tidore, 5 de Março de 1588.

De V.R. indino filho em Christo,

Pero Nunez.

[*Address*] † Ao muy Reverendo Padre em Christo, o P.[e] Manoel[j] Rodriguez, asistente da Companhia de Jesus, em Roma. De Maluco.

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[a] vezes *ms.* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* as ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* de ‖ [d] *interl.* ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* de ‖ [f] *del.* alla ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* ha ‖ [h] *del.* se ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* da ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* Pero Nunez

Lost Letters

71*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Visitor of Maluku, to Fr. General, Rome; March 1588.*

D 70,6: « Escreví algunas dubdas que se han offrecido »; D 81,1: « Ogni anno ».

71*b*. — *Br. Giampaolo Manfrida, Ambon, to Fr. Minister of the Professed House in Rome; about March 1588.*

D 87,3: « De tudo o que se me tinha offrecido pola viajem . . . de Amboyno escrevi ». Cf. D 65*c*.

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FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR: « SUMMARIO » OF DIRECTIVES ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

[Goa], April 1588

I Bibliography: Schütte, *Valignano* I/I p. XLII no. 192.

II Text: *ARSI, Goa 6* ff. 60r-91*v*, in 8°. Original in Portuguese. Beautiful nimble hand, generally easy to read. Division into six chapters of different lenght, subdivision into numbered paragraphs. Some intermitting blank pages. On f. 91*v* a Roman note says « Sumario de los ordenes dados por los Padres Generales tocantes al govierno de la India, hecho por el Padre Valiñano de commissión de N.P. el año 1588. Y revisto en Roma por el Padre Emanuel Rodriguez, Assistente, y Padre Francisco de Monclaro, Procurador de la India, el año 1590 ».

This *Sumario* is a vademecum written by Valignano for the Provincial of India, containing directives for the governing of his province, and sent to Rome to be approved by Fr. General, and for his own information.

III Our Edition: We print here the parts referring directly to Maluku,

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[20] The official letters had to be written preferably in Spanish.

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which are in chap. 1, paragraphs 2 (f. 61*r-v*) and 10 (ff. 62*v*-63*r*). and in chap. 5, paragraph 19 (f. 85*v*). We are well aware of a certain arbitrariness of our selection. For a full understanding of the way of governing the Indian Province, to which Maluku belonged, one should consult the entire document, soon to be published in the *Documenta Indica*.

Text

1. *There should be a common superior of the Malabar region, and likewise one for the northern parts. They depend wholly on Fr. Provincial. — 2. Such a common superior can not yet be appointed for the unit Malacca-Maluku. But Maluku will have a regional superior like it always had. — 3. Fr. Provincial will not visit the lands beyond Malacca personally but through other Fathers. — 4. Not until the king provides otherwise will anything be changed in the way of temporal support of the Jesuits in Maluku.*

Summario de algumas cousas que pertencem ao governo da Provincia da India pera instrução do P. Provincial, feito pelo P.e Alexandro Valignano, visitador, per ordem do N. Padre Geral, em Abril do anno de 88, e tirado das cartas e ordens que mandarão os mesmos Geraes. [...] [61*r*]

Das cousas que pertencem em comum ao governo desta Provincia. Cap. 1°

[...]

1. 2. Pera que as partes da India sejão milhor governadas e visitadas, se deve fazer hum superior universal nas partes do Malavar, o qual será dependente de todo do Provincial; e não seja superior imediato de nenhum lugar particular, nem se chame vice-provincial nem superintendente, mas somente superior das partes do Malavar, avendo pera isso homens sufficientes: por ser assi determinado por N.P.e Everardo na dita reposta do 1° artigo da 1ª Congregação Indica[1], e avê-llo confirmado N.P.e Claudio e declarado conforme ao parecer da Congregação na reposta ao artigo 7° da 2ª Congregação Indica[2]. E outro superior semelhante se deve fazer pera as partes do Norte, como o determinou o mesmo N.P.e Claudio com parecer da dita Congregação na reposta ao artigo 8 da mesma [61*v*] 2ª Congregação Indica[3].

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[1] First Jesuit Provincial Congregation of India, of December 1575. For the question at issue here, see DI X 320-321.

[2] Second Provincial Congregation, November 1583; see DI XIII 325.

[3] Ibidem.

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2. E posto que se tratasse que fora bom fazer-se tambem outro superior que entendesse sobre Malaca e as partes de Amboino e Maluco, todavia finalmente N.P. Claudio determinou que não era tempo de fazer-se por agora, como parece na reposta ao artigo 6° da 2ª Congregação Indica [4]. Todavia há-de aver sempre hum superior universal das partes de Amboino e Maluco, como o ouve ategora, feito por ordem de N.P.e Diogo Laines [5], como parece no 1° extracto, numero 37 [6].

[... 62*v*]

3. 10. Pera o bom governo desta Provincia, e por ser em ella necessaria a presença do Provincial, ordenarão nosos Padres Diogo Laines [7] e Francisco de Borja [8] que residisse sempre na India, visitando por si mesmo somente os lugares della, mas não passasse a Malaca, e aos lugares que estam de Malaca pera laa mandasse visitar por outros, como parece no 1° extracto n° 68, 77 e 87 [9]. E o mesmo determinou N.P.e Claudio na reposta do artigo 11 da 2ª Congregação Indica [10], encomendando-lhe que tivesse respeito em visitar os mais lugares da India conforme ao parecer da Congregação, [63*r*] ainda que por justos respeitos não o quis obrigar totalmente a isso, especialmente sopondo que avia de aver sempre superiores universaes assi nas partes do Malavar como no Norte, e o mesmo confirma e encomenda nas cartas, como parece no extracto do P. Valignano, n° 137 [11].

[... 83*r*]

Das cousas que pertencem à casa professa, collegio e noviciado de Goa e alguns outros lugares particulares da India. Cap. 5°

[... 85*v*]

4. 19. O modo com que se sustenta Maluco, mandando-se-lhe de Malaca panos, que lá lhe servem pera o gasto em lugar de dinheiro, que em Maluco não corre [12], e dos bares [13] de cravo forros que de lá

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[4] D 41,3.

[5] DM I 246.

[6] DI X 605.

[7] See DM I 359.

[8] DM I 477.

[9] DI X 615, 617, and 620.

[10] D 41, 6.

[11] Not yet published. Perhaps the « compendio que o mesmo Padre [Valignano] fez dos seus extractos », mentioned in DI XIII 715.

[12] On cloths as merchandise in SE Asia, see MEILINK-ROELOFSZ 95-96 (and Index 420-421); they often were a means of payment.

[13] On the *bahar*, see D 5 note 8.

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os Padres mandão a Malaca com licença de Sua Magestade, como lhe concedeo pera sua sustentação[14], se poderá usar, não se innovando nelle nada até N. Senhor de alguma maneira os prover de outra renda milhor, pelas rezões que se derão na consulta do anno 75 pelo P.e Visitador, na pregunta 45[15]. E assi o ordenou N.P.e Everardo na reposta do artigo 44 da 1ª Congregação Indica[16].

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FR. ANTONIO MARTA, VISITOR OF MALUKU, TO FR. PROVINCIAL IN GOA REPORT OF VISITATION

[TIDORE, APRIL], 1588
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHURHAMMER, *Quellen* no. 6183; WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 5; STREIT IV p. 307.

II AUTHORS: SOUZA II 3 1 1 (on Siau); II 3 1 31 (on Moro «segundo affirma o P. Antonio Marta em um tractado manuscripto»); II 3 2 20 (on Labuha); WESSELS, *Amboina* 91-95; ID., *Batjan* 137-141; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 386-391.

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[14] DM I 616.

[15] DM I 666.

[16] DM I 669. The same *Sumario* contains two directives that indirectly touch the Maluku mission. The first concerns the Jesuits in the Inquisition: «Deve o Provincial prohibir que os nossos não assistão aos actos da Inquisição como inquisidores, ou agentes, ou commissarios . . . ainda que nestas partes se concede que sejão os nossos consultores . . . sendo avisados que não se metão em mais do que convem . . . Quando forem chamados os nossos na Inquisição pera calificação de alguma proposição pertencente à fé, não há pera que se mostrem difficiles» (f.69r no. 19). The second forbids the Jesuits to take part in the consultations held by the captains of the fortresses: «Procurem os nossos quanto for possivel de se escusar com modestia de ir às consultas que acostumão fazer os capitães das fortalezas da India acerca de diversas cousas que não são convenientes a noso Instituto . . . Tambem, emquanto puder, se escusem de confessar aos ditos capitães . . . E quando [os capitães] fazem alguma cousa injusta ou mal feita, será bom adverti-los privadamente quando commodamente se puder fazer. Mas em nenhuma maneira se reprendão publicamente na pregação» (f. 79v, no. 33). These prescripts sometimes will prove to be of actual importance. See D 1 note 9.

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III TEXT: London, *School of Oriental and African Studies, Marsden Collection, MS 12876* ff. 1*r*-26*v*. These pages are both preceded and followed by an unnumbered folio. Autograph in Portuguese. The first unnumbered page contains the previous autograph title « Enformação da christandade de Maluco dada o anno 1588. Primeira via », and a later archivistic location number, presumably of the Goa Jesuit archives to which the document once belonged, « Gav[eta] N. 42 ». Its *verso* bears the number 12876, and on a mounted slip of paper two notes in English, « Marsden Collection 12876 », and « Information respecting the state of Christianity in the Molucca islands, transmitted in the year 1588. In the Portuguese language ». Folio 26*v* and the last unnumbered folio are blank.

That this is an autograph is proved by a comparison with many of Marta's letters (e.g., in *Goa 13 II* ff. 353-356 and 362-364), who always showed himself averse from using an amanuensis. The text is divided into 26 chapters of very divergent length, once displaying an annoying irregularity in the numbering: chapters . . . 12, 14, 13, 14, 15 . . . etc. Though generally the chapter titles furnish a clear division of the contents, yet some repetitions and overlappings have not been avoided. The report is worded in the Portuguese language, but time and again, the way of writing and spelling betrays the Italian origin of the author. He writes *maniera* for *maneira*, sometimes *da* for *de*, *portughes* for *portugues*, *enseñar* for *ensinar*, *señal* for *sinal*, and always curiously *iglesia* for *igreja*. Strange is also the orthography of *moçço*, *cabeçça*.

IV DATE: The report is of the year 1588 as it is explicitly said in the title. But of which month and day? Of course, a document of this size was not written in one day. At what time has it been completed? The indications for an answer to this question are scarce. The first is that the four new Jesuits who were sent to Maluku in 1587 (D 67,1), still unknown to Fr. Nunes writing on March 5, 1588 (DD 70-71), are already listed here (no. 19) as residing. Hence the report was finished after that date. A second indication is that it is said of Br. António Gonçalves that he « returns to India » (no. 19), and « now goes there » (no. 25), words insinuating that the Brother and this report were to sail in the same galleon which was due to weigh anchor in Ambon in May or June. It is only reasonable that Gonçalves, who was ill and considered old, should leave after a younger Brother, Giampaolo Manfrida, had arrived. Thirdly, Marta was a man who rapidly got through his work; having arrived in Ambon in March 1587 he sent a complete report on that mission to Goa after only two or three months (see here no. 1; lost document 60*a*). He cannot be expected to need more than a year for his information on the rest of Maluku, i.e., for the present document. And as it, after being finished, had to be carried to Ambon from Tidore, which was possible until early May, it must have been completed in April 1588.

V. ADDRESSEE: Marta reported to Fr. Provincial in Goa. He had been charged with the visitation by Valignano (D 71,2). But meanwhile the office of provincial had been transferred to Fr. Pero Martins in September 1587. So Fr. Martins was the man in office who received this report.

VI PRINTED: By Artur Basílio DE SÁ V 89-129; he skipped however no. 24.

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Text

1. *Wrote in 1587 about Ambon, informs now on Tidore.* — 2. *The islands of the* MALUKU GROUP *and other neighbouring islands.* — 3. *The four kings of the Maluku islands.* — 4. *How they practise Islam.* — 5. *People's food.* — 6. *Their way of dressing.* — 7. *Their housing.* — 8. *They do not work much and live in poverty.* — 9. *Having only bamboo houses they easily move their lodgings.* — 10. *Sorcerers and suangis; polygamy and the use of drugs.* — 11. *People's pacific mood; duties of men and women; their consultations and money fines.* — 12. *Good natural disposition to receive Christianity.* — 13. *All islands are easily reachable, were it not for the war.*

14. *Moro, Bacan, Siau, Manado, and Kauripa once received* CRISTIANITY; *only in Siau and Alabua a small remnant remained.* — 15. *First Christians in Maluku; work of secular priests; Francis Xavier. Criticism on Ribadeneira's Life of Ignatius Loyola in respect of the Moro islands.* — 16. *First Jesuit missionaries after Xavier.* — 17. *Original organization: Fr. Superior in Ternate; other Jesuits in Moro, Bacan, and Ambon. From a central residence other villages were visited. Only a few people were capable of confession and eucharist.* — 18. *This way of working lasted until the loss of the fortress of Ternate.* — 19. *List of 38 Jesuits who worked in Maluku between 1547 and 1588.* — 20. *Some simple statistics about them.* — 21. *Results: Moro and Bacan were entirely Christian; Siau, Manado, and Kauripa for the most part.*

22. *In* MORO *three islands were Christian: Morotai, Rau, and Morotia.* — 23. *Names of the 28 Christian villages of Moro.* — 24. *The three central residences there.* — 25. *Never more than three missionaries in the Moro area.* — 26. *Each of them visited eight or more villages from the centre.* — 27. *Work of Jesuit Brothers illustrated by that of Br. António Gonçalves. Confessions were not frequent.* — 28. *Other priestly activities.*

29. *Christianity in* BACAN *was occasioned by a misfortune.* — 30. *Bacan's position and products. Population sank from ten to two thousand. Care of the Christians. All of them apostatized.* — 31. *Description of* ALABUA *island.* — 32. *The sengaji of Alabua and his Christian people.* — 33. *Conversion of the sengaji in 1582.* — 34. *Church of the central residence. Risky position of the Christians.* — 35. *Their way of dressing.* — 36. *Their food and housing.* — 37. *Occupation of men and women.* — 38. *Poor results of the mission, and the reasons for that.* — 39. *Visiting the dispersed Christians. Nobody is able to receive the Holy Eucharist.* — 40. *The Father's livelihood, his household, his church.* — 41. *Risks of navigation between Tidore and Alabua.* — 42. *Results are poor as long as the war lasts.*

43. *Conversions of Manado and Kauripa, made by Fr. Diogo de Magalhães.* — 44. *At Manado, Fr. Magalhães baptized the king of* SIAU. — 45. *Position of Siau island.* — 46. *Dangers of navigation from Tidore to Siau.* — 47. *Produce of Siau island.* — 48. *A good half of the population are Christians, i.e., 1300 to 1400 souls.* — 49. *Principal towns: Pere, residence of the king; and Oula, former royal residence, which in September 1587 was destroyed by Ternate. Island Maiquiluri [Makalehi].* — 50. *Hostile islands of Tagolandan [Tahulandang] and Sangi.* — 51. *Christian village of Sabão [Sawang] on Sangi island.* — 52. *After the first missionary, Fr. Magalhães, Siau was only visited by the way. Once a Jesuit stayed there for six months.* — 53. *Constancy of Siau Christians. Requested by King D. João, Fr. Pero Nunes sent a Fa-*

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ther there in 1585. — 54. But all missionary work will be fruitless as long as Ternate is not destroyed. — 55. The Christians are little rooted in the faith, but very deeply in pagan customs. Yet some useful work is being done. Two Fathers should be stationed there. — 56. People's pagan sacrifices, sorceries at child birth and at illness. — 57. Their way of taking an oath. Ordeals. — 58. Funeral ceremonies. — 59. Made Christians, they retain pagan rites. — 60. Mission work of the Father there. — 61. His livelihood comes from Tidore ; has no house of his own, and only an unfinished church. — 62. Lack of instruction and being occupied in destroying enemies obstruct Christian life.

63. After the fall of Ternate the Portuguese were allowed to build a fortress on TIDORE *island. — 64. Island, king, products, Portuguese fort. — 65. House, church, and grounds of the Jesuits. — 66. Ministry of the Fathers in the church. They can only work among the Portuguese. — 67. Father's livelihood is provided for at Malaka ; dearth of food. — 68. A larger number of houseboys is justified. — 69. Jesuit way of buying their own cloves and sending them to Malacca. They are charged, especially in Manila, with being engaged in trade. — 70. Will try to remedy this defect, but to support life the Fathers need more than the four bahars of cloves the king allowed them to sell. — 71. They had another piece of ground with house and church ; it is now let to the Misericordia. — 72. How the Fathers live there. — 73. Two difficulties : a captain little devoted to interests of religion ; a vicar picking a quarrel with the Fathers at the merest trifle. — 74. Only fruit of the mission work : keeping the few Christians in the faith, and animating the Portuguese. — 75. As long as a Muslim king is mightier than the Portuguese the faith cannot be propagated. — 76. The only remedy is a powerful fleet. Up to now it is not sent for two reasons : the sins of the Portuguese, and the many other and more important things the far-off king of Portugal has to think of.*

77. To do his duty well, Fr. Superior should continuously be sailing. This is impossible for several reasons. — 78. For visiting all the residences he needs two entire years. — 79. Risks of such a life. — 80. The Fathers in their double office of parish priests and of vicars. — 81. Several ministries of the Fathers in the residences. — 82. Double and opposite observance of ecclesiastical feasts. — 83. Poor motivation of practising the faith. — 84. Seven reasons why the Fathers produce so little fruit. — 85. Remedies against these evils. — 86. Qualities required in the missioners. — 87. Need of Fathers thoroughly grounded in theology. A special reason for that. — 88. Far distance from India makes this the more necessary. — 89. Desirability of a « seminarium » to train young boys in the faith as a help to the Fathers. — 90. Material possessions : houses, churches, ornaments. — 91. On houses, houseboys, food, clothing, expences, illness, media of circulation. — 92. Revenues of the Fathers. — 93. Conclusion.

Enformação da christandade de Maluco dada ao P.e Provincial, do P. Antonio Marta no anno 1588

Capitulo primeiro. Do nome de Maluco

1. O anno passado dei[a] enformação a V. Rev. da christandade de Amboino [1], por ser a primeira que visitei. Agora lhe darei enformação

[1] Lost document, 60*a*.

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da christandade de Tidor, quanto podei [2] ver e entender della neste principio. E por caminar nesta materia com alguma orden, e pintar a V. Rev. mais do natural a qualidade desta christandade, começaremos primeiro do que tocca ao temporal destas ilhas de Maluco, e despois disso veremos a trattar da christandade e das outras cousas que pertencem a ella.

2. Este nome Maluco, tomado em geral, comprende não somente as ilhas de Amboino, por nacer tambem nellas o cravo, mas propriamente falando, per Maluco entendem os moradores delle a ilha de Ternate, Tidor, Pulocavalli [3], Moutel, Maquien, Cagioa [4]; as ilhas de fora: Bachão [5], Alabua [6], Batachina, Geilolo, Iris [7], e a ilha do Moro, ainda que em todas estas não naça o cravo. Mas todas são Malucas, por estar todas juntas e participar dos mesmos costumes. Afora destas á outras ilhas pera o norte, que são tambem vezinhas e quasi juntas às sobredittas, scilicet, Meao, Tagolandan, Siao, [1*v*] Manado e Sanghir [8], mas estas pertencen mais ao Selebes que ao Maluco, e dellas como de Selebes trattaremos.

3. Nestas ilhas de Maluco há quattro reinos e dezasette sangajes [9] que, a modo de Europa, são como duques ou condes. Os reinos são: Ternate, Geilolo, Tidor e Bachão; mas o de Ternate hé o mais poderoso e nomeado por estas partes, e ategora fora já rey de todo Maluco se os portugheses não o estorvarão, e todavia estorvassem. Mas estes, ainda que sejão reis [b] e tenhão muito señorio, todavia não tem no esterior aquella magnificentia que se lhes convem, parte por serem homens naturalmente agrestes e rudes, parte por ser pobres nem ter industria por se fazer riccos, ainda que o possão fazer, e por isso ordinariamente

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[2] Portuguese *pude*, Italian *potei*.

[3] Other name of the islet Mare, due south of Tidore (See, e.g., VALENTYN I b 93). ENI (II 675; VIII 1490) does not mention this name, and CLERCQ (*Ternate* 76 note 2) even ridicules it. The Malay name *Pulu kawali* could possibly mean Watchmen's Island.

[4] That is, Moti, Makian, and Kayoa, southward following Mare.

[5] The present-day Kasiruta.

[6] The present-day Bacan.

[7] Hiri, islet due north of Ternate.

[8] Modern names: Mayu, Tahulandang, Siau, Manado (which is not a separate island, but a harbour on the northern tip of Selebes), and Sangi.

[9] For *sengaji*, see D 17 note 22. That there were seventeen of them could be of importance to the historians.

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vestem e comem mal, e som pedonhos[10] como qualquer homem bem pobre de Portugal.

4. Todos estes reis de Maluco e todos os seus vassallos são mouros, e entre elles há cacises, e mesquitas feitas de madera, mas quanto ao culto da sua ceita são muito inferiores aos turcos, não já porque não fação caso da sua lei, mas porque não tem mestres que os enseñem, por ser estes que tem ignorantes e pouco versados nas ceremonias da sua superstição falsa. Com tudo isso, todos são mui arraigados nella e comummente são muy osservantes das regras e ceremonias que enseñão os cacises. E se algum delles se aparta hum [2*r*] pouco do caminho, são os reis e os principais do reino, porque estes por deradeiro nem são mouros nem christãos nem judeus, mas cuido eu que são ateos, con os quais digão: Edamus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur[10a]. Há somente entre elles o sangaje da ilha de Alabua que hé christão como diremos abaixo.

Capitulo 2°. Dos costumes dos malucos

5. Hé esta gente no comer muy parca, e geralmente não comem nas suas casas mais de huma vez à noite, sostentando-si o demais tempo con betre[11] e arreca[12] que todo dia estão mastigando. O seu comer hé bredos, peixe, sagu[c], fruttas e alguma galinha, mas muitas poucas vezes. Não bebem vinho por serem mouros e os mais osservantes, nem tãopouco tuaca[13], mas os reis e grandes bebem muito bem o vinho quando o poden aver.

6. Vestem os mais nobres hum baju[d][14] branco de panos finos, e trazem cingido hum panno rematado con muitas dobras[e], e na cabeçça hum pano branco amarrado, ou huma coroa de fulas. Os outros mais baixos vestem bajus e calçõis azuis de canichim[15], ou vão encachiados, e todos geralmente descalzos, tirando el-rey que traz de quando em quando humas chinelas ou zapatos a modo dos portugheses.

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[10] *Pedonho* does not occur in any dictionary. Some interpretations tempted (e.g., by SÁ V 91 note 7) do not satisfy. Supposedly Marta wanting to say *pedintes* created a neologism of his own.

[10a] Is 22 13.

[11] Betel, leaf of the Piper betle, used with the areca nut for chewing.

[12] *Areka*, a palm tree; its fruit is the areca nut.

[13] *Tuak*, palm wine, toddy.

[14] *Baju*, jacket with long narrow sleeves.

[15] *Canequim*, an Indian white cotton cloth (DALGADO I 202).

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As molheres baixas vão vestidas da mesma maneira, con bajus de canichim, con hum pano cingido que lhes achega até a metad dos pees.

7. Tem casas baixas feitas de bambus[f] [16], [2v] postas no meio de figheras [17] e outras arvores. Assentan-si nellas em bailés [18] ou no chão, e dormem da mesma maneira emburilhados em hum lenzuol ou pano con a cabeza baixa, e alguns dos mais riccos usão de almofadas.

8. Lavan-si quantas vezes lhe vem a vontade, e nisto algumas vezes por superstição. São homens de pouco trabalho e por isto se contentão de pouco, e com qualquer cousa se sustentão. São pobres e pouco cobiçosos porque, quando elles tem con que vestir e comer, do demais não lhes dá nada; e se per aventura ajuntão alguma cousa, não hé pera se valer dellas e viver mais largamente, mas pera pagar penas al rey, quando por alguma culpa forem condenados a isso.

9. As povoaçõis donde pousão são todas de casas feitas de bambu, cubertas de palha, postas em lugares altos por medo dos inimigos. E estas povoaçõis mudão quando querem, porque com esta mudança não perdem nada. E esta hé a causa, entre as outras, que pera cá não há cousa que mostri grandeza nem industria, porque ora pousão em hum lugar e ora em outro, e tudo o que fazem hé de madera e dahi a nada se desfaz. E ainda que tenhão aqui pedra e materia pera fazer cal, e tambem madera muito boa, todavia por não ser curiosos não tomão trabalho de fazer nada mais do que lhes hé necessario pera se sustentar e viver.

10. Os vitios principais em que elles estão embaraçados, hé [3r] ser onzeneiros, feiticeiros[g], que elles chamão soanghes, os quais dizen comer as entranhas das pessoas [19]. E assi, quando sospeitão disso ou sonhão com elles, os fazem matar e despois tomão os cabellos e o sangue do morto e se untão com elle, e cuidão que com esta meezinha não hão-de morer.

Tomão quantas molheres querem e por este fin comem anfião e betre todo o dia, mas esteriormente são ben acostumados nem mostrão alguma desorden nesta materia.

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[16] *Bambu*, bamboo, giant grass plant; its stems prove useful for various purposes.

[17] The Portuguese used *figo* and *figueira* for the banana and its plant.

[18] The Malay term is *balai-balai*, a kind of couch, bench, and bed in one. The word *baileu* (of D 21 note 19) is not likely to be intended here.

[19] The *suangi*, kind of evil spirit or vampire in human shape, believed to kill people by invisibly eating their bowels and drinking their blood. Consult *Treatise* 180-181.

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11. Pelo contrairo hé gente muy modesta, obediente e pacifica, e assi entre elles nunca há brigas nem revoltas, e todo homem save o que lhe conven e delle se contenta sim buscar maniera de se levantar mais alto. Os homens pescão e lanção a terafa, e fazem embarcaçõis, e vão à guerra quando são chamados. As molheres fazem suas hortas, das quais vivem. Fazem seus conselhos todos juntos em huma casa aberta, comprida, que elles chamão bailés[20], posta em alguma parte da povoação mais commoda. Mas ordinariamente primero comem e despois de ter comido fazem a consulta. Não há tronco entre elles, mas toda a culpa se castiga con pena pecuniaria, e desta pena todos comem juntamente.

Capitulo 3°. Da abilidade dos malucos

12. Esta gente comummente hé tida de boa abilidade, e por mui disposta a riceber a lei de Deos e fazer frutto nella, ao menos [3*v*] em geral. Porque tambem há muitos entre elles que gostão de tal maniera da falsa ceita de Mafamede que não querem outra e abertamente o dizem. Mas esto hé verdad que não há entre esta gente cousa que seja contraria a riceber a nossa lei, e se agora não a ricebem hé por causa dos ternates que não querem nem deixão preegar o evangelho nas suas terras, como nem tãopouco el-rey de Tidor nem os outros reis destas partes.

Capitulo 4°. Do sitio das ilhas de Maluco

13. O sitio de huma ilha da outra não hé mui afastado e perigoso, e em todo o tempo se pode passar, tirando quando há guerra, no qual tempo não se pode passar senão com pôr-si a risco de perder a vida ou de ser cattivado. E se não fora este empedimento, se poderia ir da hum lugar a outro folgando, porque em todas as partes se acha terra e nella se pode sahir cada noite, como V.Rev. verá da carta que lhe mando pintada[21].

Capitulo 5°. Da christandade de Maluco

14. De todas as ilhas que tenho ditto acima, quattro somente[h] riceberon já a nossa santa fee, sscilicet, a ilha do Moro, a ilha de Bachão,

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[20] Here Marta's *bailes* corresponds rather to the Moluccan *baileu* or the Malay *balai*, village hall

[21] Lost map, 73*b*

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a ilha de Siao e a ilha de Manado, e tambem el-rey de Cauripa [22], mas estas tres pertencem ao Selebe, as outras tres a Maluco. [4r]

Em Ternate estava a fortaleza dos portugheses, e os nossos tinhão nella casa e iglesia que servia per os portugheses. Todas as outras ilhas seguião a falsa ceita de Mafamede. E agora de toda esta christandade não há mais que o Siao e[t] Alabua, que hé huma ilha sogeita al rey de Bachão; e estas duas tem tão poucos christãos e tão espalhados, que quasi si pode dizer que não há nada.

Capitulo 6°. Do governo antigo da christandade de Maluco

15. Esta christandade de Maluco já era começada antes de virem os da Companhia nestas partes por mão de hum sacerdote secular [23]. E o primeiro da Companhia, que chegou a Ternate, foi o P.e Mestre Francisco, de santa memoria, no anno 1542, em tempo de D. Jorge de Crasto, capitão de Maluco [24]. E despois de estar o ditto Padre nove meses em Ternate foi ter à ilha do Moro [25], donde avia tambem muitos christãos feitos já por hum sacerdote secular [26]. Esta hé a ilha da qual conta o P.e Ribadeneira na vida de N. Padre, no capitulo 7 do livro 4°, que hé abitada da gente barbara, bestial e que come gente, e que a ilha em si hé sterile, aspera[f] e agitada da continuos tremores da terra; em que parece que ecedeo muito da verdade e que se ouvera a emendar [27]. [4v] Porque a gente naturalmente hé bem inclinada e a[t] mais abil de todos os malucos, e a milhor assombrada e mais fermosa. E tambem a ilha em si hé a mais farta e abondante de arôs, sagu e peixe de todas as outras. E eu, ainda que não tenha visto a ilha, todavia esperimento en muitas pessoas que há em Tidor e em Amboino ser assi como tenho ditto acima.

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[22] The country of Kaidipan in N Selebes, where the chiefs and two thousand people were baptized in 1563 (DM I 414-416) — NB. In this paragraph for *four* islands *five* names are given, followed by a division into two groups of *three* and *three* islands.

[23] See « Pre-Xaverian Christianity in the Maluku Area », in DM I 12*-14*.

[24] Here Marta proves badly informed. Xavier's ship cast anchor in Ambon in 1546 while Jurdão de Freitas was captain of Ternate, whereas D. Jorge de Castro held this office 1539-1544.

[25] Xavier stayed in the Ambon islands from February to June 1546, then in Ternate from July to September, and in the Moro area from September to January 1547.

[26] His name was Fr. Simão Vaz.

[27] See D 46,2.

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16. Ora per tornar ao que começamos a dizer, o P.e Mestre Francisco, de santa memoria, despois de ter bautizados muitos dos moradores daquella ilha, tornou a tempo de se embarcar na nao da carreira per tornar pera Malaca[28]. E de lá despois, escrevendo a Goa, vieron pera cá o P.e João da Beira, galego de nação, o P.e Afonso de Crasto e o Irmão Nicolao Nunez[29]. E ficando hum delles em Ternate, os outros dous furon pera o Moro, que a nossa conta saria no anno[l] 1546 ou 47. Daqui despois começaram os nossos a allargar-si por estas terras, e a maneira do governo era esta, por quanto tenho alcançado da gente que naquelle tempo se achou presente e conversou com os nossos Padres, porque quanto a lembranças que se achi[m] em algum livro, não há nada disso[30].

17. Estava hum superior em Ternate e com elle hum ou dous dos nossos, porque Ternate era a fortaleza dos portugheses, donde residia o capitão e achegava a nao da carreira. Dos outros Padres parte pousava na ilha do [5r] Moro, parte em Bachão e parte em Amboino, mas sempre muito poucos em cada lugar delles, porque tambem sempre furon poucos não podendo a India mandar-lhes mais. E estes poucos trabalhavão desta maniera: pousava hum Padre em hum lugar, o mais principal de toda a ilha, donde tinha casa e iglesia, ambas de madera como são todas as casas destas partes. E despois a certo tempo visitava muitos outros lugares que elle tinha a seu cargo, bautizando nelles os meninos e casando os que estavão por isso. E despois de ter dado orden como se avia de catechizar a gente, visitava outro lugar da mesma maneira, e nisto gastava ordinariamente oito dias[31].

E quanto ao sacramento da confissão e da eucharistia, muito poucos se confessavão, parte por não ser a gente capaz e parte por não saber a lingoa da terra, e tambem pola mesma rezão muito poucos comungavão. Davão a estrema-unção a algumas pessoas e enteravão os defuntos, mas não já que fossen a buscar-los a sua casa.

18. E neste esercitio continuaron os nossos Padres con muito tra-

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[28] That is to say, Xavier sailed in a korakora to Ambon, and hence in the royal Banda ship to Malacca, April-June 1547.

[29] Juan de Beira and Nicolau Nunes arrived in Maluku in 1547; Afonso de Castro in 1549 (DM I 19* and 24*).

[30] Marta did not find a diary of the mission; the earlier Jesuits either did not keep one, which is less plausible, or they lost it.

[31] Never before in our vol. I was the working method so clearly and systematically explained, ad far as I know.

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balho até o anno 1572, que se perdeu Ternate[32], porque com elle se perdeu tambem a christandade do Moro e de Bachão. E a do Siao e de Manado e de Cauripa furon desemparadas totalmente dos nossos, ainda que o Siao não se lançasse da parte[n] dos ternates e se conservasse [5*v*] sempre con o nome de christão, e com este nome sempre pelejou[o] con os ternates.

Capitulo 7. Do numero dos Padres que governarom esta christandade

19. Ando tão miudamente descrevendo o estado desta christandade pera que V.Rev. entenda o frutto que nella se pude fazer antigamente, e que de novo se poderia fazer se tornassemos a ter cuidado della. Em toda esta christandade assim de Maluco come de Amboino, do anno 1547, en o qual tempo foi o P. Mestre Francisco, de santa memoria, o primeiro que começou a coltivar esta vigna[33], até este anno 1588, não furon mais entre Padres e Irmãos de 38, porquanto tenho alcançado de huma lembrança que tinha feito o Irmão Antonio Gonçalvez, e ainda que possa ser que fossen alguns mais do que agora conto, todavia poucos mais puderon ser[34].

P. João da Beira, superior, galego, morto em Goa.

P. Alfonso de Crasto, portughês, martirizado em Ternate, mas donde fosse enterado não se save.

Ir. Nicolao Nunez, portughês, morto em Goa.

Ir. Luis Frois[35], portughês, foi pera o Japão.

Ir. Fuão[36] de Figheredo, filho da India, foi pera o Japão.

P. Francisco Viera, superior, portughês, morto em Maluco. [6*r*]

Ir. Baldessar d'Araugio, portughês, tornou pera Goa.

P. Antonio Vaz, portugês, tornou pera India.

Ir. Simão da Vera, portughês, morto no Moro.

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[32] Again Marta proves wrongly informed. The fortress of Ternate was o Sultan Baab Ullah in late December 1575.

[33] See note 25.

[34] As to the following list, it does not include Francis Xavier, it gives the name of Luís Fróis who never sailed to Maluku, it lists Nicolau Nunes twice, once as a scholastic and once as a Father. DM I gives 39 names up to the year 1577 (pp. 19*-55*). For all the names until Bernardino Ferrari, consult those pages. The sequence is often far from chronological.

[35] Was never in Maluku.

[36] His Christian name was Melchior.

[37] Listed for the second time, now as a priest.

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P. Nicolao Nunez, portughês, morto na India[37].
Ir. Fernão d'Osouro, portughês, morto em Ternate.
P. Jorge Ribero, morto em Amboino[38].
Ir. Antonio Fernandez, portughês, moreo afogado em Amboino indo da hum lugar per outro[39].
P. Marcos Prancudo, valentiano, superior, morto em Amboino.
P. Pedro Mascarenhas, portughês, morto em Tidor.
P. Fernão Alvarez, está agora na India.
P. Diogo de Magagliãis, portughês, tornou pera India.
P. Francisco Rodriguez, portughês, despedido da Companhia.
Ir. Manoel Gomez, portughês, tornou pera India.
P. Antonio Fernandez, christão novo, despedido[40].
Ir. Antonio Gonçalvez, galego[p], torna pera India[41].
P. Luis de Gois, superior, portughês, morto em Malaca.
P. Cabrera, castilhano, moreu em Ternate logo em chegando[42].
P. Paulo Gomez, filho da India, vive em Malaca.
P. Diogo Mascarenhas, portughês, morto em Ternate logo em chegando.
P. Jeronimo d'Olmedo, portughês, morto em Amboino de huma frechiada que lhe deron indo de armada.
P. Bartolomeo Rodriguez, portughês, morto em Amboino. [6*v*]
P. Jeronimo Rodriguez, filho da India, despedido.
P. Bernardino Ferrario, superior, italiano, morto em Amboino[43].
P. Rogerio Conrado flamengo, vive em Maluco.
P. Pero Nunez, portughês, superior, vive em Maluco.
P. Gabriel da Cruz[q], castilhano, vive em Maluco.
P. Antonio Marta, italiano, superior, vive em Maluco.
P. Francisco da Cunha, portughês, vive em Amboino.
P. Luis Fernandez, portughês, vive em Amboino.
P. Antonio Pereira, portughês, vive em Amboino.
P. Francisco da Cruz, italiano, vive em Maluco.
Ir. João Paulo[44], italiano, vive em Amboino[r].

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[38] Rightly Nuno Ribeiro. He came with Juan de Beira.
[39] The one under no. 12 in DM I 28*-29*.
[40] DM I 32* no. 16.
[41] See app. crit. Here the present tense *torna* shows that the Brother left Maluku in 1588.
[42] Andrés de Cabrera. He lived for nearly two years in Ternate.
[43] For this name and the following, see *Gen. Introd.* III 4.
[44] Giampaolo Manfrida.

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20. Todos estes achegaron a estas partes até este anno presente de 88 e, se os contaremos ben, acharemos que não todos se empregaron na christandade, nem todos acabaron sua vida nestas partes. Porque delles seis ou sette furon superiores, dous moreron logo em chegando, doze tornaron pera India despois de ter algum tempo trabalhado, e dez delles furon Irmãos. Os outros que ficão, conforme a isperiencia que temos, muito pouco podião fazer con mais cento e vinti mil almas que então avia.

Capitulo 8. Do frutto que fizeron

21. Quanto ao frutto que os sobredittos Padres fizeron [7*r*] nesta christandade, V. Rev. o julghi das cousas sobredittas. Falo do frutto quanto ad substantiam rei, porque, quanto ad extentionem, estes poucos fizeron tanto que não se podia fazer mais, porque antes de se perder Ternate toda a ilha do Moro e de Bachão furon christãos, e nas ilhas de Siao e de Manado e de Cauripa avia tambem muitos. E se os nossos forão muito mais, hé cousa certa que tambem fizerão muito mais.

Capitulo 9. Da christandade do Moro

22. Começaremos da christandade do Moro[45], por ser a mais antiga e a maior, e milhor de todas as outras. Há no Moro muitas ilhas e tres dellas são christãos. Huma hé chamada Morotai, que em sua lingoa quer dizer Moro da parte do mar, por ser ilha que stá ao mar da outra muito grande, que elles chamão terra firme[46]. E esta hé de vinti legoas em roda, toda de gente que já foi christão, e todos os lugares estão na praia. Hé terra chão, muito fresca e abastada de mantimentos. Outra está logo perto della, obra de meia legoa, tambem toda de christãos, que se chama Rao, que na lingoa da terra quer dizer ilha de peixe[47], por aver nella muito peixe. A tercera ilha do Moro se chama Morotia, a que os da terra chamão terra firme[48]. Hé terra chão, muito fresca e abastada de mantimentos[s]. [7*v*] Hé terra[t] muito quente e doentia, mas com tudo isso a[u] gente hé[v] a mais alva de todas estas partes e de boa statura e de bon juizio, mas lasciva, especialmente as molheres.

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[45] Consult DM I 58*-59*.

[46] That is, Halmahera.

[47] This meaning could not be verified.

[48] See D 62 note 19. In the local language *-tai* means seaward, and *-tia* landward (DE JONGH, *Morotai* 381).

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23. Em todas estas ilhas avia 28 lugares de christãos [49], todos na praia e em todos podia[m] ter settenta ou oitenta mil almas [50]. Os nomes dos lugares são estes:

1 Jolo	9 Cunialonga	16 Alilio	24 Mamochungi com dous alifuros
2 Bissoa	10 Mamoro	17 Alivo	
3 Sugala	11 o Tolo	18 Dacuo	25 Lofao
4 Loqui	12 Chialo	19 Nira	26 Cavano
5 Hiao	13 Alao	20 Rao	27 w Chio
6 Saquita	14 Lapouo	21 Coluchi	28 Pileu
7 Nissino	15 Zopi com dous alifu-	22 Muravanghi	
8 Tedalo	ros [51]	23 Sao	

24. No Tolo, Saquita e Rao estavão as residentias dos Padres donde tinhão casa e iglesia. Nos outros lugares tinhão somente huma casinha em que se racolhião quando visitavão os lugares, mas não tinhão iglesia [52].

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[49] The number of villages was hitherto given as 47, 46, 36, and 40 (See DM I 738, Index, under Moro). SCHURHAMMER tried to coordinate the names given by Marta with the modern ones, mostly furnished by Protestant ministers. See *Franz Xaver* II/I 754 (map), 778–783 (description). He located eight of them in Halmahera, seventeen in Morotai, and three in Rau. To the list of Marta he arbitrarily added a twenty-ninth name, Puni (754). See also his *Ges. Stud.* III 289. Another list of village names, but restricted to the island of Morotai, can be found in DE JONGH, *Morotai* 396.

[50] According to Luís Fróis, writing in 1560, the Moro area at that time numbered 50,000 Christians (DM I 316).

[51] Alifuru (Alfuros), name of the aborigines of many E Indonesian islands, mostly living in the interior in the mountains and acting as labourers for the coastal people. Here it obviously means that near the village mentioned there were in the mountains two other villages inhabited by Alifurus. The term was often used in the sense of pagan, i.e., neither Muslim nor Christian.

[52] This does not agree with a statement of Nicolau Nunes of 1569: « Tem feitos quase todos os lugares suas igrejas » (DM I 523).

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25. E em todo o tempo que os nossos tiveron cuidado daquella christandade nunca estiveron mais de tres, e muitas vezes menos: e destes tres per muitos annos furom alguns Irmãos, e hum delle[s] foi o Irmão Antonio Gonçalvez que agora pera lá vai [53].

26. E quanto ao governo das almas corrião desta maneira. [8r] Cada hum delles tinha a seu cargo oito e mais lugares. Em hum delles estava a casa e iglesia, e lá pousavão e celebravão as missas, e fazião tudo o que apartence a hum cura. Os outros lugares visitavão de quando em quando por bautizar os meninos e casar a gente, e confessar quem o pedia e sabia a lingoa malaia; e por celebrar fazião huma ramada em algum lugar daquella povoação que visitavão.

27. E porque tinhão poucos sacerdotes, quasi sempre hum dos tres era Irmão, entre os quais o Irmão Antonio Gonçalvez prcegava, catechiçava, enterava, bautizava e tambem casava. E tinha a seu cargo oito daquelles lugares visitando-los a seu tempo; antes que, por falta de obreros, aconteceu de elle soo visitar todos os lugares desta ilha do Moro. E preguntado se os seus fregueses se confessavão, mi disse que somente, quando estavão pera morer, se confessavão, se mandavão a chamar outro Padre na outra freguesia. E que na Coresma ou fora della não vinha Padre de proposito por isso, nem se confessavão senão quando por algum caso vinha o Padre a ter ao seu lugar.

28. Os defuntos encomendavão somente à cova, nem celebravão missas por elles. Davão a estrema-unção aos doentes mas não os comungavão. De maniera que todo o negocio dos nossos Padres na cura destes christãos era enseñar-les a doutrina. E donde elles não estavão [8v] de assento, tirando isto, pouco ou nada dos[z] outros ministerios podião fazer. Porque não podião dizer-lhes missa senão a tempos; e muitas vezes acertavão a morer sim lhes poder acudir. Com tudo isso, esta gente do Moro tem saudade dos nossos Padres, e con qualquer occasião que lhes viesse tornerião a viver na nossa lei.

Capitulo 10. Da christandade de Bachão

29. A christandade de Bachão teve principio por desastre. Porque no anno 1555 aconteceu morer a molher d'el-rey de Bachão de parto, que era filha d'el-rey de Ternate [54]. E sospeitando el-rey seu pai que

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[53] That is, to Goa. On Br. António Gonçalves in Moro, ; ee DM I 522.

[54] DM I 269, 290. This happened most probably in 1557. On Bacan, see ENI I 204-206; V 287-288; VIII 1496-1499; DM 1*-62*.

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fosse morta de peçonha, fez queixume disto ao capitão da fortaleza pedindo-lhe justiça contra el-rey de Bachão, que então era mouro. E despois disto armou muitas embarcaçõis pera lhe fazer guerra. Do que temendo-si el-rey de Bachão, mandou hum recado ao capitão, que então era D. Duarte d'Essa [55], pedindo-lhe que lhe mandasse algum Padre, porque queria ser christão elle e todo o seu reino; e por este efeito foi mandado o P.e Antonio Vaz [56].

30. Hé Bachão hum reino muito grande mas despovoado. Stá de baixo da linha e por isto fora muito quente se a terra de sua natureza não fosse muito humida. [9r] Tem cravo, sagu e muito peixe, e particolarmente tem ostras tão grandes que servem de gamelas [57]. Tinha antigamente mais de dez mil almas, agora não achegão a dous mil. Pegado a este reino está a ilha da Alabua [58], da qual diremos a baixo. Pousava con estes christãos de Bachão hum nosso Padre na povoação donde residia el-rey, e o deradeiro que alli esteve foi o P.e Fernão Alvarez [59]. O esercicio deste Padre era somelhante ao que fazião os Padres no Moro, corria todo o anno con os christãos do lugar donde residia e a certo tempo visitava os outros lugares. Agora são todos mouros rinegados e o mais falso delles hé el-rey que hé hum mancebo doutrinado na casa dos nossos Padres[v] [60].

Capitulo 11. Da christandade de Alabua

31. A ilha da Alabua está pegada com o reino de Bachão. Tem huma serra de altura de duas legoas [61], pouco mais ou menos, e terá de rodeo quattro dias de caminho. Stá longe da linha vinti minutos

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[55] D. Duarte de Eça, captain of Maluku, 1555-1558.

[56] DM I 29* no. 13.

[57] Consult their description in *Treatise* 68-69.

[58] See notes 5 and 6.

[59] DM I 39* no. 23.

[60] This is King D. João, converted in 1557. He called himself « D. João, by the grace of God king of Bacan » (DM I 222). That as a boy he was educated in the Jesuits' house is never mentioned in the earlier documents. Neither is it plausible because the decision of siding with the Portuguese and converting to Christianity came suddenly; before, D. João was a Muslim, and afterwards he was an actually ruling king. He may, however, have been largely intimate with the Jesuit residing in Bacan and have frequented his dwellings. As to his native name, see D 17,33.

[61] The highest mountain of the island of Bacan (Labuha) is the Sibela. ENI VIII 1497 gives 2,020 m.; COOLHAAS, *Mededeelingen* 408, 2,199 m.; the U.S.Army map (Topographische Dienst) has 2,111 m.

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para o sul. Abonda de sagu, de peixe, de porcos; tem cravo, mas pouco, porque os moradores não fazem caso delle. Hé terra de sua natureza fertil e que daria tudo se fosse coltivada. Tem hum ar muito sadio e temperado; hé regada de muitos rios, pelos quais se va dentro della tres legoas com embarcaçõis pequenas; quasi toda hé matto. A levante [9*v*] tem a ilha de Obilato, a ponente Bachão, a meio dia Tidor e ao norte o mar que va pera Manilha[62]. Stá longe da[z] Ternate e da Tidor vinti duas legoas.

32. Hé esta ilha sogeita al rey de Bachão, mas hé regida da hum que chamão sangaje, e a mor parte della, que hé a levante e ao sul, está sogeita ao ditto sangaje immediate. A parte que está pera o ponente hé abitada dos vassallos d'el-rey de Bachão, e a que stá pera norte parte serve ao sangaje e a parte al rey de Bachão. Os que stão sogeitos ao sangaje sarão perto de quingentas almas[63] e todos são christãos, tirando alguns poucos. Os que servem al rey de Bachão são ainda mouros (já forão christãos)[a], nem hé muito seguro de os fazer christãos pola continua conversação que elles tem com os outros mouros. São já christãos de primeiro mas retrocederão[b 64].

33. O sangaje que governa esta ilha hé christão e se chama Ruy Pereira. Este, sendo mouro e perseguido dal rey de Bachão, se acolheu à fortaleza dos portugheses em Tidor no tempo de Diogo d'Azambuja. E con ajuda do capitão e dos portugheses defendendo-si da tirannia d'el-rey, con cuja irmã estava casado, se fez christão no anno 1582, elle e sua molher e toda a sua gente, que per todas erão então acerca de quatrocentas almas[65].

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[62] Obilatu is the name of a small islet near the larger Obi which, however, is due south of Bacan; westerly lies Kasiruta, in those times still called Bacan; Tidore lies far north; the open sea is toward the west.

[63] A startlingly small number. The whole Bacan group was never densely populated. See the figures, swinging, in various years, between 12,000 and only 200, in COOLHAAS, o.c. 417. This author recounts that there is still a distinct population group called the Christian Labuha people, that claim to be the rightful original owners of the island of Bacan over which the sultan had gradually assumed the authority to himself (ibid. 423).

[64] At this sentence, consult the app. crit. Two additions have been made in another hand. Whose hand? In Maluku, Marta had nobody over himself, authorized to correct or complete a visitor's report. (And the hand, moreover, is not of Fr. Superior, Pero Nunes). So the additions have been made in Goa, but to what purpose?

[65] The first mention of or allusion to this conversion is in D 34,9, which is of March 1582. This Christian sengaji Rui Pereira will play a part in the mission

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34. Esta gente, por medo dos [10*r*] ternates e por não ter lugar forte nem armas nem muniçõis bastantes, vive pelo matto ascondida em diversos lugares de quattro, cinco e seis casas, distantes huma da outra duas legoas e tres. Há nesta ilha hum lugar grande donde reside o sangaje, e nelle stá já feita huma iglesia donde reside agora hum Padre [66] e administra os sacramentos a estes christãos, que sarão acerca de dusentas almas. Hé gente simple e pouco dada aos vitios por causa de faltar nesta terra os mimos e regalos da carne. Tem bon entendimento pera saber as cousas da nossa lei, mas por si mesmos não acoden à iglesia nem a confessar-si. Todavia se o Padre os busca e enseña, fazen o que lhes manda. E se Ternate se concerta, sim duvida que se pode fazer muito frutto nelles, mas estando a terra como está agora, inquieta polas muitas guerras e garos [67] e medos della, e por os portugheses não os poder defender, corre risco de tornar atrás [68].

35. O trajo desta gente hé como de todo o Maluco. Vestem huma meia camisa que chamão baju e hunos calçõis. As molheres trazem seus bajus e panos compridos até os pees, e cubertas com panos suas cabeças quando vão à iglesia. Em casa tirão os bajus e ficão nuas da cinta pera cima, e há tanta simplicità [69] nelles que viven come meninos nesta materia. [10*v*]

36. O comer desta gente hé muy pobre, porque comem sagu e ervas do matto ordinariamente, algum dia comem peixe e carne de porco do matto. E nesta terra não há bazar nem dinheiro e por isto sempre faltão os mantimentos, porque não os tem quem não os buscar no matto e pescar ao mar. As casas em que pousão são de bambus,

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history of Maluku at least until 1606. In that year, in a letter to Philip III of Spain, he extolled his merits: « aviendo solo entre tantos reys y principes mahometanos conservado el nombre de christiano » (Seville, *AGI*, *Patronato* 47, *ramo 16* no. 1). Souza (II 3 2 20) calls him « aquelle famoso Ruy Perez [*sic*], grande catholico». He could be very troublesome. His conversion seems, at least partly, accountable as a component of his struggle for political emancipation from the king of Bacan.

[66] The « lugar grande » is doubtless Labuha, the present-day double town of Labuha-Amassing at the Labuha Bay. The Father residing there was Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz (DD 70,4; 71,12).

[67] *Garu* is a Moluccan Malay term, meaning to scrawl, to scratch, and hence a raid, a sudden and treacherous assault. See, for instance, SÁ IV 219 (*garro*); Couto VIII 178 (*garós*); Dalgado I 425, 2nd meaning.

[68] That is, to apostatize again.

[69] Read *simplicidade*.

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baixas, cubertas com folhas de arvores. Repartem as cousas que trazem do mato e do mar hunos com os outros sim ter lembrança do dia que há-de vir, mas pelo contrario são crueis em recadar as dividas, porque querem que cada anno creça em dobro.

37. Sua ocupação hé fazer sagu, que hé seu mantimento ordinario, por vender-lo a troco de panos pera se vestir com elles, e neste esercitio todos assi onrados come baixos se ocupão. As molheres fazem hortas donde semeão bredos, ignames e outras cousas que dá esta terra. Tecem esteras de folhas de arvores pera vender e dormir, e tambem fazem tutumbos[70] grandes e pequenos das mesmas folhas, pintados com diversas cores que tirão das arvores, muito bem feitos.

38. São todos estes[c] christãos perto de quingentas almas, contando neste numero ainda os que estão espalhados pelo matto, e com elles stá hum Padre o qual dize cada dia sua missa. Mas os naturais acodem [11*r*] mal a ella, porque andão sempre ocupados pelo matto buscando de comer. Faz o Padre alem disto sua doutrina à qual acudem quattro ou cinco meninos e outras tantas meninas. Esto procede parte do descuido e negligencia dos naturais, por serem costumados a viver no matto, e parte por estar ainda a terra inquieta e de quando em quando virem os ternates a fazer saltos naquella terra, e não ter elles lugar mais seguro do matto. Todavia acudirião mais meninos se a terra fosse concertada e todos estivessem juntos, mas por agora não se lhes pode fazer forza.

39. Com tudo isso o Padre faz às vezes algumas sahidas com algum proveito e então a gente se confessa, e algunos dos que ficão se fazen christãos.

Quando o Padre va a confessar pola obrigação da Coresma, faz huma iglesia pequena em alguma povoação das sobredittas, e diz missa alli e os confessa. E aos que estão na povoação grande donde reside o sangaje confessa quando elles comodamente podem, mas de toda esta gente não há ninguem que seja capaz do Santissimo Sacramento.

40. O Padre que reside nesta ilha se sustenta do que se lhe manda de Tidor, porque lá não há esmolas, antes todos são tão pobres que muitas vezes morem à mingoa. Tem cinco moçços, dous que pescão, hum tifador[71], hum [11*v*] cosinheiro e outro menino pola sacristia.

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[70] *Tutumbu* is a quadrangular box made from palm leaves. Consult *Treatise* 50-51 (*cotumbo*); SÁ IV 208; RIEDEL 63 (*tatumbu*).

[71] The Portuguese used the term *tifar* for tapping the palm wine by cutting off the inflorescenses from the tree; *tifador* is the man who practises this tapping

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Tem casa e iglesia de oito braças craveras [72] de comprido. Não tem horta nem palmar, nem outra cousa somelhante, parte por ser o lugar donde reside muito estreito, e parte por não ter aquella gente certa pousada, e oje pousar em hum lugar e dalli a pedaçço em outro.

41. O caminho da Tidor a esta ilha em tempo de guerra hé muito ariscado, por passar à vista das terras dos inimigos e, se algum passa, hé de noite e com bon vento. Em tempo de paz há-sse de ir em huma manchuua[d] [73] de quinze ou 20 remeros, e quando corre o vento da monção se va em tres dias comummente, mas em outro tempo se gastão sette e dez dias e às vezes vinti.

42. O frutto que se faz com esta gente hé muito pouco. Todavia con a presentia do Padre se sustentão na fee, e se se concertasse Maluco cuidamos que fora muito maior, porque então todos se ajunterião em hum lugar e poderia o Padre enseñar-los milhor e ajudar-los.

Capitulo 12. Da christandade do Selebe

43. No tempo do P. Marcos Prancudo, que foi cuido no anno 1563, ou pera lá em cerca, o P. Diogo de Magagliães [74] foi a visitar alguns christãos que hum cle[12*r*]rigo secular passando bautizou já nas ilhas do Selebe [75]. E no caminho tomou o ditto Padre a ilha de Manado, que hé gente dos mesmos Selebes e a mais esforçada daquellas partes. E preegando-lhe o Padre por hum interprete, os bautizou e converteo a todos, e ficando com elles por algum tempo pera os doutrinar. E neste mesmo[e] caminho bautizou o ditto Padre al rey de Cauripa con alguma gente principal [76]. Mas despois de partir o sobreditto Padre daquelles lugares não sabemos que tornasse outro; e agora está totalmente perdida aquella christandade, nem há livro de bautizados nem fumo della [77].

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as his occupation. The word is not Malay. Consult DALGADO II 374; HINLOOPEN-LABBERTON 693; YULE 919 (s.v. tiffin), on p. 920 the authors show not to know what to do with this term as they found it in RUMPHIUS. In our case, it may mean in a more general sense the man who took care of the palms, who had to collect the products or victuals from the wood.

[72] A Portuguese standard measure, a kind of fathom of ten spans (2.20 m.).

[73] *Manchua*, an Asian vessel resembling a galliot (DALGADO II 19; YULE 549).

[74] For Prancudo, see DM I 35* no. 20, for Magalhães, DM I 40* no. 24.

[75] See D 30,9.

[76] See Diogo de Magalhães' own report in DM I 413–416.

[77] Curiously, here Marta seems not to know of Fr. Pero Mascarenhas'

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Capitulo 14. Da christandade de Siao

44. Estando o sobreditto P. Diogo de Magagliãis na ilha de Manado preegando aos naturais della, aconteceu de se achar naquelle tempo presente el-rey de Siao, o qual tambem era gentio como os de Manado e de Cauripa. E parecendo-lhe ben o que afirmava o ditto Padre, se bautizou e com elle hum seu filho de idade de dous annos que agora reina, chamado D. João [78].

45. Esta ilha de Siao está na terra do Selebe, longe de Tidor, segundo comunmente ouço a dizer, 36 até 40 [12*v*] legoas pera a banda do norti [79]. Hé passaggem pera os que vão e vem da Manilha, e pera irem e virem bem navigados comunmente passão pola huma ou pola outra banda della. Hé ilha pequena e terá em roda 12 até 15 legoas.

46. Da Tidore até a ditta ilha, ou de lá a Tidor, com vento esperto se pode comunmente ir e vir em espaço de dous dias naturais, ou mais cedo se o vento for rigio. E no caminho há dous perigos. Hum por causa de ser todo golfão, por se não poder passar seguramente senão com fregatas ou somelhantes navios encubertados. O outro perigo hé maior: a vinda de lá pera Tidor, estando Maluco de guerra, por ser forçado passarem os que vem muy perto da ilha de Ternate donde lhes podem sahir os inimigos, e se alli lhes encalma o vento tanto maior hé o perigo, porque as correntes os levão às ilhas e terras dos inimigos. A ida de Tidor pera o Siao hé de menor perigo, porque se sahe com vento fresco e não pode o inimigo seguir-los.

47. A ilha comummente hé falta de mantimentos, e o mantimento

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voyage to N Sulawesi, Siau, and Sangi in 1568, but in no. 51 he does. It is recounted by Mascarenhas himself, DM I 527-544. Note what Francisco de Dueñas wrote in his report of 1582: « Ay en esta isla de la parte del leste muchas poblaciones de gente christiana que los teatinos [i.e., the Jesuits] que por allí avían andado con los portugueses an bautizado, aunque el día de oy todos están tan ynfieles como de primero a causa de esta guerra » (Seville, *AGI, Patr. 46 ramo 14* f. 10*r-v*).

[78] The king baptized by Magalhães in 1563 was D. Jerónimo Pasuma. He is reported to have ruled 1549-1587. He was succeeded by his son D. João Buisang (or Wuisang), 1587-1591, who at the time Marta wrote must have been 27 years of age (ELIAS, *Sejarah* 71). — On Siau, see ENI III 765; VIII 1480-1481; DM I 62*-63*.

[79] The straight distance is good 300 km.; the direction from Tidore is rather NW.

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comum e ordinario dos naturais são figos, ignames, sucõis [80] em seus tempos. Semeão arroz e segundo as monçõis tem mais e menos colheta, mas comummente [13*r*] hé pouca; e deste algum comen, outro venden, o que fica guardão pera tornar a semear. Sagu há pouco na terra e este não tem senão el-rey, ou outros alguns principais. Por necessidade tambem o fazem de saguero [81], que são arvores das quais fazem tuaca. Por monçõis há tambem cachõis [82] e milho, e outro mantimento que chamão polo nome da terra gettan [83], que tambem comem per pão.

48. Na volta da ilha, pola fralda do mar e pelo matto dentro averá 14 lugares entre pequenos e grandes [84], afora de muitas casas que estão espalhadas: os sette são de todos ou quasi de todos christãos, nos demais estão de mistura christãos com infieis. O numero dos christãos de todos estes lugares são mais ou menos entre pequenos e grandes mil e tresentas até 400 almas. Os que não são ainda christãos serão por diversos lugares e casas pola fralda do mar e polo matto dentro entre pequenos e grandes pouco mais ou menos de mil almas.

49. Os principais lugares são dous: Pere [85], onde está el-rey con

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[80] The *sukun* is the bread fruit, the fruit of the Artocarpus communis or incisa (DALGADO II 321, *sução*; ENI I 64).

[81] *Saguero* is a confusing term. The Portuguese called the *sagu* tree (Metroxylon sagu) *o sagueiro*. However, the term *saguero* (*saguër*, *sagueer*, *sagoeweer*, *saguerus*) designs a drink, a kind of « wine » obtained by tapping (*tifar*, see note 71). This palm wine is, as a rule, not furnished by the same palm tree as the *sagu*, i.e., not by the Metroxylon sagu, but by the Arenga pinnata or saccharifera, the arén or gomuti or saguër palm. So the *saguero*, as a rule, does not proceed from the *sagueiro* ! Most Portuguese dictionaries do not pay attention to this distinction. See, e.g., DALGADO (II 270-271), where all the quotations refer to the sagu tree, only the penultimate (1631, Bontius) refers to the liquor called *saguër*. That, exceptionally, the *sagu* may be manufactured from the arén palm, and the wine also from other palms, adds to the confusion. See *Treatise* 134-135; ENI I 59, s.v. Arenga saccharifera; III 273-274, s.v. palmwijn (its author asserts that the name *sagoeweer* has a Portuguese origin). As to our text, Marta calls the saguër palm *saguero* and states the exceptional use of it for the manufacture of *sagu*. *Saguër* was the name of the liquor just extracted, but after fermenting it was called *tuak*, *tuaka*.

[82] Portuguese plural of *kacang*, pea, bean.

[83] *Ketan*, sticky rice (ENI III 649-650).

[84] According to ELIAS (*Sejarah* 15), both the E coast and the W coast of Siau Island number fourteen kampungs.

[85] The present-day Pehe, on the Pehe Bay, W coast. In its vicinity lies the

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alguns principais e gente onrada, que está pera a banda de oeste; o 2° lugar principal hé Oula[g] [86], que está em huma enseada grande pera banda do sul, onde antigamente residião os reis da ilha, mas por medo dos ternates há muito tempo que se [13*v*] recolherom pera o lugar de Pere. Este lugar de Oula destruiron agora os ternates en Settembro, o anno 1587[h], e afora os que mataron, levaron cattivos entre homens e molheres e meninos 70 ou 80 almas. Afora estes lugares na mesma ilha de Siao está hum ilheo ao mar 4 ou 5 legoas longe da ilha a oeste, defronte do sobreditto lugar de Pere, chamado Maiquiluri [87], onde averá tambem entre pequenos e grandes 40 ou 50 almas.

50. Está esta ilha de Siao no meio de duas ilhas suas inimigas, scilicet, huma pera banda do sul chamada Tangolandan ou por outro nome Panguissara [88], com cujo favor os dittos ternates destruiron o sobreditto lugar de Oula. A outra ilha inimiga, pera banda do[i] norte, chama-se Sanguir [89], a qual pola banda de Siao hé de lugares amigos, posto que o ditto anno passado os ternates tomaron alguns 7 ou 8 delles; da outra banda hé de inimigos que andão em continua guerra con os amigos [90].

Afora destas duas ilhas inimigas tem Siao tambem por inimigos antigos e ordinarios aos ternates e polo conseguinte todos os seus vassallos.

51. Na ditta ilha de Sanguir, da banda dos amigos, me dizen que há hum lugar de christãos que se chama [14*r*] Sabão [91], o qual saria de

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now more important Ondong which seems to have been less developed in Marta's days. According to ELIAS (*Sejarah* 73) Pehe became capital of Siau instead of Paseng (DM I 533-534; 541-542) in the early years of D. João Buisang (1587-1591).

[86] Now Ulu on the E coast of the island; its harbour faces SSE.

[87] Makalehi or Makalehe, about 20 km. west of Siau.

[88] The volcanic island of Ta(g)hulandang, 40 km. south of Siau. Consult ENI IV 248; VIII 1479. PIGAFETTA calls it Paghinzara (*Relazione* 202; BAUSANI, *L'Indonesia* 28). ESCALANTE (137) visited the kampung Minanga in « la isla de Panguisare » in May-June 1544. Also in Dutch works it is sometimes called Pangasare (VALENTYN I b 60; *De zelfbesturende landschappen* 28-29).

[89] Great Sangi or Sangihe Island, 80 km. north of Siau. ENI III 689; VIII 1477-1483.

[90] Presumably Marta termed *a banda de Siao* the whole of the W coast of Sangi, where in 1568 Fr. Pero Mascarenhas had baptized the king and prominent people of Kolongan (DM I 536).

[91] The kampung Sawang, just a little W of the northernmost cape of Sangi,

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600 ou 700 homens de peleja, e almas acerca de tres mil e quattro mil. Mas cuidamos que não são todos christãos, senão per aventura os principais somente, como o P. Mascarenhas, que os bautizou, tinha de costume [92]. E hé cousa probavel que nunca mais fossen visitados nem ensinados, nem o Padre que agora reside em Siao os visitou, nem agora hé tempo de bulir neste negocio. E delles não sabemos dar mais notitia disso, porque não há lembrança nem homem que o saiba.

52. O primeiro que bautizou estes moradores de Siao foi o P.e Diogo de Magagliães, como tenho ditto acima. E despois disto foron os outros Padres nossos por vezes a Siao e de passajem, como elles mesmos dizem, bautizaron a alguns principais e meninos sem se deterem tempo notavel senão hum ou dous meses. Soo de huma vez esteve lá hum Padre seis meses e se tornou pera Maluco [93]. Mas disto não aparece outra istoria que o ditto dos mesmos siaos.

53. Mas qual fosse a causa de estar estes christãos tanto tempo desemparados não sabemos. Muito foi que con tão pouco lume que tiveron não retrocedessen e tornassen gentios, como são todos os selebes da sua primeira origen, ou se fizessen mouros come muitos [14*v*] outros seus vezinhos fizeron. E esta foi a causa que despois o anno 1585 moveo o P.e Pero Nunez, que então era superior, a dar-lhes hum Padre [94] pera residir na ditta ilha com elles a instantia de D. João, que agora hé rey e foi criado da menino em nossa casa no tempo do P.e Pero Mascarenhas [95].

54. Mas quanto ao frutto que o ditto Padre tem feito com elles neste pouco de tempo que elle residio com elles, foi e sará sempre pouco emquanto não for destruido Ternate, por causa das inquietaçõis continuas e sobresaltos con que vivem assi por causa dos dittos ternates, como dos outros inimigos dos quais estão rodeados e com os quais andão em continua guerra. E assi o dizem elles mesmos que entretanto não podem ser bons christãos nem fazer o que o Padre lhes manda.

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obviously in those days a part of the kingdom of Kolongan (Cf. ENI VIII 1478; VALENTYN I b 36, 44, 48, 399).

[92] Consequently the chiefs of Sawang belonged to the *principais da terra* Mascarenhas wrote to have baptized (l.c.).

[93] The earlier Jesuit sources do not appear to reveal these visits; but consult D 70 note 6.

[94] Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado (DD 49,13; 50,4); he sailed there in May (no. 78).

[95] DM I 544.

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55. A outra causa hé por não estarem elles bem fundados na fee, porque os nossos se detiveron pouco com elles do principio que riceberon a fee, e despois disto estiveron muitos annos somente com o titulo de christãos. E pelo contrario há muito tempo que estão arraigados nos seus costumes gentilicos. E quando os Padres os apertão dizem os vassallos e inferiores [15*r*] que os principais são causa desta culpa, e os principais dizem que não si pode apertar mais a gente baixa por causa de estar a terra inquieta. Todavia não si perde totalmente o trabalho que agora se pon em coltivar-los, e specialmente em ensinar os meninos, os quais mostrão de ter arrezoada abilidade, e tambem em estorvar que não perseverim ou fação soltamente as suas ceremonias gentilicas, porque por timor do Padre muitas vezes deixão de o fazer.

E per aventura se laa estivessem dous Padres muito mais frutto se faria do que se faz, porque repartirião entre si todos estes lugares e con maior diligencia e forza acudirião às necessidades, e arancherião os maos costumes.

56. Tem esta gente, como tem todo o gentio, muitos maos costumes contrarios totalmente à nossa lei, ainda que nestes tres annos que lá esteve o nosso Padre muito sejão emendados. Mas por tocar alguns de muitos, o mais grave que elles tem, hé sacrificar ao diabo, que elles chamão monhan [96], dando-lhe de comer porco ou peixe, e beber tuaca com bailos e outras certas ceremonias, tocando tifas e tangendo sinos [97]. E este oficio hé proprio das molheres que se ensinão e instruen por isso, e o fazem quando algum está doente pera lhe alcançar a saude; os homes [15*v*] não se entrometten nisso, mas somente comem do porco. E a cabeça, com tuaca e sagu e arroz, poem em hum bailesinho [98] que por isso armão, como por señal de reconhecer o diabo por sua cabeça e senhor.

Costumavão tambem a oferecer ao diabo seus filhos novamente nacidos, lavando-os com hervas e dando de comer e beber aos que se achão presentes, tocando sinos e tifas e pondo nome aos filhos naquelle tempo.

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[96] *Mongang*, in the Sangi language, is the name of a large and poisonous shell fish. In the people's primitive belief a certain *setang* (devil, evil spirit) of the *mongang* caused diseases; sacrifices were made and various kinds of victuals were given to him (STELLER-AEBERSOLD 314; see also 326, s.v. *ongang*, where the *setang* of the *mongang* is a storm raising spirit).

[97] The *tifa* is a native drum. The Portuguese used *sino*, bell, for the Indonesian *gong* as well.

[98] Diminutive of *baileu* (D 21,19).

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Curavão os doentes con ceremonias e nisto fazião adevinhos, e por isso matavão pintainhos e franguens e galinhas, e tambem abrião certas fruitas pera lhes ver o de dentro, se o doente moreria ou sareria, ou se avião de encontrar inimigos, ou se algum seu parente ou irmão era vivo e outras cousas somelhantes.

57. Seus juramentos erão com fazer metter a mão na agoa fervente ou chumbo deretido. Ou mandar amergugliar a ambos os culpados, e quem menos se detinha na agoa o tinhão per culpado. Ou se desafiavão o acusador e o acusado e quem sahiva ferido era o culpado [99].

58. Enteravão os mortos, se erão pessoas principais, com joias d'ouro, scilicet, orilheras, manilhas, patolas [100] e panos [16*r*] com outras ceremonias.

Se os defuntos erão pessoas principais, como rei ou sua molher ou filhos delles, os mettião em paraos [101], que lá chamão binintas [102], e assi os deixavão estar em sua casa; mas agora os enterão. Comião e bebião sobre os seus defuntos. Abstinhão-se por meses e annos de certos comeres, e não comião senão palmitos por pão; não comião arroz nem sagu, nem cousa alguma cozida em panela, e o fogo que fazião avia de ser tirado novamente de bambus seccos. Chorão os defuntos desordenadamente por muito tempo, cantando de noite os louvores do defunto e ao seu modo o canonizavão. E por fazer isto tem certas molheres que chamão mabaluncas [103], às quais dão por isso seu premio.

Davão tambem de comer à alma do defunto e de beber, e dizião que a alma andava não sei donde e que comia e bebia.

E costumavão tamben, se moria algum principal, hommem ou olher, de matar algum seu escravo pera que fosse a servir a seu amo na outra vida. Não tinhão fee da resurreição, nem do juizio nem do in-

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[99] For these native kinds of ordeal, see *Treatise* 130-131; ENI I 796-798; IV 124.

[100] *Patola*, kind of fine silk cloth, originally from Gujarat, woven of threads of various colours (e.g., DALGADO II 194; YULE 686).

[101] This is the Malay *perahu*, common name for any type of vessel; boat, prow.

[102] *Bininta*, an old-time exceptionally long and narrow *perahu*, now extant only in the imagination (STELLER-AEBERSOLD 59). Here it appears used as a coffin. SOUZA (II 3 1 1) mis-spells *benintato*.

[103] The word is imperfectly rendered. *Lumungkang* means to wail, to lament, to mourn at a corpse; *lumalungkang* is a woman mourner at funerals (STELLER-AEBERSOLD 296, s.v. *lungkang*).

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ferno, e se às vezes se lhes falava disso, rião-se dizendo: « Quem o vio? Quem veo de laa? » [16*v*]

59. De todos estes costumes usaron ainda estando o Padre com elles, mas todavia con as reprensõis e pratticas se emendão muito.

Tem elles outros costumes que tocão ao espiritual e são doutra laia, mas aqui não os escrevo por não fazer tão comprida esta istoria.

60. O esercitio do Padre em aquella residencia hé assistir na doutrina dos meninos que sarião 20 ou 25 até 30. E estes erão os que tinhão suas casas no[k] mesmo outero e forte onde o Padre pousa. Os da praia nem os do outro forte vezinho[104] nunca quiserom acudir, nem com tomar penas aos pais e mãis delles, senão às vezes quando lhes vinha a vontade. Nem al rey se lhe dava muito disso. Os outros esercitios do Padre são bautizar os meninos filhos dos christãos, e tambem dos infieis que estão derramados pola ilha, que disto não estranhão, e visitar as casas pera ver se algum desejava de ouvir cousas de sua salvação, mas destes achava o Padre muito poucos. Visita os infermos, faz prattica os domingos e festas declarando-lhes a doutrina, e stá vigiando pera que não fação cousa contraria à honra de Deos.

61. Quanto ao que tocca ao temporal, vive o Padre do que se lhe manda de Tidor, porque a gente da terra hé pobre. [17*r*] Não tinha casa que fosse sua propria, mas pousava em huma emprestada. Não tinha tambem iglesia formada, mas já el-rey velho que moreu o anno passado 1587, e foi o primeiro rey christão, e si chamava D. João Passuma[105], tinha começado huma, mas prevenido da morte a deixou imperfeita, nem despois foi bastante o Padre por acabar-la, não sei se por descuido e pouca abilidade ou por negligencia e pouco fervor da gente da terra.

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[104] This is an important statement revealing the existence of two fortified places or forts of which at least one was situated on a hill. They are also suggested by Fr. Mascarenhas (DM I 542) as situated the one on the E coast, probably near Ulu, the other on the W coast not far from Paseng. Fr. Pero Nunes wrote of « lugares inexpugnables » (D 49,14). According to ELIAS (*Sejarah* 26-27), the Spaniards had erected two forts in Siau as early as 1516, or scarcely somewhat later, the one which he calls Gurita at Ondong, the other named Santa Rosa near Ulu. He gives no source for this opinion, and we have never seen one. Surely, before 1580, it was the Portuguese and not the Spaniards who claimed Siau. (ELIAS does not distinguish neatly Portuguese from Spanish influences, often using for his own convenience the combined term « Spanyol-Portugis »).

[105] According to SOUZA, I 3 2 34, his Christian name was Jerónimo. See also note 78.

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62. Mas por deradeiro cuido que tudo isto procede do pouco ensiño que ategora tiveron. Porque daquelle tempo que furon bautizados pera cá nunca tiveron Padre que os ajudasse[106] e, ainda que agora o tenhão, todavia o tempo que pousou com elles foi pouco, nem si pode em hum golpe arrancar huma raiz de cinco ou seis mil annos. E alem disto esta gente está tão mettida em querer destruir os seus inimigos da ilha de Tangolandam que não attentam a cousa que se lhes diga. E assi cada dia o diz el-rey e promette de fazer muito, e parece que fala verdade[1] pola maniera e eficacia com que elle diz isto[107].

Capitulo 13. Da fortaleza de Tidor

63. Tomada a fortalezza de[m] Ternate dos mesmos ternates, que foi o anno 1576[108], os portugheses se racolheron em Amboino. E neste tempo stando el-rey[109] [17*v*] mal trattado dos ternates e reduzido a tal que os seus vassalos não osavão a star de assento na praia, mandaron o anno seguente a pedir aos portugheses em Amboino socorro, dando-si per vassalos d'el-rey de Portugal, oferecendo-lhes lugar pera fazer huma fortaleza. Acudiron os portugheses e, chegados a Tidor, se apousentaron na mesma povoação d'el-rey. Mas porque não estavão à sua vontade, se racolheron donde agora estão, longe da povoação d'el-rey tres tiros de spingarda, donde fizeron hum forte em quadro por cada parte de 30 braças de pedra emsoussa com dous baloartes postos em dous cantos delles, tudo obra muy fraca e que facilmente se pode tomar[110].

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[106] This seems in conflict with what was asserted in no. 52.

[107] In the whole of this chapter, Marta evidently depends on Fr. Berwouts/Corrado who shortly before had returned from Siau (DD 70,3; 71,11) and proves a keen observer.

[108] That is, one of the last days of December 1575.

[109] This king of Tidore was named Kaicil Gapibaguna (Cf. DM I 624 note 24).

[110] The Portuguese fortress of Tidore was on the E side of the island, a little N of the town of Tidore (Soasio): here *tres tiros de spingarda*, in ARGENSOLA (95) *un cuarto de legua*, which is about 1380 m. The description of the fortress reveals that it bore strong resemblance to the fortress of Ternate of 1522: a building thirty *braças* square (a *braça* was 2.18 m.), with bulwarks on two diagonally opposed points (CORREIA, *Lendas* II 2 p. 715). When VALENTYN (I b 102), and STAPEL after him (*Geschiedk. Atlas... De Archipel en het Maleisch Schiereiland... in 1619*, 9-10) make the Dutch in 1605 conquer the fortress of Rumi (Rum), which is on the NW side, they might be less correctly informed (See D 179A).

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64. Hé esta ilha de Tidor possuida da hum rey mouro, e terá de rodeo hum[a] dia de caminho con huma embarcação bem esquipada. Hé terra mui fresca mas hé falta de mantimentos e de boas agoas, porque nem tem sagu nem arrôs e todo o que come vem de fora; tem cravo e porcos de matto e galinhas e peixe, e os naturais fazem suas hortas con que se sustentam.

Está a[o] povoação dos portugheses posta a lungo da praia, em hum sitio muito aprazivel e sadio[111]. Terá acerca de 60 casados portugheses com suas molheres e [18*r*] cincoenta soldados castilhanos[112], afora dos mercadores que vem e vão com a nao da carreira e outra gente da terra.

65. Os Padres tem nesta mesma paraggem huma horta que terá de comprido 70 braças e de largo 65, e nella temos este anno feito huma iglesia de quinze braças de comprido con a capella, e 7[p] de largo no corpo. E juntamente huma casa[113] com quattro cubiculos e duas verandas, huma diante e outra atrás da casa, com seu corridor a lungo dos cubiculos, e hum gudon[114] abaixo, e mais longe hum refettorio e a cosinha e casa dos moçços, tudo feito de madera boa e forte que durerá mais de vinti annos. O lugar donde stá posta hé per aventura o milhor de toda a povoação: da levante tem o mar[115] e atrás tem vista do gune[116], e por todas as partes tem vista muito aprazivel.

66. Nesta iglesia não fazem mais os Padres que preegar às vezes, confessar todo homem que vier, e enseñar os domingos a doutrina christão [!] em malaio à gente da terra, e finalmente fazer tudo aquillo que se faz nas casas e collegios da Companhia.

Quanto à christandade por agora não se faz nada, nem se há-de fazer se os portugheses não o ganhão com a lança, porque estes mouros estão muy arraigados na sua ceita, nem querem que se preeghi polos seus lugares. E assi [18*v*] os nossos que pousão nesta fortaleza não fazem mais que entender con os portugheses, e nisto parece que fazem muito serviço a N. Senhor. Porque quasi toda a gente se confessa e nos casos emportantes vem a consultar-si com elles, e com as preega-

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[111] Remark that a Portuguese town near Rum(i) could scarcely be said to be situated along a *praia*, since the coast is rather steep there.

[112] Of the Spanish soldiers who came with Sarmiento and Morón a part stayed back in Tidore. On their quality, see D 71,5.

[113] The third and more definitive Jesuit residence of Tidore.

[114] Malay *gudang*, storehouse.

[115] Also this points to a position on the E side of the island.

[116] Malay *gunung*, mountain. The Peak of Tidore measures 1,730 m.

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çõis sustentão a devação que por outra parte facilmente daria no chão, polas muitas occasiones que tem os portugheses pera ser maos christãos.

67. Vivem aqui os nossos do provimento que lhes vem de Malaca, porque quanto aos moradores não há quem lhe dê ou possa dar esmola, se não fora de pouca cousa. O viver nelle hé muito caro, porque todo o mantimento vem de fora, e se alguma vez acerta de faltar val a peso d'ouro. O peixe, ainda que se ache com o seu dinheiro, todavia val mais que em toda parte de Maluco, e se não se remediasse a este mal com procurar peixe seco de fora ou com bredos e frutta da terra, por nenhum caso basteria a renda que temos. E com tudo isso este anno, que foi muito bon, gastavemos tres da Companhia com 14 moçços, hum dia per outro, hum pardao cada dia em peixe e alguma vez em algumas galinhas, afora do outro mantimento que temos no gudão [117] de vinho, sagu, azeite, sal, pimenta e outras cousas necessarias assi pola [19*r*] pessoa dos Padres como dos moçços e da casa e da iglesia.

68. Nesta casa tem os Padres maior numero de moçços que nas outras residentias, parte porque a fabrica que temos hé maior em tudo das outras assi da iglesia como da casa e da orta, e parte porque o negocio que temos hé maior por ser esta casa a cabeçça de todo o Maluco e donde vem a dar a nao da carreira com o provimento de Malaca, e donde se faz e se embarca o cravo, e donde finalmente se embarca o superior per os outros lugares, e donde vem a parar todos da Companhia que vem a estas partes.

69. No fazer do cravo que se manda pera Malaca se tem esta ordem: que damos o fatto a hum portughês ou outro morador desta terra, con o qual elle compra o cravo, e por seu trabalho ganha huma certa quantitade conforme ao costume, e despois, ao tempo de embarcar-lo, tem os nossos cuidado de o mandar ao galião e de por-lo a nosso titulo. E isto tem os nossos Padres feito de todo o cravo que mandarom ategora assi de cabeçça come de bastão [118], cargando tudo em nosso titulo. O que per aventura deu occasião a muitos, especialmente aos castilhanos, de dizer que os nossos Padres são mercadores e por tais os preegarom na Manilha, como de laa tem scritto os Padres [19*v*] que laa residem [119].

70. Mas quanto a esta cousa, daqui por diante algum remedio

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[117] See note 114.
[118] Cf. DM I 488 note 23.
[119] See DD 38 and 39.

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lhe daremos, ainda que não se possa fazer de menos de não mandar mais cravo do que nos concede El-Rey, que são quattro bares, agora que crecemos em numero. Doutra maneira não podemos viver por nenhum caso, por ser o gasto que se faz muito grande, avendo de sustentar cinco casas e seis iglesias [120] de vinho, cera, farinha e ornamentos, e concerto della[s], em terra donde tudo val muito caro e donde não temos nenhuma sorte de ajuda.

71. Afora deste chão tinhamos outro pegado con a fortalezza, de largura de dez braças e de compridão quatorze ou dezaseis, no qual estava huma iglesia pequena e huma casa muito estreita sim orta nem outra cousa [121]. Mas por estar já a iglesia cahindo e a casa já podre, nos pareceo ben de fazer nova iglesia e nova casa dentro na horta, da qual tenho ditto acima, e este chão emprestamos aos Irmãos da Misericordia [122] da maneira que depois escreverei mais particolarmente a V.Rev. na carta [123].

72. A vida dos Padres nesta fortaleza hé come em todos os outros lugares. Quanto ao que tocca ao corporal, comem sagu e peixe ordinariamente, alguma vez galinha [20*r*] e porco, dos que se cria[m] em casa ou do matto. A horta nos dá alguma frutta mas pouca, porque[q] os nossos assi como não pousavão nella, assi tambem não tinhão cuidado de a fazer lavrar e aproveitar, como terião feito pousando nella.

E a causa porque não pousavão nella, era por estar a terra mais inquieta nos annos atrás que agora, e assi por estar mais racolhidos e seguros pousavão perto da fortaleza. Com tudo isso, quando os tidores nos[r] quiserem fazer[s] mal, pouco aproveiterá estar perto da fortaleza ou dentro nella, porque[t] hé fraca nem hé bastante a nos defender.

73. As dificuldades que tem os nossos Padres nesta fortaleza são duas: huma de dar em hum capitão mal affeito às cousas da religião [124]; a 2ª hé o vigario que a cada passo nos oferece occasião de briga e, que hé mais, não há nesta fortaleza pessoa que[u] possamos elegir per conservador [125]. No demais os nossos são bem vistos e ajudados nas suas necessidades quanto sofre a pobreza da terra.

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[120] The residences were in Tidore, Ambon, Siau, and Labuha. The churches were in the same places, but Ambon had three of them (D 30,3) which makes six.

[121] Apparently those mentioned in D 30,2.

[122] Cf. D 26,13.

[123] Lost letter, 73*a*.

[124] Duarte Pereira de Sampaio, captain of Tidore, 1586-1589.

[125] Judge, arbiter, umpire.

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Capitulo 14. Do frutto que se faz em geral nestas partes de Maluco

74. O frutto que fazem os Padres nestas partes de Maluco não hé mais, que por conservar esta pouca christandade [20*v*] que há na Alabua e no Siao, como seme de maior vindemia, quando Deos N.S. se degnerà de abrir os olhos sobre della. E por agora não se pode fazer mais, porque todos os outros são mouros, nem querem que se preeghi nas suas terras, salvo se não fossemos buscando e descubrendo mais longe outras novas terras, donde não achegasse o nome nem a armada destes ternates.

Aproveita tambem a presentia dos Padres nestas partes por animar e ajudar os portugheses a não desmaiar e não perder-si totalmente com a companhia continua destes mouros, porque com tudo que os nossos com as preegaçõis e com as confissõis e com o esemplo os sustentim muito, todavia há muitas faltas.

Capitulo 15. Da esperança de maior frutto

75. Se as cousas destas partes caminão como agora, sscilicet, que os ternates ou outro rey mouro seja mais poderoso dos portugheses, não hé possivel, falando humanamente, fazer frutto e propagar a lei per estas partes. Porque estes mouros não querem outra lei senão a de Mafamede, e ainda que os vassallos quisessem riceber-la, com tudo isso não si poderia entroduzir-la não querendo el-rey.

Capitulo 16. Do impedimento que há de fazer frutto [21*r*]

76. A causa de não fazer frutto nestas partes não procede da maa disposição dos naturais, mas das cabeças que governão e que os tiranizão. E ainda que esta causa seja muito evidente, todavia ategora não se lhe dá o remedio necessario, o qual consiste em huma armada poderosa.

E a causa disto hé, primeiro polos pecados dos mesmos portugheses, com os quais Deos N.S. hé provocado muitas vezes justamente à ira, e não à compaixão de tantas almas que se perden. O 2° hé por estar El-Rey muito longe e ter muitas[v] outras cousas em que entender per aventura mais importantes. E com isso fiquão estas partes esquecidas há tantos annos[126]. E ainda que cada dia viva esta gente com isperança deste socorro, todavia nunca aparece. E já começa a perder o animo,

[126] The very day Fr. Marta wrote these lines, Fr. Alonso Sánchez had his discussions with a special *junta* appointed by King Philip in Madrid on the situation of the entire Philippine area, including Maluku.

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e os amigos a cuidar como se possão pôr em graça com os ternates por não perder a vida e o estado, quando se acabasse ou não acrecentasse o señorio dos portugheses.

Capitulo 17. Da maneira da vida do Superior e dos outros Padres quanto à christandade

77. O Superior universal destas partes, se quer fazer bem o seu officio, há-de estar continuamente embarcado. Porque todas estas residentias são afastadas huma [21*v*] da outra por muitas legoas de mar, e o navegar por elle não si pode à vontade, parte por causa dos inimigos que de continuo vão correndo estes mares, e parte por ser necessario esperar as monçõis, e parte por não ter posse de sustentar huma esquipação de vinti remeros, como fora necessario por passar seguramente da hum lugar a outro.

78. E por estas causas não pode o Superior visitar todas estas residentias senão em dous annos enteiros. Pera o Siao se va de Maio e torna em Feverero do outro anno a Tidor. Per Amboino se va a principio de Marzo e se torna no cabo de Junio, e desta maneira, tornado a Tidor, já se acha partida a embarcação que va pera Manilha, e passa pera Siao. E se o Superior quiser ir con tudo isso, hé mister buscar à sua[v] custa os remeros e gastar nisso per aventura mais de corenta e cincoenta cruzados. Pera Alabua se pode ir em todo o tempo, mas se não se va com o vento da monção, que corre de seis meses em seis meses [127], hé mister pôr muitos dias no caminho, se não for em huma embarcação muito ligera e bem esquipada.

79. Daqui V.Rev. poderá entender se o Superior corre risco ou não em tantas viaggens que lhe convem fazer. [22*r*] Porque por deradeiro o mar hé muitas vezes infiel, afora do risco que se passa de dar em alguma fusta de inimigos que de continuo vão correndo o mar.

80. Os outros Padres fazem nestas freguesias officio de cura e de vigairos, porque como curas catechizão, bautizão, casão e enterão, e como vigairos castigão às vezes os seus fregueses [128], ainda que não daquella maniera que costumão os vigairos seculares.

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[127] From December to March the winds are predominantly northern, from May to October southern, the two months of April and November being periods of transition and instability (ENI II 334).

[128] *Cura* is a pastoral, *vigario* more a jurisdictional term. To the office of the vicar, representing the bishop, it belonged to inflict punishment on misbehaving Christians.

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Capitulo 18. Do modo do governo destas residentias

81. A maniera de governar estas residentias hé esta. Cada hum tem a seu cargo huma iglesia, e catechiza os seus fregueses, e confessa e casa, e entera os defuntos. O catechismo se faz em lingoa malaia e na mesma lingua tambem se confessa. Cada dia se enseña a doutrina na iglesia ou dentro em casa, conforme aos lugares. Os que se confessão são quasi todos da freguesia, tirando alguns que não savem a lingoa malaia. O enterar se faz como antigamente, enco[m]endar^{x} somente à cova; aqui não há nem missa [p]er defuntos, nem confraria, nem procissão, nem outra [ce]remonia que se costuma na iglesia [129].

82. [Na g]uarda das festas há diferenza^{y} nos lugares, porque alguns guardão conforme ao calendario romano [22*v*] e ao costume de Portugal, outros guardão a bulla de Julio 3°, na qual se isenta os naturais da Nova Espanha de muitas festas do calendario, e guardão somente os domingos, as festas dos Apostolos, o dia da Circuncisão, o dia da Annunciação de N. Senhora, con^{z} a Pasca, o Pentecoste, o Nadal, o dia de Todos os Santos e o urago da iglesia [130].

Capitulo 19. Do frutto que fazem con esta maniera de governo

83. O frutto que fazem os Padres hé muito pouco, porque não si vê entre estes christãos fervor nem zelo da lei, mas tudo o que fazem hé ou por ser favorecidos do Padre nas cousas temporais, ou por não serem elles naturalmente mal inclinados. Todavia não repugnão ao que se lhes ensiña e se sogeitão à obediencia dos Padres quanto basta per doutrinar-los e encaminar-los ao fin que pretendemos. E se agora não se racolhe o frutto dos velhos, basta ao menos que não estorvim o que esperam os Padres de racolher dos [novos].^{a}

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[129] In earlier days the funeral rite of Maluku had been more elaborate; see DM I 197-198. It was the business of the Confraternity of the Misericordia to conduct the funeral procession.

[130] A Bull of Julius III on this issue is not known. It was Paul III who, on June 1, 1537, promulgated the Apostolic Letters *Altitudo Divini Consilii* by which he freed the native neophytes of the West Indies from some common Church festivals and draw up a list of the prescribed ones. This list, however, agrees little with Marta's enumeration (HERNÁEZ, *Collección de bulas* I 66). For a complete roll of obligatory feast days in the archdiocese of Goa, of 1568, see the Constitutions of that archdiocese, in SILVA REGO, *Documentação . . . India* X 571-575. The dioceses of Cochin and Malacca are not likely to have differed in this from Goa. Anyway, Marta's list does not seem very reliable.

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Capitulo 20. Da causa do pouco frutto

84. A causa pola qual os Padres fazem tão pou[co frutto] nestas partes de Maluco hé por diversas c[ausas].

A primeira hé não ter os Padres forza pera castigar os pecados [23*r*] e as faltas dos christãos por medo de não os alevantar.

A 2ª hé por estar a terra inquieta polas guerras, de donde procede que não podem os christãos aplicar-si a fazer mais do que fazem.

A 3ª hé ver-si desfavorecidos dal Rey de Portugal, por elle tardar tanto a socorer-los [131]. Antes por isso hé maravilha come ategora elles não se tem lançados con os mouros mil vezes.

A 4ª hé o mao esemplo que lhes dão cada dia os portugheses, porque despois com elles alegão, quando o Padre os quer apertar.

A 5ª hé o mao habito em que elles naceron e viverom já tantos annos, o qual não si pode assi em hum golpe arrancar tão depressa.

A 6ª hé o pouco numero dos obreros que temos, o qual não somente não basta por acudir aos christãos que temos, mas tambem diminue o conceito que elles hão-de ter de nós.

A 7ª hé a pobreza delles mesmos. Porque, sendo forzados de estar todo o dia no matto a buscar de comer, não poden frequentar a iglesia pera aprender o que não saben, e apertar-los não se pode mais per agora.

Capitulo 21. Dos remedios humanos que há contra todos estes inconvenientes

85. O mais eficaz remedio hé huma armada de mil soldados porque com estes logo se remedea ao primeiro, 2°, 3° e 7° [23*v*] inconveniente. O remedio pera o 4° stá no Bispo e n'El-Rey, que mandi vigairos prudentes e de boa vida; n'El-Rey que os ajude com o braço secular por fazer o seu oficio. Mas isto, porque hé dificultoso a ajuntar e esecutar, hé mister encomendar-lo a Deos que com o seu spirito mudi os coraçõis dos homens. Ao 6° dará remedio V.Rev. mandando o numero dos obreros que são necessarios por esta impresa. Mas sobretudo hé necessario que N. Senhor com a sua divina graça acuda a

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[131] Being an Italian Marta could permit himself such a strong way of criticism of King Philip which a Portuguese or Spanish Father would rather be slow to express. See also note 126. One should not overlook that 1588 was the year of Philip's « Invincible Armada »; he had his nearer troubles.

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todos estes inconvenientes porque sim ella[b] debalde trabalhamos e por deradeiro não avemos de fazer nada.

Capitulo 22. Da qualidade dos obreros

86. Hé necessario tambem dizer duas palavras da qualidade dos obreros, se bem parece superfluo dizer que hão-de ser bons, porque são certo que V.Rev. o save. Mas esto digo por huma proposição que corre comummente entre os nossos na India, sscilicet, que não hé necessario que os Padres de Maluco sejão letrados, porque com a isperiencia achamos o contrario [132]. E a rezão disto hé, porque estes christãos são ainda rudes e mettidos nos seus costumes antigos, e quem não os souber levar facilmente dará com tudo no chão. E com esta prudencia tambem são necessarias as letras por saber diferentiar o ben do mal, o [24*r*] importante do leve, e o que se deve dissimular e o que não. Doutra maniera ou hé necessario viver o Padre em continuo escrupulo de sua conscientia [133], ou correr com estes christãos de primeiro golpe com os canones na mão.

87. Demais não há nestas terras homem letrado, e todavia ocorren às vezes casos de muita importancia pera determinar. E os ouvidores [134] muitas vezes vem aconselhar-si com os nossos nas suas duvidas. Por onde ou hé mister saber risponder ou dizer-lhes que buschin outras pessoas, e risponder não si pode sim saber mais que quattro casos de conscientia. E isto specialmente tem forza neste tempo, no qual esta christandade hé come nacente e tem muitos erros per alimpar assi de casos de matrimonio come de outros seus costumes gentilicos.

E sobretudo encarrega muito esta obrigação o officio que agora temos da Inquisição, o qual ben save V.Rev. de quanta importantia hé por sahir nelle com onra da Companhia. Nem por isso basta hum soo, porque há-de ter outros que o saibão conselhar e ajudar. Por onde parece necessario aver aqui pessoas que tenhão ser por poder acabar facilmente todo o sobreditto.

88. E mais, assi como estamos aqui muito longe da India, [24*v*] hé mister que os Padres que aqui andão possão determinar da si e tirar a limpo as dificultades que acontecem, por não se poder esperar muitas

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[132] Poor Saint Francis Xavier! He had written « Pera laa [Maluku] não são necessarias letras, senão vertude e constamcia » (DM I 95).

[133] Perhaps Marta with these words renders the impression he had received of Fr. Berwouts/Corrado.

[134] The civil magistrates.

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vezes a reposta da India[c]. Doutra maneira ficamos irresolutos e sim remedio, e a gente dize que Maluco hé governado de mancebos, e o que se faz não tem credito. E assi padece o governo da christandade e a Companhia ricebe nota; o que, quanto aproveite por hum e por outro, V.Rev. o julghe, que não quero dizer mais.

Capitulo 23. Do seminario

89. Fazer seminario[135] nestas partes dizemos todos que sará ben, mas quando e como, por agora não vejo come se possa determinar. Mas, por quanto vejo, quanto mais depressa se começasse, tanto milhor fora. Porque de todas estas terras de christãos, donde não se pode pôr Padre, se tomerião os principais meninos pera enseñar e doutrinar na fee, e con estes despois se poderia concertar os outros. E o fin deste seminario não fora per agora enseñar latim, mas somente disciplinar-los bem na lei e incaminar-los pera que gostassem da verdade, a qual ategora, por quanto se vê, não entenderon. [25*r*] E deste principio despois se poderia entender o que se pode sperar desta gente, quanto a fazer-los aprender o latim, e conforme a isto encaminar-los.

Capitulo 24. Do que tocca ao temporal

90. Quanto ao que tocca ao temporal, os nossos nunca ou ao menos muito pouco trattaron disso. Em Ternate temos huma iglesia de pedra e cal, a qual ainda não está acabada, e agora serve aos mouros de horta de figheras[136]. Pegado a ella temos huma casa con as paredes de taipa[137]. Mas pode ser que tudo seja perdido ou ao menos maltrattado.

Em Tidor temos hum chão que valerá cem cruzados[d], 70 braças de comprido e largo 65, e nelle temos huma iglesia e huma casa de madera.

Os ornamentos que temos são poucos e velhos, caleses tres ou quattro, mas de feição antiga.

Capitulo 25. Da maneira con que viven os nossos nestas residentias

91. As casas que temos nestas residentias são pequenas, feitas todas

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[135] See D 23,14-15.

[136] This is the church started in 1568 by Fr. Luís de Góis; see DM I 521, 547, and 589.

[137] That is, with lath-and-plaster walls.

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de madera. Cada hum tem cinco moçços: hum cosinheiro, hum tifador[138], hum pescador, hum sacristão, e outro que servirá de despensero e portero e de todo o demais. O seu comer ordinario hé peixe, sagu, poucas vezes galinhas e porco, e huma vez de vinho de passa ou [25*v*] tuaca[139]. O vestir hé somelhante ao de toda a India. Cá nestas duas povoaçõis de Tidor e de Amboino vamos con manteos, acompañados da hum moçço. O gasto de casa hé conforme à terra mais e menos, conforme tambem ao tempo, mas em Tidor se gasta dobrado do que se gasta em qualquer outra residentia. Quando algum de nós adoece, não há mais meezinha que sangrar, dar huns enxaropes de limão con azuquer, e huma purga de huma casca de arvore chamada manga brava[140]. Na Alabua e no Siao se usa de roupa por comprar o comer, em Tidor roupa e mais bazaruccos[141], em Amboino caixas de cobre[142], e nas mais residentias de Amboino caixas e roupa.

Capitulo 26. Da renda que tem os Padres

92. Não temos mais renda do que nos dá El-Rey na alfandega de Malaca[143] dos seiscentos cruzados, con os quais sustentamos Maluco e Amboino. Esmolas não temos, antes hé mister que nós outros damos esmola a muitos que a pede[m] cuidando que somos riccos. E comtudo que cada dia dizemos que não temos con que viver e que stamos cargados de dividas, não quer a gente acabar de creer que hé assi, antes os nossos mesmos de Malaca e de Goa per-[26*r*]severão no mesmo erro, não sei donde procede isso. Mas emfin nós outros somos que o sentimos, porque temos falta de tudo e stamos endividados e por nenhuma parte não nos vem socorro. Mas emfin não nos falti a graça de N. Senhor, porque con esta abondaremos de tudo, ao menos de huma enterior consolação, con a qual viveremos sempre fartos e contentes.

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[138] See note 71.

[139] See note 81.

[140] On the *mangga* tree and fruit (English, *mango*), see DALGADO II 27-29; YULE 553-555; ENI II 667-668 (Mangifera). On *manga brava*, DALGADO II 29.

[141] *Bazarucco*, a Portuguese Indian coin of low denomination and of varying value and metal Indian English, *budgrook*). See YULE 121-122; DALGADO I 109-110.

[142] *Caixa*, name of a small coin made of copper, with a square hole in the middle, used all over SE Asia. See *Treatise* 138-139, 369; DALGADO I 175-176; YULE 167-168 (*cash*).

[143] See the *regimento* in DM I 493-494.

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93. Esto hé que tenho achado nestas partes de Maluco, no que tenho muitas duvidas e dificultades, as quais per agora não escrevo, parte por não ter tempo e parte porque as quero mandar a V.Rev. consultadas con o parecer de todos os Padres que aqui andão. Porque sobre delles con o parecer de V.Rev. havemos de fondar o governo destas residentias, e porque venhão muito mais consideradas e ventiladas. Esperaremos a mandar-las polo anno que vem.

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[a] *corr. fr.* deo *or* deu ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* reies ‖ [c] sagú *ms., and so continuously* ‖ [d] bajú *ms., and so continuously* ‖ [e] *del.* amarrado ‖ [f] bambús *ms., and so continuously* ‖ [g] *del.* e cuido [?] ‖ [h] *del.* te ‖ [i] *del.* a ‖ [j] *del.* e que lança fogos ‖ [k] *del.* melhor ‖ [l] *del.* 14 ‖ [m] *del.* nos livros ‖ [n] partes *ms.* ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* pelejasse ‖ [p] *corr. to* portugues *h2* ‖ [q] *del.* italiano ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* Mal ‖ [s] *del.* está debaixo da linha e por isto hé ‖ [t] Hé terra *interl.* ‖ [u] *corr. fr.* ha ‖ [v] *interl.* ‖ [w] *corr. fr.* 28 ‖ [x] *del.* de ‖ [y] na.. Padres *corr. fr.* em nossa casa ‖ [z] *del.* linha

[a] já.. christãos *interl. h2* ‖ [b] São.. retrocederão *add. m. h2* ‖ [c] *del.* lugares ‖ [d] manchuiuca, manchuiuça *or* manchuiuea *ms., d. r.* ‖ [e] *del.* tempo ‖ [f] destes *ms.* ‖ [g] *between parentheses ms.* ‖ [h] *rep. m.* ‖ [i] *del.* sul ‖ [j] certas *ms., del.* cousas ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* nos ‖ [l] *del.* a maneira ‖ [m] *del.* Tidor ‖ [n] *del.* meio ‖ [o] *interl.* ‖ [p] *interl., corr. fr.* dez ‖ [q] *del.* assi ‖ [r] *interl.* ‖ [s] *del.* nos ‖ [t] *del.* com ‖ [u] *del.* nos ‖ [v] *del.* necessidades ‖ [w] *del.* conta ‖ [x] *A hole in the paper forces the editor to complete some words in three lines* ‖ [y] *del.* e ‖ [z] *del.* os

[a] *A hole forces the editor to complete or add some words in four lines* ‖ [b] *del.* tra ‖ [c] *del.* por ‖ [d] *del.* largo ‖ [e] chamado *ms.*

Lost Letter

73a. — Fr. Antonio Marta, Visitor of Maluku, to Fr. Pero Martins, Provincial, Goa; April 1588.

D 73,71: « Escreverei mais particolarmente a V.Rev. na carta ». Is the covering letter to D 73.

Lost Map

73b. — Fr. Marta to Fr. Provincial; April 1588.

D 73,13: « Verá da carta que lhe mando pintada ». The map has never been recorded as surviving.

74

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO SJ
[TO AN ITALIAN FELLOW JESUIT, ROME]

GOA, NOVEMBER 22, 1588

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 335*r*-336*v*, formerly 4-5 and no. XLIV. Autograph original in Italian. Four pages entirely filled in small handwriting. Salu-

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tation and address are lacking. Rather a succinct report than a letter proper, as is also clearly indicated by the title « Ricopilatione » and by the first paragraph. On f. 335*r* a Roman archivist noted « Indica. 88 ». Our part is on that same page.

II AUTHOR: For Fr. Alberto Laerzio, see introduction to D 32.

III ADDRESSEE: No addressee is indicated. Since Laerzio directed this letter to « V.R. » (and not to « V.P. »), and, in the first paragraph, referred his addressee to the Annual Letter, always directed to Fr. General, the inference must be that he wrote to an Italian Father in the surroundings of Fr. General, possibly to the Italian Assistant Fr. Lorenzo Maggio who held his office 1581-1589. One could think of Fr. Ludovico Maselli to whom Laerzio once declared that he had written every year (DI XII 135, 16a), but this Father, in those years 1581-1590, was provincial first of Naples and then of Sicily, far from Rome.

Text

1. *This is a compendium of the more extensive information given in the Annual Letter.* — 2. *The last year letters from Maluku reported many conversions. This year no letters arrived from there.*

†

Breve recopilatione delle nove dell'India Orientale del anno 1588

1. Le nove che brevemente di queste Indie Orientali posso dare, sono le sequente lasciando all'annue[1] la longa informatione di queste et altre cose che se hanno da scrivere.
[. . .]

---

[1] Of the Annual Letter of 1588 two texts are extant: 1° A MS. text in the archives of the Toledo Jesuit Province (Spain), in *Varia Historia III* ff. 465*r*-470*v*. It is a shortened copy in Portuguese, titled « Algumas cousas da carta geral da India », lacking both the date and the signature. The very first paragraph removes any possible doubt about the date: « este anno de 88 »; and the Viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses is said to have been present at a solemn baptism on January 1 of « this year », but to his name « que Deus tem » is added. From elsewhere we know that he died on May 4, 1588. 2° A printed text in « *Annuae litterae Societatis Iesu anni M.D.LXXXVIII*, Romae 1590, 323-336. It is a Latin translation, likewise shortened, and readied for printing by Fr. Francesco Benci SJ.

Startlingly, the two texts, though obviously identical in places, display great divergences both in contents, in wording, and in sequence, each containing things lacking in the other. The Latin translation does not hold anything on Maluku. The Portuguese MS text has a short paragraph on Maluku sounding rather strange and little trustworthy: « De Maluco ouve mui felices novas, e são que chegando hum galeão com desaseis portugueses a hum lugar que está trinta le-

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2. Di Maluco recevetti l'anno passato lettere[2], per le quali seppi come la conversione va in grande crescimento et che se convertono migliaie di anime in quelle isole[3]. È ben vero che quelli pochi Padri che la vi sono chiedono sempre agiuto, dicendo che messis multa, operarii autem pauci[4].

Quest'anno per non essere venuta la nave non ho riceuta nissuna lettera et perciò non ho niente di novo.

[. . . 336*v*]

Di Goa, 22 di Novembre di 88.

Di V.R. suo in Christo,

Alberto Laertio.

75

CATALOGUE OF INFORMATIONS ON THE MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE

[GOA], DECEMBER 31, 1588
First *via*

I TEXT: *Goa 24 I* f. 172*r*-183*v*, formerly pp. 183-205, earlier ff. 235-247 (*del.*). Original in Spanish, written in a beautiful and clearly legible hand. On

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goas de Amboyno, e sendo os portugueses sollicitados dos mouros pera deixarem a fee e se tornarem mouros, como lhe pedião e rogavão, perseverando constantemente, forão todos mortos. Pelo que estamos certos que alcançarão gloriosa palma de martyrio » (f. 470*v*). How can a galleon sail around with only sixteen Portuguese on board? Was it conquered by the « Moors » and were the Portuguese taken prisoners? Where did this happen? Thirty leagues from Ambon bring us not even as far as Banda; so where? on Buru? or Seram? Why do neither the letters from Maluku nor the *Relação Vasconcelos* mention this martyrdom? Perhaps an interchange with the news of the martyrdom of Luís Monteiro Coutinho and twelve companions in Aceh in 1583 (SOUZA II 3 2 21-23).

[2] Lost Letter, 60*b*. If he received the letter in early 1588, it was written in Maluku in the first half of 1587. Fr. Marta had just arrived then and wrote several letters (DD 59-61; 63-64). We may suppose that it was he who wrote one to his fellow countryman Laerzio.

[3] This is quite the contrary of what the documents of note 1 communicated.

[4] Mt 9 37.

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f. 183*r* there is an appendix to the catalogue, consisting of a list of the deceased in the year 1588, and f. 183*v* gives again the title of the document, adding « 1ª via » and « 6 ». The catalogue comprises the Indian province and the viceprovince of China and Japan, totalling up to 925 names of Jesuits. Ten of them were stationed in Maluku.

II. OUR EDITION: We print the part containing the names of the Maluku Jesuits.

Text

1. *Information about three Jesuits stationed in Tidore.* — 2. *Information on seven others working in Selebes, in Ambon, or in Labuha.*

Catálogo de las informaciones comunes de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús de la India Oriental. Hecho al último de Deziembre de 1588.

[. . . 179*r*]

1. Residencias de Maluco
Tidore[a]

279. P. Antonio Marta, italiano de Trovige [1], de 45 años, de buenas fuerças, de 21 años de la Compañía. Acabó los estudios, enseñó latín, vicerector del collegio de Brixa, fue ministro de la[s] casas professas de Venesia y de Goa, visitador de Maluco. Hizo professión de quatro votos nel año de 1583 en veinte y uno de Março.

280. P. Pero Núñez, portugués de Seda [2], diócese de Évora, de 33 años, robusto, de 14 años de la Compañía. Oyó dos años de theología, fue superior en Maluco. [179*v*]

281. Ir. Juan Pablo, italiano de Cosenza, de 32 años. Robusto, de nueve años de la Compañía. Coadiutor.

2. Residencias de Celebe, de Amboino y de Lambo [3]

282. P. Francisco de la Cruz, italiano de Sarsana [4], de 35 años, de buenas fuerças, de 14 años de la Compañía. Estudió casos de la conscien-cia, fue ministro del Collegio Germánico [5], y vicerector de Salsete [b 6].

---

[1] For our commentary on the proper names, see D 48.

[2] Sêda, Portalegre, Alentejo, Portugal. When Nunes was born it still belonged to the diocese of Évora.

[3] Eviden: mis-spelling for Labuha.

[4] Original surname Poliasca, from Sarzana, Liguria, Italy.

[5] In Rome.

[6] Near Goa.

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283. P. Rogerio Conrado, flamengo de Trodon, diócese de Leodio, de 38 años, robusto, de 12 años de la Compañía. Oyó leies y cánones y algunos meses de theología, y casos de consciencia, enseño latín.

284. P. Luis Hernández, portugués de Lyxboa, de 38 años, robusto, mas indespuesto de la cabeça, de 8 años y medio de la Compañía. Acabó los estudios, començó a leer[c] el curso, fue ministro del collegio de Baçaín y vicerector, padre de los christianos, y procurador, y praefecto del seminario de los niños en Goa.

285. P. Francisco de Acuña, portugués de Ca[s]telblanco, diócese de la Guarda, de 32 años, de mediocres fuerças, de 12 años y medio de la Compañía. Oyó dos años de theología.

286. P. Antonio Perera, portugués de Beja, diócese de Évora, de 32 años, de mediocres fuerças, de 14 años y medio de la Compañía. Acabó los estudios, fue ministro del collegio de Goa, y praefecto del seminario de los niños en Goa.

287. P. Gabriel de la Cruz, castellano de Toledo, de 34 años, de mediocres fuerças, de 12 años de la Compañía. Oyó algunos meses de theología, y casos de consciencia.

288. Ir. Antonio Gonçález, portugués de Chaves, diócese de Braga, de 54 años, de mediocres fuerças, de 29 años de la Compañía. Catequisó diez y[d] nueve años los catecúmenos.
[...]

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[a] *ins.* || [b] *corr. fr.* Salcete || [c] *corr. fr.* ler || [d] *corr. fr.* e

76

ESTIMATE OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE PORTUGUESE FORTRESSES OF INDIA

[GOA, 1588]

I TEXT: Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico do Ultramar, cod. 500*, ff. 61*r*-69*r*. Original in Portuguese. The volume is a unity comprising a complete estimate of revenue and expenditure of the Portuguese State of India, but lacking an all-embracing title. « A fortaleza de Malaca » starts on f. 56*r*. At the left of the text, there is a large margin, and another at the right for the amounts in figures. (For the complete contents, see M.A.H. FITZLER in FITZLER-ENNES, *A Secção* 43-45).

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II DATE: The year 1586 is mentioned in the past on f. 60*r*. On f. 63*r* Viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses (1584–88) is said to have placed some money at the disposal of the Jesuits « who now have set out for inner China ». This took place in 1585–86 (SCHÜTTE, *Introductio* 389-390). Considering the rest of this *cod. 500*, we incline to the opinion that it was composed between 1586 and 1589, only the later added notes suggesting the ascription to 1593-94 as given by FITZLER (o.c. 45 note 1). As no other indications seem to be available, somewhat at random we assign the document to the year 1588, not pretending to have resolved the question definitely and definitively.

III NOTE: On using this document the historian should compare it with the similar ones published by SÁ (V 252-268; on pp. 256-259 the phrase « pardaos dinheiro » several times should be read « pardaos d'ouro »). One could find, we suppose, many more estimates of this kind in the archives. We give this one rather as a specimen offering some insight into the financial side of the Jesuit mission of Maluku.

Text

1. *Revenues of the Fathers residing in Maluku* [= *Tidore*]. — 2. *Revenues of the Jesuits residing in Ambon.* — 3. *Provision for Jesuits passing by Malacca sailing eastward or returning to India.* — 4. *The Fathers of Ambon being paid out in Malacca are not chargeable to Ambon fortress.*

A FORTALEZA DE MALACA

[. . . 61*r*]

1. Hé concedido aos Padres da Companhia que resydem em Maluco seiscentos cruzados[1] em cada huum anno por provisão d'El-Rey nosso senhor, pagos nesta fortaleza de Malaca[2], que fazem . . . . . ijcR reis[3]

2. Pera mantimento dos Padres da Companhia que residem na fortaleza de Amboyno hé concedido per provisão huma tanga[4] a cada huum por dya. Residerão tres Padres mais e menos, e fazendo-se conta a despesa dos ditos tres Padres monta por anno . . . . . Lxb reis[5]

---

[1] Cf. DM I 299, but also DI X 60 no. 6.

[2] As this is an estimate of expenditure in cash only, the four bahars of clove, charge-free, for the Jesuits' material support are not mentioned (See DM I 616, 666, 669).

[3] 240,000 réis.

[4] Silver coin of 60 réis, one fifth of a pardau.

[5] 65,000 réis. This is much less than what was provided by the regulation mentioned by Valignano in 1574 (DM I 659).

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3. Aos Padres da Companhia pasageiros que vão de Malaca pera Japão e outras partes [6], e os que vem pera Malaca e pera a India, se lhes daa os mantimentos enquanto residem no dito Malaca, e suas matalotagens e guasalhados quando se embarcão por provisão dos viso-reys. Montará esta despesa pouquo mais ou menos em cada huum anno cem mil reis . . . . . Cto reis
[. . . 64*r*]

A FORTALEZA DE MALUQUO [*No Jesuits mentioned*]
[. . . 67*r*]

A FORTALEZA D'AMBOINO
[. . . 69*r*]

4. Aos Padres da Companhia que residem na dita fortaleza se paguão em Malaca, polo que se não faz aquy rezão [7].
[. . .]

Lost Letter

76*a*. — *The Fathers of Maluku to Fr. Pero Martins, Provincial, Goa; early 1589.*

D 83,1: « Tuvo [*sic*] yo cartas de todos los Padres de allá ». Cf. D 83 note 3.

77

FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, TO FR. PERO MARTINS, PROVINCIAL, GOA

ROME, DECEMBER 24, 1589

I TEXT: Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional, Fundo Geral 6620*. In this bulky volume one of the quires is titled on the cover « No. 31. Masso de Ordens dos Padres Geraes e Visitas dos Provinciais. Gav[eta] n. 31 », and contains « Extracto das cousas pertencentes ao governo da India tirado das cartas de N.R. Padres Gerae9 pera os Provinciaes destas Provincias ». It is not paginated, but divided into 39s

[6] For instance, Maluku.

[7] Curiously, a parallel remark is lacking under « A fortaleza de Maluquo ».

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numbers, covering the period from 1549 to 1613. The sequence of the extracts is chronological, but not rigorously. The collection is likely to have been made in Goa about 1614-1615. It is written in Portuguese. Since in the Ròman Jesuit Archives the registered letters of the Frs. General Mercurian and Acquaviva are lacking, these extracts are of the utmost importance. The registered letter we publish here and whose full text is unknown to us, occurs under no. 154. Though the extract is written in Portuguese, the second sentence, obviously a literal quotation, is in Spanish.

II PRINTED: Summarized in German, in WICKI, *Auszüge* 137 no. 154.

Text

Fr. General is surprised to learn that Fr. Antonio Marta is a commissary of the Holy Office. He fears this could be an impediment to mission work.

154. Nhuma de 24 de Dezembro de 89 pera o P. Provincial Pero Martins diz desta maneira:

[...]

Na mesma carta estranha que o Padre Antonio Marta fosse Commissario do Santo Officio[1] nas partes de Maluco. Porque (diz Sua Paternidade) poderíase[a] causar en los ánimos de muchos alguna manera de recato pera con los nuestros[2], lo qual sería total impedimiento de hazerse fructo.

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[a] -se] ser *ms.*

Lost Letter

77a. — Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku; December 24, 1589.

D 100,1: « Una sola carta tengo recebido suya... de 24 de Dezembro del anno de 89 ».

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[1] DD 59,14; 62,7; 63,5.

[2] As was indicated by Fr. Pero Nunes, D 71, 2-3.

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78

CATALOGUE OF THE HOUSES, THEIR INMATES AND REVENUES, OF THE INDIAN PROVINCE AND THE VICEPROVINCE OF JAPAN

GOA, [DECEMBER] 1589
Second *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa* 24 *I* ff. 185*r*-193*v*. Original in Spanish, written in a smooth hand, but the paper having browned and been corroded by the ink, the text is often scarcely legible. A different hand noted « 1589 » at the top of f. 185*r*; ff. 192*v*-193*r* are blank; f. 193*v* repeats the heading of f. 185*r* (renta *instead of* rentas), and contains the notes « 2ª via », and, in Latin, « Catalogus rerum seu collegiorum Indiae et Japoniae confectus Goae anno 1589 ». In the right margin, the numerals written in full in the text are repeated in figures. Our part is on f. 190*r*.

II DATE: The aforementioned Latin note leaves no doubt about the year. As December was in Goa the month of writing Annuals and composing catalogues, we feel entitled to ascribe this document to the last month of 1589.

Text

1. *Residences and missionaries of Maluku. Work consists only in conserving the Christians. Material support of the Fathers.* — 2. *Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho added three more bahars of clove to be sold at Malacca to the four granted by King D. Sebastião.*

[185*r*]

Breve compendio del número de las casas, colegios y residencias de la Provincia Oriental, y de las personas que en ellas residen y rentas que cada una tiene con sus despezas, añadiendo la Viceprovincia de Jappón.

[... 190*r*]

Maluco

1. Residen en Maluco divididos en las residencias de Tidore, Sebeles, Amboino y Lambo, diez sacerdotes y uno Hermano de la Compañía [1], los quales trabajan por conservar aquella

[1] The author repeats D 75, which, however, enumerates eight priests and two Brothers. Lambo, of course, is Labuha, as in D 75,2.

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christiandad y reduzir los pervertidos[2], que antes de las guerras estavan baptizados setenta mil[3]. Y escriven que por falta de alguna fuerça[a] de los portugueses, que allá se podría embiar[b], no reduzen más. Su Magestad dió para sustentarsse estos Padres, pagos en la alhóndiga de Malaca, quinientos y quarenta ducados[4] 0540

2. También les dió licencia por su alvará el Rey Don Sebastián para embiaren de Maluco a Malaca, comprados por su dinero, quatro bares de cravo libres de fretes y direchos[5]. Mas como todo esto no le bastasse para sy y para ornamentar y guardar[c] las iglesias como conviene, el Guovernador Manoel de Sosa Coutinho[6], tomando más enformación, de parecer del veador de la hazienda añadió por su provisión que pudiessen enbiar de más de los quatro, otros tres a Malaca por el modo dicho[7]. [. . .]

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[a] *d.r.* ‖ [b] se. . . embiar *d.r., followed by illeg. word* ‖ [c] *d.r.*

Lost Letters

78*a-b*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Visitor, Goa, to Fr. Acquaviva, General; April 1590.*

D 81,3: « Già in due altre mie lettere scrissi a V.R.P. la causa del mio viaggio a Goa et l'armata che mi diede il vicerè . . . » As for the date: Marta sailed back to Maluku from Goa in April 1590.

79

FR. PERO MARTINS, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

[Goa, December] 1590
Annual Letter, Third *via*

I Authors: Wessels, *Amboina* 96.
II Text: *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 337*r*-348*v*, formerly 1-12, still earlier 107-118

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[2] That is, the apostatized.
[3] Cf. D 63,1 and 3.
[4] In a catalogue of 1575: five hundred and forty *cruzados* (DM I 663).
[5] DM I 616.
[6] D. Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, Governor of India, 1588-1591.
[7] Surely a result of Marta's interview with the Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (D 79,3; see also D 73,70).

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(*del.*), and no. XLV. Original in Spanish. Elegant handwriting which would be easy to read if the paper had not been affected by the brown ink in many places. An archivist noted on f. 337*r* « Indica 90 »; on f. 348*r* the signature is autograph; f. 348*v* is blank but for the quasi-address. A later hand made many underlinings and crossings, perhaps with a view of having the text printed. Whereas the news on Malacca is, as usually, at the end of the letter (f. 348*r*), rather exceptionally it tells the things of relevance to Maluku at the very outset (f. 337*r* and *v*).

Text

1. *Number of Jesuit houses and their inmates of the Indian Province.* — 2. *Two houses with ten Fathers and one Brother in Maluku.* — 3. *Fr. Antonio Marta came to Goa to report on his visitation of Maluku ; he sailed back with Frs. Lorenzo Masonio and João Rebelo.*

†

Muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo

Pax Christi.

1. Tiene esta Provincia de la India [...] cinco collegios y 14 casas grandes, no contando otras residencias pequeñas, en las quales hay 299 de la Compañía, los 130 son sacerdotes, 11 maestros, 52 estudiantes, 85 coadjutores, 21 novicios[1].
[...]

2. En Maluco las casas de Tidore y Amboino, en que están 10 Padres y un Hermano coadjutor[2].
[... 337*v*]

3. Para Maluco se embiaron los Padres Lorenço Masonio y Juan Rebello en compañía del P.e Antonio Martha[3], que después de visitar aquellas partes vino a dar cuenta al Padre Provincial, y tratar con el

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[1] This gives an idea of the numerical background of the Maluku mission in the Indian Jesuit Province.

[2] The mission posts of Labuha and Siau were officially not considered « houses » of the Society, but only outstations intermittently visited. Nine Fathers and one Brother were residing there (D 75). It is possible that Fr. Martins knew of the death of Fr. Francisco Poliasca/da Cruz (DD 84,3; 85,2), and included the two new Fathers of no. 3.

[3] This is the 24th sending of Jesuits to Maluku (*Gen. Introd.* III 4 nos. 57-58).

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Governador del remedio de aquella christiandad[4]. Acudióse conforme a la possibilidad del Estado.
[... 348*r*]
[*Autograph*] De V.P. hijo indino,
Pero Martinz.
[348*v*] Annua de la Provincia de la India Oriental, año de 1590. 3ª vía.

Lost Letter

79a. — Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Visitor, Macao, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku; 1590?

DD 88,10; 89,6: Invites Marta to give his opinion on joining the Jesuit residences of Maluku to the mission of Manila. As for the date: we find Valignano in Macao from 1588 to 1590.

80

FR. JOÃO REBELO SJ [TO A JESUIT IN INDIA OR EUROPE]

AMBON, [MAY 1591]

I TEXT: Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico do Ultramar, cod. 1659*, ff. 215*v*-218*r*. Fragmentary copy in Portuguese. Heading « Capitulo do que no caminho aconteceo a huns Padres que hião para Amboino e das guerras que lá houve. Escreve de Amboino o Pe João Rebello huma carta em que diz assim ». The text is written in a very regular and elegant seventeenth century hand, and divided into some paragraphs. It lacks the usual salutation at the beginning and the dating and signature at the end, and perhaps other parts of the original letter. Four times the copyist could not read his text and left an open space (see *app. crit.*). Twice we completed the sentence (no. 4), once we did not find a satisfying solution (no. 10), and once a complement seemed superfluous (no. 12).

II DATE: Fr. João Rebelo arrived at Ambon in December 1590 or January 1591 (See D 79 note 4). The hostilities of the natives started in February 1591 (D 81,2). Marta reported on them in July of that year *via* Manila after having

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[4] We can only conjecture when he left Maluku and when he returned there. Presumably he sailed from Ambon in May 1589, stayed in Goa March-April 1590, and weighed anchor again in that latter month, so as to arrive in Maluku in December 1590 or in January 1591 (D 80,4; 81,2).

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done so in May *via* Malacca (ibid. 1). It is only plausible that Rebelo's letter circumstantially describing them was written and sent likewise in May 1591.

III ADDRESSEE: There is no indication whatsoever about the addressee. The way Rebelo writes, in nos. 1 and 12, about Frs. Marta and Nunes as about familiar persons suggests that he directed his letter to a Jesuit. We guess he wrote either to the provincial in Goa, or, having been a secretary to the historiographer Giampietro Maffei and knowing which news people would be interested in, to some familiar history-minded Jesuit in Portugal. As Rebelo had no special office and wrote in Portuguese, and since the document is kept in Portuguese archives only, we feel entitled to exclude Fr. General as an addressee.

Text

1. *Sailed to Maluku from Malacca with Fr. Antonio Marta and a new captain of the fortress of Ambon, António Pereira.* — 2. *By the way a Javanese junk was conquered. Some dead and wounded.* — 3. *Result: booty and baptisms.* — 4. *Arrived at Ambon. One month later the Ternatan chief captain Rubohongi appeared with an impressive fleet to attack the fortress. The poor fleet of the Portuguese.* — 5. *Sea battle. The Portuguese coracoras and a fusta were put out of action.* — 6. *Their galley had a narrow escape. Dead and wounded on both sides.* — 7. *The enemy navy stayed over a month before the fortress. Attack on Wakasihu was beaten off.* — 8. *The Muslims had a vision of Santiago defending the Christians.* — 9. *After a month the new captain sailed out again; Rubohongi declined to give battle.* — 10. *The year before, a navy of the Bandanese was dispersed.* — 11. *The village of Puta, a threat to the fortress, was conquered.* — 12. *Fr. Pero Nunes assisted the soldiers.*

1. Partimos de Malaca[1] o P.e Antonio Marta e eu em companhia do novo capitães Antonio Pereira, que trazia cem soldados de prezidio para esta fortaleza de Amboino em huma galé, e duas fustas de que erão capitães Manoel Pinto e Simão Pereira, soccorro bem accommodado para as necessidades do tempo[2].

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[1] Presumably about August 15, 1590, according to the scheduled sailing times.

[2] See *Relação Vasconcelos* 445. The new captain was António Pereira Pinto. Manuel Pinto Pereira came as chief captain of the sea, i.e., as fleet commander in the Ambonese waters. This succour was due to Marta's voyage to Goa (D 81,3). — After nearly twenty years of captainship, Sancho de Vasconcelos finally received a successor (see no. 9; *Rel. Vasc.* 224-225). Earlier successors did not manage to take up their office: Agostinho Nunes was murdered near Surabaya in 1580 (D 21); one Gonçalo de Sousa de Mendonça is mentioned as captain of Ambon more than once (*Boletim Filmoteca* V 533, explicitly as a substitute for Vasconcelos, December 1587; ibid. 567, December 1588; ibid. 592, December 1589), but in the *Rel. Vasc.* he never appears; he is mentioned likewise in *Brit.*

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2. Encontramos no caminho com hum junco de jaos e outras nações misturadas [3], os quaes não quizerão amainar, como fizerão outros a quem o capitão deixou hir em pax, mas rezistirão athé serem abertos e queimados com a nossa artelharia e panelas de polvora, e ainda ao entrar rezestirão ferindo-nos alguns soldados, dos quaes hum morreo de huma ceita de peçonha. A Simão Pereira, capitão de huma das fustas, estando em pé encostado a hum montante, acertou-lhe hum tiro de berço por encheio e o vazou de parte a parte pelo hombro direito moendo-lhe os ossos, e depoes foi dar no mocadão [4] dos marinheiros levando-lhe huma caxa, e ainda adiante ferio a outro soldado em huma perna. Simão Pereira teve tal esforço, que dando-lhe o tiro não cahio nem bradou, nem fez de sy outro movimento que olhar para traz aos gritos de mocadão, e tomou este desastre como couza da mão de Deos [5]. [216*r*]

3. A preza principal foi escravagem de muitas mulheres e meninos. Os homens grandes forão postos ao remo. Eu baptizei hum destes meninos e acabado o bautismo expirou. E hum soldado quando se entrou o junco bautizou a outro já adulto, o qual morreo com o nome de Jesus na boca por estar muito ferido. E como o soldado não tinha estudado muita theologia botou-o ao mar meio vivo, parece que por não tornar atraz de seo bom propozito. A outros muitos bautizei in extremis pelo discurso da viagem, que mostrarão vontade de serem christãos, precedendo primeiro algum cathecismo das couzas da fé. Estes todos erão bragas [6] chincheos [7], dos quaes adoecião e morrião muitos mais que das outras nações.

Library, *MSS Addit.* 28433 f. 170*r* as « que ora vai por capitão d'Amboino » (SÁ V 276). Sancho de Vasconcelos had requested King Philip in 1587 to be endowed with the captainship of Ambon for life; obviously this petition was not granted (*Boletim Filmoteca* V 548 no. 73).

[3] According to *Rel. Vasc.* 446, this *junco* was « de ladrões », and they were operating in the Straits of Sabang (between Kundur, Karimun Islands, and Sumatra).

[4] From Arabic *mukaddam*, a head-man. The Portuguese used it either for the pilot or for the proprietor of a vessel. Here: head of the sailors (YULE 569).

[5] He was an outstanding Christian and soldier; he arrived at Ambon « muito mal ferido » (*Rel. Vasc.* 445-446).

[6] *Bragas*, i.e., « Os remadores cativos das galés que ali eram presos com bragas » [shackles] (LEITÃO-LOPES, *Dicionário*, 1974², 110).

[7] *Chincheo*, Portuguese sixteenth century term for the Chinese province of Fukien generally, and for some ports on its coast particularly (PIRES 119; BOXER, *South-China* 313-326: « the Bay of Amoy and its hinterland »).

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4. Chegados a Amboyno[8] achamos a terra de guerra, porquanto Roboangue[9], capitão geral d'el-rey de Ternate e senhor de Viranula, ilha vizinha a este Amboino, nosso grande e antigo inimigo, tinha junta huma armada de 36 coracoras que são embarcações grandes e muito mais ligeiras que galés, todas guarnecidas e aparelhadas de artelharia de meios falcões, berços, chichoros e espingardas e[a] [outras] armas offensivas, segundo seu costume delles, com as quaes nos veio cometer hum mez depoes de nossa chegada[10]. Sahio-lhe a gallé e huma fusta (porque a outra estava varada), sahirão mais duas ou tres[b] [coracoras] nossas. E como a entrada foi de repente, a gallé não tinha lastro bastante pendendo a huma e outra banda, e sobretudo mal negociada de bombardeiros; a galeota com poucos soldados e pouca experiencia na arte militar.

5. Vierão as corocoras dos inimigos fazendo huma meia lua fingindo virar para a fortaleza. Cercarão huma nossa corocora pequena e a meterão no fundo, salvando-se a demais gente a nado na galé. A outra, atirando-lhe hum ou dous tiros, dizem que abrio por ser velha, e a gente se lançou ao mar e a nado se salvou quazi toda na galé, botando as armas no mar. A terceira corocora nossa ficou mais junto da fortaleza [216*v*] e não foi cometida dos inimigos. Os quaes cobrando animo com tal sucesso e os nossos desacoroçoando, começarão os remeiros a desamparar a fusta deitando-se ao mar. E os soldados vendo a fusta sem esquipação, entrou tambem o medo nelles, de maneira que se deitarão a nado ao mar caminho da galé e no caminho forão mortos e affogados grande parte delles, tirando dous ou tres que pelejarão athé morrer. Entre os quaes foi hum mais assinalado, a quem por alcunha chamavão Meanao[11], que pelejou athé dar com o cabo da espingarda pelas cabeças dos inimigos que entrarão a fusta por não ter já outro remedio.

6. A gallé pela muita gente que entrou de novo parecia couza mais preparada para rizo que para peleja, por pender à banda como a redouça de meninos, e assim os tiros grossos, que erão bastante para meter no fundo muitas corocoras, não fizerão nada por hirem com

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[8] See D 79 note 4.

[9] Consult DM I 619 (Raboanje, Rubohongi). For the following warlike exploits, see also *Rel. Vasc.* 446-452; the two texts complete each other in an excellent way.

[10] The attack started in February 1591 (D 81,2). The inference is that the Fathers had arrived in December 1590 or in January 1591. See also D 109,5 sub 7.

[11] Perhaps *meia nau?*

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o movimento da gallé muito differentes donde apontavão, e tambem pela muita perturbação e confuzão que havia em todos. Não podendo o capitão Manoel Pinto governar por ter recebido huma arcabuzada pelos peitos que lhe passou a malha, e alem disto estando elle entregando o governo da galé a hum seo sobrinho, lhe tirarão com hum berço que lhe quebrou a cana do pé, ficando pendurado somente pelo nervo de que pouco depoes morreo. E assim cahida a cabeça entrou grande temor, medo e desordem nos nossos que escassamente escapou a gallé de não ser tomada, não faltando os inimigos de porem a isso suas forças, chegando-se atrevidamente athé a tocar com as mãos, tirando-lhe muitos tiros de berço e espingardadas, de que matarão sinco ou seis reimeiros que estavão mais discubertos que os soldados, dos quaes não forão feridos dentro na gallé mais que Manoel Pinto, capitão do mar, e seo sobrinho da mesma berçada; dos outros morrerão doze ou treze soldados e alguns da terra. Nos inimigos se fez pouca moça para o que se esperava, dizem que morrerão cento delles, entre os quaes foi Quichil Choca, capitão assinalado [12], e o regulo de Atua [13]. E como tudo o que acontece vem governado por Deos, permitio elle soceder [217*r*] aos nossos este desastre para que se não levantassem no ar confiados em sua armada e forças humanas que[c] trazião.

7. Ficou a armada dos inimigos mais de hum mez defronte da fortaleza fazendo algumas vezes mostras de querer desembarcar, sem effeito. Fizerão todavia algumas ciladas com que matarão gente nossa[d] e os nossos tambem a elles, e acometerão alguns lugares desta ilha que estavão por nós, parte queimando, parte reduzindo à sua obediencia, mas hidos elles tornou tudo ao estado primeiro com diligencia do capitão. Entre os lugares nossos com que pelejarão foi hum por nome Vacassio [14] e, não se querendo entregar, pelejarão fielmente em companhia de alguns portuguezes que ali estavão de prezidio.

8. Acabada a briga perguntarão[e] os mouros por hum homem branco veneravel, vestido de branco, que tinha huma mão posta na bandeira de Christo que estava sobre o muro e na outra huma cana, com a qual assenava aos portuguezes que pelejassem. Dizião mais que lhe tinhão tiradas muitas espingardadas sem o poderem acertar, de que ficarão com tanto medo que se os portuguezes lhe forão no alcance os houverão de destruir a todos. Pedião que lhes mostrassem aquelle homem pela grande admiração que delle tiverão, e como os nossos

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[12] On him, see *Rel. Vasc.* 432-434.

[13] Of Hatuhaha in Haruku.

[14] Wakasihu, on the western coast of Hitu. (*Rel. Vasc.* 451: Vaquaçio).

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não tinhão visto nada, persuadirão-se ser aquelle o glorioso apostolo Santiago, de cuja invocação hé a nossa igreja de Amboino [15]. E com este sucesso o capitão do prezidio animou aquelles homens do lugar, dizendo-lhes: « Aqui vereis quam verdadeira seja a fé dos portuguezes, poes Deos do ceo assim os ajuda em suas batalhas! » Ficarão elles mui contentes e quebrarão logo seos idolos e pedirão Padre par[a] os doutrinar [16].

9. Hum mes depoes[f] [217*v*] da briga passada se acabou de aparelhar o capitão Antonio Pereira, sendo já chegado o galleão de provimento em que vinha Thomé de Souza d'Arronches [17], que tambem ajudou com munições de guerra e gente soldadesca e do mar. Confessarão-se os soldados e foi hum Padre nosso com o capitam Antonio Pereira na galé. Na fusta hia Manoel de Lima por capitão, cunhado de Sancho de Vasconselos, a quem Antonio Pereira succedeo, que havia 20 hannos era capitam desta fortaleza. Como a gallé e fusta hião muy bem artilhadas e empavezadas, não lhe quiz o Roboangue sahir por ser homem já velho e muito experimentado e entender que não tinha ahi partido, e respondeo aos outros a quem fervia o sangue por pelejar: « Filhos, bem vedes estas barbas brancas e que não tenho já mais que os ossos e pelle! Hum mez há que os portuguezes se aparelhão, e quereis que lhe sayamos? Haveis de entender que aquella galé e fusta são agora como duas fortalezas » [18]. De maneira que, como prudente, quiz antes recolher-se com sua honra, levando sua armada inteira e a nossa fusta tomada, com duas caracoras e muitos mortos e feridos. Ficou todavia com sua hida a terra desaliviada e com menos vigias.

10. Foi este castigo que Deos nos deo de pay amorozo que nos não quer destruir. Poes permitio o anno passado desfazer-se a armada[g] dos bandas [19] por differenças que tiverão, a qual vinha em ajuda de Roboangue. E este[h], [.....] [20] tirão de lá vinte e tantas[i] corocoras,

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[15] For the church of Santiago in Ambon, see DD 30,3; 93,2; 94,24.

[16] It is Fr. Masonio who went there (D 94,40).

[17] His name frequently occurs in the sources, for instance, in COUTO X/II and XII; in COLIN-PASTELLS II 345; see D 147,6 etc. He distinguished himself in Ceylon and received the captainship of the fortress of Chaul as a royal reward in 1611 (*Bolet. Filmot.* V 245). That this visit to Maluku did not remain fruitless can be ascertained from SÁ V 228.

[18] Is Fr. Rebelo modelling here his story on Livy's historiography?

[19] Of the people of the Banda Islands.

[20] Open space. No obvious complement seems available. Perhaps more than one word waso mitted.

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mas sovertendo huma manga d'agua a huma dellas, muitas se tornarão por agouro vindo somente doze ou treze.

11. Alem disso tres ou quatro dias antes de chegarmos foi Deos servido se destruisse o lugar de Buta[21], o qual era mui prejudicial a esta fortaleza por estar perto della da banda da terra, donde nos fazião muitas ciladas, que dentro em caza não estavão as pessoas seguras, athé nos aparelharem os frontaes da igreja. [218*r*]

12. Achou-se na briga com os dianteiros o P.[e] Pedro Nunes com as armas proprias de religiozo, que são a cruz de Christo, com a qual animou aos soldados[22]. Foi a entrada de noite improviza e de repente, porque, se elles o sentirão, fora impossivel tomá-los por estarem em huma rocha mui alta, que somente com pedras lançadas[j] [.....][23] podião rezistir a grandes exercitos. E se este lugar ficara em pé, vindo a armada cercavão-nos por mar e por terra e matavão-nos à fome muito a seu salvo.

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[a] *followed by open space* ‖ [b] *followed by open space* ‖ [c] que o *ms.* ‖ [d] gente nossa] nossa [2] gente [1] *ms.* ‖ [e] *followed by* os (nossos) digo — perguntarão ‖ [f] *rep.* ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* armadas ‖ [h] *followed by open space* ‖ [i] *followed by* (fustas) digo e tantas ‖ [j] *followed by open space*

Lost Letters

80*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Ambon, to Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome; May 1591.*

DD 81,1; 88,4: « Mandei l'anno passato a V.R.P. un debusso de tutta questa terra . . . et insieme le scrissi . . . »; D 89,6: « Già con altre tre mie lettere . . . » Letter and map. In D 88 Marta often repeats *scrissi*, pointing to lost letters, but without a possibility of specifying them.

80*b*. — *Fr. Marta to Fr. Pero Martins, Provincial, Goa; May 1591.*

D 92,3: « Ogni anno scrivemo all'India ».

80*c-d*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Maluku, to Fr. Pierantonio Spinelli, Italy; June 1591.*

D 91,1: Two letters, one by Goa, the other by the Philippines.

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[21] Puta, to be correct. Consult *Rel. Vasc.* 438-444.

[22] According to *Rel. Vasc.* 442, Vasconcelos had taken nobody into his confidence but the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

[23] Open space in MS.

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81

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, JULY 18, 1591
First and second *via*; by way of Manila

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 8.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 97-98.

III TEXT: A. *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 422*r*-423*v*, formerly 30, earlier 200 [*del.*] and no. LV. Autograph original in Italian, first *via*. Note in left bottom corner of f. 422*r* « Moluce. 91. jul. »; f. 423*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the address and a black wax seal. Some later underlinings in the text.

B. *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 7*r*-8*v*, formerly 201 and no. III. Autograph original in Italian, second *via*. « P. Gener. » in left lower corner of the first page; f. 8*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the address and a seal in black wax; moreover, a Roman secretary's note « P. Antonio Marta de Tidori a 18 de Julio de 91. Trata de como los moros infestan Malaca [*sic*], etcetera ».

Though being two *via*'s of the same letter and containing some fairly well identical parts, yet our two texts show great differences not only in fulness of detail and in sequence, but also in the contents themselves.

IV AUTHOR: This is the first known letter of Fr. Marta after his return to Maluku from Goa. His mission of a Visitor was finished. Nowhere before D 85,3 is he said to be superior of the mission now instead of Fr. Pero Nunes. The fact that not the latter but Fr. Marta wrote this letter, his reporting on the other Fathers, and the free tone in which he speaks to Fr. General would be sufficient to prove that he was superior.

V OUR EDITION: Because of the differences mentioned before we feel constrained to print both *via*'s. On account of the dissimilar sequence of paragraphs we cannot put them side by side but only one after the other.

Text A

1. *Writes* via *Manila.* — 2. *Christians are in extreme necessity because of a legally sworn plot of all the islands' Muslims contriving to chase away the Portuguese. Vain siege of Ambon fortress.* — 3. *Sailed to Goa and returned with 150 soldiers.* — 4. *Sailed to Tidore to fetch succour for Ambon where the siege will be resumed.* — 5. *It is reported that in Manila a fleet is being prepared for Maluku. It will crush the enemies and open the door for innumerable conversions.* — 6. *Writes to Fr. Sedeño. Fr. General should supplement the number of Jesuits in Maluku.* — 7. *Why he insists so prematurely on this.* — 8. *Though pressed by continuous wars the Jesuits of Maluku are doing relatively well. They run four stations: Tidore, Labuha, Ambon, and Wakasihu. They often have to mount guard or even to bear arms.* — 9. *Fr. General should not forget the Jesuist of Maluku.*

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†

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro

Pax Christi.

1. Quest'anno ho scritto a V.Rev.P. per la via de Malaca [1], adesso scrivo de Tidor per la via della Manilha, com desiderio che finalmente alcuna de tante lettere che le scrivo ogni anno capitino alle sue mani [2]. Ma la materia di questa mia sarà come dell'altra, cioè di guerra et di travaglio, né muterei tenore fin'a tanto che'l Re non mandi a questa terra[a] una grande armata per destruire questi mori.

2. Sta adesso questa christianità ridotta all'estremo, perché tutti li mori di quest'arcipelago vano tramando de far un corpo per cacciar di questa terra li portughesi. Et perché habbia fra loro maggior vinculo d'obligatione, tengono publicato di fare la guerra com titulo della legge, e tengono fatto iuramento de morire per lei [3]. E com questo già cominciarono nel mese di Febraro passato a por [4] assedio alla fortezza de Amboino per mare com grossa armata, ma non osarono a desembarcare perché già stavano nella fortezza ducento portughesi per defenderla [5].

3. Già in due altre mie lettere scrissi a V.Rev.P. [6] la causa del mio viaggio a Goa et l'armata che mi diede il vicerè dell'India [7] de una galera et due fuste com un galione et cento e cinquanta soldati [8]. Quest'armata, ancoraché picciola, fu nondimeno bastante a rafrenare l'impeto de' nemici e farli vacilare nelli loro dissegni. Et tutti dicono che, si[b] ella[c] non giongeva a questo tempo, correva a fortezza molto risco de perdersi.

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[1] Lost Letter, 80*a*.

[2] For 1587: DD 59, 63, and 64; for 1588: Lost Letter, 71*a*; in 1589 and 1590 Marta was on his visit to Goa.

[3] The sources agree on this « Moorish » plot against the Portuguese in 1590-91: DD 82,3,7; 94,5.

[4] Portuguese *pôr*, Italian *porre*.

[5] See D 80,4-7.

[6] Lost Letters; presumably both of April 1590 from Goa (see note 2).

[7] D. Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (1588-91). Does Marta make this governor a viceroy to give more importance to his own enterprise?

[8] One hundred and fifty soldiers, added to the fifty efficient ones of Sancho de Vasconcelos (*Rel. Vasc.* 439-440), make the two hundred of no. 2.

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4. Dopo d'un mese de assedio si racolsero gli nemici fugendo, perché[d] cacciati dalla galera et da una delle fuste solamente. Ma intendemo che da qui a tre mesi hano da ritornare com maggior armata et maggior forza. Et per questo il capitano[9] si va aparechiando. Et io a posta, com la nave che viene de Goa a caricare de garofolo[10], son venuto qua a Tidore, parte per visitare li nostri et parte per procurare alcun socorso dalli portughesi che qua stano, overo dal re de Tidore, ancoraché sia moro, et tornare overo mandare alcuno di questi Padri per agiutare li nostri che là stano[11].

5. Gionto a quest'isola de Tidor, me derono nuova che già in Manilha stava una grande armata, che per ordine del Re Filippo ha de venir a socorrer questa terra[12]. Se così è come dicono, già il negotio sta finito, perché com quest'agiuto si volterà la ruota sopra degli nemici. E tenga V.Rev.P. per molto certa la vittoria et, aperta la porta, per fare[e] in pouco tempo ducento mil anime christiane.

6. Io scrivo al P. Sedegno, superiore della casa de Manilha[13], che scriva[f] a V.Rev.P. la verità di questa nova perché, se così è, ella tambem intenda che ci sarano necesarii molti sacerdoti, et che già ha de cominciare a pensare come proveder, et de dar ordine et poder al P. Provinciale che ci socorra com nova gente, perché qua siamo solamente nove sacerdoti[14], tre delli quali solamente si possono impiegare com [422*v*]

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[9] António Pereira Pinto.

[10] Considering that, according to *Rel. Vasc.* 452-453, Sancho de Vasconcelos, shortly after the siege of Ambon (February-March 1591), and some actions against the enemies, sailed himself to Tidore in the *galião da carreira* (probably in the same ship as Marta, and therefore before July) and that after one month and a half he fell ill and died there, we conclude that the year of his death, given as 1599, has to be corrected to 1591.

[11] The question how the Fathers were distributed over the stations after 1588 and after the arrival of the 23rd and 24th Sending, remains unanswered by the documents.

[12] The new governor of the Philippines, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas (1590-93), who had been nominated by King Philip on the recommendation of Fr. Alonso Sánchez, had soon started getting ready an impressive fleet for the reconquest of Ternate, as he was instructed to do (COLIN-PASTELLS I 572-601; MORGA 27-43; COSTA 129-131).

[13] Lost Letter, 81*a*.

[14] Frs. Antonio Marta, Rogier Berwouts/Corrado, Pero Nunes, Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, Francisco da Cunha, Luís Fernandes, António Pereira, Lorenzo Masonio, João Rebelo. Fr. Francesco Poliasca/da Cruz must have died before May 1590 (DD 84,3; 85,2).

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li christiani, gl'altri sono necessarii per agiutare li portughesi nelle due fortezze nelle quali residiamo.

7. Io anticipo tanto inanzi questa dimanda perché stamo molto lontani da Roma et dall'India, et quasi ordinariamente passano tre anni prima de ricever la risposta delle nostre lettere[g], et in tanto tempo[h] si può impedire et perdere molto frutto, non havendo gente che ci agiuti a racoglierlo. Et io mi confido nel Signore che, se[i] de Manilha vengono a questa terra mille spagnoli[j], già tutto s'aquieta et a noi s'aparecchia, il primo giorno che apariscono, campo largo et sicuro per fondare trenta chiese, perché qua non se tratta de convertire nova gente, ma se tratta de agiutare et incaminare la già convertita. Et ancora com quella che fin'ora non tiene[15] ricevuta la nostra santa fee[k] catolica, poco travaglio sarà necessario passare per convertirla e ridurla al vero camino.

8. Lo stato delli nostri che qua stano è buono, quanto può sofrire la qualità di questi tempi turbulenti. Tenemo quattro residentie: Tidor, Alabua, Amboino et Vacassio[16]. Il frutto che si fa in queste terre è tal, che se li nostri non fossero già non haveria segno[l] di christianità. Procedeno tutti com molta edificatione et viveno com molta pace fra loro, lodato sia il Signore, que da loro questo[m] spirito. Non scrivo in particulare quello che ci sucede com l'esercitio delli nostri ministerii, perché mi riservo a scrivere cose maggiori et non quottidiane. Stamo qua tutti consolati, ancoraché afaticati da queste continue guerre, nelle quali molte volte ci è necessario far l'ufficio del soldato nel vigilare et ancora pigliar l'armi in mano per la penuria della gente bianca che qua non ha.

9. V.Rev.P. ci agiuti a portare questo carico com le sue orationi et santi sacrificii, et per l'amore del Signore et defesa di questa terra ci faccia parte de alcuna reliquia delle buone, perché qua[n] de tutto siamo poveri. Tiene il Giapone et l'India molte volte esperimentato la charità di V.Rev.P., ma fin'ora non è passato a noi altri questo calore, forse perché non l'havemo meritato, ma et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum[17]. V.Rev.P.[o] è padre de tutti noi et molto più s'ha da mostrare amorevole com quelli che più degl'altri patiscono et viveno come abortivi e abandonati da tutti. Io non digo

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[15] Portuguese *tem*; Italian *ha*.

[16] Apparently, the mission of Siau was abandoned in those years. Consult DD 94,52; 137, 10.

[17] Mt 15 27.

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più, desidero grandemente de veder questa terra in pace. V.Rev.P. ci agiuti com le sue orationi perché non s'impedisca il frutto del prossimo et la gloria del Signore.

Di questa isola de Tidore, alli 18 de Luglio 1591.

Servo indegno de V.Rev.P. nel Signore,

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 423*v*] † Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro, il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito generale della Compagnia de Jesù, Roma. De Maluco. Prima via.

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[a] *del.* h ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* se ‖ [c] *interl.* ‖ [d] *w. corr., d. r.* ‖ [e] *del.* em ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* scrive ‖ [g] *del.* ne ‖ [h] *del.* possono [?] ‖ [i] *del.* del ‖ [j] *del.* che ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* fed.. ‖ [l] *w. corr.* ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* il ‖ [n] *del.* não ‖ [o] *del.* he

Text B

1. *Writes* via *Manila.* — 2. *The country is in extreme necessity because all the Muslims conspire against the Portuguese. Vain siege of Ambon fortress.* — 3. *Sailed to Goa and returned with 150 soldiers.* — 4. *Siege of Ambon will be resumed. Sailed to Tidore to get help. A fleet is reported to be readied in Manila; it will open the door to Christianity.* — 5. *Out of ten Jesuits only three can be applied to the new conversions which will be very numerous.* — 6. *Writes to Fr. Sedeño, Manila. Fr. General should, by means of Fr. Sedeño, send more workers. Why he insists on this.* — 7. *Four Jesuit mission posts: Tidore with Labuha, and Ambon with Wakasihu Fathers do good work there.* — 8. *Wretched conditions of Maluku mission prevents him from writing more.*

Molto Reverendo em Christo Padre nostro

Pax Christi.

1. Quest'anno ho scritto a V.Rev.P. per la via de Malaca, adesso scrivo de Tidor per la via della Manilha. Ma la materia di questa lettera sarà come l'altra de guerra e de travaglio, né mutarei tenore fin'a tanto che'l re non mandi huna grossa armata per destruire questi mori.

2. Sta adesso questa terra ridotta all'[a]estremo, perché tutti li mori di quest'arcipelago vano tramando de far un corpo per cacciar di questa terra li portughesi e assicurarsi dall'armi delli spagnuoli. E già, come ho scritto nell'altra mia carta a V.R.P., nel mese di Febraro passado di quest'anno assediarono la fortezza de Amboino[b] per mare, ancoraché non desembarcasseno, perché già stavano in quella ducento portughesi per difenderla.

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3. Già in due altre mie lettere scrissi[c] a V.Rev.P. la causa del viaggio che feci a Goa e l'armata che me diede il vicerè dell'India. Quest'armata, ancoraché picciola, fu nondimeno causa della salute di questa terra, perché con cento e cinquanta portughesi che venero, e[d] una galera com due fusti, gli nemici rafrenarono un poco l'impeto e cominciarono a vacilare nelli loro dissegni.

4. Ma com tutto questo entendemo che s'aparechiano de tornar com maggior armata sopra la mesma fortezza de Amboino. E per questo il capitano, quando mi partì de là, se faceva forte e metteva vattovaglia dentro per sustentare l'assedio fin'a tanto ch'egli fosse soccorido[e] d'alguna parte. Io com la nave che de là vene pera[f] Maluco per cargar de garofolo gionsi a questa casa de Tidor, già sono diece giorni [18]. Il mio intento fu procurar de aver alcuno socorso di gente per aiutar quella fortezza, e com questo proposito vivo tuttavia aspettando il tempo. Qua me dicono che nella Manilha già sta armada per socorrer a questa terra. Si cossi è, tutta la trama de questi mori passarà in fumo, et a noi s'aprirà la porta per tornar in pè un'altra volta questa christianità. Ma per quest'efetto ci sarà necessario haver gente per governarla.

5. Qua adesso siamo novi sacerdoti et un Fratello [19]. Ma de tutti questi tre solamente si possono aplicare a questo governo. Gl'altri sono necessarii per residire sempre com li portughesi, oltraché sempre ha alcuno[g] che per causa d'infirmità non serve per quest'esercitio. Sta questa terra dispostissima per farsi tutta christiana se viene della Manilha armata bastante per sogettare li naturali della. E ancoraché siano quasi tutti mori et guardino la legge de Mafamede, tuttavia tengono proprietade de caminare dove[h] sono guidati. Né ha fra loro gente che sapia[i] resister com dispute et argomenti come fano gl'eretici.

6. Io scrivo al P. Antonio Sedegno, superiore della casa de Manilha, che avisi a V.Rev.P. se è vero che habbia in Manilha l'armata che dicono. Perché, se egli scriverà che così è, è necessario che V.Rev.P. ci favorisca co'l P. Provinciale di questa Provincia che ci mandi operarii, et perché non si possa escusar com la carestia de gente, mandargli de proposito alcuni per questo fine. Io anticipo tanto inanzi questa domanda [7v] perché mi confido nel Signore che s'ha armata in Manilha, già tenemo tutto quieto et aparechiato per darci quel frutto che tanti anni sono aspettiamo. Et perché ancora sta Roma et l'India tanto lontana da questa terra, che prima de ricever la risposta delle nostre lettere,

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[18] This puts the arrival of Marta in Tidore at about July 8, 1591.

[19] See note 14. The Brother was Giampaolo Manfrida.

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passano tre anni, et in questo tempo podemo perder molto et guadagnar assai.

7. Tenemo in queste parti quattro residentie: due in Maluco e due[j] in Amboino. In Maluco è Tidor e l'isola dell'Alabua; in Amboino è Amboino e Vacassio. Stano tutti questi Padri molto ben occupati. E'l frutto che si fa è grande, et molto maggior saria[k] se l'armi di questi mori non ci inquietassero. Fra noi tutti ha summa pace et concordia, lodato sia il Signore, et procura cada uno de edificare il prossimo e de ser vero membro della Compagnia. Se V.Rev.P. ci potesse mandar alcuna reliquia, delle buone, grande charità ci faria, perché ci saria presidio contra la forza di questi[l] nemici.

8. Io non scrivo più difusamente le cose di questa terra perché fin'a tanto che ella non s'aquieta[m] io la tengo come estranha et conseguentemente le sue cose come poco da stimare. Ma se Nostro Signore ci darà forze per cacciare questi mori, allora ci darà il cuore di scrivere come de cosa fondata e degna de ser estimata. Adesso tutto 'l nostro pensiero è guerra et soldadesca, et pensare come faremo a sostentarci fin'a tanto che Nostro Signore d'alcuna parte mostri il raggio della sua divina luce. V.Rev.P. ci agiuti com le sue orationi et santi sacrificii, accioché possiamo com patientia sostentare questi travagli per gloria del Signore et edificatione del nostro prossimo.

Desta isola de Tidore, alli 18 de Luglio 1591.

Indegno servo de V.Rev.P.

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 8*v*] † Al molto Reverendo em Christo Padre nostro, il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito generale della Compagnia di Jesù. Roma. Del Maluco. 2ª via.

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[a] *corr. fr.* ao ‖ [b] *del.* anco ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* ho scritto ‖ [d] *del.* hu.. ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* soccorso ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* por [?] ‖ [g] *del.* que ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* don[de] ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* sabia ‖ [j] *del.* A ‖ [k] *del.* le [?] ‖ [l] *w. corr.* ‖ [m] *del.* parmi

Lost Letter

81*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Tidore, to Fr. Antonio Sedeño, Manila; July 1591.*

DD 81,6; 90,1: on the political and religious needs of Maluku. (Marta wrote at the same time to Governor Dasmariñas, which is D 82).

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82

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, SUPERIOR, TO D. GOMEZ PEREZ DASMARIÑAS, GOVERNOR, MANILA

TIDORE, JULY 1591

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV 1065; WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 6.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 101-102; COLIN-PASTELLS I 572-573; REPETTI I 111; COSTA 129.

III TEXT: Though Argensola in the early seventeenth century evidently saw the original MS letter in Portuguese, this does not seem to be extant any longer. TORRES Y LANZAS-PASTELLS do not mention it in *Catálogo* III; the latter, in COLIN-PASTELLS I 572 note 4, proves to know only the printed text.

ARGENSOLA, *Conquista de las islas Malucas* 188-192. Spanish translation of the Portuguese original. Incomplete text, starting with « En fin . . . », omitting the dating and signature.

IV DATE: Some parallels between this letter and D 81A, for instance, the plot of all the Muslims « con título de su ley », and their menace to return within a few months, prove that both documents were written at the same time. The phrase « este mes de Julio » (no. 5) points to the same conclusion. And this is still confirmed, if our supposition of D 81 note 10 is right, by the mentioning, in no. 12, of Sancho de Vasconcelos as still alive.

V NOTE: ARGENSOLA, on pp. 81-82 of the same work, presents a fragment of a relation directed by Fr. Marta to Governor Dasmariñas, containing nothing but a list of the 72 islands subject to Ternate and of the contingents of soldiers each one had to supply to the sultan in case of war. He mentions author and addressee and assures that the original document was handed out to him. (He wrote in Spain in the first decennium of the seventeenth century). At which point of p. 81 Marta's report begins is not clear. It was used, among others, by TIELE (V 161-162) and borrowed from Tiele by Paramita R. ABDURRACHMAN, *Bunga Rampai* 62-63, without reference to Argensola. (See STREIT IV 1064).

As it is by no means certain that it forms a part of our present document, and as it is dealing with only purely military affairs, we forgo publishing it here again and content ourselves with this reference.

Text

1. *Material and spiritual advantages of conquering Maluku.* — 2. *Jerónimo de Azevedo will give further information on military questions.* — 3. *Confederacy of all the « Moors » in waging war on the Portuguese under the guidance of the Bandanese.* — 4. *A one month siege of Ambon fortress; defiant actions of the enemy; menace of returning soon.* — 5. *By way of plight the Bandanese left hostages back on Ambon. After their fast they will join again the confederates and put siege to Ambon.* — 6. *Rea-*

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sons for fear : loss of the allied villages, power and numbers of the enemy, danger of treason, help holding off until January. — 7. Even if the fortress does not get lost, the war is full of dangers, fomented as it is by their « caciques ». — 8. Greater constancy of the enemy in naval actions than they used to display hitherto. — 9. Even the people of Buru and Tidore deserted from the Portuguese. — 10. Therefore asks for military help. Refers again to Jerónimo de Azevedo. — 11. The governor has to take vengeance for the insults offered to God by these barbarous natives ; instances of them. — 12. Sends a map of Maluku, Ambon, and Banda. Outstanding officers and soldiers in Maluku who will cooperate in the enterprise.

1. En fin, V.S. determina hacer esta empresa? Tendrá un campo larguísimo para dilatar grandemente la honra de Dios e ilustrar su nombre con perpetua fama. En ella ganará V.S. al Rey un reino amplísimo y riquísimo, pues todo este archipiélago del Maluco y de Amboino hasta Banda, que tendrá de largo más de ciento treinta leguas y de ancho setenta, es una mina perpetua de clavo, nuez y macia, que dará a Su Majestad de provecho cada año solamente en la India doscientos mil cruzados, sin el de las otras islas que no tienen clavo. Y no será menester gastar nada, porque la misma tierra lo ofrecerá en sus mismos montes. Y lo que es más que esto, ganará V.S. para Dios más de doscientas mil almas, las cuales, en poco tiempo después de sujetado el reino, serán cristianos, sin ninguna o poca resistencia, con que tendrá V.S. una antorcha ardiendo en este mundo para alumbrarle y llevarle al reino del cielo. Vendrá también a ilustrar y perpetuar su nombre con un título igual al de los capitanes antiguos romanos, como el de Germánico, Africano[1] y de otros semejantes.

2. La manera que V.S. ha de tener para salir con esta empresa con eterno loor no es necesario tocarla ahora, pues allá, como entendemos, no falta experiencia para las cosas de la guerra; pero si V.S. tuviere alguna duda, bastará Jerónimo de Acebedo[2] para avisar de todas las

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[1] *Germanicus*, surname of some Roman emperors or members of imperial families, especially of Nero Claudius Drusus, for his fully satisfying proceedings in Germania; *Africanus*, surname of the General Scipio who defeated Hannibal, and of another Scipio who destroyed Carthage.

[2] This Jerónimo de Azevedo sailed to Manila from Tidore (no. 12). None of the three times he is mentioned in this document is he called *Dom* Jerónimo. Therefore it remains uncertain whether he has to be identified with Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo who was a captain in Malabar and a *capitão-mor do mar* in Malacca, but who is never said to have sailed to Maluku and Manila (COUTO X/ II 212-213; 316; 371-373). The latter was the conqueror of Ceylon (1605-1611), and became viceroy of India, 1612-1617. That the former is said to be well ac-

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cosas de que quisiere ser informado: tiene entendidas bien las fuerzas y las de los enemigos de estos Malucos, aunque todavía querría que V.S. juzgase esta guerra por importante y dificultosa, por lo mucho que conviene venir apercibido y determinado.

3. No se ha de pelear con ternates solos, sino con todos los moros de este archipiélago. Hasta ahora combatió la fortaleza de [189] Amboino con los ternates que están en Veranula, y ésta de Tidore con los que en Ternate; pero ahora nuevamente habemos de pelear con los de las islas de Banda y de Seiraón [3]. Todos los moros de estas partes se juntaron el año pasado, y determinaron que de aquí adelante se hiciese la guerra con título de su ley [4]. Y para que en esto hubiese más seguridad y firmeza, escogieron a los de Banda por cabezas de la ley, y juraron de morir todos, hasta echar fuera a los portugueses.

4. Así con esto, el año pasado vinieron los bandanos con los ternates de Veranula, a poner cerco a la fortaleza de Amboino con muchas carcoas [5], y en la pelea que tuvieron con nosotros nos prendieron una galeota de las dos que trajimos de Goa; bien que no fue su valor, sino nuestro descuido, la causa de la presa [6]. Vióse con evidencia, que quiso nuestro Señor castigar nuestra soberbia. Con esto cobraron tanto ánimo, que se atrevieron después a hacer cada día a vista de la fortaleza correrías, y pudieron prender los pescadores que salían de mañana a su ejercicio, y varar algunas carcoas en la playa. Frontero de la fortaleza asentaron una mezquita, como en lugar seguro [7], y de esta manera tuvieron cercada y despreciada a la misma fortaleza, tiempo de un mes. Al cabo de él, saliendo una vez la galera con otra galeota que quedaba, las hizo huir, retirándose cada uno a su tierra, esparciendo fama y amenaza que tornaría el año siguiente, que será por Septiembre, con mayor armada.

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quainted with the Portuguese and native forts of Maluku, which supposes a longer residence there, makes an identification unlikely. He could be the Foão de Azevedo, a Portuguese nobleman living in Bacan, of whom *Rel. Vasc.* is speaking (430). The Philippine historians (MORGA, COLIN, PASTELLS) make no mention of such a name during the governorship of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas.

[3] Formerly Seram was the name of a part of East Seram; only in more recent times is it used for the entire island (*Adatrechtbundel* 36 492). Veranula, on the contrary, was the extreme western part of Seram.

[4] The same expression as in D 81,2.

[5] Korakoras, native war vessels.

[6] See D 80,4-7.

[7] That is, on the opposite side of Ambon Bay, in one of the villages on the south coast of Hitu.

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5. Y tenemos por cosa cierta que los bandanos dejaron en Amboino cincuenta de los más principales, como en rehenes de la obligación que habían hecho. Esto se sabe también por un hombre nuestro que huyó de Banda, y desde Amboino lo llevaron cautivo. Y tenemos por nueva que partirían, echadas a la mar veinticinco carcoas, y pasada su cuaresma, que es al fin de este mes de Julio [8], habían de salir con ellas y juntarse con los seirues [9] y con los demás confederados, para tornar otra vez sobre la fortaleza de Amboino.

6. Y si ellos vienen con tanto poder, recélome mucho que se perderá la fortaleza, porque la traza de los enemigos es ir tomando todas las poblaciones sujetas, y quedando ésta sola, no tiene ayuda vecina y por esto se habrá de rendir. Porque Antonio Pérez [10], capitán de aquella [190] fortaleza, es hombre de valor y está bien fortificado. Todavía se consideran estas circunstancias, y algunas muy árduas: que los enemigos son muchos, y han de venir con ellos algunos confederados, y dispuestos para cualquiera traición; y que en cinco meses contínuos, que es hasta principio del Enero que viene, no pueden ser socorridos de ninguna parte.

7. No podemos dejar de tener recelo de que ha de haber algún gran daño, porque dado caso que no nos ganen la fortaleza, todavía esta guerra es peligrosa, y la mayor que nunca se ha movido en estas partes, por ser universal de todos los moros, procurada por medio de los caciques [11], confirmada con juramentos solemnes y publicada a título de su ley y con indulgencia plenaria para el que muriese en ella [12]. En Banda, en Amboino, Ternate y Tidore, no faltan atizadores, caciques grandes y de grande autoridad con los moros, los cuales ponen por delante su ley y la honra de Mahoma, y con esto acaban lo que quieren con ellos.

8. Yo lo tengo esto experimentado este año y en esta guerra que tuvimos en Amboino, donde me hallé; porque en otro tiempo los

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[8] The month Ramadan of the Muslim year 999 began in 1591 on June 23, and finished on July 22.

[9] The people of East Seram.

[10] Pereira, to be correct.

[11] The translator used the term *cacique* (American Indian native chief) for *caciz* (Muslim divine). Cf. D 11 note 7.

[12] Often the Christians used their own religious vocabulary to express Muslim usages. Here the description of the war reminds one forcibly of the *jihad* or holy war; whoever died in it could be sure to receive forgiveness for all his sins and to enter paradise as a martyr of Islam.

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moros se cansaban presto de andar navegando, y cuando acontecía morir en la guerra algún principal, luego se retiraban por tenerlo ellos por agüero. Ahora perseveran los meses enteros en la mar sin volver el pie atrás, aunque los portugueses les mataron ciento cincuenta hombres, y entre ellos a su capitán mayor de la mar [13] y otros capitanes de los mayores que venían en su armada.

9. Acrecienta esto también ser esta conjuración universal de todos los moros contra nosotros. Y aunque dos que se nos mostraron amigos y que nos habían ayudado muchas veces con sus armadas contra los ternates, que son los de la isla del Burro, los cuales siendo llamados del capitán para ir de armada con él, como otras veces lo habían hecho, ahora no solamente no quisieron ir, mas ni oir el recado, ni dejar desembarcar a quien lo llevaba. Y esto mismo hicieron los tidores, pues siéndoles pedido socorro por el capitán de Amboino, no quisieron acudir diciendo que el mismo riesgo corría su fortaleza. Y como sabe el rey de Tidore de la venida de V.S., por prevención (y quizá por concepto de su rey) dicen ya los tidores que no quieren castellanos en estas partes. [191] y con esto nosotros estamos esperando de dónde han de levantar moros para acabarnos; y así toda la tardanza que hubiere en este negocio ha de ser de mucho peligro, porque somos inferiores a los moros, y forzosamente habemos de pelear con ellos; pues es por la ley y por la honra, y por ambas cosas se han hecho nuestros capitales enemigos.

10. De esto entenderá V.S. cuánto sea necesario su favor y socorro, y contar cuántos le han de mover las armas, pues todos generalmente son noestros enemigos y conjurados contra nosotros; aunque con todo esto será prudencia en los principios disimular con los tidores para que no se junten con los ternates, y hagan la guerra más cumplida y dificultosa. Lo demás no lo trato en particular como lo siento, porque lo dejo todo a Jerónimo de Acevedo, que informará muy bien.

11. Mas esta máxima se asiente: que V.S. tiene una grande empresa en las manos, y confío en nuestro Señor que le dará prudencia y fuerzas para acabarla con facilidad; pues viene a vengar las injurias que estos bárbaros le hicieron y hacen en este día a Dios y a sus Santos. Pues sabemos que los ternates beben todavía en los cálices sagrados, y usan de las patenas para dar y recibir en ellas como salvillas profanas, y de los ornamentos de los altares hacen vestidos y adornan con ellos

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[13] In *Rel. Vasc.* (449), he is called Chechil Choqua (Kaicil Coka). See ibid. 432-434.

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sus casas[14]. Y los bandanos traen los más preseas de la sangre de más de tres mil fieles, que en diversos tiempos mataron a traición en sus puertos, a donde acudieron para sus contrataciones con ellos; y en la isla o ensenada de la mar, corren arroyos de sangre portuguesa y castellana.

12. V.S. viene para dilatar la fe católica. Y porque mejor entienda lo que dirá acerca de esto Jerónimo de Acevedo, le envío con él un dibujo de todo este archipiélago, así del Maluco como de Amboino y Banda[15]. En él verá V.S. el extendido reino que perdemos, pudiéndolo cobrar a poca costa. Sólo resta que V.S. venga con la brevedad posible, porque el peligro mayor es de la tardanza: que, llegado acá, hallará capitanes valerosos que le ayudarán con armas y consejo. Entre ellos está Sancho de Vasconcelos, que fue capitán de Amboino, y ha peleado muchas veces con estos infieles y alcanzado de ellos victorias señaladas. También está aquí Tomé de Sousa[16], capitán mayor de Malaca y [192] de las más partes del Sur, hombre experimentado en la guerra. Hallará en Tidore y Amboino soldados valientes, y no faltará de qué pagarles, pues para todo bastarán las riquezas de la tierra y para hartarlos de oro, piedras y otros varios despojos[17]; hallará muchas suertes de armas. Los religiosos ofrecemos cada día sacrificios y continuaremos en ellos fervorosamente; y aunque lo podría impedir la indignidad de los ministros, esperamos que han de ser de provecho.

Lost Map

82*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Tidore, to Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, Manila; July 1591.*

D 82,12: « Le envío un dibujo de todo este archipiélago, Maluco, Amboino y Banda ».

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[14] Francisco de Dueñas wrote in his report of 1582: « Quando el-rey de Ternate tomó la fortaleza a los portugueses, una lámpara de plata que avía en la yglesia mayor que allí tenían, la embió a la casa de Meca. Y ésto es cosa muy cierta y aberiguada. Y de los hornamentos hizo bestidos [15*r*] para él y para sus mugeres. Y de las estolas y manípulos hizo çapatos. Beve siempre por los cálizes que tomó. En las patenas le dan el buyo » (*AGI, Patr° 46 ramo 14*; COLIN-PASTELLS III 36).

[15] Lost document, a map, 82*a*.

[16] Probably Tomé de Sousa de Arronches; see D 80 note 17.

[17] This seems greatly exaggerated.

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83

FR. PERO MARTINS, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL

GOA, NOVEMBER 20, 1591
Third *via*

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 96-97.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 371*r*-372*v*, formerly 1-2, earlier 180-181 [*del.*], and no. XLVIII/b. Original in Spanish, written by an amanuensis, with autograph signature of Fr. Martins. Beautiful handwriting, clear division in paragraphs, marginal numbering 1-7. The author noted his addressee in the right upper corner of f. 371*r* « P.G. » (= Padre General); later hands added « Literae anni 1591 et 1592 », and « Nov. 91. Provincial ». An address is lacking, but, doubtless, the letter was sent enclosed in another one (ibid. ff. 373*r*-374*v*), which is neither dated nor signed, and whose address runs « Al mui Reverendo en Christo P^e^, el P^e^ Claudio Aquaviva, [prepósito gen]eral de la Compañía de Jesús. 3ª via. Do Provincial da India » (374*v*). The part referring to Maluku is on f. 371*r*-*v*.

Text

1. *Is informed on Maluku by Fr. Marta and a Brother. There are there more priests than churches. Conflicting informations: Marta came to get a relief fleet, but the Frs. of Maluku wrote that they are no longer wanted there. Sent two new Frs. with Marta. — 2. As to Marta's office as an inquisitor: in Maluku it is rather a burden than an honour. There are no other persons able to fulfill that post. The way Fr. Marta practises his office.*

[... 371*r*]

1. Quanto a la christiandad de Maluquo, según yo entendí por relación del P.^e^ Antonio Marta que aquí vino, y de un Hermano que vino de allá [1], no se pierde por falta de operarios porque, para conservaren los christianos que agora ay, los que allá están son demasiados, y contando las iglesias que tienen a su cargo más sacerdotes nuestros ay [371*v*] allá do que ay de iglesias [2]. El poco poder que allí tienen

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[1] Br. António Gonçalves had arrived in Goa about February-March 1589.

[2] The Fathers were nine (D 81,6); the churches were six (D 73,70), or actually less (see D 81,8).

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los portugueses y la sobervia del rei de Ternate son el impedimiento de la christiandad. Y a esso vino cá el P.e Marta tratar con el Governador para le dar una armada que sojuguasse aquel rei. Y si no fuesse esta armada, tuvo yo cartas de todos los Padres de allá [3], que bien los podían mandar venir para la India porque no eran allá necessarios. Veya V.P. la deversidad de enformación. Dos Padres le mandé con el P. Marta [4] y este año veré se le puedo embiar otros dos [5], y cierto que ellos son los más lembrados de toda la Provincia [6].

2. Quanto al officio de inquisidor que el P.e Antonio Marta a llevado a Maluquo, me parece que es cosa de consideración. No nos escusaremos acá de esso, porque allá onde lo exercita más tiene de trabajo que de honrra, y también ha agora cá mucha falta de personas para lo haveren con la fedelidad que se requiere. Y el Padre no castigua ni da penitencia ninguna, ni haze más que hazerles inquericiones de las culpas i mandarlas a la Mesa [7] de Goa. Y por esta falta de personas algunos de los nuestros son aquí deputados de la Mesa de la Inquisición en Goa, y se ha corrido en esto sin escrúpulo. Y este año el Cardenal Alberto [8] me ha embiado una commissión para visitar esta Inquisición de Goa, y una carta en que me encarregua mucho diziendo que no me escuzasse con mi Religión. Y pareció a los Padres consultores que lo devía de hazer, pues no era castigar sino sólo tirar una devasa de lo que passava y mandársela para él proveer lo que le pareciesse.
[. . . 372*v*]

[*Autograph*] De Goa, a 20 de Novembre de 91.
De V.P. hijo indino,

Pero Martinz.

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[3] Read *tuve*. Lost Letters, 76*a*. These letters « of all the Fathers » could be the result of a general consultation with them as Marta planned to have in 1588 (D 73,93).

[4] Frs. João Rebelo and Lorenzo Masonio.

[5] In 1592, no Jesuits were sent to Maluku.

[6] Fr. Martins evidently defends himself here from reproaches of neglecting Maluku.

[7] The *Tribunal da Mesa de Consciencia*, an ecclesiastical court of justice erected at Goa in 1570 (GONÇALVES PEREIRA, *História da administração da justiça no Estado da Índia* I 20).

[8] The Cardinal Alberto of Austria was viceroy and inquisitor general in Portugal from 1583 to 1593.

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84

FR. PERO MARTINS, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 30, 1591
Annual Letter, Third *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 351*r*-368*v*, formerly 144-149, 160-170 (150-159 are left out), earlier 178-194 [*del.*]. Original in Spanish, written in different hands, with autograph signature of Fr. Pero Martins on f. 367*v*. Notes made in later hands: on f. 351*r* « India 1591 », « Annua 1591 », « Indica 91 »; on f. 368*v*, where the address is, « 1591 », f. 368*r* being blank. Text separated into chapters under headings, but two short reports on Maluku and Japan (the latter crossed out) lack a heading, the last preceding title being « Residencia de Aethiopia » (f. 367*r*).

II PRINTED: The *Litterae Societatis Iesu duorum annorum MDXC et MDXCI*, Rome 1594, compilated and translated into Latin by Fr. Francesco Benci SJ, contain also the annual report of India (832-918). Under the chapter title « Malacense Collegium et Sedes Malucensis » it touches upon Maluku (907-908), recounting that there are seven Jesuits in four houses, that they suffer from a constant war against the Tidorese (*sic*), and that their entire work consists of conserving those earlier converted in the faith. The only real fact mentioned is the death of Fr. Francesco da Cruz. Fr. Benci, having confused some parts of the letters, moreover refers the reader to the *Annuae* of the Mexico Province. There, on pp. 724-725, three things are recounted under the title « Sedes Manilana »: the people of Ternate suffer from war and hunger (*sic*); the Tidorese, our friends, conquered the fourth clove island (?), asking for Spanish help; the king of Siau (Ciauli !), a Christian of old, required succour and the people wanted to be instructed in the faith. None of these notices can be found in the Mexican annual letter of 1591 (MM IV 302-356, especially 343-348). A Mexican *Annuae* of 1590 is not known.

Text

1. *Number and distribution of the Jesuits of the Indian Province.* — 2. *In Ambon and Tidore there are nine Fathers and one Brother.* — 3. *What effect had the fleet sent there the year before, is not known yet. Fr. Francesco da Cruz died.*

† Ihs.
Muy Reverendo Padre nuestro en Christo

Pax Christi.

1. Hay en esta Provincia de la India Oriental (no hablando de la Viceprovincia de Jappón de que luego diré) 309 de la Compañía: 134

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son sacerdotes, destos seis son maestros; 68 scholares, destos 3 son maestros; 90 coadjutores; 17 novicios. Estos residen en cinco collegios, una casa professa y otra de probación, y en otras 12 casas grandes y otras residencias pequeñas[1].

[...]

2. En Maluco, en Amboino y Tidore, 10; nueve sacerdotes y un Hermano[2].

[... 367*r*]

3. De Maluco no[a] hai cosa nueva que escrivir, porque aun no sabemos lo que hizieron el capitán y más gente que se embió el año passado para ver si[b] se podía con ellos hazer alguna cosa que redundace en bien de la cristiandad en que los nuestros se ocupão, y procuran de cultivarla y aumentarla. Mas los moros los perturba[n] y inquietan, ni tendrá esto remedio en quanto no uviere fuerça de gente que sugete los moros. Llevó nuestro Señor para ssí al P.[e] Francisco de la Cruz, alias Pollasca, que havía años[c] ...[3] que estava en la Compañía, y procedió con mucha satisfación, y assí la dio los años que estuvo en esta Provincia. Sintimos mucho su muerte por ser persona de tanto respecto y esperanças.

[... 367*v*]

De Goa, y de Noviembre 30 de 1591.

De V.P. hijo indino,

Pero Martinz.

[368*v*] † Annua de la Provincia de la India Oriental, año de 1591. 3ª vía.

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[a] *del.* pas... ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* se ‖ [c] *followed by open space* ‖

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[1] One will always have to judge the history of the Maluku Jesuit mission in the setting of the entire Province to which it belonged.

[2] See D 81 notes 14 and 19.

[3] The number of years is not filled in. He entered the Society in 1573 (*ARSI, Rom. 53* ff. 32*r* and 85*r*). He must have died before or about May 1590, so that the notice could reach Goa in February/March 1591.

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85

FR. PERO MARTINS, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 7, 1591
Third *via*

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 100.

II TEXT: *ARSI*, *Goa* 47 ff. 376*r*-379*v*, formerly 8-11, earlier 183-186 (*del.*), and no. XLVII/e. Original in Spanish, with autograph signature on f. 379*v*. Bold, clear handwriting, towards the end becoming smaller. Text divided into paragraphs to which a later hand put the numbers 1-9. Fr. Martins noted down the addressee in the right upper corner of f. 376*r* « P.Gr^al »; another hand wrote « Dec. 91. Proal ». All pages are filled up with the text; there is no address, nor a place for it. Obviously, this letter was inclosed in another one of the same date (ff. 380*r*-381*v*), of which the address, on the last page, is « Al mui Reverendo en Christo P^e, el P^e Claudio Acquaviva, prepósito [general de la] Compañía de Jesús en Roma. 3ª via. Del P^e Provincial de la India ». The part expressly dealing with Maluku is on f. 379*v*.

Text

1. *This letter will cover the years 1590 and 1591.* — 2. *Death of Fr. Francesco da Cruz.* — 3. *Fr. Antonio Marta came to Goa and returned with two new missionaries.* — 4. *Marta wants to sail to Manila as well; he is fantastic in his ideas and full of love of travel; he should rather stay in Maluku and rule his subjects.*

†

Mui Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. El anno passado no partió de quá de la India sino huna sola nave, y esto por no lhegar acá ninguna nave del reino [1], cosa que puso esta tierra en mucha confusión. Por ella escreví a V.P. lo que passava

[1] Five ships sailed from Lisbon on May 5, 1590. Four were constrained by troubles to return to Portugal. One ship sailed as far as the island of Socotra, but then had to fall back to the port of Mozambique where it arrived on January 1, 1591, and whence it could not continue the voyage to Goa until September (*India Oriental* f. 230*r*).

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en esta Provincia, mas como esta nave ha arribado a Monçambique en esta juntaré todo destos dos años de 90 i de noventa y uno.

2. En estos dos años falecieron en esta Provincia el P. Manoel Texera, el P.e Lorenço Pinerio, el P.e Manoel Gomez, el P.e Domingos Alvares, el P.e Belchior de Azevedo, el P.e Francisco da Cruz en Maluquo [2].
[. . . 379*v*]

3. De Maluquo vino aquí el año passado el P.e Antonio Marta, que es superior de aquellas partes [3], a pedir una armada al Governador para allá repremir unos reis nuestros enemigos. El Governador mandó la gente que el Estado sufría. Yo con el Padre mandé dos Padres, conven a saber, el P.e João Rebello, portugués, y el P.e Lourenço Manzonio[a] [4], ytaliano. Y conforme a las cartas que de allá tiengo [5], basta el número de los que allá están para conservación de aquella christiandad.

4. Después tengo entendido que el Padre Marta estava para yr a las Manillas [6] a traer allí soldados castellanos, cosa por cierto que yo no uviera de haser por no confundir estas conquistas [7], y porque andar meneando guierra no es nuestro officio. Y por más que yo le tenía dicho aserca desto, no dexó de sair luego con otro deseo. En Maluquo tiene la Compañía perdido mucho crédito nel tienpo del rei Don Sebastián, por se aver metido en guierras. El P.e Marta, posto que es buen honbre y religioso, es mui estravagante en sus opiniones, y mui amigo de andar de una parte pera otra pisando mares y asiendo gastos. V.P. lo devía avisar que se contenga en su districto y governe los suios, y que dexe guierras: no mesture castellanos con portugueses que no es cosa de tan poca inportancia como esso.
[. . .]
[*Autograph*] De Goa, a 7 de Diziembre de 91.
De V.P. indino hijo,

Pero Martinz.

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[a] Mauronio *ms*.

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[2] For the first five Fathers, see the DI.
[3] First explicit mention of Fr. Marta as superior of the Maluku mission.
[4] The amanuensis, misreading his draught, wrote Mauronio; see app. crit.
[5] Already mentioned in D 83,1.
[6] See D 59,8.
[7] That is, the Portuguese and Spanish hemispheres.

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[D. JOÃO RIBEIRO GAIO], BISHOP OF MALACCA, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 13, 1591
Second *via*

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 97. He has the bishop write in Malacca, describes the letter as a direct result of an interview of the bishop with Fr. Marta, and states that the bishop asks emphatically in it for an increase of the Jesuit staff in Maluku. None of the three is true.

II TEXT: *ARSI*, *Goa* 47 ff. 402*r*–403*v*, formerly 25, still earlier 191, and no. LII/c. Seemingly autograph original in Portuguese, with an at any rate autograph signature in very bold characters and in a thick black ink which soiled the paper. On f. 402*r*, an archivist noted « Decem. 91. Goa ». Folios 402*r*–403*r* are blank; 403*v* contains the address, a damaged red wax seal (« Dom Joam Ribeiro . . . »), and a note written by a Roman secretary « Goa. 91 13. de 10bre. El Señor obispo de Malaca », with an abstract of the letter.

Text

1. *Writes from Goa where he attends the Provincial Council.* — 2. *Is satisfied with the work of the Jesuits in Maluku. Fr. General should remind King* [*Philip*] *of the necessity of reconquering Ternate.*

†
Senhor

1. Não recebi este anno de noventa e hum cartas de V.R.^{ma} Paternidade. Do Padre Provincial e dos mais Padres desta Provimcia soube da sua saude[1], com que tive muita conçolação: que Nosso Senhor lha guarde pera seu sancto serviço. Ao presente fico nesta cidade de Goa, que vim ao Comcilio Provincial[a 2]. Em Abril de noventa e dous me hei-de tornar pera Malaca, onde V.R.^{ma} Paternidade me pode escrever e mandar em que o sirva.

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[1] These lines show that Fr. General in Rome, and Fr. Provincial in Goa kept up a regular correspondence with the bishop. See also D 52.

[2] The fourth Provincial Council of the Ecclesiastical Province of Goa started in that city on January 12, 1592 (TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 146).

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2. Os religiosos desta sancta Companhia que estão em Malaca e andão nas christandades de Maluco cumprem com suas obriguaçõis imteiramente[a]. Maluco hé reino de Sua Magestade e se perde por lhe não acudirem, e há nelle[b] muitos christãos. V.R.ma Paternidade deve fazer lembrança a Sua Magestade acuda a este reino e torne a tomar aos imfieis a sua fortalesa de Tarnate. Que avendo-sse vitoria della, tornarão as christandades como dantes e averá muito augmento na fee de Nosso Senhor, porque aquellas partes hé huma das que nestas está mais oferecida à converção. Nosso Senhor a sancta peçoa de V.R.ma Paternidade guarde como deseja.

De Goa, a treze de Dezembro de 1591.

Servidor e irmão de V.R.ma Paternidade em Christo,

† O Bispo de Malaca. †

[*Address* 403*v*] † Ao R.mo em Christo Padre, o Padre Geral da Companhia de Jesus, meu Senhor. 2ª via. Do Bispo de Malacca.

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[a] ao . . . Provincial *underl. h2* || [b] *corr. to* nella (*sic*)

87

BR. GIAMPAOLO MANFRIDA SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, MARCH 9, 1592

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 189-190.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa* 47 f. 442*r-v*, formerly 42, earlier 375 (*del.*), and no. LIX. Original in Portuguese, written « por mão alhea por eu ser roin escrivão ». At the bottom of the first page a secretary noted « Molucco. Mart. 92 »; 442*v* is blank, i.e., it only contains the address with a remainder of a black seal, and a Spanish note by a Roman secretary « Gio. Manfrida de Tidori. 9 de Marzo de 92. Que está consolado, y de algunas nuevas de la tierra, y contiene cosas curiosas ».

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[3] One year after this the bishop repeated his sympathetic feelings: « Dos Padres que residem neste meu bispado, como são em Malaqua, Maluco e Amboino, serei eu sempre boa testamunha que fazem o que devem e correm com suas obrigaçõis. E os de Maluco padesem muitos trabalhos » (*ARSI, Goa 14* f. 13*r*; To Fr. General, Malacca, February 10, 1593).

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Text

1. *Having nearly forgotten the Italian language, writes by means of another person in Portuguese.* — 2. *Sailed five years ago. Is doing well, save that in 1591 he suffered from a prevailing epidemic. Likes his work, his superiors, and his fellow Jesuits.* — 3. *Wrote to Rome, but did not receive an answer.* — 4. *Description: a rich clove harvest causes disease; common food is the* sagu. — 5. *On drinks taken from another tree, on* tuak, *and on the white grapes grown there.* — 6. *On oranges, lemons, and vegetables.*

Jesus
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso.

Pax Christi.

1. Deste Maluco e desta ilha e fortaleza de Tidore (onde ao presente e des que se perdeo a de Ternate residem os portugueses e os nossos Padres com elles) escrevo a V.P. esta em linguajem portuguesa e por mão alhea, por eu ser roin escrivão e saber mal notar cartas, especialmente na dita linguajem, e da minha natural italiana estar jaa quasi esquecido (posto que não de todo) por me aver todo dado aa dita portuguesa. Mas de toda maneira confio em N. Senhor que V.P. a receberá e a não enjeitará, não por meus merecimentos senão pola sua acostumada e paternal caridade. Nesta pretendo brevemente dar conta a V.P. de mim e dalgumas cousas desta terra.

2. E primeiramente quanto a mim, passa de·cinco annos que fui polla santa[a] obediencia mandado desde Goa pera este Maluco. E vai pera quatro annos que estou nelle[1] commummente, sempre louvores ao Senhor, de saude e bem disposto; tirando que este anno passado de 1591 (em que ouve por toda a terra muitas doenças e algumas mortes assi de portugueses como da gente da terra) adoeci de febres e frios, e dellas recahi por vezes por não poder bem tornar em mim. Mas agora, graças a Deos, estou com saude e no demais, pola bondade do mesmo Senhor, vivo, contente e satisfeito assi do ministerio de Marta[2] que tenho como da boa e virtuosa companhia não tão soomente do nosso commum Superior, o P.e Antonio Marta (ao qual eu em meu coração tenho e estimo por grande servo de Deos), como do Superior immediato, que hee o P.e Luis Fernandez, portuguez, e dos demais

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[1] He arrived about March 1588 (23rd Sending).
[2] Cf. Lk 10 40.

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Padres de casa[3], os quaes com seu exemplo e religiosa conversação me edificão muito em o Senhor.

3. De tudo o que se me tinha offrecido pola viajem atee este Maluco, scilicet, de Malaca e Amboyno, escrevi duas cartas[4] pera o P.e Ministro dessa santa casa professa[5] com lhe pedir quisesse communicar essas cousas com V.P. sequer ad recreationem entre tantas e tão graves occupações. Mas não tenho atee agora recebido reposta nenhuma sobre ellas, o qual atribuio aa distancia e varios successos dos caminhos por terra e por mar. Mas confio em N. Senhor que esta cheguará aas mãos de V.P. pera se alegrar alguma cousa com ella (porque materia de consolação confesso que tem pouca), e que algum dia verei sequer quatro regras de V.P. em reposta della pera minha muita consolação em o Senhor.

4. Quanto aa terra, alem da informação que creo terá V.P. jaa della, quero-a dar a V.P. segundo meu fraco entendimento alguma. Ella hee commummente temperada e saidia, salvo em tempo e monção grande de muito cravo, na qual costuma trazer consiguo emfermedades e doenças[6] e tambem mortes, como foi a do anno passado. Parece que ordenando-o assi N. Senhor pera que a prosperidade não venha sem adversidade. O pão que aqui commummente comemos todos, assi portugueses como naturaes sempre[b], chama-se na terra sagu, e faz-se do miolho duma arvore que Deos criou nestes matos e chama-se arvore de sagu. Pão de triguo se não come aqui nem se acha e, se acaso e por algum desastre acontece fazer-se de farinha velha de triguo, estima-se como por cousa muito nova.

5. O vinho que se bebe ou hee agua doutra arvore, que tambem as haa muitas polo mato e chamam-se sagueiros[7], a qual agua de dia e de noite despois dalgumas industrias e trabalho estaa distillando atee que o miolo da arvore se acaba; ou hee orraca[8], ou agua ardente distillada da dita agua que quaa chamão tuaca[9], porque vinho de parreira

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[3] Interesting to find Fr. Luís Fernandes a local superior of Tidore residence, which is quite different from D 68,3. Little is known of the distribution of the Fathers in those years.

[4] Lost Letters, 65*c* from Malacca, and 71*b* from Ambon.

[5] Did he write to the Fr. Minister of the Professed House at Rome he knew before 1586, or to the actual one?

[6] This phenomen is mentioned also in *Treatise* 176-177.

[7] See D 73 note 81.

[8] On *arrack*, consult YULE 36.

[9] *Treatise* 134-135.

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nem dessa Europa se não guasta senão escassamente pera missas. Parreiras hee verdade que haa na terra e dão uvas brancas [10], e essas tres vezes polo menos no anno, e isto sem outro stercorar nem outro beneficio humano, senão podá-las a tempo e deixá-las ao sol e à chuyva, que não hee pequeno refrigerio especialmente pera hum doente. Confesso que não tem o sabor tão perfeito como as d'Europa.

6. Daa tambem a terra laranjas doces e azedas, e limões galleguos e outras algumas fruitas proprias suas e naturaes. E quanto ò mais, de cousas d'ortaliça daa commummente quanto nella semeão e prantão, do qual tudo hee causa ser ella tão temperada como hee, não obstante que não estaa afastada da linha mais que hum grao [11]. E por não ser esta pera mais que pera dar esta breve noticia a V.P., em sua santa benção, sacrificios e devotas orações, e de toda essa santa casa, sempre muito em o Senhor me encomendo.

De Maluco e desta fortaleza de Tidore, aos 9 de Março de 1592 annos [c].

De V.P.[d] indino filho em Christo,

Joan Manfrida.

[*Address* 442*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso, o P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geeral da Companhia de Jesus, em Roma. De Maluco. Do Irmão João Manfrida.

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[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *interl.* ‖ [c] *del.* da ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* R.

Lost Letter

87*a*. — *Fr. Manuel Rodrigues, Assistant, Rome, to Fr. Aless. Valignano, Visitor; early 1592.*

D 101,1: Does asking for military help from Manila suit the Jesuits of Maluku?

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[10] The vine was introduced by Captain António Galvão (1536–39); see *Treatise* 48–51.

[11] Tidore is situated somewhat less than one degree north of the equator.

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88

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, APRIL 15, 1592
Via México

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 9.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 99; JACOBS, *La missione*.

III TEXT: *ARSI*, *Goa* 47 ff. 443*r*-444*v*, formerly 43-44, earlier 376-377 (*del.*), and no. LX/a. Paper in small 4°. Autograph original in Italian, in which, however, a Portuguese influence is undeniable. For instance, Marta writes *debusso* for *abbozzo*, *encarecer* for *esaltare* or *magnificare*, *no* for *nel*, once *morti* for *uccisi*, and often *com* for *con*. Fr. Marta himself noted down the addressee in the left lower corner of f. 443*r* « P. Generale »; a later hand added « April 92. Molucc. ». The letter finishes on f. 444*r*; the *verso* contains the address and a black wax Jesuit seal.

IV NOTE: D 89,1 reveals that this letter was sent *via* New Spain, i.e., by the way of the Philippines and Mexico.

Text

1. Only once received a letter from Fr. General in the nine years of his stay in India and Maluku. — 2. Seven Fathers and one Brother in three residences of Maluku. One Father died. They always live in a war situation. Fr. Antonio Sedeño of Manila sent a Brother to take military information. — 3. They expect the Spanish armada to come in March [1593]. Hopeful prospects. — 4. A year ago he sent a map of Maluku, and requested permission to appoint a layman in every parish to collect and deal out the money given for holy masses. — 5. Reasons for this request. — 6. Another petition was that the Fathers be allowed to use the alms given on some feast days, either for their livelihood or for their church. — 7. This would happen to the benefit of the Christians and not be injurious to the [spirit of the] Jesuits. — 8. Rebuttal of some objections that could be proposed. — 9. Suggests a correction to be made in the Life of Father Ignatius. — 10. Maluku should not be united with Manila until it is decided whether it will be under Spanish or Portuguese rule.

†
Molto Reverendo in[a] Christo Padre Nostro

Pax Christi.

1. De nove anni overo poco manco[b] che vivo nell'India e nel

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Maluco[1] non ho ricevuto nessuna lettera de V.Rev.P. in risposta delle mie che ogni anno le ho scritto, fuora d'una sola, et pure alcune cose ho scritto ch'importavano, et che son certo che V.Rev.P. teria risposto se le lettere le capitavano alle mani. Ma in summa non voglio per questo lasciare di fare il che debbo. Adesso torno a scriver da Maluco dove vivo col medesmo cargo che primero, de superiore.

2. Stamo qui in tre residentie[2] adesso sette Padri della Compagnia et un Fratello[3]. Uno morì, que era il nono, et era superiore di questa residentia de Amboino[4]. Questa terra sta come ella stette vinti anni sono, de guerra, e ogni giorno più vano crescendo gli nemici in forza e esperientia del mondo, com che ci dano molto che intender et temere. E se depressa non ci aiuta il Re com una grossa armata, mi rendo certo che non passerano tre anni che ci hanno de uccider tutti, overo cacciar fuori totalmente da queste parti. Ma spero che 'l Signore ci ha de agiutare molto di pressa. Perché quest'anno[c] P. Antonio Sedegno, superiore della casa della Manilha[d], mandò[e] un Fratello[5] a posta per informarsi da noi a nome del Governatore della Manilha[6] del modo

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[1] He sailed to India from Portugal in 1583 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 231).

[2] At Wakasihu (D 81,8), a Father was stationed no longer (D 94,40).

[3] The same ones as mentioned in D 81 note 14, minus the Father of note 4 and Fr. Francisco da Cunha (D 89,2).

[4] Fr. Pero Nunes (D 94,40). He died after July 1591; in D 81,5 he is not yet missing.

[5] This was the Spanish Brother Gaspar Gómez. He was born at Ocaña, Spain, in 1552, and entered the Society in 1570. His superiors sent him to Mexico and thence to the Philippines. When Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas was preparing an expedition against Ternate in 1591, he asked for a trustworthy Jesuit from Fr. Sedeño to go and spy out the Maluku country. The Manila Superior gave him Br. Gómez. Dasmariñas wrote a personal *Instrucción* for him in early 1592. The Brother stayed in Maluku between March and August, and back in Manila he put his findings on paper in a *Respuesta* to Dasmariñas' instruction in August 1592 or shortly after. And when, in 1602, a new governor, D. Pedro de Acuña, sailed to the Philippines with orders to attack Ternate, meeting on his way in Mexico Br. Gaspar Gómez who was then bound for Spain, he had him write again his experiences in a *Relación*. These three documents, the *Instrucción*, *Respuesta* and *Relación*, contain very interesting materials for the political and military history of Maluku. See DD 90,2-3; 96,2. TORRES Y LANZAS, *Catálogo* IV 6061, 6063, 6064; V 6212, 6213. PASTELLS, *Historia General* III pp. CCLXXXIX-CCXCVII; COLIN-PASTELLS III 29-32. It is clear that this Brother, being of a different padroado and acting under strictly military orders, in no way belonged to the Jesuit mission of Maluku. See Appendix.

[6] Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas.

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co'l quale egli haveva de fare esta guerra, facendomi certo che 'l ditto Governador già teneva ordine dal Re de venire a questa impresa.

3. Se così è, l'anno che viene al principio de Marzo[f] [7] giongerà qua l'armata, et com ella speriamo de liberarci de timore et della servitù nella quale ci tengono questi mori. Allora spero nel Signore che emendaremo il silentio delli anni passati, et che daremo a V.Rev.P. occasione de grande allegrezza contandole il frutto che si farà in queste genti, perché questa terra sta de tal maniera disposta che, se questi mori sono cacciati fora della et destruiti, faremo in un giorno vinti residentie et non haverà isola de tutto quest'arcipelago che non si faccia christiana.

4. Mandei l'anno passato a V.Rev.P. un debusso [8] de tutta questa terra [9]. Mi consoleria molto intendendo ch'ella l'habbia ricevuto. Et insieme le scrissi [443*v*] che ci concedesse licentia de statuir in ciascuna residentia un'huomo che ricevesse la elemosina che se costuma dar in questo vescovado [10] per dire una messa, il qual'huomo depoi distribuisse quella elemosina per li poveri, overo per beneficio della chiesa conforme al giuditio del superiore e del Padre di quella residentia [11].

5. Il fondamento di questa nostra domanda era per due[g] cause: una per non tirar a questi nuovi christiani il buon costume di dare quest'elemosina per le messe; la 2[a] per indurli et costumarli a far voti e agiutar com questo modo l'anima per li suoi defonti. Perché se volemo star tuttavia in quel rigore de dir loro, quando ci pregano a[h] dire missa per alcuna loro obligatione, che la diremo et che la elemosina diano a alcuno povero, intendemo certo que non è altra cosa che spaventarli et retirarli da questo bon costume. Perché alcuna volta aviene che non ha [12] povero in quella residentia et, dato ch'avesse, questa gente è tanto barbara che non save far cosa alcuna senon quanto sono incaminati da noi.

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[7] The favourable sailing time to Maluku from Manila was late January or early February. « Fin de henero o principio de hebrero que es el tiempo más acomodado para el Maluco » (COLIN-PASTELLS II 513).

[8] Portuguese *debuxo*, Italian *abbozzo*.

[9] This is the fourth map of Maluku made and sent by Marta we know of. See DD 59,4; 73,13; 82,12. We never saw one.

[10] The diocese of Malacca.

[11] This had been practised in the Fishery Coast and Manar in 1581 (DI XII 445 n. 5 « com esta esmola, que se põe em mão do canacapole [i.e. the lay catechist], se accude a muitas necesidades »).

[12] Portuguese *ha*, Italian *c'è* or *si trova*.

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6. Oltre di ciò domandava a V.Rev.P. che, quanto alle elemosine che dano li christiani nel tempo della Pasqua et delle altre feste di tutto l'anno, et specialmente del giorno delli defunti[13], che dispensasse com noi per se valer[14] di quelle donde non ha povero, come non ha in alcuna residentia, overo quando ci tornasse bene per non ter che mangiare, overo per comprar alcuna cosa per beneficio della chiesa.

7. Io bem intendo la regula che tenemo de dar gratis quod gratis accepimus[15], et che per la purità della nossa povertà è bem a lasciar tutto. Ma per l'altra parte intendo ancora che tenendo noi l'officio de parochiano, è necessario descostarsi algun tanto da quella sorta de vita che dovemo fare come religiosi nelli collegii et case della Compagnia, perché questo ritorna in utilità del prossimo et a noi non pode far male, quando la destributione di queste elemosine si faccia con giudicio del superiore universale di queste residentie, et egli tenga vigilantia che non habbia in questa parte superfluità et appropriatione particulare.

8. Et se V.Rev.P. me dicesse che[i] questo non si può fare senon com scandalo[j] delle persone et che per aventura se darà occasione alli nostri de alcuna proprietà, overo che si macula il candor della virtù della povertà la quale è muro della religione[16], podria io responder come de esperto che nessuno se scandaliza di questo, senon quando obligassemo et sforzassemo la gente a dar et contribuire, come fano in alcune parti li frati quando ministrano li sacramenti. Et della medesma maniera direi [444*r*] che da qui non possono li nostri tener occasione de proprietà, porque tutte queste elemosine che si dano sono quasi tutte de cose de mangiar, come galine, porco, fighi e frutti della terra. Né tampoco pode questo contaminar il candore della nostra povertà, perché sono elemosine oferte spontaneamente per onore del Signore et de[k] elemosine vivevano gli Apostoli che li christiani gli oferiano. Per la qual cosa pare che V.Rev.P. si deve inclinare a dispensar com noi, poiché tante ragioni concorreno per cohonestar questa nostra do-

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[13] All Souls' day, November 2. The Christians of Maluku had soon acquired the habit of having masses said for the deceased. When in 1596 Fr. General dispensed the Maluku Jesuits from saying certain weekly masses for the Society, he gave as a reason « las continuas missas que los christianos le piden por sus defuntos » (Lisbon, *Bibl. Nac. FG 6620* no. 188).

[14] Better: *per valerci*.

[15] *Constitutiones S.I.*, P. VI c. 2 no. 7 (*MI Const.* II 537).

[16] Op. cit., p. VI c. 2 no. 1 (*MI Const.* II 529).

[17] Portuguese *mortos*, Italian *uccisi*.

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manda. Com tutto questo stamo aparechiati per lhe obedire in tutto che le parerà migliore.

9. Scrissi[l] oltre di ciò che nella Vita del P. nostro Ignatio, de santa memoria, aveva un'errore notavel, il quale tirava la fede che si doveva dar al resto che 'n quella si conteneva. L'errore è questo. Conta l'istoria no 4° livro, no cap. 7, che l'isola del Moro è una terra esterile, abitada de gente barbara e antropophaga, incarecendo[m] com molte[n] parole la ferità da quella gente et la sterilità di quella terra. Tutto questo è falso, perché la milhor gente et de milhor genio che ha in Maluco, è questa della isola del Moro. Et oltre de ciò podemo dire che la più abondante è ella, dove ha abondantia de riso, de galine et di porco, il che non si trova nelle altre isole. Bem è vero che nelle parti de Amboino ha alcuna gente che mangia gl'huomini morti, ma questo mangiare fano poche volte, et non mangiano se non alcuni di quelli che 'n vita furono suoi nemici et da loro morti[17] nella guerra. Adesso veja V.Rev.P. se s'ha de mutare questo o non. Qua noi non osamo a mostrar la Vida de N. Padre a persone che sappiano che cosa è l'isola del Moro, perché non facciano cattivo concetto delle altre cose vere che 'n quella sono scritte. Mio oficio era avisar a V.Rev.P., tocc'a ella determinar quello che si deve fare[o] [18].

10. Scrissi ancora a V.Rev.P. intorno a queste residentie del Maluco, se si avevano de agiuntare et unir com la casa della Manilha, perché il P. Visitadore me aveva scritto[19] che desse il mio parere in questo negotio. Dei sopra di questo alcune ragioni et, per concluderle tutte in una parola, parmi che non si può determinar cosa alcuna in[p] questa[q] materia fin'a tanto che non vediamo in qual mano sarà posto il governo di questa terra, se delli spagnoli overo delli portughesi. Et questo non podemo sapere se non dopo che'l Governatore della Manilha averà aquistado questa[r] terra, che sarà l'anno che viene de 93, piacendo al Signore. Allora scriveremo a V.Rev.P. sopra di questo com maggior fondamento. Intanto pregamo tutti a V.Rev.P. che non si scordi de noi nelle sue sante orationi et sacrificii, et che ci faccia parte de alcuna santa reliquia accioché com l'intercessione del santo possiamo milhor servir al Signore e dar consolatione a V.Rev.P.

De Amboino, alli 15 de Abril 1592.

Servo indegno de V.Rev.P.,

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 444*v*] † Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro,

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[18] Marta repeats the criticism made earlier by Pero Nunes: D 62,7.

[19] Lost Letter; Valignano to Marta, 79*a*.

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il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito general de la Compagnia de Jesus, Roma.

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[a] *corr. fr.* em ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* meno, *del.* que ‖ [c] *del.* il ‖ [d] *del.* ti. . ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* mandou ‖ [f] *del.* arr. . ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* non ‖ [h] *interl.* ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* que ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* escandalo ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* delle ‖ [l] *del.* afora ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* encarecendo ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* muite ‖ [o] *del.* Io vo ‖ [p] *interl.* ‖ [q] *corr. fr.* nesta ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* esta

89

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 15, 1592
Via Cochin

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 10.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 99.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa* 47 ff. 445*r*-447*v*, formerly 45, still earlier 371-373 (*del.*), and no. LX/b. Paper in small 4°. Autograph original in Italian, filling four pages and a half. At the bottom of the first page « P. Gener. » (autograph), and « Moluccae. 1592. Maio » (Roman secretary's hand). Folio 447*v* is blank but for the address and a later note « P. Ant. Marta. Amboino. 15 di Maggio 1592 ». The numerals « 2 » and « 3 » put in the margin, some underlinings, some other marginal lines by way of calling attention, and once a « nihil » in the margin at the first words of our no. 11, possibly originate from the same Roman secretary.

IV NOTE: The contents of this letter are in the main similar to those of the preceding document. So, for the notes, the reader may consult also D 88.

Text

1. *Writes now* via *India.* — 2. *Is superior. They are seven Fathers and one Brother: one died and another returns to Malacca. There are three Jesuit residences. War forces them to idleness.* — 3. *Their troubles.* — 4. *Hope founded on a Spanish fleet.* — 5. *Will repeat some points dealt with in former letters.* — 6. *First point: as to joining the Jesuit house of Manila with Maluku, nothing can be decided yet until the country stays at rest.* — 7. *Moreover, it would be very hard for the superior of Maluku to visit the house of Manila.* — 8. *Drawbacks in religious life experienced by the Jesuits in the Maluku area.* — 9. *Second point: people willing to give alms should not be turned away and thrown on their own way of distributing them.* — 10. *A man should be appointed for accepting and distributing alms. This will not be injurious to the spirit of*

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religious poverty. — 11. *Experience teaches that the opposite way harms the people's devotion.* — 12. *Third point: a correction must be made in the Life of Fr. Ignatius.* — 13-14. *If no Spanish relief turns up shortly, the Jesuits should give up Maluku altogether.*

†

Molto Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Quest'anno ancora ho scritto un'altra volta a V.Rev.P. per la via della Nuova Spagna [1], adesso torno a replicare il medesmo per la via dell'India, desideroso che una de tante mie lettere che le tengo scritto capiti alle sue mani.

2. Io tuttavia vivo in questa terra de Maluco com il cargo de Superiore. Siamo in questa terra sette Padri et un Fratelo. Eramo dieci[a] ma uno morì l'anno passato [2], l'altro torna quest'anno a Malaca per sanar d'una sua infirmità [3]. Tenemo tre residentie: una in Tidor, la 2[a] in Amboino, la 3[a] nell'isola dell'Alabua[b]. Il frutto è molto poco perché da tutte le parti siamo circondati da' mori et tenemo com essi continua guerra. Et fin'hora non si è potuto finire perché li portughesi sono pochi et il Vicerè dell'India tiene tante altre guerre importanti che non puode socorrer a questa come saria necessario. Et per questo stamo di questa maniera come serrati in un cantone senza potersi alargare più oltre per la causa sopraditta.

3. Ma se a noi altri della Compagnia che per qua andamo, mancano li merecimenti per la conversione di molte anime, almeno per altra parte guadagnamo molto com li travagli che patimo com la guerra continua, perché molte volte stamo com timore de ser uccisi, overo stamo assediati com assedio formado. Né dormemo la notte quietamente perché le case nelle quali habitamo sono de legno et stano situate alla campagna, esposte a dar intrada agli nemici quando volessero farci male. Tuttavia per l'altra parte non ci mancano occasioni di allegria et consolatione, perché fra tanti pericoli Dio N.S. ci fa sentire che non ci ha de abandonare et che di breve ci ha de tirar fuora de questi timori.

4. Et così quest'anno entendemo di certo[c] che 'l Governatore delle

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[1] D 88.

[2] Fr. Pero Nunes.

[3] Fr. Francisco da Cunha. See D 110,3. In a catalogue of 1608 he is said to have been « superior da residencia de Amboyno » (*Goa 24 II* f. 403*r*).

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isole Filipine tiene ordine dal Re de Spagna de venire a socorerci per l'anno che viene com una grande et poderosa armata. Se quest'aviso viene a luce, come speriamo de certo, allora voltaremo il pianto in riso et apriremo la porta a fare grandissimo frutto in [445*v*] questa terra, perché sta disposta per darlo molto abondante, et ristorar in un giorno quanto perdemo in vinti anni che dura questa tribulatione.

5. Con[a] l'altre mie lettere ho scritto a V.Rev.P. tre o quattro cose, delle quali fin'hora non ho ricevuto risposta, credo perché sariano smarrite nel camino. Per ciò voglio com questa tornar a replicar il medesmo accioché capitando questa mia alle mani di V.Rev.P. me faccia mercè de me responder.

6. Il P. Alessandro Valignano mi ha scritto che desse il mio parere a V.Rev.P. intorno l'agiuntare il collegio o casa della Maniglia a queste residentie de Maluco. Quest'ordine mi diede il sopraditto Padre pensando che Maluco s'aquietasse et s'aprisse il camino a fare una grande christianità. Già com altre tre mie lettere[4] tengo dato il mio parere a V.Rev.P. intorno a questo punto et, per concluder quanto tengo ditto in una parola, digo che non s'ha da fare questa risolutione, se primeramente non s'aquieta questa terra perché, non se aquietando, non ha perché trattar di questa materia, anzi sarà necessario trattar de lasciar tudo per il poco frutto che si fa in quella. Ma suposto lo que tengo ditto di sopra, cioè che venga il Governatore dellas Filipinas com armata por cacciar fuora li mori, è necessario star a veder primeramente in che finisce la guerra, e sotto de qual capitano ha de ser governato Maluco. Porque, se li spagnoli governerano, sarà necessario altra sorte di consilho, e ancora de altro ordine per indirizzare queste residentie così nel temporale come nel spirituale.

7. 2° Digo che la casa de Manilha ha de dar al Superior di queste parti molto travaglio[e], e a tutte le altre residentie più danno che utilità perché Maniglia in summa non è altro che una casa di sei o sette persone della Compagnia, et sta lontana de Maluco vinti giorni de camino, quando la navigatione fosse molto prospera. Et ha de consumar molti giorni al Superiore in visitarla et, visitada, non sarà più che tener visitado sei[f] o sette persone, et com questo venimo a fazer dano alle altre residentie de Maluco che per ventura tenirano più necessidade[g] che quella casa[5]. Et oltre de ciò consuma il Superiore com tanto larga

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[4] Lost Letter, 80*a*.

[5] It is almost amusing to see how Marta fancies Manila to be absorbed by Malukú instead of the other way round.

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e lontana navigatione et incomodità gravi che passa nel mare. Ma in summa mio parere è che V.Rev.P. non determini cosa alcuna in questa materia fin'a tanto che non se veggia in che finisce questo negocio.

8. Appresso di questo voglio ricordare a V.Rev.P. [446*r*] che quanto più se difonderà la Compagnia per queste parti, tanto più presto se ha de perder overo de patire algun grave danno, perché in queste residentie non si può guardar la disciplina, et le imperfettioni delli nostri che nelli collegii stano coperte, qua se discopreno, né si pode dar loro rimedio se non com molta dificultà. Por onde digo che se non procuraremo de star ben uniti et visitati dal Superiore di[h] breve avemo de perder molto de spirito et di riputatione.

9. La 2[a] cosa che tengo scritta è, che ha alcuna dificultà nella maniera de proceder com questi christiani intorno l'elemosine così di quelle che oferiscono spontaneamente alla chiesa, come di quelle che tengono per obligatione di dare per le messe che[i] si dicono per li suoi defonti. Perché se noi conforme all'[j] Instituto che osservamo nelle case et collegii non vogliamo ricever alcuna cosa per nessuna sorte de ministerio che facciamo, senza dubbio che per l'altra parte hanno da perder molto li christiani della sua perfettione. Perché dicendo loro, quando ci oferiscono sue elemosine per dire missa overo per satisfar a suoi voti, che le[k] distribuiscano per li poveri, non è altro che dir loro che non oferiscano mai sue elemosine et non dimandino mai messe né orationi per li suoi defonti. Perché questa gente è come sono li fanciulli, che se non sono incaminati et guidati, spendeno tutto 'l loro tempo nella strada senza avertire che 'l tempo passa, et che al fine resterano ignoranti se non usano maior diligentia per aprendere. Per insegnare a questa gente lo que conviene al christiano, non basta solamente dirlo e replicarlo due e tre volte, ma è necessario ancora pigliarli per la mano et dir loro: « Quest'è 'l camino, andiamo ambidue de compagnia per quello ». Voglio dire a questo proposito che, per ensegnar loro a fare voti, a oferire alla chiesa et pregar a Dio N.S. per li suoi defonti, e finalmente per fare elemosina, è necessario metter tutto[l] questo in prattica et dar loro occasione de esercitio, altramente non hanno mai de metter[m] in effetto questa laudabil devotione.

10. Per questo digo che V.Rev.P. ci ha de dar licentia che, quanto alle elemosine che oferiscono li christiani alla chiesa, assi per satisfare a suoi voti come in tutto 'l tempo dell'anno, et specialmente della Quadragesima[n] et del giorno delli defonti, tutto sia dispensato per li poveri, se haverano, et per beneficio della chiesa et anco del Padre istesso, se gli fosse necessario per suo sostentamento. Et che quanto alle elemosine delle messe, se constituisca un'huomo, il quale le racolga et spenda

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depoi o com li poveri overo nella necessidade et beneficio della chiesa. Et ancoraché paresca questo tirar algun tanto do candor della nossa povertà, tuttavia considerando bem tutte le cose non è così, perché il Padre, se aplica di quelle elemosine alguna cosa per sua particular [446*v*] utilità, non lo [o] piglia se non come povero, e distribuendolo per li poveri, overo per beneficio della chiesa, non l'ha de fare se non com licentia et presentia del Superiore, quando venisse a visitarlo, com que se tirerà l'occasione a tutta la proprietà se alcuna potesse intervenire.

11. Quest'è il mio parere [6]. Et realmente che per la esperienza che tenemo pare che non si può fare d'altra maniera se non com danno et detrimento delli defonti et della devotione delli christiani. Agora veggia V.Rev.P. lo que pare più convenire al servicio del Signore et al ben de noi altri suoi figlioli et membri della religione, perché conforme al suo giudicio così ancora faremo et teniremo per buono et santo quanto in questa materia ci determinerà che facciamo.

12. La terza cosa ch'io ho scritto nell'altre mie è, che nella Vita de[p] N. Santo P. Ignatio sta un'errore che tiene necessità de ser emendato, per non tirar com esso il credito che havemo de dar a tutto 'l resto di quella istoria. Dice l'autore nel 4° livro, capitulo 7, che l'isola del Moro è sterile, bisognosa de tutte le cose, et che tiene gente antropophaga, essagerando[q] molto così[r] la qualità della terra come delli habitatori di quella. Et aqui noi troviamo tutto 'l contrario di quello ch'egli scrive, perché l'isola è abondante de riso[s], di galine et de porci, et la gente è la più habile et de milhor ingegno, et la più bella de tutte l'altre di quest'arcipelago. Por onde errore fu a dire il contrario. Et credo che daria occasione a quest'errore[t] una delle isole de Amboino, chamada Liacer [7], et ancora otra chiamata Ruscelao [8], dove gli habitatori mangiano li corpi morti degl'huomini ch'essi uccideno nella guerra, per mostrar com questo atto de ferità barbara la vendetta che d'essi pigliano. Questo volsi dire a V.Rev.P. perché mi pareva molto necessario per la verità de lo rimanente che leggiamo in quel libro. Tocherà adesso a ella determinar in questo lo que le parerà miglior per emenda di quest'errore.

13. Oltre de ciò parmi[u] somamente necessario de avisar a V.Rev.P.

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[6] To this sentence, a Roman hand added in the margin « Nihil », showing that the Jesuit headquarters did not appreciate Marta's proposal.

[7] Called at the present day Saparua.

[8] Nusalaut.

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che se 'l Re di Spagna non socorre a questa terra di breve, che non conviene per nessun[v] caso tardare più la nostra partenza per altra parte, perché qua non si può far frutto senza 'l favore dell'armi, et ben si verifica[w] el mandato di quel[x] Re quando disse: Compelle intrare[9]. Posciaché con esperienza toccamo com mano che senza forza non si può purgar questa selva tam folta et intricata. Ha vinti anni continui et più ancora che stamo aspettando de qual parte ci viene socorso. Dall'India stamo come desperati, perché non ha gente et le necessità di questo Stato sono molte. Ci resta fondar[y] la nostra speranza nelli spagnoli che habitano l'isole Filipine, la quale se ci manca actum est de nobis. Vano ogni giorno più li mori facendosi potenti et destri nella guerra[z]. [447*r*] Già cominciano a guereggiare com titolo della legge et se vanno agiuntando e facendo grosse armate. Et per il contrario li portughesi vano mancando d'animo et di forze. Tutto 'l pensiero delli capitani di queste due fortezze, cioè de Tidor e d'Amboino, sta fisso in acumular richezze, com che si dimenticano totalmente del servicio del Re et della gloria de Dio[10]. Por onde siamo ridotti a tal, che né com grossa armata facciamo cosa buona, et adesso stamo molto peggior che non stavamo già otto anni.

14. Tengo fatto questo discorso perché V.Rev.P. intenda qual è la causa del poco frutto che facemo, et perché ancora pensi sopra questo negocio, cioè, o de favorirlo col Re, overo de ordinar al P. Visitador che determini de che sarà milhore, per non perder tanti buoni soggetti che qua viveno et moreno senza frutto. Né per intender più intrinsecamente la verità di questo negocio è necessario aspettar più tempo, perché già sono vinti anni che la tenemo discoperta et conosciuta, né ha que più esperimentare et provare. Già stamo tutti risoluti che senza l'armi non possiamo far frutto. Por onde se non ha speranza di quest'agiuto, perdemo il tempo a viver più in questa terra. V.Rev.P. ci agiuti a soportar questo peso tanto insuave com charità et patientia com le sue orationi et santi sacrificii, et alcuna volta se recordi di questi suoi figlioli et servi.

De Amboino, alli 15 di Maio 1592.

Servo nel Signore de V.Rev.P.,

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 447*v*] † Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro,

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[9] Lk 14 23.

[10] This sharp verdict is fully supported by the *Inquérito aos capitães das fortalezas*, ordered by the viceroy of Portugal, Cardinal Alberto, on March 25, 1589 (SA V 159-169; for Maluku, 167).

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il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito generale della Compagnia di Jesù. Roma.

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[a] *corr. fr.* nove ‖ [b] *del.* ma ‖ [c] *del.* que ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* Per ‖ [e] *del.* per ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* seis ‖ [g] *del.* que ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* em ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* que ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* al nostro ‖ [k] *interl.* ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* tudo ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* non ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* Quaresima ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* o ‖ [p] *corr. fr.* do ‖ [q] *corr. fr.* encare[cendo] ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* assi ‖ [s] *del.* et ‖ [t] *del.* l'isola de ‖ [u] *del.* de avi.. ‖ [v] *w. corr.* ‖ [w] *del.* aquelle m.. ‖ [x] *del.* padre ‖ [y] *corr. fr.* me.. ‖ [z] *del.* et

Lost Letters

89*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Ambon, to Fr. Provincial of India; May 1592.*

D 92,3: « Ogni anno ».

89*b*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon, to Fr. Pierantonio Spinelli, Italy; May-June 1592.*

D 91,1 and 5: « Havendo già scritto per via de Goa ». « Per via de Goa con la lettera mandai giuntamente un mappa di questo arcipelago ». Letter and map.

90

FR. ANTONIO SEDEÑO, RECTOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, JUNE 7, 1592
First *via*

I AUTHORS: COLIN-PASTELLS I 572-573; WESSELS, *Amboina* 98; PASTELLS, *Historia general* III pp. CCLXXXVIII-CCXCI; COSTA 129-130.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Philipp. 9* ff. 276*r*-277*v*, earlier 503. Autograph. Spanish. In the left lower corner of f. 276*r* « Nro Pe »; on f. 277*v*, the address and a trace of the seal; to this a Roman hand added « Manila. 92. Pe Anto Sedeño. Junio 7 », and a Spanish summary in six numbered points; these numbers have also been added in the margin to the text. The part we publish constitutes no. 6 of the letter, on ff. 276*v*-277*r*.

Text

1. *Fr. Marta wrote to the governor of the Philippines and to Fr. Sedeño on the extreme necessity of Maluku. The governor sent a spy in disguise there to reconnoitre that area, but he was killed while hunting. — 2. The governor requested a Jesuit who under the cloak of affairs of the Society should go and obtain informations. He had refused help to the Portuguese there saying that Maluku fell under the supervision of the viceroy of India. — 3. Gave him Br. Gaspar Gómez for this purpose. Expects him*

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to return in that same month. — 4. *This was communicated* sub rosa *to Fr. General and to Fr. Provincial of Mexico.*

[. . . 276*v*]

1. El P.e Antonio de Marta, superior del Maluco, escrivió al Governador de estas yslas[1] (y ansimesmo a mi[2]) la extrema necessidad que tenía aquella tierra de socorro para que no se acavase de perder, y que al presente estava en dispusición que con quatrocientos o más soldados se podría cobrar todo lo perdido, y bolverían a la fe tantos millares de almas que forçadas de aquel tyrano el rey de Ternate la havían negado, y para tratar esto quería venir él em persona a esta ciudad. Leýda la carta se vino el Governador a esta casa y debaxo de secreto nos descubrió lo que el Rey le mandava, que era que luego que llegase a estas yslas aprestase galeras y lo demás necessario para yr a cobrar aquella fuerça. Quiso antes de yr allá reconocerla y para esto embió un capitán disfraçado como mercader[3], el qual yendo a caça desgraciadamente le mató un puerco javalí, y así no pudo saber nada de lo que pretendía y era necessario.

2. Rogónos con protestaciones le diésemos una persona de confiança que con achaque de negocios de la Compañía se llegase allá y tratase sólo con el Padre[4] a lo que yva, para que después de bien informado se bolviese, y él pudiese yr con luz de lo que allá havía, y que en esto consistía el buen sucesso de la jornada, o malo si yva sin tener noticia. Porque tenía desvelados a los portugueses que allí están y a los enemigos por no haverles querido dar socorro, aunque más encarecidamente se lo pidieron, echando por achaque que las cosas del Maluco tocavan al Virey de la India, y con esto embió el capitán[a 5] que vino a pedirlo desabrido. Y es cosa cierta que sabiendo los enemigos

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[1] D 82.

[2] Lost Letter, 81*a*.

[3] This captain is called Gregorio Cubillo by Fr. Colín (COLIN-PASTELLS I 572). But this author (and Pastells and Wessels after him) is mistaken when writing that the Jesuit Brother accompanied the captain, that the latter went disguised as an ambassador, and that even Fr. Sedeño had no knowledge of the purpose proper of Gómez' mission. According to Wessels it was Fr. Marta himself who suggested that a Jesuit be sent as a scout to Maluku, which seems quite beside the truth. This letter of Sedeño, chief among the witnesses of these facts, which obviously was unknown to COLIN and PASTELLS and badly assimilated by WESSELS, helps in redressing several errors.

[4] Fr. Marta.

[5] Presumably the Jerónimo de Azevedo mentioned in D 82; see note 2 there.

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(que luego lo saben todo) que no yva socorro descuydarían; que hasta allí estavan con mucho cuydado temiéndole, y así los cogería desapercebidos.

3. Después de haverlo consultado y encomendado a Dios, viendo que no ay otro remedio para reduzir a la fe los que han apostatado de ella si no se toma aquella fortaleza [6], nos pareció que teníamos obligación a ayudar en lo que pudiésemos. Y así le dimos a el Hermano Gaspar Gómez, con quien se comunicó el negocio con el mismo secreto y fue muy enterado en lo que se pretendía. El Hermano fue muy consolado viendo de quánta gloria de Dios era el negocio a que yva. Esperámosle en todo este mes [7], el Señor nos le trayga con bien.

4. Diónos licencia el Governador para que lo pudiésemos escrevir a V.P. y al P.e Provincial de la Nueva España [8] debaxo del mismo secreto, [277*r*] porque entanto tendrá effeto este negocio, enquanto allá ni acá se supiere que el aparato de guerra que aquí se haze es para yr sobre ellos. Este año havía de yr, pero esta nueva del Japón lo estorvará [9], si ya no se entendiese se oviesen alçado contra el tyrano los señores [b] japones [10], como nos escriven los Padres que se tenía por cierto, y creo es el medio único para que todos quedemos libres. El Señor lo haga así como más convenga a su gloria.

[...]

De Manila, a 7 de Junio 1592.

Antonio Sedeño.

[*Address* 277*v*] Ihs. A nuestro P.e Claudio Aquaviva, [prepósito] general de la Compañía de Jesús, Roma. Vía 1ª. De las Philippinas.

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[a] *del. illeg. word* || [b] *del.* de

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[6] Of Ternate.

[7] Br. Gaspar Gómez returned to Manila in August 1592 (D 96,2). From the whole context it turns out that Gomez' enterprise was neither planned nor undertaken until the mission of Captain Cubillo had foundered. The two men did not go together.

[8] Fr. Pedro Díaz, 1590-1594 (ALEGRE I 36).

[9] For the troubles of the Portuguese with Japan, see PASTELLS, *Historia* III chapters XVI-XVIII; *Catálogo* III nos. 3977-3986.

[10] More than once during the years 1588-1592 rebellions of Japanese rulers arose against Toyotomi Hideyoshi (better known as Taikosama) who had brought into subjection nearly the whole of Japan. See MHJ I 401-407.

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91

FR. LORENZO MASONIO SJ TO FR. PIETRO ANTONIO SPINELLI SJ, RECTOR OF THE GERMAN COLLEGE, ROME

AMBON, JUNE 15, 1592
Via Manila

I AUTHORS: WICKI, *Die Miscellanea Epistolarum des P. Anthanasius Kircher* 242-243: a summary in German.

II. TEXT: Rome, *Archives of the Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana*, « *P. Kircher, Miscellanea Epistolarum* », *vol. XIII* (more recently *no. 567*) ff. 195*r*-196*v*. Autograph in Italian, written in the typically black Chinese ink commonly used in Maluku, and in a tiny and often scarcely legible hand. There is no division into paragraphs. The paper is in a bad condition, some parts having been pasted over with a thin protecting sheet. On f. 196*v* is the address, to which later hands added « P. Masonio dall'Amboino. 15 Junii 1592. dell'isole etc. », and « Laurentius Masonius » There are traces of a seal. The Italian is riddled with Portuguese terms and spellings.

III ADDRESSEE: Pietro Antonio Spinelli was born in Naples in 1555, and had entered the Society in 1573. From 1587 to 1589 he was rector of the German College in Rome. His later offices in the Society: provincial first of the Roman and then of the Naples Province, show that he was a qualified person. In 1585 he had urgently requested from Fr. General Acquaviva to be sent to the Indian missions (*ARSI, Ital. 160*, ff. 37*r*-38*v*), but in vain. He died in Rome on December 14, 1615 (*ARSI, Neap. 175* f. 39*r*). See SOMMERVOGEL VII 1443; STEINHUBER, *Geschichte des Kollegium Germanikum Hungarikum in Rom*, Freiburg i. Br. 1906, I 195.

IV NOTE: This is one of the few letters in our collection written not officially to a higher superior, but to a personal friend who in his office had nothing to do with Maluku. It must be termed a lucky chance that the letter was conserved. Properly speaking it does not belong to Kircher's correspondence, having been written nine years before this scholar was born. The reason why Kircher acquired and kept it may be conjectured from the heavy underlining of the first five lines of our no. 5, where Masonio makes strictures on the current maps of Indonesia.

Fr. Athanasius Kircher SJ was born in 1601 near Fulda, Germany, and entered the Jesuit order in 1618. From 1634 to his death in 1680 he lived in Rome, teaching mathematics, physics, and oriental languages, and prolific in writings on many other fields, for instance, on that of geography. (See SOMMERVOGEL IV 1046-1077; KOCH, *Jesuitenlexikon* 983).

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Text

1. *Writes* via *Manila. Nurses a dying Franciscan in his house.* — 2. *Is doing well in spite of the deficiency of nutritious food and of medicines.* — 3. *Worked for four months in a mission station of Ambon island, taught the children, but was ordered by Fr. Superior not to baptize anybody because the Christians apostatize easily.* — 4. *Returned to the fortress of Ambon and is there with only one Father since Fr. Superior died. Preaches and hears confessions in Malay and, with greater difficulty, in Portuguese.* — 5. *Sent a map of the archipelago to correct the current European maps.* — 6. *Asks for some books.* — 7. *They should preferably be sent by Mexico and Manila, for of things sent by Goa a part is kept back there.* — 8. *Expects a Spanish fleet for December. Then a large field will be opened for Christianity.* — 9. *Greets his friends in Rome.*

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre

Pax Christi, etc.

1. L'anno passado scrissi a V.R. per via de Goa e per via de le Filippine[1], adesso faccio il medemo. Havendo[a] già scritto per via de Goa[2], scrivo per via de Maniglia questa lettera acciò V.R. tenga continuamente nove di me. Et in questa sarò brevissimo per non tener[b] tempo, stando occupato con uno Capuccino[3] che sta infermo in casa in extremis, il quale venne quest'anno con un altro compagno in queste parti cercando messe per coltivare, ai quali de la molta che qui tenemo gli diedemo parte[4], poiché i nostri operarii qui sono pochissimi. Per questo V.R. me tenerà per iscusato.

2. Io gratia al Signor sto molto bene di salute e me do bene in queste parti aride e secche de cose pertinenti al vitto, non havendo né pane né vino né carne: legumi, fosoli[5] solamente. Ma non per questo sto meno forte de que sempre stetti, anzi più; ma il continuo mangiare de pesce et abiete silvestri[6] fanno mal al[c] stomaco, ma sempre sto con volontà de ricevere il sostento. Et benché non habbiamo medicine et altre cose pertinenti alla salute corporale, non ci falta la sanità con la qual il Signor[d] ci ricompensa.

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[1] Lost Letters, 80*c-d*.

[2] Lost Letter, 89*b*.

[3] Not a Capuchin proper, but a Franciscan.

[4] Cf. D 54,2. Obviously, what the Franciscans of Malacca had planned in 1586 they realized in 1592. Fr. Marta seems not to have been averse from their cooperation. The Franciscans stayed in Ambon for one year only (D 93,5). Cf. MEERSMAN 40–42; ID., in *Historia Missionum O.F.M.* 265.

[5] Actually *fasoli*, dialectical form of *fagiuoli*.

[6] Wild fir. But the context points to the food called *sagu*.

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3. L'anno passato fui mandato in una missione in questa medema[e] isola [7], la quale sarà alcune dieceotto legue de circuito, in certe aldee [8] de gentili dove, instruindo i fanciulli solamente in questi principii, perqué con i grandi non si poteva tanto facilmente, in quattro mesi che alli stetti insegnai tutte le orationi, comandamenti, opere di misericordia, peccati mortali con le virtuti contrarie, et altre devotioni ai putti, i quali in casa insegnavano i loro padri, madri e parenti. Et certo era tanto il gosto che sentia, quando, per i campi il giorno, per le case la notte, si udivano cantare la dottrina, che non mi facevano sentire niente il patire quoad corporalia. Cada dia [9] faceva tre volte la dottrina in aldee diverse, in una delle quali, dove fici una cappella [10], dicevo messa. Non battizzei niuno sendo sí la volontà del Superior, benché loro mi facevano molta instantia, perché queste terre como tengono continue guerre, particolarmente adesso che stanno quasi in assedio, le genti si buttano alla parte più forte [11], dandoseli pouco di lasciar la fede purché salvino la robba et persone, benché alcuni facciano, come buoni christiani, il contrario: per questo non battizzamo se non dopo de lunga esperienza a prova della fede.

4. Fui forzado dopo a tornar in questa fortezza di Amboino, dove tenemo la residentia et casa principale, per star il Superior [12] molto infermo et non haver se non un'altro Padre [13] che con lui stava per agiutarlo. Ma[f] benché io l'agiudasse nel che potevo conforme al tempo e luogo, nondimeno foi servito il Signor levarlo per il cielo, et così io restai qui con l'altro Padre fin adesso et starò tutto quest'anno. Io già faccio esortationi ai christiani nella lingua malaia et confesso; fici[g] anco un dialogo delle cose più necessarie della nossa fede acciò i putti l'imparassero. Começo anco predicare nella lingua portuguesa, la quale mi da più travaglio che la malaia, pure faccio quel che posso per sodisfar all'obedientia.

5. Per via de Goa con la lettera mandai giuntamente un mappa di questo arcipelago [14], il quale por ser fatto depressa foi grosso e rude,

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[7] Wakasihu (DD 80,7-8; 94,40).

[8] Portuguese *aldeia*, Italian *villaggio* or *paese*.

[9] Portuguese *cada dia*, Italian *ogni giorno*.

[10] Another village mentioned as newly converted is Liliboy, not far from Wakasihu (See DM I 452; DD 93,12; 94,24 and 40).

[11] « Esta hé sua verdade, andarem com os que mais podem » (REBELO 338).

[12] Fr. Pero Nunes.

[13] Fr. João Rebelo (D 93,2).

[14] One more map of Indonesia never found in the archives; 89*b*.

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non tenendo tempo[h] pera más. Alli V.R. conhecerà gl'errori delli mappe che si fanno in Europa, dove tanto poco notitia si tiene di queste parti, et como la Giava che chiamano Maggiore et Minore non sta como la dipingono, ma sono molte isole che correno, [195*v*] finita l'isola de Samatra (che hè contra-costa di Malaca), quasi da oriente a occidente[15] fin all'isola di Solor, la quale sta un poco più a capricorno[16] con alcune altre isolette, dove stanno frati de Santo Domenico. In questo non me estendo per non parer che voglia ser maestro dei maestri di geografia sapendo molto pouco di simile scientia.

6. Se V.R. me potesse far charità[i] di uno libro italiano fatto, se ben mi ricordo, da uno Idruntino o Leccese[17] de geografia dove descrive tutto il mondo, non mi ricordo il nome ma l'opra è moderna, fatta nel tempo[j] che il Duca d'Ossuna[18] o il Marchese di Mondexar[19] erano vicerè in Napoli, mi sarà gratissimo[20]. Assi anco un libretto de la dottrina christiana figurada, ma di buona forma, con una prattica spirituale et alcune immagini grande e picciole, per dar ai christiani. Tengo questo attrevimento con V.R. perché tiene molta carità[k] particolarmente con i operarii del India e di queste isole di Malucco, et non faltarà a V.R. chi gle dia una[l] limosina per li desterrati in Domino de Maluco, dove poche volte giunge cousa d'Europa.

7. E se manderà alcuna cosa, credo più facilmente mi verà alle mani per via del Messico et Maniglia che per via de Goa, perché allí accostumasi resecare falcidiam et trabellianicam[21] delle cose megliori. Per questo mandando per via de Maniglia potrà indrizzarle racomandata al P.e Saldegna[22], rettor de Maniglia, o al Hermano Gaspar Gomes, perqué in questo modo me verà alle mani più presto.

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[15] One would expect here rather « da occidente a oriente ».

[16] Solor Island is between Lat. 8 and 9 S; the tropic of Capricorn at Lat. 23.27 S.

[17] A person from Otranto or from Lecce.

[18] D. Pedro Téllez-Girón, count of Ureña and Osuna, Spanish politician viceroy of Naples, 1582-1586.

[19] D Inigo López Hurtado de Mendoza, marquis of Mondéjar, viceroy of Naples, 1575-1579.

[20] The indications seem too few and too vague to permit an identification of the book or atlas Masonio wanted.

[21] Legal terminology. The *lex falcidia* (so called after the tribune Publius Falcidius) and the *senatusconsultum trebellianum* (after the consul Trebellius Maximus) were both regulations of the ancient Roman law, dealing with inheritances, and aiming to secure at least one fourth part of them to the legal heir. (*Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* II 261, IV 352).

[22] Sedeño, to be correct.

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8. Speramo per il mese de Decembro una grossa armada dalla Maniglia per soccorerci e far guerra a questi mori maumettani che qui dominano tutto questo arcipelago, et como speramo il Governador in persona propria. Credesi che si aprirà largo campo alla christianità et conversione, perché i cristiani vecchi di nostro benedetto Padre Mastro Francesco[23] e d'altri Padri antichi, i quali adesso stanno nel poder de maumettani, ci stanno[m] espettando per ritornar a la Chiesa santa. V.R. per amor de Dio raccomande al Signor queste parti, perché la necessità è molto grande et gli inimici sono molti et il poder dei christiani poco, parlando quanto alle forze humane.

9. Mi farà charidade di far la debita riverenza al nostro Padre Generale, al qual non scrivo per non ser noioso a Sua Paternità não tenendo occasione necessaria, et senza occasione facerlo con Sua Paternità sarebbe demasiada[n] et iscusada confianza. Me farà carità raccomandarmi al P. Bartolomeo Riccio, con il qual questa con l'altre che scrivo desidero siano comune. Parimente mi raccomandarà al P. Biagi, al Fratello o Patre Mutio Vitelesco, al Fratello Carlo Tengardo, Carlo de Sangre[24] con tutti gl'altri Patri et Fratelli, et alle orationi de V.R. molto mi raccomando.

De Amboino, 15 di Iugno[o] 1592.

Di V.R. indigno filho e servo en Christo,

Lorenzo Masonio.

[*Address* 196*v*] Al molto reverendo in Christo Padre, il Padre Pietro Antonio Spinello della Compagnia de Giesù, rettor del Collegio Germanico in Roma.

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[a] *corr. fr.* tenendo ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* ter ‖ [c] mal al *interl.* ‖ [d] *del.* mi ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* mesma ‖ [f] *del.* ainda ‖ [g] *del.* tam ‖ [h] *del.* per ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* charidade ‖ [j] *del.* da ‖ [k] *del.* da ‖ [l] *del.* esmola ‖ [m] stando *ms.* ‖ [n] *del.* confi ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* iuglo

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[23] Xavier.

[24] Fr. Bartolomeo Ricci, born 1542, joined the Jesuits in 1565, was a master of novices in Rome from 1585 on; later he became provincial of Sicily, 1590-1594. Fr. Muzio Vitelleschi, the future General, is called « Padre » in a Roman catalogue of 1590 (*Rom. 53* f. 139*r*). Carolus Tancardus, or Charles Tancred, was an Englishman from York who had entered the Society in the Roman Province in 1584. Carlo Sangro, or Sangrius, was born in Naples in 1568 and joined the order in 1586.

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Lost Letters

91*a*. — *Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, Manila, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku ; 1592.*

D 92,3: « Promettendomi che veniva quest'anno de 93 ».

91*b*. — *Fr. Valignano, Visitor, Macao, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku ; 1592-1593.*

D 101,3: « Tambem tenho escrito daqui ». Having returned from Japan Valignano stayed anew in Macao from October 1592 to November 1594.

91*c*. — *Governor Dasmariñas, Manila, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku ; early 1593.*

DD 92,3; 93,15: Top-secret letter. « Mi promette con nuove lettere che venirà per l'anno che viene de 94 ».

92

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

Tidore, March 3, 1593

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 11.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 103-104.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 15*r*-16*v*, formerly 145, still earlier 119-120 (? paper cut off; *del.*), and no. VII. Autograph original in Italian; three pages written. The addressee « P. Gener. » is mentioned in Marta's hand at the bottom of f. 15*r*; a Roman hand added « 93 Molucco Mart. vel Febr. ». Another hand underlined some sentences or parts of them, and draw vertical lines alongside some passages. The last page was originally blank but for the address and some feeble remainders of a seal, but a Spanish-writing secretary filled the open space, under the heading « 93. P^e^ Antonio Martha de Tidore a 3 de Marzo », with an extensive summary in five items, adding the corresponding numerals 1 to 5 to the text.

Text

1. *Only once in nine years received a letter from Fr. General.* — 2. *Three Jesuits in Ambon, three in Tidore, one in Labuha. Work is limited to the Portuguese, contact with natives being impeded by Ternate. Protection of king of Tidore is turning into tyranny.* — 3. *No hope of receiving any succour, either from India or from the Philippines.* — 4. *Counsel should be taken on complete withdrawal from Maluku and going to work in a more fruitful place.* — 5. *Several reasons why nothing can be expected from the Jesuits and Spaniards in Manila.* — 6. *The Maluku people as such offer good prospects of conversions, and without them a college in Manila cannot exist.* — 7. *On*

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foodstuffs and drinks of the country. — 8. *On fruits and vegetables.* — 9. *Wishful dream of a college to be built.* — 10. *Life of the Fathers is an exile bare of any consolation, any fruit, and any honour for the Society of Jesus.*

†

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro

Pax Christi.

1. Io non so a che dar la colpa, se al tempo, overo alli miei pecati che meritano questo castigo, poiché son già nove anni passati che vivo in queste parti dell'India et com tutto questo fin'hora non ho potuto veder se non una sola carta de V.Rev.P.[1], ancoraché io habbia scritto ogni anno e radoppiato[2] le lettere. Voglio creder che la molta lontananza del luoco nel quale stamo sia cagione di questo male, perché mi rendo certo che se V.R.P. havesse ricevuto lettere de questa terra de Maluco, con tutto 'l cuore teria loro resposto per consolare le nostre miserie. In summa torno questa volta ancora a scrivere a V.Rev.P. senza ser incitado dalle sue.

2. Stamo em questa terra de Maluco, in tre residentie, sette Padri della Compagnia com un Fratello: tre delli quali resideno nella fortezza de Amboino, tre nella de Tidore, et uno nella residentia della Alabua[3]. La nostra principale occupatione è aiutare li portughesi che qua ou viveno overo vengono de passaggio per comprare il garofolo. Il frutto che si fa com li christiani è molto poco, perché li mori de Ternate, nostri inimici, confondeno tutto com l'armi, et noi non gli possiamo resistere perché siamo pochi et lontani d'ogni socorro. Et se un re moro che signoreggia all'isola de Tidore non avesse tolto il patrocinio delli portughesi, già sariano stati cacciati fuora dagli nemici ternati. Ma com

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[1] See D 88,1.

[2] That is, sent by first and second *via* in different ships.

[3] In Tidore certainly were Frs. Antonio Marta, Luís Fernandes (DD 87,2; 94,16-18), and Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz (DD 93,2; 94,51), moreover, Br. Giampaolo Manfrida (D 87); in Ambon Frs. Lorenzo Masonio (DD 91 and 93), and João Rebelo (DD 93,2; 94,23-42); Berwouts/Conrado had the care of Labuha; only of Fr. António Pereira are we poorly informed. According to this passage he should be placed in Ambon; from his contribution to D 94 no location can be deduced; his sailing within two months to Manila with Fr. Marta and the deputies of Siau (D 95; 135,10) would lead us to infer that he lived on that island, but 1° Siau is not mentioned at all by Marta here, and 2° this would not agree with D 94,52, nor with D 102,2. WESSELS seems too assertive in his statements about Pereira and Siau in 1592 (*De katholieke missie in Noord-Celebes* 392).

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tutto questo il patrocinio di questo re moro se va già voltando in tirannia, et tutti noi che qua vivemo tenemo più volto de huomo schiavo che de[a] libero.

3. Per questa causa ogni anno scrivemo all'India [4] che ci mandino armata per liberarci da questo travaglio, ma fin'hora non siamo stati esauditi. Ha due anni ch'io de proposito foi a India per impetrar algun socorso dal Vicere[b], e per buona ventura impetrei da lui cento soldati ma questi non fecero cosa alcuna. Quest'anno passato il Governatore delle Filipine me scrisse una carta [5] promettendomi che veniria quest'anno de 93, ma per certo impedimento che sopravine non pode satisfare alla promessa. Adesso mi promette con nuove lettere [6] che venirà per l'anno che viene de 94. Io già son de tal maniera straco de tante speranze, che già mi persuado che non può esser. Perché considero il Re vecchio [7], le continue guerre[c] de Portogalo, de Fiandra e porventura d'Inghelterra, et insieme com questo li tumulti de guerre che de quando in quando ha nelle isole Filipine [8], overo nelle altre terre circomvicine, com la qual consideratione parmi de concludere che 'ndarno speriamo questo rimedio.

4. Per la qual cosa entro in pensamento [15*v*] che muito migliore saria consultare se avemo da abandonare totalmente questa terra et voltarsi altrove, poiché qua il frutto è nullo e fuora de qua non ci manca campo largo e abondante per coltivare. Et di questo ho scritto quest'anno al P. Provincial[d9] accioché lo determini com li suoi consultori, dandogli una larga informatione de quello che passiamo accioché possa com maggior lume determinarsi in questo negocio. Io scriverei il medesmo a V.Rev.P. se pensasse de fazer frutto ma, perché queste case non sono collegii formati ma solamente residentie, pare che non è necessario intervenire V.Rev.P. com la sua consulta in questo negocio, et che basterà il P. Provinciale considerarlo in Domino et risolversi in quello che giudicherà migliore per gloria de sua divina Maestà.

5. Et ancoraché V.Rev.P. habbia dato poder alli nostri Padri de

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[4] Presumably to Fr. Provincial. Lost Letters, 60*a*, 73*a*, 80*b*, 89*a*.

[5] Lost Letter, 91*a*.

[6] Lost Letter, 91*c*. This sounds very strange since the enterprise of Governor Dasmariñas was actually undertaken in 1593. Consult D 93,15.

[7] Philip was born in 1527.

[8] He had in mind the Zambales revolt in Luzon Island, 1591-1592; see COSTA 127-128.

[9] Cf. note 4.

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Maniglia de fondar collegio e aprir schole in quella cidade[10], tuttavia il ben de quel collegio non risulta cousa alcuna a questa terra, perché Maniglia sta molto lontana. Et li spagnoli che viveno in quelle isole non bastano per sostentare a si et agiutare agl'altri, se il socorso delli soldati non viene loro della Nuova Spagna. Et perché questo socorso può per molte cause mancare, quasi che podemo dire de tener persa tutta la speranza de[e] ser socorriti. Confermo questo ch'io dico com un esempio che acontecette[11] quest'anno. Haveva[f] il Governatore determinato de venire quest'anno de 93 com una buona armata, quando del Giapone gli gionge una ambasciata che gli minaccia guerra se non gli pagava certo tributo[12]. Oltre de ciò aspettava il Governatore un buon numero di gente dalla Nuova Spagna e non vene. Donque non è cousa certa lo che dicono, specialmente in terre tanto lontane, et noi, che già tenemo l'esperientia de tanti anni, avemo de provedere al nostro bisogno per altra via, se non vogliamo morire scioccamente nelle nostre speranze.

6. Questa terra se fosse agiutata daria grande conversione de gente, porque, ancoraché quasi la maggior parte di questi isolani siano mori et seguano la falsa legge de Macometo, tuttavia è gente domabile et che facilmente volteria foglia, come vedemo tutto questo per esperientia cottidiana. Et se questa terra se aquietasse, allora il collegio de Maniglia teneria il suo fundamento. Et senza questo sarà sempre povero et miseravel, overo non fiorirà tanto come fioreria, perché quest'arcipelago de Maluco tiene già certa la christianità, et de più gli daria una buona cidade per crescerle splendore, et ancora darle alcuno soggetto per la Compagnia. Et quanto alli habitatori di tutte queste isole, migliore capacità tengono questi nostri, specialmente de tre isole: del Moro, de Ternate et del Selebe, che quelli della Maniglia et delle isole dove li nostri hanno da cultivare christianità. Ma tutto è niente senza armata. Piaccia al Signore de agiutarci per maggior gloria sua et per bem de tante anime che si perdeno solamente per questo.

7. Noi qua vivemo come ho scritto ancora altre volte [16*r*] molto diferentemente dalli altri: non mangiamo pan de frumento, né bevemo

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[10] After lengthy pourparlers and negotiations, the Jesuit college of Manila did not open until some time in September 1595 (COSTA 133-135).

[11] Portuguese *aconteceu*, Italian *accadde*.

[12] The Japanese ambassadors arrived in Manila on May 29, 1592. See PASTELLS, *Historia* III pp. CCXXX-CCXXXI; CCXXXVII-CCXXXIX; *Catálogo* III no. 3977.

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vino de vite, né ha carne de vacca. Il nostro mangiare ordinario è pesce, alguna galina et porco de quando in quando; il vino è un liquore che se tira d'un'arbore chiamato saguero[13]. Bebesi come egli esce dall'arbore et allora è dolce, come aqua; et ancora bebesi cosido com un lambico, et allora è forte et imbriaca depressa, et por questa causa non se pode bever molto, perché overo imbriacheria, overo a lungo camino coseria il figato al bevitore. Per pane mangiamo una midolla de un'arbore chiamato sagu. Esta midolla è somelhante alla farina, così bianca et tenera: cosessi in certi testi afogati[14] et è molto buona, mas non se ha de comparar com la farina, né il vino del saguero com lo della vite.

8. Li frutti de questa terra sono totalmente diferenti dalli nostri, né sono tanto soavi. Tenemo viti et uva, ma non tanto buona et dolce; ma in questa parte avantaggia all'Italia, che queste viti dano et maturano l'uva tre et quattro volte l'anno. Et ancora ha questo più de mirabile, che quasi tutti li arbori fruttiferi[g] tengono juntamente com li frutti maturi, ancora altri più piccioli acerbi per maturare de lá a due overo tre mesi. Solamente tiene questa terra un frutto che chiamano dorione[15], il quale passa de soavità tutti li nostri frutti perché è totalmente somilhante al capo di latte che mangiano in Italia in molte cidadi. Nelli horti[h] se dano latuche et ravani, ma non dano semente, è necessario averla sempre de Portugalo. Qua non aparece il[i] petrasemolo, ma in suo luogo usano li coqui del coriandolo fresco et della maggiorana per condire le minestre. Boragina, radichio, né altre herbicine di questa sorte non tenemo, ma credo che tutto se darà se lo seminassero, perché la terra è fresca, piove molto spesso et è tanto vezzosa che è necessario star sempre com lo sarchio nella[j] mano per cavar la mala herba.

9. Et se per aventura se aquieta questa terra, avemo de fazer un collegio delli migliori che V.Rev.P. tenga debaixo del suo governo, et com molto pouca spesa perché qua non è necessario comprar li legni né la calcina, solamente habbia muratori prattichi che tutto in poco tempo se pode finire com l'obra et trabalho delli schiavi.

10. Volsi dire questo poco a V.Rev.P. per temperare l'amari-

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[13] See D 73 note 81.

[14] This is the well-known sago clay oven of Maluku, described in *Treatise* 134–135; TAUERN 105 (Tonöfen), and by many authors; pictured, e.g., in WALLACE 291; CAMPEN, *Eenige mededeelingen over de Alfoeren*, plaat II no. 11*a*.

[15] The famous *durian* (*Treatise* 46–47; WALLACE 56–58).

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tudine che gli dariano le cose sopraditte. Et spero nel Signore[k] de darle una grande consolatione com le altre mie, suposto sempre que ci venga da alguna parte socorso. Perché ancoraché al presente teniamo alcuna cosa de buono in questa terra, non tengo gusto de contarla perché, come noi non tenemo il pie fisso, parmi che tutto quello che tenemo è niente. V.Rev.P. ci agiuti com le sue orationi et, se le pare de scrivere al P. Provinciale che se determini com noi, ci farà una segnalata mercede. Perché realmente, falando com V.Rev.P. come figlio, questa nostra vita è un esilio senza consolatione, senza frutto et com poco honore della Compagnia. Non scrivo al P. Manoel Rodriguez, assistente, per non moltiplicar in carta; questa me farà V.Rev.P. gracia particulare de gli comunicare, et salutare il P. Maggio[16], il P. Alarcone[17] et il P. Secretario[18]. Se inclinamo tutti alla santa benedittione de V.Rev.P.

Della isola de Tidor, al primo giorno di Quaresma 1593[19].

Servo indegno de V.Rev.P.,

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 16*v*] Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro, il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito general della Compagnia de Jesù, Roma.

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[a] *interl.* || [b] *del.* ma || [c] *del.* de Italia || [d] *del.* per || [e] *del.* sor || [f] *corr. fr.* havia || [g] *del.* overo || [h] *del.* non || [i] *interl.* || [j] *corr. fr.* in || [k] *del.* se saremo agiutati

Lost Letters

92*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Tidore, to Fr. Provincial, India; February-March 1593.*

D 92,4: « Ho scritto quest'anno »; proposes to suppress the entire Maluku mission.

92*b*. — *Fr. Francisco Cabral, Provincial, Goa, to the Maluku Fathers; April (or September) 1593.*

D 99: « Como o Padre Provincial lhes tem escrito ». In the Annual Letter of December 25, 1593, Cabral reports that he has sent some instructions of Fr. General to « Malaca e Maluco e às mais partes do Sul » (ARSI, *Goa 14* f. 146*r* and f. 180*r*).

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[16] He was Italian Assistant to Fr. General, 1581-1587, and again 1589-1593.

[17] Fr. Garcías Alarcón was Spanish Assistant to Fr. General, 1581-1594.

[18] The General's secretary at that time was Fr. Diego Ximénez, 1583-1594.

[19] In 1593, the first day of Lent, Ash Wednesday, was on March 3.

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93

FR. LORENZO MASONIO SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 15, 1593
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 1.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 113–117; JACOBS, *Vicars* 282; MEERSMAN, *The Franciscans* 40–41 (dependent on Wessels).

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 21*r*-23*v*, formerly 146, earlier 113 (*del.*)-114, and no. X. Autograph original in Italian, with a great number of portugalisms, in a very small but regular handwriting which, however, makes sometimes high demands upon the reader. Folio 23*r* is blank, its *verso* contains the address. One or more later hands, probably of Roman secretaries, placed the numerals 1 to 3 in the margin of the first two pages, and twice a very short abstract of a passage, one in Spanish, the other in Italian, and they made a few underlinings. On f. 21*r*, in the left lower corner, an archivist noted « Moluccae. Magg. 93 ». A somewhat longer summary in Spanish of the three numbers aforementioned is to be found on f. 23*v*; it is headed « 93. P^e Lorenzo Masonio de Amboino. 15 de Mayo ».

Text

1. *Writes to Fr. General because Fr. Marta is absent.* — 2. *Two Jesuits in Ambon serving two churches for 2,500 Christians. Presence of a Franciscan friar.* — 3. *Pastoral work among the Catholics.* — 4. *Christian doctrine for the children; progress made.* — 5. *Franciscans came from Malacca to take the place of the Jesuits in Ambon. People's protest, retreat of the friars.* — 6. *War situation. Treason of pati of Halong detected and foiled. Eight months blockade of Portuguese navigation.* — 7. *This happened with support of the Christians. Sly plot of the kings of Ternate and Tidore to throw out the Portuguese.* — 8. *The fortress of Ambon is going to be more and more fortified. Also the Fathers have to mount guard at their turn; their house put in state of defense.* — 9. *Earthquakes.* — 10. *The enemy was defeated at Tuhaha [Saparua] and at Hutumuri.* — 11. *In the past year the Portuguese lost four of their own men and sixty natives.* — 12. *The enemy lost eighty men at various occasions.* — 13. *Martyrdom of a Portuguese at Veranula.* — 14. *Wooden statue in relief of Our Lady resisted any endeavour of the enemy to destroy it.* — 15. *Hope and expectations.*

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Due o tre volte mi ricordo haver scritto a V.P. dopo che sto

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nel India[1], et più volte l'haverebbe fatto si non temesse de dar travaglio a V.P. con le mie scusate lettere. Ma ricordandomi della grandissima charità de V.P. et della consolatione che tiene con la nova dei suoi figlioli, particolarmente di questi che stanno in queste remotissime parti di Malucco, et anco acciò V.P. sappia quello che passò qui quest'anno, poiché il P. Martha, che qui non si ritrova adesso[2], non lo puotè fare.

2. Qui stiamo adesso dui Padri, io et il P. Gabriel della Croce, castigliano, il quale fu mandato de Tidore[3] qui in[a] luogo del P. Giovanni Rebelo, portuguese, che è chiamato a Tidore. Tenemo adesso solamente due chiese, ambedue in questa fortezza, l'una chiamata S. Thomaso, l'altra S. Giacomo[4]. Nel'una e l'altra haverà da due mila e cinquecento alme, tutti christiani. Di quella de S. Thomaso (la quale quest'anno passato stette nel governo et cura de un Padre de S. Francesco dei Descalsi[5], con speranza di pigliar l'altra tambien[6] quest'anno) da qui[b] avanti tenerà pensiero il P. Gabriel della Croce. Del'altra, con il carico della casa, io tengo pensiero conforme al ordine del P. Antonio Martha[7].

3. Quest'anno si procurò de far capaci di confessione molti christiani che non si confessavano. Molti vecchi così huomini come donne inparamo le orationi ordinarie, con l'altre cose necessarie a ciascun christiano. Del medemo modo si insegnorno a[c] molti schiavi le cose della santa Chiesa. Se tirarorno de peccado da vinti concubinarii, et molti di loro, anzi la maggior parte, si maritorno insieme. Se fecero alcune confessioni generali dai proprii della terra, il che non è pouco in questa gente che con difficultà accusa suoi peccati. Alcuni pochi comunicorno, altri si fanno capaci al medemo a pouco a pouco. Questa gente è sogetta et obediente ai Padri, ma molto più sarebbe se tenessimo alcuna authorità nel temporale como tengono nella Maniglia,

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[1] Perhaps from Goa. In D 91,9 he declared that he did not write to Fr. General. Therefore, no lost letter for this volume.

[2] Fr. Marta had gone to Siau and Manila (D 95,2). Apparently, Fr. Masonio had been appointed vice-superior during the absence of Fr. Marta.

[3] See D 94,51.

[4] Consult DD 30,3; 80,8.

[5] The inference is that the Franciscans had already given up this church. See no. 5.

[6] Spanish *también*, Portuguese *tambem*, Italian *anche*, *ugualmente*.

[7] This confirms our supposition that Fr. Masonio was a temporary superior (note 2).

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dove pagato il tributo al Re, non recognoscono altro superiore che i Padri, dai quali sono governati e difesi dei secolari.

4. Li figlioli della dottrina fecero questo anno progresso nel intelligentia delle cose della santa fede, così nella dottrina ordinaria de[d] ogni giorno como nell'altra più solenne dei giorni di festa, con sue dispute nella lingua malaia et esortationi sopra gl'articoli della fede e precetti del decalogo, e contandolhe la vita del santo di quel giorno. Con major fervore se faria, si havessimo alcuni premii de imagini o altra cosa per darli. Li venerdì della[e] Coresma tutti giunti fanno la disciplina, et nel venerdì santo molti la fanno con rosette quando accompagnano la processione. Quasi tutti i figlioli della dottrina imparano de servir la messa et di agiutar' agl'altri ministerii ecclesiastici. Servono nella chiesa et casa de tutto il necessario, ciascuno la sua settimana, con molto gosto et alagrezza. L'anno passato carretarno tanta pietra, que bastò per far più di quaranta braccia[8] de muro all'intorno del horto de quattro palmi largo et più de diece alto, et questo tutto se fa gratis et con molto gusto et contento.

5. Quest'anno vennero qui de Malaca i Padri Capuccini[9] per[f] correr con questa christianità de [21*v*] Amboyno, perché l'anno passato il P. Martha l'haveva ciò promesso con intentione que fossemo noi in Tidore[10], poiché non tenevamo gente bastante a quella et a questa christianità. Ma loro vedendo la sterilità della terra sempre mostrorno pochissima voluntà. Del che il popolo intendendo la causa frivola che allegavano, cominciò alcun tanto a mormorare; del che loro mortificati dissero che accettavano la cura et carico delle anime. Ma dopo apparecchiandoci noi a la partita per Tidore conforme all'obedientia del P. Antonio Martha, il popolo con lo clero con consiglio del signor capitano[11] se determinorno de non lasciarci partir volendo que restassemo anco noi. Et così tutti giunti et uniti in un corpo venero alla nostra chiesa piangendo et lamentandosi de noi, como li volevamo lasciar in

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[8] Presumably the Italian *braccio* which was 0.58 m.; in the sense of the Portuguese *braça*, which was 2.20 m., the wall would have been of 88 m. which seems exaggerated.

[9] Discalced Franciscan friars.

[10] Supposedly Fr. Marta had received the authorization for this transfer. That he needed the permission from Fr. General and even from King Philip (WESSELS, *Amboina* 114-115) may seem overdone.

[11] Still António Pereira Pinto (D 80 note 2). In an *alvará* of Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque of April 14, 1595, he is still called captain of Ambon, a proof that he was not yet substituted by a successor (PISSURLENCAR, *Regimentos* 264).

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tempo de tanta necessità. Et cominciorno a far proteste che, se noi partivamo, per ventura questa fortezza se perderia. Perché la gente della terra facilmente con questa occasione passaria dalla parte del nemico, et i portuguesi anco fugirrebono per Malaca et Malucco, non gli restando persona che gli favorisca con il capitano et che gle dia animo nei suoi travagli di guerra. Et dopo furno a pigliar le vele dalla nave et il temone acciò non partisse. Il che vedendo i detti Padri Capuccini, como tenevano pouca voluntà et haverebbono comprado alcuna occasione, servindose de questa tornarno a largar la christianità et parola di ciò data. Et per molto che dopo fossero pregati da nostra parte, mai più volsero accettar. Il che non fu pouca gloria et honore della Compagnia, così per rispetto dei travagli che qui i nostri sopportano et patiscono donde tutti gl'altri religiosi fuggono, como anco per l'amor che queste gente ci tiene.

6. Questa terra adesso sta con guerra, nella quale si unirono quasi tutti gli inimici della santa fé di questo arcipelago contra di noi per estinguere il nome christiano et portuguese in queste parti. Et l'origine di quella fu un homo principale fra gl'amboyni di questa fortezza [12], il qual con promessa che teneva dai bandanesi di facerlo signor della mità di questa isola [13], armò tradimento contra la fortezza promettendo ai nemici de uccidere il capitano di quella con tutti i portuguesi. Il qual essendo molto familiar et amico del capitano [14] et tenendo già dalla sua parte grande parte dei vassalli di questa fortezza, non gli sarebbe stato difficile esequir l'effetto. Ma N. Signore, stando già l'armata del nemico de camino per qui et quasi nella vigilia della festa che speravano far di noi, discuprí il tradimento per mezzo di una donna. Et subbito con destrezza furno presi tre huomini principali de tre aldee di questa medesma isola, i quali posti ai tratti et tormenti confessorno la verit[à], dicendo che il Pate d'Alo [15] era origine et capo del tradi-

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[12] The *pati* of Halong, as is said further on. The *Rel. Vasc.* speaks of « a treição do Pate de Alo, que estava das portas ademtro » (436), and it mentions Sancho de Vasconcelos' suspicion against this chief « por não ter delle boa prezumpção » (438), but the story of his treason is nowhere reported in it. At the naval battle of 1591 (of DD 80 and 81) he was still on the side of the Portuguese (ib. 450).

[13] Of the whole of Leitimur? But it was by no means under the control of the Bandanese.

[14] Therefore « das portas ademtro » (note 12).

[15] *Pati*, better *patih*, is originally the Javanese title of a prime minister, State minister, or vizier of the ruling king. In Ambon it was used for the chiefs of some villages, so (at least with the Portuguese writers) of Soya, Hutumuri,

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mento, il qual anco (provato il delitto) fu preso et inforcato. Gl'altri stanno ancor presi et li mandaranno in Goa, ou per ventura restaranno presi per timor de alguni allevantamenti et rebellioni della loro gente, finché l'armata del nemico si parta. La qual sonno già otto mesi che sta nel mare impedindoci il trafico del mare et navigatione, non potendo noi ir in busca de mantimenti et vittoaglie nell'isole convicine come solevamo.

7. Et quel che è peggior, resta qui invernando con consiglio (como se dice) dei nostri proprii christiani, i quali vedendo la poca forza dei portoguesi stanno de consiglio passar dalla parte del adversario acciò assediandoci con fame ce li rendiamo con la fortezza. Dicesi che questa è congiura del re di Ternate et del Tidore, i quali temendo l'armata de Maniglia, uniti procurano buttarci di questa fortezza. Perché de Tidore, onde stanno altri portuguesi con beneplacito del re mouro, ci buttaranno quando li viene voluntà, stando colà i portuguesi nelle sue mani senza difentione. Mas non permeterà Dio N.S. che questo suo gregge resti nelle mani dei lupi [16], perché spero che questa vigna, piantata dalla santa memoria del P. Francesco Xaviero et rigata con tanti sudori et lagrime sue e degl'altri Padri, darà al suo tempo copiosissimo et abundantissimo frutto.

8. Questa fortezza ogni giorno se va fortificando. Vegliase con guarde et sintinelle continuamente così dentro la forteza como anco l'habitato fuora all'intorno le mura de petra solta. Nella nostra casa tenemo la nostra parte de travagli de' veglie, vegliando ciascun il suo quarto. Como le case qui sono de tavole, fu necessario all'intorno fortificar la casa de bastioni de arena et petra per riparo delle bombardate. Tenemo anco alcune pezze de artegliaria, scoppetti, lanze et altre cose de guerra in casa per defender l'intrata delle mura. Vegliano qui alcuni soldati portuguesi et gente della terra in quattro parti: alcuni nella chiesa [17] onde sta una garita [18] [22*r*] per timor del fuoco, altri in uno baluarte nel orto donde se teme intrata, altri dal'una et l'altra parte della casa così del mare como della terra. Adesso che qui sta la nave de Ma-

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Halong, and Puta (*Bunga Rampai* 71), and also of Hitu, and of Ulat in Saparua (DM I 597,600). To be noted that *Alo* is Halong, whereas for the village of Alang the Portuguese preferred to write *Alão*, and for the people *Alões* (*Rel. Vasc.* 433).

[16] Cf. Jn 10 12.

[17] The church of Santiago or St. James near which the Jesuit house was situated (no. 2).

[18] A sentry box.

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luco[19] stamo alcun tanto reposati, ma con la sua partita restaremo con li medesmi travagli et piaccia al Signor che non siano peggiori. Fiat voluntas Dei[20].

9. Qui quest'anno si udirno grandissimi terremoti et tremori della terra et molto spesso, cosa molto estraordinaria in quest'isola[21]. Si udirono nel aere truoni a similitudine de bombardate de maniera che parevono falconate, bersate et tiri de sfera[22], il che ci causò non pouco timor perché, sendo de notte, pensavamo che fosse alcuna grande armata de inimici che venisse a[h] accometter o la fortezza o alcuno nostro forte. I moratori[22a] della terra, como sono dati molto a auguri, stanno con grande timor dicendo che per ventura il Ternate ci distrugerà perché gli tiri erano da quella parte, ma noi speramo che lui sarà distrutto e rovinato.

10. L'armata del nemico volendo un giorno cometter un nostro forte nel isola de Liaser, chamato Tuà[23], ritrovò molta resistenza in un soldato portuguese che là stava, il qual per molto spatio di tempo impedì l'intrata uccedendo molti di loro, ma non potendo più difendere il forte cominciò a difendere il baluarte dove lui stava, et finalmente con una scopettata morse. Fra tanto alcuni trenta huomini del forte che stavano alquanto lontano corsero alle scoppettate, et ritrovando il soldato morto con grandissimo impeto diedero sopra gl'inemici. I quali posti in fuga[i], buttorno tutte l'arme offensive et defensive et con molta pressa se imbarcorno con morte de 21 di loro et il cacisso[24] loro principal preso, con la qual vittoria i nostri christiani ritornorno carichi de spoglie et d'arme con molta alegrezza et contento. Un'altra volta volendo i medemi nemici dar in un'altro nostro popolo, chamato Utimuri[25], in questa isola de Amboyno, furno ributtati con molta vergogna et morte de doi di loro con alcuni feriti.

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[19] That is, the *nau da carreira*, the royal clove ship, coming from Tidore and bound for Malacca.

[20] Mt 6 10.

[21] Not classified by VERBEEK in his chronological enumeration of earthquakes in Ambon (*Description géologique* 281). ENI states that earthquakes are rather frequent in Ambon Island (I 2). See DM I 448.

[22] Shots of three types of ancient guns.

[22a] Portugues *moradores*, Italian *abitanti*.

[23] Tuhaha in Saparua Island. It is now on the N coast, but at that time it was on a hill more inland toward the south, near Sirisori and Ulat.

[24] See D 11 note 7.

[25] Hutumuri, on the SE coast of Leitimur.

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11. In tutto quest'anno gli nemici fra cattivi et morti dei nostri in più volte ci pigliorno da 60 huomini della terra et quattro portoguesi; dei quali cinque o sei erano amboyni molto honorati, gl'altri gente comune et[j] 20 erano mardichi[26], gente mais limpa et honorata degl'altri dopo i portuguesi. Ci posero a fuoco una nostra aldea, dove amazzorno quattro huomini de guerra con alcune donne veglie. Tagliorno molti alberi de frutto et de mantimenti de altre due aldee o casali. In un'altro forte uccisero otto huomini honorati de guerra.

12. I nostri christiani uccisero et cattivarno della loro gente da 80 huomini, cioè la gente del popolo chamato Alo in una volta pigliò una champana con mantimenti dove stavano 27 huomini, i quali tutti restorno schiavi. I rossatelli[27] in un'altro garo o celata[k][28] di mar uccisero sedeci huomini et quattro vivi. Li mardichi in uno garo di mar pigliorno cinque; gl'ativi[l][29] e otimuri[30] altri dieci, con i quali contando li 21 de Tuà sonno 80. Molti altri non mi ricordo. I nostri anco de Vaccassio et Rossatello tagliorno il bosco degli lariqui[31], tutto de alberi di frutto et grande parte de garofoli. I liliboi tagliorno il bosco de Ato[32] et disfecero il forte. Gli utimuri pigliarno una caracora, la gente fugì. Li liaceri[33] pigliarno una champana de bandanesi con alguna gente. Gl'ativi et ali disfecero outra caracora de nemici dove uccisero dui huomini che la vegliavano.

13. Fra i portuguesi che morsero, un di loro fu occiso nella praia de Veranula[34]. Il qual fugindo da una nostra champana che veniva carica de sagu dal Liacer, che[m] se incontrò con una caracora de nemici

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[26] These *mardika* or *merdeka* (« freemen »; in Dutch *Mardijkers*) were Christians who had come with the Portuguese from N Maluku after, but also before, the fall of Ternate. See VALENTYN II a 123; the description given in ENI VII 1203 might be less correct. They lived in their own quarter between the fortress and the river called Wai Batu Merah. (This quarter is still today named Mardika). They are mentioned as early as 1572 in the *Rel. Vasc.* 243-244. Cf. JACOBS, *Wanneer werd de stad Ambon gesticht?* 447-448; WESSELS, *Amboina* 116 note 3; BOXER, *Some Portuguese Sources* 227 note 21.

[27] People of Nusatelo, at the W side of Hitu.

[28] For *garu*, see D 73 note 67. The Italian term for the Portuguese *celada* (ambush) is *imboscata*.

[29] People of Hatiwi.

[30] People of Hutumuri.

[31] Of Larike, at the W coast of Hitu, one km. north of Wakasihu.

[32] Liliboi and Hatu, on the S coast of Hitu at the entrance of the bay.

[33] Here, people of Saparua.

[34] W Seram, most likely the peninsula Hoamoal.

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molto ben armada, perché credendo[n] che la champana facilmente sarrebe presa dala caracora, non volle aspettar defesa, ma lasciando sua moglie et figli nella champana con due altri portuguesi, lui se imbarcò in una talla[35] per fugir. Ma il Signor que teneva determinato altra cosa di lui, dando soccorro de animo et forze ai due portuguesi che restavano, se difesero molto bene dalla caracora, la quale lascia[n]do la champana voltò la proa alla talla del portuguese che fuggiva, e subbito la hebbe nelle mani. Et levandolo a Veranula, outra isola grande defronte de Amboino, nel litto prima d'entrare nella città lo[o] spogliorno minaccia[n]dole que arrenegasse la santa fé et che si facesse mouro, se no lo ucciderebbono. Ma lui perseverando nella confessione della santa fé con molta constanza, diede la testa al tiranno et l'animo al suo Creatore, nominando sempre il nome de Giesù senza dar segno di tristezza o di dolore, como referì un mardica que stava nella medema talla e depoi fugì dalle mani de inimici[36].

14. L'anno passato quando gli nemici pigliorno huna galiotta delle due que venero con il novo capitano, pigliarno [22*v*] anco una imagine de relevo della Madonna che stava nella poppa della galera[37]. La qual[p] gli nemici vollero con martelli, ferri, pietre fracassarla e desfacerla[38], ma per molto che travagliassero non permese il Signor che se adempisse la loro perversa voluntà. Anzi con tante descortesie et martellate restò l'imagine illesa senza detrimento alcuno, nemeno parevano i segni dei colpi. Del che loro pasmati fecero con una danata ostinatione un grande fuoco acciò ivi si tornasse in cenere, ma né il fuoco li fece danno alcuno. Et così uno dei loro capitani disse: « Lasciatela, lasciatela, perché per ventura sarà alcuno idolo dei christiani ! » et così la lasciorno. Questo testificorno dui huomini de vista che stavano presente al spettacolo de casta muori maomettani, i quali con alcuni altri quest'anno venero qui a dimandar pace con un popolo inimico. Et esaminati iuridice deposero ciascun separatamente tutto il fatto, dicendo che il loro cacisso haveva dato giuramento sopra il mosaffi[39] a tutti del armata che non distribuissero questo a christiani.

15. Tutti questi sono segni probabili che Dio N.S. non vuole de-

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[35] *Tala*, a very small rowing boat keeping only three men (*Rel. Vasc.* 256). According to ENI it is a Maluku Alfuro term (V 124).

[36] The name of this martyr was Pero Moreira (D 104, 5).

[37] For this event, see DD 94,29; 103,2-4.

[38] Portuguese *desfazer*, Italian *disfare*.

[39] The Arabic *mushaf* or *mashaf*, a holy book of Islam, especially the Koran (DALGADO II 58).

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semparar questa christianità, anzi la vuole moltiplicare como speramo con l'armada che quest'anno aspettamo da Maniglia per tutto il mese de Novembre[q] o Dicembre[r], como scrive il Governator de Maniglia con molto secreto al P. Martha[40] et non con minor certezza. Il che soccedendo bene como speramo, teneremo qui campo amplissimo in tutto questo arcipelago per si poter dilatar il nome christiano e sfogare loro fervore i carissimi Padri et Fratelli de Roma et Napoli, i quali con tante orationi dimandano dal Signor la missione dell'Indie. Con questo fo fine. Raccomandomi molto ai santi sacrificii et orationi di V.P.

De Amboyno, 15 de Maggio 1593.

Di V.P. servo et figlio indignissimo,

Lorenzo Masonio.

[*Address* 23*v*] Al Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro, il P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito general da Compagnia di Giesù, Roma. 1. via.

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[a] *corr. fr.* per ‖ [b] *del.* po ‖ [c] *interl.* ‖ [d] *del.* cad ‖ [e] delle *ms.* ‖ [f] *del.* pigliar posse ‖ [g] *del.* veglhie ‖ [h] *interl.* ‖ [i] *del.* butta ‖ [j] *del.* 21 ‖ [k] o celata *interl.* ‖ [l] *d. r.* ‖ [m] *interl.* ‖ [n] *del.* salvarsi [?] ‖ [o] *interl.* ‖ [p] *del.* poi ‖ [q] 9ñbre *ms.* ‖ [r] Xñbre *ms.*

94

THE FATHERS OF MALUKU TO FR. PROVINCIAL, GOA CONSULTATION ON LEAVING OR STAYING

MALUKU, MARCH 5 - JUNE 1, 1593
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Koenraads no. 1; Cruz no. 1; 189 Pereira no. 1; 190 Fernandez no. 1; 191 Rebello no. 1, Masonio no. 2; Cf. STREIT IV no. 1073.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 105-113; ID., *Batjan* 142-143; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 392 note 1.

III TEXT: Three texts of this document are available, no one of them, however, an original.

A. *ARSI, Goa 12 I* ff. 11*r*-15*v*, formerly no. III. Copy in Portuguese, last

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[40] See D 92 note 6.

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part in Spanish, first *via*. Written in a beautiful and fluent hand, easy to read, nearly without any corrections. The ff. 14*v* and 15*r* are blank. On f. 15*v* « 1. via » and a secretary's note, presumably Roman, in Latin « † Consultatio Malucen. An sit sedes illa relinquenda ». The text is considerably shorter than text B, especially for omitting a big part of the letter of Fr. João Rebelo. The *vias* here and in text B refer to the sailing to Lisbon from Goa.

B. *ARSI, Goa* 14 ff. 24*r*-29*v*, formerly no. 147 and XI. Contemporary copy in Portuguese and Spanish (nos. 49-55), in the same elegant handwriting as text A. A secretary's note at the bottom of f. 24*r* runs « 93 Molucco ». The last page contains only a few lines and the signature of the last letter, for the greater part it is blank but for three distinct notes: « 2ª via » in the hand of the copyist, and « Delle cose di Malucco, se si deve lasciare l'impresa », and « 1593 », both added by Roman secretaries.

C. *ARSI, Goa 13 I* ff. 137*r*-138*v*, formerly no. LI. Latin translation of Marta's introducing twelve points only, numbered 1-12, sometimes shortened, but in no. 12 enlarged with elements borrowed from some answers. Heading « An sit expediens ut nostri qui in insulis Malucis versantur alio se transferant ». Folio 138*r* is blank but for one line containing the last words of no. 12, ending with « etc. », and lacking any conclusion, dating, or signature; its *verso* bears the note « An discedendum sit ab insulis Malucis » in the same handwriting. This Latin extract was most probably made in Rome. For a critical edition of this document it is of no importance.

IV NATURE of this document. This is a « Consulta », a consultation or deliberation among the Jesuits of Maluku about the alternative whether they should leave and abandon completely the Maluku area, or stay and continue their work there. It consists of a preliminary list of twelve questions or presuppositions proposed by Fr. Marta, and of the answers or recommendations in the form of letters, each dated and signed by one of the other six Jesuit Fathers. The questions and the answers form together one document, one consultation under one title, and were sent as such to the addressee.

V ADDRESSEE: The writers directed their letters to « V.R. », so not to Fr. General but to the Provincial in Goa. The latter, however, had them copied, and forwarded the copy to Fr. General in Rome (D 105). In late 1592 Fr. Francisco Cabral had succeeded Fr. Pero Martins as Provincial, so that, if the authors intended to write to the latter, it was the former who received this consultation. See note 7.

VI PLACE: As a matter of fact the original letters (which have to be considered lost) were written in Maluku. That texts A and B were written in Goa appears from the handwriting which is identical with the one of some letters sent from Goa at the same time, e.g., *Goa 14* ff. 40-43 (Fr. Monclaro, Goa, October 26, 1593), and ff. 119-120 (Fr. Laerzio, Goa, November 28, 1593).

A special question arises from the third letter, of Fr. António Pereira, which is dated to be sure, but lacks the name of a place. This place has to be Tidore. Fr. Marta launched his idea of a consultation in March 1593 (D 92,4). The Jesuits living in Tidore had to write at once in order to send their answers in good time

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to Ambon. The Fathers of Ambon could delay writing until the ship sailed. As Pereira wrote his letter on March 11, he belongs to the Tidore group.

Since Frs. Marta and Pereira left Tidore for Siau shortly after, it was Fr. Masonio who, as a vicesuperior, collected the answers and sent them to Goa. In his own answer he shows that he had read those coming from Tidore (no. 47). Fr. Marta could not take note of what the Fathers of the Ambon group gave as their opinion.

VII Further Adventures of the Consultation. It was sent along with the ship sailing from Ambon in June 1593, and reached Goa in March 1594. In November of that year, Fr. Cabral sent it to Rome (D 105). One year later, Fr. General had recived it (D 110A,4). An historian of the Jesuit order stated « Manere Claudius Aquaviva jussit et creditam sibi a Domino provinciam quibuscumque possent rebus tueri » (Juvencius, *Historia Societatis Iesu* V 2 681). The system of temporary missions was not introduced.

VIII Our Edition: We print text B, this being the most complete one. And though each of the six letters bears its own date, we publish the collection of them as a unity, as one coherent document.

Text

[Fr. Marta's presuppositions]

1. *Basic presuppositions needed for a consultation. The first: Maluku cannot be converted if it is not subdued by arms.* — 2. *For the Portuguese residents the vicars are sufficient.* — 3. *The native Christians are few and not firmly rooted: five hundred at Labuha and sixteen hundred at Ambon.* — 4. *They are daily more and more attracted by Islam.* — 5. *All the Muslims are conspiring to conquer the fortress of Ambon.* — 6. *The captains are only self-interested, and the viceroys are careless in succouring Maluku.* — 7. *No help can be expected from Manila.* — 8. *If the Jesuits were to continue, at least five selected Fathers were needed.* — 9. *If no fleet arrives, Labuha will soon be lost.* — 10. *The same for the Christians of Ambon.* — 11. *If the Fathers leave, all the Christians will soon lose the faith, and this will be disastrous for the fortresses.* — 12. *The Fathers shall give their opinion whether it is preferable to send no more than two Jesuits to Maluku, each for three years only, until the day of the total loss.*

[Answer of Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado]

13. *Confirms item 9 by experience.* — 14. *The sengaji of Labuha will persevere in the faith, but after his death Christianity will be lost.* — 15. *Therefore it is useless keeping Fathers there unless by way of* [temporary] *missions, i.e., to send three men every year, two for Tidore and one for Labuha.*

[Answer of Fr. Luís Fernandes]

16. *Consents fully to the points of Fr. Marta. As long as Maluku is not subdued by arms, keeping Jesuits there is inane.* — 17. *Subscribes the idea of sending Fathers on temporary missions.* — 18. *Advantage of this system for Fr. Superior; language difficulties are easily resolved.*

[Answer of Fr. António Pereira]

19. *The situation being as it is, there will be no conversions of souls and not even*

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the hope of it. Many Christians apostatize because of disappointment. — 20. The Jesuits were called off from Ormuz and Diu for lack of a native Christianity there. The same reason applies to Maluku. — 21. Consents to the proposal of temporary missions and sees the advantages of this system. — 22. If it will be chosen, the present Fathers should not be called off in a body but in shifts; if not, the vicars are sufficient for the Portuguese

[Answer of Fr. João Rebelo]

23. *Though aiming at conciseness, will write profusely. — 24. First on Ambon: Christians in two parishes near the fortress, and in some other villages. — 25. Other Christians in Lease Islands. Buru is on the side of Tidore and Portugal. — 26. Rebellions and wars against the Portuguese. — 27. Signs of God's Providence. Danger from the side of Puta. — 28. It was conquered just a month before an enemy fleet gathered in front of the fortress. — 29. Vision of Santiago at Wakasihu; a statue of Our Lady resisted being destroyed. — 30 The treacherous pati of Halong was unmasked, seized, and hanged. An attack on a village in Lease was easily beaten off. — 31. Weakness of the native naval forces; disunion among the enemies. — 32. They become discouraged; the friends and allies are taking heart. Instances of this. — 33. [The new captain] is not keen on waging war, but he looks after strengthening the fortress. The number of Portuguese residing in it grew. — 34. The Christians are often suffering troubles from the Portuguese soldiers, and yet they need them. — 35. The friendly villages are on our side by force of arms. — 36. That the Christians of the fortress are little open to being taught is more true of the strangers having their relatives among the Muslims than of the others. The people of Hatiwi is especially firm in attending doctrine. — 37. Though the vicars may seem to suffice for the Portuguese, yet the Jesuits achieve a lot of good work the vicars cannot do. Fr. Marta, Commissary of the Holy Office, had to proceed against « the salt that became worthless ». — 38. Naturally the Ambon people are not very firm in religious things, but they are tractable and not given to some vices. Some are able to receive Holy Communion. Praise of the children. — 39. Formerly the Fathers were more compliant to baptize people; later on this was impossible. — 40. Two years ago the Fathers decided to go and reside in some Christian villages. Fr. Masonio went to live at Wakasihu, but he had to return at the death of Fr. Pero Nunes and to succeed him as superior of Ambon. — 41. The Fathers should not abandon this Christianity, even if no armada came. The system of temporary missions does not suit the situation because the Fathers would neither apply themselves fully to the work nor to learning the language. — 42. They would lose more time in making the voyage than in the mission itself. That is not the style of the Society. He does not presume to give an opinion on Tidore.*

[Answer of Fr. Lorenzo Masonio]

43. *First intention in sending Jesuits to India is conversion. Where there is neither conversion nor hope of it, there no Jesuits should reside, as they don't at Mozambique, Diu, Ormuz. — 44. This is the case at Ambon where Christianity is even retrogressing. Daily many run away to the Muslims. — 45. In spite of these drawbacks the Fathers should not desert this fortress of Ambon. — 46. Both Portuguese and native Christians need the support of their presence, and their retreat would endanger the fortress, as appears from the experience made with the Franciscans. — 47. Some drawbacks of the method*

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of temporary missions: people will complain of this unknown and unusual procedure, and the captains of ships will protest against the frequent voyages. Therefore it is better to stay on. — 48. Neither in Tidore should the Fathers leave the Portuguese to their fate.

[Answer of Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz]

49. *Subscribes the views of all the other Fathers. — 50. Has one difficulty: can the Jesuits in good conscience abandon these Christian communities founded by Jesuits, and have them retreat to Islam? They are defending themselves bravely against their enemies. Instances of this. — 51. Reasonably good situation of Christians of Ambon and Labuha. — 52. In Sulawesi [Siau] there is no Father and no church from 1589 on. Yet the Christians are persistent in the faith. — 53. Repeats his doubts. — 54. Labuha, destitute of a Father, will soon become Muslim, which means a serious danger for the fortress of Tidore. — 55. Consents to the opinion of the other Fathers; the Jesuits should not leave.*

Consulta dos Padres de Maluco: Se, não vindo armada da India ou das Felippinas com que se assegure a terra e os mouros sejão lançados fora, convem por maior gloria de Deus deixar totalmente Maluco e converter os Padres pera outra parte.

[*Fr. Marta's basic presuppositions*]

1. Para maior declaração desta materia avemos de sopor muitas cousas, sobre as quaes depoiss cada hum dos Padres responderá o que lhe parecer in Domino[1].

Primeiro, que Maluco não se pode converter nem continuar com as cousas da Igreja, se primeiro não for aprainado com as armas.

2. 2° Que quanto aos portuguezes que residem nestas duas fortalezas de Tidore e Amboino, basta o vigairo com hum ou dous beneficiados pera ter cuidado delles.

3. 3° Que os Padres não tem mais christandade que quinhentas almas na ilha de Alabua, cujo senhor hé christão, mas vassalo de hum rey mouro[2] e mui trabalhado delle e solicitado pera se fazer mouro- ou, por dizer milhor, tornar mouro como elle era primeiro. E os christãos pouco acodem às cousas da Igreja, nem se podem endereitar por,

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[1] That Fr. Marta was the author of these presuppositions appears 1° from the very nature of his office of a superior, and 2° from nos. 51 and 55. He sympathized with the idea of consulting his fellow Jesuits; see no. 40; D 73,93; D 83 note 2.

[2] Of the king of Bacan.

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que, apertando com elles, fogem pelo mato ou se fazem mouros. E afora esta christandade temos perto de[a] mil e seiscentas almas[3] dentro da fortaleza de Amboino, os quaes da mesma maneira não podem ser insinados senão quanto elles querem por estar vezinhos aos mouros e cada dia solicitados a seguir a Mafamede.

4. 4° Que ainda com a paciencia de muitos annos não há esperança de aproveitar esta gente, porque já todos são mouros e cada dia mais se vão entranhando na lei de Mahoma[b].

5. 5° Que cada dia vamos peiorando e os mouros se vão fazendo mais soberbos e tratão entre si de nos botar[c] destas terras. E por isto de dous annos pera cá todos os mouros do arcepelago de Amboino se ajuntarão pera tomar a fortaleza. E estes de Maluco[4] cada dia nos ameação e nos tiranizão tomando-nos nossos escravos quando fogem pera suas terras, e fazendo-nos outros agravos que não conto por brevidade.

6. 6° Que o descuido dos capitães portuguezes que cá vem, e tambem dos viso-rreis que cá mandão os provimentos hé grande. Porque os capitães não buscão outra cousa que levar de Maluco os cem mil cruzados sem buscar maneira com que aproveitar esta christandade. E os viso-rreis mandão os galeões com quatro soldados, nem favorecem com suas cartas e com castigos os que não fazem bem o seu officio[5].

7. 7° Que ainda que os nossos Padres tenhão feito fundamento na cidade de Manilha e tenhão proposito de abrir escolas e adiantar-sse quanto puderem, todavia não há[d] nenhum proveito a esta christandade se esta terra não for aprainada primeiro com as armas. Porque Manilha está mui longe, e entre os castelhanos e portuguezes há brigas e dissenções pelas quaes nunca (estando a terra como agora está) se puderão ajuntar pera buscar todos o mesmo fim. E mais não falta aos Padres da Manilha terra pera se alargar quanto quizerem, pois da Manilha até Maluco há hum conto de almas pera cultivar se forem todas christãs.

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[3] Two thousand and five hundred, according to D 93,2.

[4] Tidore, in opposition to Ambon.

[5] Evidently, Marta would never have given such a sharp criticism on these administrators, had the viceroys and captains of his own years given him full satisfaction. They were: in Goa, Viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses (1584-88), Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (1588-91), Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque (1591-97); in Tidore, the captains D. Duarte Pereira de Sampaio (1586-89), and Rui Dias da Cunha (1589-93?); in Ambon, the captains Sancho de Vasconcelos (1572-91), and António Pereira Pinto (1591-96?).

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8. 8° Que estas duas fortalezas não tem portuguezes pera bem ocupar dous Padres; e com tudo iso, se aqui ouverem de perseverar como agora estão, necessariamente hão-de estar tres em Amboino e dous pelo menos em Maluco. E todos estes hão-de ser escolhidos, porque hé necessario pregar e saber-sse menear com estes capitães, os quaes aqui querem ser mais que reis e quem não for prudente cada dia há-de quebrar com elles.

9. 9° Ainda que os Padres perseverem na Alabua com paciencia, todavia temos por muito provavel que, perdendo-sse a esperança da armada, o senhor da Alabua e mais os christãos hão-de retroceder, por não poder sofrer tanto tempo os medos que lhes fazem os mouros, ou ao menos, se não retrocederem, acodirão tão mal às cousas de Deos que seja [6] como tê-los perdidos.

10. 10° Quanto aos poucos christãos que temos na fortaleza de Amboino, sabemos de certo que estão enfadados e dizem abertamente que, se não vier armada, não podem sofrer mais o trabalho que lhes dão os portuguezes e defender-sse das promessas que lhes fazem os mouros.

11. 11° Pera dizer tudo, nós temos por muito provavel que logo que os Padres sairem desta terra, logo tambem [24*v*] se hão-de perder os christãos assi da Alabua como da fortaleza de Amboino. E perdendo-sse os christãos, as duas fortalezas hão-de padecer muito no temporal, porque os christãos se hão-de botar com os mouros como mais poderosos nesta terra dos portuguezes, por onde porventura fora milhor ir prologando a saida até N. Senhor prover do seu remedio.

12. 12° Consulte-sse e digão todos seu parecer: se, suppostas as cousas sobreditas, fora milhor mandar por missões cada tres annos dous Padres [6] e perseverar com isto até perder-sse totalmente Maluco, pera mostrar ao mundo que não fogimos o trabalho, mas que se fazemos mudanças, não hé senão por maior gloria de Deos N. Senhor.

Com estes suppostos V.R. [7] agora entenderá o parecer de todos os Padres que aqui residem pera que, com o que disserem, seja este negocio milhor entendido e detreminado.

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[6] The idea of *temporary missions* is that regularly a certain number of Jesuits are sent to Maluku for only a certain number of years See nos 12, 15, and 17.

[7] From the context, this « V.R. » appears to point to Fr. Provincial in Goa; in nos. 16, 19, and 21, however, it indicates Fr. Marta who was still staying with the writers in Tidore; the Fathers of the Ambon group wrote straight to the provincial; see no. 54.

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[*Answer of Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado*]

13. Consideradas as onze rezões acima postas, e particularmente a nona que toca o senhor e christandade desta Labua (aonde ao presente por obediencia resido), e especialmente quanto diz que se não retrocederem estes christãos, não vindo cedo socorro, ao menos acodirão tão mal à Igreja e obriguações della, que quasi tanto montará como tê-los perdidos, do qual eu sou boa testemunha pelo que vi de dez annos a esta parte [8] (posto que não continuos) nesta gente, e ainda agora de sete mezes continuos pera cá que aqui resido [9], ainda com se lhes dizer que tinhamos esperanças como muito certas de vir-nos socorro da Manilha, comtudo boa parte delles mostrarão tanta frieza e descuido no que toca às missas de obriguação, que parecia terem nenhuma.

14. E posto que do senhor da terra, que se chama sangage [10] della, se pode[f] ter in Domino confiança de não aver de retroceder, por causa da constancia e perseverança que de 12 ou 15 annos [11] entre tantos trabalhos e perseguições e avexações tem mostrado; comtudo, pelo contrario, muita desconfiança se pode ter e muito arreceio, que depois delle fechar os olhos, aja d'aver (que Deos não permitta) total mudança e perdição dos mais destes christãos, por causa do herdeiro ou herdeiros que lhe pretendem soceder. Pelo qual[g] tudo, e pelas sobreditas rezões, me parece in Domino que se estas partes de Maluco e Amboino não forem cedo e com brevidade socorridas com boa armada que as bem sogeite, não se pode nellas fazer o fruito nas almas que esperamos.

15. E assi são escuzados nellas Padres da Companhia assi e como de presente residem de assento. Se não fosse por modo de missão, scilicet, mandando-sse da India pera a fortaleza de Tidore com cada capitão que viesse [12] de novo tres Padres, scilicet, dous pera residirem na dita fortaleza e hum per[a] esta christandade, e dous em Amboino, os quaes[h] fossem visitados de hum comum superior de todos. E[i] se não se pudesse acabar com o senhor e christãos deste Labua que se passasem pera a dita fortaleza de Tidore[j], se não todos pelo menos aquelles escolhidos ou tocados da mão de Deos, que quizessem ob zelum legis [13]

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[8] Consult D 44,2.

[9] So he sailed to Labuha in August 1592.

[10] The sengaji Rui Pereira (D 73,33).

[11] He became a Christian in 1581 or 1582 (D 44 note 2).

[12] As a rule, the term of office of the captains of the fortresses was three years.

[13] Cf. 1 Mac 2 27 and 58.

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et fidei lá ir morar, pera que lá fossem instruidos e governados dum dos nossos Padres que lá residissem pro tempore (como forão ategora os atives[k] em Amboino) ou do vigairo comum da fortaleza, como milhor in Domino ao superior parecesse, e desta maneira se poderia escuzar o 3° Padre que [há] na Labua. E isto hé o que in Domino me parece.

Oje, 5 de Março de 1593, neste Labua.

Rogerio Conrado.

[*Answer of Fr. Luís Fernandes*]

16. Respondendo à questão que V.R. faz aos Padres que neste Maluco ao presente residimos, digo primeiramente que todas as onze cousas que se presupoem[l] desta pregunta são todas tão verdadeiras, que não vejo que mais a ellas se possa acrecentar nem diminuir, porque todas na verdade assi passão. As quaes todas consideradas, o que me parece in Domino hé que se estas partes de Maluco e Amboino não forem aprainadas cedo com as armas, de modo que fiquem bem sogeitas, não se poderá fazer nas almas destas gentes o fruito que pretendemos e desejamos, e assi são escuzados nellas Padres da Companhia assi e da maneira que ao presente residem.

17. Mas por rezão do que se toca no undecimo soposto, o qual hé mui provavel que assi aconteça como se nelle diz, digo que o meio que se podia[m] tomar, e parece o milhor e mais acertado que nesta parte se pode dar, hé que se mandem da India [25*r*] por via de missão cada tres annos até quatro Padres, scilicet, dous com o capitão que vem pera a fortaleza de Maluco, e dous com o da fortaleza de Amboino, e ir dilatando este negocio de Maluco desta maneira até que N. Senhor ordene destas partes o que for mais seu serviço. E desta maneira não largamos Maluco, antes continuamos com o spiritual delle como ategora, e com mais suavidade dos nossos. Porque assi todos os Padres por via de missão residirão aqui com mais gosto seu e, não sendo assi, vendo elles que não há em que se empregar, nem fazem o fruito que a Companhia pretendia em os mandar cá, e juntamente a terra ser mui trabalhosa e chea de muitas difficuldades, será mui trabalhoso tê-llos.

18. E o superior supremo delles nestas partes, correndo isto por via de missão, os poderá governar com mais suavidade ao que parece. Nem se pode dizer que faltarão desta maneira Padres que saibão a lingoa. Porque vindo da India os Padres de novo sempre hé bem que fique neste Maluco hum Padre ou mais se parecer dos velhos, o qual poderá insinar a lingoa aos outros. E como ella hé de si facillima, em breve a saberão. Isto hé o que in Domino me parece.

Oje, 10 de Março de 1593, em Tidore.

Luis Fernandez.

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[*Answer of Fr. António Pereira*]

19. Respondendo à questão que aos Padres, que ao presente neste Maluco estamos, V.R. faz, digo que, supposta primeiro[n] - que tudo a vontade que todos tem de se conformarem com a do superior, e de se consolarem muito com os trabalhos em que todos andamos metidos, e de como todos estamos offerecidos a os padecer e sofrer por amor de Deos e de sua Igreja nestas partes; e suposto tambem como a terra hé boa de si e sadia, que parece de si convidar ao estar nella; todavia, como nosso fim seja a christandade, parece, quanto humanamente se pode collegir das -[n] cousas que acontecem e modo que levão e quanto en si prometem, como juntamente pelas rezões que V.R. aponta, que, se não vier cousa da India ou Philippinas que aplaine isto primeiro, que nos podemos todos desenganar que não somente não averá christandade nem conversão nestas partes, mas o que pior hé, que nem esperanças disso pelas rezões acima[o]. Como tambem, que despois que estou em Maluco[14], parece que muitos mais se tornarão mouros dos que se fizerão de novo christãos, desenganados e desconfiados yá de socorro que tantos annos há por que esperão, escrevendo os viso-rreys que o anno que vem sem falta irá, e nunca chega esse anno mas sempre estaa por vir. Tanto que nem os mouros fazem caso de nós e dizem: « Não tem[p] poder os reys de Portugal, pois de 25 annos a esta parte não acaba de chegar o que tão afincadamente prometem ». O que foi causa já de muitos retrocederem e de que os que ficão se temer fação o mesmo.

20. Donde se pode inferir que parece que os superiores não serão contentes aja Padres aonde não somente falta a conversão, mas ainda se carece de esperança della, deixando pode ser de os ter em outras partes aonde petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis[15]. E segundo ouvy na India por vezes tratar, nenhuma outra cousa ouve que movesse aos superiores tirarem os Padres da fortaleza de Ormuz e da[q] de Dio, e ainda avia fallar nos Padres que estavão em S. Thomé[16], senão o ca-

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[14] He had arrived in 1588 (23rd Sending). He is more likely to use here, and in the first line, « Maluco » for Tidore.

[15] Lam 4 4.

[16] The Jesuit residence of Ormuz was abandoned in 1568. For the reasons of this « sad end », see DI VII 5*. To Diu Jesuits had been sent only occasionally as preachers in the years 1552-53, and 1557, but they had no steady residence (DI XIII 173). As to São Tomé (Madras), some Fathers had proposed to abandon it, being too distant from Goa and too difficult of access. The question was dis-

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recerem da christandade em que se ocupassem, posto que ouvesse muitos centos de portuguezes e tão differentes dos de quá, aonde poderá aver té cincoenta. Por onde parece que o mandarem os superiores Padres a estas partes hé por causa da conversão. E se esta se perder por culpa de não serem socorridos, parece conseguintemente desnecessario aver Padres. Não por fugir os trabalhos, que estes en todas as partes os há, [25*v*] senão porque não há esperança alguma de se conseguir o que se pretende.

21. Mas porquanto a ultima rezão que V.R. aponta parece fazer força, por não dizerem que, se os Padres se forem de Maluco, se porá em balanço acabarem de retroceder todos, que será ocasião pera os que nos não tem boa vontade murmurarem de nós e tomarem ocasião dahi pera nos perseguirem. Pera iso parece que será bom modo e meio suave aver Padres em Maluco por modo de missão, pera que desta maneira não faltem Padres nelle e se evite o que podem dizer de nós nossos inimigos. E juntamente servirá pera não ser tão pezado a alguns que ouverem de mandar, se souberem que acabado algum tempo se tornarão. E certo que tanto parece isto assi, que realmente tenho pera mym que, se algum P.^{e} Provincial viera visitar estas partes, ou tirara totalmente os Padres dellas ou pelo menos dera esse meio, pera que se^{r} alguma hora acontecesse aver christandade, avia Padres já quá e, não a avendo, não faltavão Padres em Maluco, posto que de quando en quando trocados e revezados, ainda que os que ouver não servem de mais que de ver injustiças e tiranias de capitães sem serem remediadas.

22. Mas avendo de aver Padres por via de missões e pera isto ter milhor saida, me parece que se não mudem por huma vez todos, mas que ficando os que ouverem de ficar, venhão depois a metade dos que despois ajão de estar, pera se irem revezando assi na experiencia como na lingoa, posto que então não parece ser necessario aprendê-la, pois os portuguezes e suas molheres se confessarão na nossa. E assim nunca averá faltar quem venha, e a missão será mais suave pois não hé mais que missão por causa dos portuguezes e não por rezão de christandade, pela não aver nem esperança della, se não vier cousa primeiro que aplaine a terra. E pode ser que, se os superiores se certeficarem disto, que nem per modo de missão queirão que aja Padres quá^{s}, pois os vigairos bastão pera os portuguezes, como hé em Bengala e em outras

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cussed in the Provincial Congregation of 1588 (Original Acts in *ARSI, Congr. 44* ; art. 23 on f. 398*r*).

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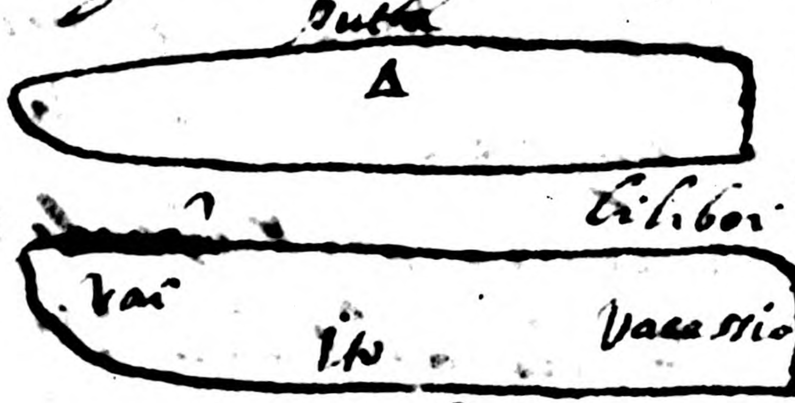
8 Respondendo pr.a m.to q.to arrand...
encia) suponho q̃ a Ilha he dividi...
largo mea legoa. Esse unê ambos a...



Na fortaleza
E ambos conte...
cerão depois a...
vendo ainda

amoerre na fortaleza. Alem destes
chados q̃ diversas aldeas desta Ilha a
seguitos. E da banda dalem ha dous

K
... dos
4 Alor.

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partes aonde não há Padres da Companhia mas somente vigairo. Isto hé o que in Domino me parece.

Oje, 11 de Março de 1593 annos.

Antonio Pereira.

[*Answer of Fr. João Rebelo*]

23. Porquanto[t] não sinto poder-me declarar em breve pallavras, e pera que das cousas particulares tome o Reverendo P.e Provincial maior informação deste negocio, serei difuso procurando a brevidade quanto me for possivel.

24. E respondendo primeiramente quanto à christandade de Amboino[17] (da qual somente comecei a ter alguma experiencia[18]), soponho que a ilha hé dividida en duas partes, entrando pelo meio hum braço de mar largo mea legoa e se unem ambas as partes com hum passo estreito à semelhança desta figura[19]: [*See picture.*]

Na fortaleza há duas freguezias de christãos da terra, huma dos ativeis e outra dos alos[u][20], e ambas contem duas mil e duzentas almas escritas a rol, porque crescerão[v] depois do P.e Antonio Martha lhes tomar o numero de 1600[21], avendo ainda este anno qualquer augmento com a vinda de gente dos lugares a morar na fortaleza. Alem destes há alguns outros milhares de almas christãs que estão espalhadas por diversas aldeas desta ilha da banda daquem da fortaleza[22], os quaes todos estão sogeitos. E da banda dalem[23] há dous lugares principaes, scilicet, Liliboi e Vacassio, aos quaes se ajuntarão algumas outras aldeas que estavão por nós pera assi juntos fazerem maior resistencia aos enemigos, e ahi tem o capitão presidio de soldados. E desta banda dalem

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[17] He writes first on Ambon reserving for Tidore only the last sentence of his letter (no. 42).

[18] He is very modest. He had lived in Ambon from early 1591 onwards.

[19] Disconcertingly, the copyist forgot to draw the « passo estreito » of which the text is speaking. The map stands upside-down, the north is at the bottom. The fortress is not indicated. Could this by chance be the oldest map of Ambon Island in particular?

[20] Nowadays the quarter called Hatiwi is at the SW, the quarter named Halong at the NE side of the town centre. Cf. VERBEEK, *Description géologique . Atlas*, Batavia 1905, fig. 54.

[21] See no. 3. Marta's informations are likely to date from the first half of 1592 when he lived in Ambon.

[22] In Leitimur.

[23] In Hitu.

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há alguns outros lugares que estão indifferentes por não terem resistencia, e entre elles o lugar de Vai [24] está por nós por viverem na fortaleza ametade dos naturaes delle [25]. Comtudo os itos [26] e os mais lugares da banda dalem da ilha que estão contra nós, são em maior numero.

25. Há tambem perto de Amboino tres ilhas chamadas as ilhas do Liacer, nas quaes, segundo a necessidade do tempo, poem o capitão soldados de presidio. Há nellas somente dous lugares de enemigos [27] que não reconhecem sogeição à fortaleza; os mais estão comnosco e servem a El-Rey nas armadas e no mais, segundo o capitão os chama. Outra ilha está mais apartada [26*r*] de Amboino por nome Burro, cujos naturais estão de paz comnosco por serem vassallos d'el-rey de Tydore. De toda esta gente, assi dos que estão por nós como dos inimigos, grande parte são christãos arrenegados ou que vivem como gentios, tirando os que estão na fortaleza pelo insino e doutrina que tem, da qual os outros carecem.

26. Ouve entre elles e nós [28] pelo discurso do tempo varias alterações de guerra, alevantando-sse todos contra os portuguezes (tirando os atives que sempre estiverão comnosco e por este respeito padecerão muito dano dos contrarios). E estiverão por vezes os nossos a rrisco de se perder de todo, começando-sse a effeituar as traças que contra nós tinhão armadas, sendo já o capitão entrado pera o matarem à treição [29], mas nunca Deos quis que chegassem ao cabo com seus intentos.

27. E pera falar de cousas mais presentes, desd'o anno de 91 pera cá, temos visto notaveis sinais da divina Providencia em querer conservar esta fortaleza e christandade. Porque avendo muitos annos que estava da banda daquem da fortaleza hum lugar forte dos inimigos, por nome Puta [30], o qual lhe dava tal inquietação que não podia a gente sair ao campo e a suas hortas, sem perigo de deixar a cabeça en siladas, de que

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[24] Wai, on the E coast of Hitu.

[25] The town of Ambon does not have a quarter with the name of Wai.

[26] The Hituese, people of Muslim Hitu.

[27] One of them was Hatuhaha on Haruku (consult DM I 727), the other perhaps a neighbouring village.

[28] Not the Jesuits, but the Portuguese.

[29] This refers to the treason of the pati of Halong (no. 30; D 93,6).

[30] Puta, mentioned in D 80,11-12 too, does not exist any more. It belonged to the *uli* (community of villages) of Urimeseng which was allied with the *uli* of Nusaniwi. It was considered a fort impregnable by nature. Being situated south of the Portuguese town of Ambon in the Leitimur mountains, it was a constant menace for the fortress.

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esta gente usa muito. E ainda dentro en suas casas não estavão os homens de noite seguros, porque chegarão a apanhar os frontaes da igreja[31]. E tendo os nossos por muitas vezes intentado destruir este lugar, nunca poderão por ser huma rocha inexpugnavel.

28. Todavia permitio Deos que se tomasse e destruisse de todo hum mez antes de chegar à vista desta fortaleza huma armada grande dos inimigos[32], aventejada às passadas, em que entravão os bandas[33], e puzerão nella dous annos de preparação. A qual armada, se achara aquelle lugar em pee, puzera-nos cerco por mar e por terra, e virara facilmente de sua parte todos os lugares que estão na ilha por nós. Onde a fortaleza correra tal risco que humanamente não podera escapar por ser fraca e não ter mantimentos, antes avia naquelle tempo inimigos occultos entre nós que fazião seguro o partido dos contrarios.

29. E posto que na briga que com os inimigos tivemos, ficamos abatidos com morte dalguns portuguezes e tomada de embarcações nossas, todavia não foi castigo usque ad consumationem[34]. Antes indo estes inimigos depois pelejar contra o lugar de Vacassio, onde estavão alguns portuguezes de presidio, hé fama comum que foi visto Santiago ajudar aos nossos pondo terror e quebrando o animo aos inimigos, tanto que disserão depois que se os portuguezes lhes forão no alcance os ouverão de destruir. E tomando estes mesmos inimigos huma imagem de pao de N. Senhora da Anunciada da popa da gallé quando foi a briga no mar, pretenderão desfazê-la com ferro e depois com fogo sem nunca de nenhuma maneira lhe poderem fazer sinal nem deformidade alguma, segundo elles mesmos dão testemunho, de que o Padre vigairo[35] tirou hum papel autentico.

30. Tudo isto parecem indicios de não querer Deos desabrir mão desta fortaleza e christandade, o que finalmente se confirma com o successo deste anno. Porque o pate de Alo, homem sagaz e astuto, tendo provocada a armada que este anno veio e viradas por sua parte algumas cabeças dos lugares que estão por nós, com intento de matar à treição os portuguezes e tomar a fortaleza, todavia por permissão de Deos descuberta a treição, forão prezos os principaes e o pate enforcado, ficando tudo quieto e sossegado, e os naturaes com a experiencia

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[31] Literally the same in D 80, 11.
[32] In late 1590 or in January 1591, the fleet appearing in February (D 81,2).
[33] The Bandanese. See D 82,3.
[34] Cf. Mt 28 20.
[35] The vicar of the fortress of Ambon.

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do castigo alheo, desenganados de poderem prevalecer já desd'o tempo antigo ategora. A armada vendo o desastre do pate andou de hum lugar pera outro sem fazer effeito algum notavel, antes saindo subitamente em hum nosso lugar do Liacer[36] [26*v*] a tempo que a gente era quasi toda no mato, muy poucos homens bastarão pera os lançar, acodindo logo os outros que os afugentarão de todo, matando-lhe mais de vinte homens e tomando-lhes muitas armas, parte das quaes deixarão com a pressa da fogida.

31. Donde se pode collegir o pouco poder desta gente que entre bandas, itos e outras nações escassamente averá chegado o numero a tres mil homens entre remeiros e de espada, metidos em obra de trinta e tantas embarcações, a que chamão caracoras, e elles mesmos divididos entre si e com arreceos de parte a parte pretendendo cada hum ser senhor, porquanto os bandas não se querem sogeitar aos itos, nem vice-versa os itos aos bandas. E há tambem entre elles outras raizes de dissenção que por abreviar deixo.

32. E como este seja o maior poder que ategora tem ajuntado, sem terem feito estes dous annos cousa notavel[37], nem tomado lugar nenhum dos que possuiamos, certo parece que devem de ficar cansados e com as esperanças quebradas, e os que estão por nós animados e confirmados em nossa amizade. O que mostrarão quando agora os enemigos os acometerão, porque zombando delles lhes responderão que sy, mas que pidirião primeiro licença ao capitão da fortaleza. Desembarcando elles todavia e chegando de improviso ao lugar, forão lançados non sine morte et vulneribus, ficando os nossos victuriosos e com roncas. Ajuntarão-se logo os lugares, e forão tãobem da fortaleza soldados e outra gente pera darem nos enemigos. Mas não ouserão mais a desembarcar, nem todo este anno tiverão ousadia pera aparecer à vista da fortaleza.

33. E se socedera isto em tempo de capitão guerreiro aplicado a os empecer, de crer hé que os tivera já destroidos e sogeitos muitos lugares à obediencia da fortaleza. Mas posto que não tem[38] ategora mostrado inclinação às cousas de guerra, todavia tem outra inclinação fortissima e muito esperta e incansavel a fabricar a fortaleza trazendo

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[36] Tuhaha (D 93,10).

[37] « Pouco tinhão feito », and « Não tinhão feito couza alguma » (*Rel. Vasc.* 451 and 452).

[38] The subject of this « tem » is omitted, but it can logically be supplied: *the new captain.*

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desde Goa officiaes pera este fim. A qual fortaleza o tempo atrás era muito fraca, por ser parte della de pedra e barro que caia com a chuva e se podia com hum salto decer do muro abaixo. Mas agora a vai acresentando e fortificando de novo com grande aventagem, e não tem geito de desistir da obra até que a acabe. E esta fabrica da fortaleza hé grande parte da constancia destes povos pera comnosco, argumentando a minori ad maius. E essa dizem que foi a causa porque se alevantarão em tempo do capitão-mor Gonçalo Pereira[39], scilicet, por verem apodrecer os paos da fortaleza[40] e não verem depois disso cousa estavel. Acrecenta-sse a isto que, desd'o anno de 91 pera cá, à vinda deste capitão que foi o primeiro que aqui chegou provido por El-Rei, creceo tambem notavelmente o poder desta fortaleza com numero de muitos portuguezes, alguns dos quaes se vão casando e arreigando na terra.

34. E quanto a dizerem os christãos que temos na fortaleza que não podem sofrer mais o trabalho que lhe dão os portuguezes, cousa ordinaria hé em toda a India as christandades padecerem seus trabalhos e mao costume dos soldados vexarem aos indios por onde tem socedido muitos males na India. Mas esta vexação não hé dos portuguezes casados na terra, porque estes quanto podem procurão conservar a boa paz, pelo que lhes importa a suas vidas e fazendas, mas hé mal de soldados, aos quaes não falta quem vá à mão e os refree. E mais se desenvergonhão estando soos com elles nos presidios. E com tudo iso ainda dessa maneira os aceitão e pedem com instancia pera lhes vigiarem e defenderem seus lugares; e prouvera a Deus que não se fizerão tão concordes e familiares em vicios e peccados que cometem [27*r*] muitas vezes. Aos capitães tambem não faltão freos pera os retrahir utcumque de seus excessos.

35. E posto que a gente deste arcepelago não se converterá (ao menos firmiter et solide) se não for primeiro aprainada por armas, parece do que está dito, que com verdade se pode affirmar dos lugares que temos nesta ilha por nós, estarem aprainados por armas. E ainda dos outros que estão pelas outras ilhas se pode dizer o mesmo, quanvis magis lato modo.

36. E o que se aponta que os christãos da fortaleza não podem ser insinados senão quanto elles querem por estar vizinhos aos mouros,

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[39] Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque. See DM I 60*-61*.

[40] This was the first fortress, a wooden one, built in 1569 on the N coast of Hitu (DM I 551-552).

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isto hé mais corrente com os estrangeiros que tem seus parentes com os inimigos. Mas os naturaes dos lugares de quá não se movem facilmente a deixar sua casta e parentesco, de que fazem muita conta. E entre todos elles os atives tem nesta parte, segundo a opinião de todos, a mesma firmeza que os portuguezes pelo muito que por nosso respeito em suas fazendas, vidas e libertade tem padecido[41]. Ao que tudo se ajunta a prudencia e tento em os tratar e a suavidade paternal com que os ensinão. E tãobem em muitas partes da India está a christandade junto com a mourama, onde se podem apontar as mesmas difficuldades e com tudo iso não a deixamos.

37. E posto que pera os portuguezes parece que bastaria o vigairo, todavia muito fazem os Padres com seu exemplo, pregações, conselhos e definições de casos da consciencia, e com os fazer continuar na frequencia dos sacramentos, ao que o vigairo não hé bastante. E o fruito que se faz com elles hé porventura maior do que parece, porque do braço secular bem ordenado depende em grande parte o bem das christandades da India. Acontece tambem às vezes corromper-se o sal[42] muy demasiadamente, como já se vio e se remediou assi aqui como em Tydore com o Officio da Santa Inquisição, de que o P.e Antonio Martha hé comissario[43].

38. Quanto à indole dos naturaes, verdade hé que não tem tanta viveza como alguns outros povos da India, nem fazem muito por aprender as cousas de Deos, se lhas não ensinarem nem chamarem com muita diligencia e instancia Padres pera os doutrinar, porque naturalmente tem falta de vigor falando no ordinario deles. Mas esta sua falta tem outro bem, que hé terem menos peccados e serem mais sogeitos a quem os tem a cargo. Não tem muitos vicios da carne[44], nem furtos, nem muitas pelejas, facilmente se dobrão a fazer o que lhes dizem. E não são tão faltos do juizo que não aya entre elles muitos de bom conselho e industria, e tambem capacidade pera as cousas de Deos. Alguns dos quaes assi homens como molheres recebem já o sacramento da comunhão, e muitos mais se farão capazes do mesmo, segundo a diligencia que se poser em os ensinar. E especialmente os meninos se mostrão capazes de tudo o que lhes ensinão, e com facilidade apren-

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[41] Consult DM I 726-727 (Index), s.v. Hatiwi.

[42] Mt 5 13.

[43] Cf. D 70,2.

[44] After three centuries, the judgment of VAN HOËVELL was determinedly different (*Ambon en meer bepaaldelijk de Oeliasers* 126-128). Fr. Rebelo was either mistaken or too eager to refute Marta's reasons.

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dem a ler e escrever e ajudar à missa, e outros cousas de memoria, e são omni modo sogeitos aos Padres.

39. Os nossos Padres antigamente forão mais liberaes em os bautizar[45]. Porque não somente aos desta ilha de Amboino, mas ainda aos das vizinhas fizerão a quasi todos christãos, os quaes [são] agora hum mato bravo com somente o nome de christãos. Verdade hé que estiverão antigamente com elles em muitos lugares assi aqui como no Liacer, nos [27*v*] quaes tinhão igrejas, e com zelo e charidade os ensinavão, do que ainda alguns delles se lembrão com notavel edificação da virtude e bondade dos Padres. Mas a causa de não estarem ategora com elles en seus lugares, em parte foi por varias alterações de guerra que socederão, estando em pee até o tempo d'agora aquelle lugar de Puta de que asima fica feita menção, o qual era inquietação dos outros. Outro respeito tambem e principal foi falta de obreiros, socedendo às vezes não estar en toda esta ilha mais que hum Irmão e às vezes nenhum[46].

40. Mas todavia agora faz dous annos ajuntando-nos aqui cinquo Padres[47], fez o P.e Antonio Martha consulta se seria bem residir em alguns destes lugares, soposto que elles o pedião. E resolveo-sse que si, scilicet, em Vacassio, que está da banda d'alem, por ocasião de elles o pedirem, e que se buscasse entretanto outro Padre pera residir[w] em Liliboi, lugar vizinho. Foi lá o P.e Lourenço Masonio e começou a continuar com aquella christandade, tendo já ensinado a doutrina christã aos meninos que a aprendião com fervor, e assi elles como os grandes erão faciles de dobrar ao que o Padre queria delles. Mas socedeo que poucos mezes depois morreo o P.e Pedro Nunez que estava aqui em Amboino por superior, e foi necessario vir elle em seu lugar[48], ficando desfeito aquelle bom principio com magoa de todos. Os lugares da banda d'aquem parece que com maior rezão se poderião cultivar se ouvesse obreiros.

41. Pelo que me parece que não convem[x] largar esta christandade, etiam stantibus rebus ut nunc, não fazendo conta de armada nossa. E parece que não faz aqui hum Padre menos serviço a Deos do que

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[45] For this, see DM I 498–499: rule of Pope Pius V, and note 1.

[46] From 1565 to perhaps 1568 there was no Jesuit in Ambon (DM I 471; ibid. 568: Fr. Luís de Góis wrote from Ambon on May 28, 1568).

[47] Supposedly five beyond Marta: Pero Nunes, António Pereira, Francisco da Cunha, Lorenzo Masonio, João Rebelo.

[48] Fr. Lorenzo Masonio became the local superior of the Ambon Jesuits. This makes our note 2 to D 93 more plausible.

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faria dentro num collegio onde sobejão tantos. Nem tãopouco parece conveniente tomá-la por via de missões, porque iso faz faltar na aplicação que se deve pera com huma christandade tão desemparada e alongada de socorro como esta. E quem há-de vencer a difficuldade em aprender nova lingoagem se acabando de a saber a há-de deixar? E não se achão per cá outros sacerdotes da terra que saibão a lingoa e possão em parte suprir as faltas dos obreiros como laa na India se achão. Antes parece bem rezão ocupar-sse o homem todo nesta obra sem pensamentos de a deixar quanto hé de sua parte, e com orações e santos desejos e experiencia de[v] tempo a ir fomentando, e alcançando de Deos ajuda pera a conservação e augmento della. Como vemos por exemplo do Padre Patriarcha Dom André de Oviedo, o qual por não deixar hum pequeno numero de christãos que tinha em Etiopia, renunciou o breve que Sua Santidade lhe dava de Bispo da China, querendo antes alli morrer com elles como fez com grande louvor[49].

42. E quanto hé a ir e vir em tres annos, em parte parece que seria mais comprir tempo que fazer missões da Companhia, as quaes vão por outro estilo e em tempo mais breve, segundo nas regras das missões se contem. Por cima de tudo isto está a providencia do Superior pera chamar pera a India aos que in Domino lhe parecer expediente. E com este talho me parece que ficão satisfeitas todas as duvidas desta questão.

Quanto a Tidore, posto que me sentia inclinado a responder da mesma maneira, todavia não ouso a dar voto [28*r*] remetendo-me totalmente ao que o R.P.[e] Provincial ordenar.

Oje, 27 de Abril 1593, em Amboino.

João Rebello.

[*Answer of Fr. Lorenzo Masonio*]

43. Quanto ao que se pregunta na questão, respondo que, posto que o principal intento dos Padres que são mandados à India seja a conversão das almas e segundariamente[z] a ajuda dos portuguezes, como me lembro ter lido ou ouvido em huma carta de nosso Padre, o qual dizia que não mandava os sogeitos à India pera os portuguezes mas pera a conversão dos infieis[50]. E conforme a este principio pareça[a] que

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[49] To this, consult DI VII 4-5; 316-317; X 207-208. He died in 1577 (DI XI 10*; 283).

[50] *Epistola ad Patres et Fratres Societatis in Indiis Orientalibus constitutos de fine illius missionis*, of January 12, 1590, printed for instance in *Epistolae Praepositorum Generalium*, Romae 1615, 249. See SOMMERVOGEL I 483.

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onde não há conversão nem esperança della, que não hé bem residirem ahi Padres, como vemos em Moçambique, Dio, Ormuz. As quaes ainda que sejão fortalezas principalissimas na India, porque não há nenhuma conversão os superiores não mandão Padres a ellas; antes de Ormuz onde os [b] avia se tirarão por esse defeito [c] [51].

44. E assi ainda que atentando este principio nesta fortaleza de Amboino e seu districto, agora (rebus stantibus ut nunc) não aja conversão nem esperança della pelas continuas guerras, antes cada dia a christandade vai mingoando. Não somente nos lugares sogeitos fora da fortaleza, nos quaes não fica mais que o nome de christão onde os há, (o [d] qual nome elles declarão com o nome 'amigos dos portuguezes') não penetrando mais por se não cultivarem. Mas tambem nos lugares [e] que se ajuntarão nesta fortaleza, donde o anno passado fogirão os roçanives [52] em grande numero pera os mouros, e cada dia vão fogindo muitos, particularmente cativos, dos quaes quantos fugirão somente estes dous annos que eu aqui estive são tantos que não sei o numero, que a hum soo homem lhe fogirão perto de vinte, e agora não são [f] dous dias fogirão huns que chamão capas [53], que forão algumas dez ou doze casas, alem dos sereis [g] [54] e outros que fugirão o anno passado depois dos roçanives.

45. Com tudo, considerando assi o proveito que nesta fortaleza se faz com os portuguezes e a conservação destes poucos christãos que ficão, os quaes não recebem pouco proveito dos nossos no ensino e doutrina, entanto que durão ao menos estas guerras, não me parece bem desemparar esta fortaleza.

46. Porque, assi como os que ficão dos christãos, ficão mais confirmados e seguros com a nossa presença, e com as esperanças que cada dia lhes damos de socorro e de armada, com as quaes esperanças os vamos sostentando, assy arreceo que desemparando-os nós em tempo de tanta necessidade, porventura desempararião a fortaleza, e os portuguezes ficarião desemparados de todo e a fortaleza em perigo, como ameaçarão este anno quando tratavamos de largar esta [28*v*] christandade aos Frades descalços [55]. Ora se ficando-lhes os Padres capuchos

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[51] See note 16.

[52] People of Nusaniwi. Cf. *Rel. Vasc.* 425, chapter 88.

[53] People of Kapa, a village belonging to the *uli* of Urimeseng to which also Puta belonged.

[54] People of Seri, another village of Urimeseng (SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver* II/I 666 note 149).

[55] D 93,5.

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dizião isto, que dirão ou farão desemparados de todo? Mas se Nosso Senhor nos der socorro das Manilhas ou de Goa, que estê a terra de paz, e não podendo nós acodir a esta christandade e à de Tydore, milhor será deixar esta aos Frades e nós entregarmo-nos na de Tydore e Ternate por ser mais capaz e pera se esperar mais fruito, como dizem os que tratarão com elles.

47. Quanto ao que se pregunta, se será bem fazer-sse isto por via de missões, inda que pera os Padres da missão este modo pareça bem, particularmente o modo que aponta o P.e Antonio Pereira[56], pois a lingoa hé facil de aprender e pelo caminho aos que se quizerem aplicar se pode aprender. Mas arreceo que este modo de missões dará que falar à gente[h], pois ategora se não usou em estas partes, e dirão que já somos Frades que estamos quanto queremos e nos vamos[i] quando queremos. Tambem arreceo que se escandalizarão os feitores e capitães d'El-Rey pelos gastos continuos de matalotagem e viatico pera a ida e tornada de tão comprida viagem. Por onde quanto a mym me parecerá milhor d'estarem[j] como agora estamos, pois a prudencia dos superiores e charidade hé tanta, que vendo algum Padre que tem necessidade de mudança, logo o consola.

48. De Tydore digo o mesmo por respeito dos portuguezes, com os quaes estivemos tantos annos, e os Padres se pode dizer que os levarão pera lá, não parece bem que os deixemos neste tempo de guerra, quando tem mais necessidade de nós que nunca. Porque ali estão em maior risco nas mãos de hum rey mouro, que os que estão cá nesta fortaleza estando em suas terras. Tanto mais que ali os Padres fazem muito fruito com os mardicas[57] e escravos dos portuguezes, alem do fruito que fazem com os mesmos portuguezes. De Labua me remeto aos outros que ahi tratarão, particularmente ao que diz o P.e Rogerio.

Oje, 17[k] de Maio 1593.

Lourenço Masonio.

[*Answer of Fr. Gabriel Rengifo*]

49. Remítome al parecer del P.e Antonio Martha, del P.e Luis Fernandez, del P.e Antonio Pereira, P.e Rogerio Conrrado, los quales de diez anños a esta parte frequentaron Maluco y Amboino[l][58]. Y ansí

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[56] Nos. 21-22.

[57] Quite interesting to see that there were *mardicas* in Tidore too. (Cf. D 93 note 26).

[58] The « ten years » apply only to Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado; Marta had arrived in 1587, Fernandes and Pereira in 1588.

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quanto los Padres falan acerca[m] desta materia es mucha verdad, todo lo qual vi yo también y palpé claramente de neve años a esta parte que ha que estou em Maluco.

50. Mas sola una cosa me haze escrúpulo, y es si nosotros podemos alargar con buena consciencia las christiandades que los Padres de la Compañía hizieron en Amboino, Celebe y Labua antes destos christianos retrocederen ni hazérensse moros. Antes pelean cada día acerrimamente contra los moros y cortan en ellos como en sus capitales enemigos[n], no solamente los años passados, sino estes en que estamos agora. Porque yendo los ternates moros y enemigos nuestros con ciertas caracoras, [29r] que son como fustas ligeras, a los Celebes, tierra de christianos, el año de 93 en Febrero, Dom Jeronymo, rey de los christianos, les resistió varonilmente y mató muchos dellos[59]. Y son estes celebes tan inimigos de los moros que les aborrecen naturalmente. Em Amboino tienen siempre los christianos de la tierra que residen aquí continua guerra con los moros, y agora este año de 93 el mez de Abril cortaron 16 moros en un garo ou celada que les hizieron. Pues el sangage de la Labua es el maior enemigo que tiene estos moros de Maluco, a los quales haze siempre guerra quando se offrece ocasión.

51. Quanto acerca de su christiandad, los christianos de Amboino (adonde averá dos mezes que resido)[60] proceden razonablemente. Ay dos freguezías en esta fortaleza, que serán por todos en cada frequezía mil personas y más. Son obedientes y sugetos razonablemente, y los meninos y meninas (que serán por todos até 600) son muy dóciles y obedientes a los Padres. Los christianos de la Labua, que serán hasta 400, la mitad dellos proceden razonablemente; y aunque

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[59] This is D. Jerónimo, the second of this name, king of Siau. His native name was Winsulangi (or Binsulangi); he succeeded D. João Wuisang in 1591 and he died in 1631 (ELIAS 76-80). He was the third Catholic ruler of Siau, as is rightly observed by Fr. Cruz in no. 52. This repelling the Ternatans is a fact obviously unknown to the historians. ELIAS, who unhappily does not mention his sources, rather shows himself solicitous in underlining a friendship of D. Jerónimo with the king of Ternate. While recounting his visit, still a prince, in 1588 to Ternate, and his baptism at that occasion by Fr. Magalhães there (p. 77), he seems wide of the mark, mixing events of D. Jerónimo I with those of D. Jerónimo II, and ignoring the political tension between Siau and Ternate in those years. Fr. Diogo de Magalhães had died in 1573 ! Contrarily, ELIAS gives us the narrative of an attack of a Mindanao ruler on Siau and of the flight of Winsulangi to the king of Ternate in 1591 (p. 79). This clashes with D 97,6.

[60] So Fr. Cruz left Tidore in March (D 93,2).

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es verdad lo que dize el P.e Martha y P.e Rogerio dellos, pero en alguna manera se pueden escuzar de acodir mal a las missas, porque todos son gente muy pobre, y van buscar su comida tres, quatro y cinquo legoas al mato adentro, adonde tienen sus hortas y palmeras, por lo qual no pueden todas vezes, por causa de la chuva y caminos trabajosos de lama y ocupaciones de hazer sus hortas y mantenimientos, acodir a la iglesia.

52. Los celebes no tienen los cuitados Padre ni iglesia, como solían tener en tiempo passado, adonde estuvo un Padre de nuestra Compañía agora poco ha, en la era de 1589 [61], y en espacio de un año y más que residió allí baptizó más de novecientas almas, y del tiempo del P.e Mascareñas avía más de dous mil o tres mil christianos baptizados por los nossos Padres da Compañía. Y ha avido allí ya tres reys cristianos, cujo rey agora se llama Don Jerónimo. Préciansse mucho estos celebes de ser christianos, y aunque son agrestes en sus costumbres, por aver casi siempre estado este reino sin Padre ni iglesia, como ovejas sin pastor, mas con todo esso son dóciles y fáciles de se subiectar, si Dios nos diesse algún tiempo poder pera reduzirlos a modo de república. Y con quanto trabajo an padecido desde que se perdió la fortaleza de Ternate, até oi día perseveran en ser christianos (aunque saben poco o casi nada de nossa fee), y se defienden como pueden de los moros escondiéndosse en tiempo de guerra por los matos.

53. Es pues mi duda aquesta, si podemos nós con buena consciencia alargar estas christiandades que fizeran os nossos Padres da Compañía con tanto trabajo, pues ellas no nos alargan a nosotros[o], antes nos piden y ruegan que no nos apartemos dellos, particularmente en Amboyno [y[p] la Labua; y es cosa cierta que se nos las alargamos que se han de acabar de perder del todo, ainda[q] esta de Ambueno] que está casi incorporada con la fortaleza de los portuguezes.

54. La Labua es cosa notoria que, faltando Padre, luego se ha de perder, y los más o todos se farán moros. Y perdida esta ilha, la fortaleza de Tydore corre grande risco de perderse tanbién, por ser la Labua el gudon [62] de sus mantenimientos y no los aver em otra ilha de Maluco.

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[61] According to WESSELS, *Noord-Celebes* 392, this was Fr. Francesco Poliasca/da Cruz, but he gives no source for this opinion. Perhaps he had in mind D 60,2. That in the second half of 1592 Fr. António Pereira started mission work in Siau (ibid.), conflicts with our text and with D 102,2 too. Pereira himself, in his letter of February 13, 1601 (D 135,10), states that the Christians of Siau were without a Father for fourteen years.

[62] Malay *gudang*, storehouse.

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porque, si algunos ay, es longe y todo es sugeto a Ternate, nuestro inimigo. Portanto, tirándome V.R. este escrúpulo, soy del parecer de los Padres acima nomeados.

55. La manera como se aya de conservar esto bien y suavemente por agora, es la que dan los Padres Antonio Martha, Luis Fernandez, Antonio Pereira, Rogerio Conrrado, porque, pues la christiandad [29*v*] en estas partes, rebus ut nunc[r], no puede yr adelante y nos no la podemos alargar ny desamparar estas fortalezas por las causas acima ditas, será necessario aver en los Padres alguna mudança, particularmente en los más necessitados y embiar otros como de socorro, pera que desta manera onus hoc sit leve [63].

Oje, 1° de Junio de 1593.

Gabriel da Cruz.

2ª via.

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[a] perto de *om. A* ‖ [b] Mafoma *A* ‖ [c] *add.* fora *A* ‖ [d] da *A* ‖ [e] será *A* ‖ [f] *del.* dizer *A* ‖ [g] que *A* ‖ [h] *add.* todos *A* ‖ [i] *om. A* ‖ [j] *add.* e *A* ‖ [k] ativeis *A* ‖ [l] *add.* pera a reposta *A* ‖ [m] pode *A* ‖ [n] vistas as *A* ‖ [o] *add.* ditas *A* ‖ [p] ter *A* ‖ [q] *om. A* ‖ [r] *add.* em *A* ‖ [s] *om. A* ‖ [t] *instead of nos. 23-40*: Respondendo a questão que VR. faz aos Padres que nestas partes residimos, se será bem alargar esta christandade pelas rezões que aponta, digo que pelo que tenho visto e a experiencia me tem mostrado nestes annos que quá estou *A* ‖ [u] e outra dos alos *add. m.* ‖ [v] cerão (*of* crescerão) *rep., first time cancelled* ‖ [w] resistir *ms.* ‖ [x] *add.* in Domino *A* ‖ [y] do *corr. fr.* de *A* ‖ [z] segundario *A*

[a] parece *A* ‖ [b] *om. A* ‖ [c] respeito *A* ‖ [d] *brackets do not open, only close ms., om. A* ‖ [e] *add.* sogeitos *A* ‖ [f] há *A* ‖ [g] seires *A* ‖ [h] as gentes *A* ‖ [i] imos *A* ‖ [j] estaremos *A* ‖ [k] 7 *A* ‖ [l] Ambueno *A, and so constantly* ‖ [m] *om. A* ‖ [n] *rest of this no. and nos. 51-52, om. A* ‖ [o] a nosotros *om. A* ‖ [p] *words enclosed in brackets om. ms., taken from text A* ‖ [q] *del.* que ‖ [r] *add.* stantibus *A*

95

THE CHIEFS OF SIAU TO GOMEZ PEREZ DASMARIÑAS, GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES

SIAU, JUNE 12, 1593

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV no. 1076.

II AUTHORS: CHIRINO, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* 18; COLIN, *Labor evangélica* 321-325; COLIN-PASTELLS I 566-576; PASTELLS, *Historia* III pp. ccxcvii-

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[63] Cf. Mt 11 30.

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ccc; BLAIR-ROBERTSON (ed.), *The Philippine Islands* XII 203, 225; WESSELS, *Amboina* 117-118; ID, *Noord-Celebes* 392-393; REPETTI I 111-112.

III TEXT: Apparently, no original or even copied MS text has been left. Colín saved the document from getting lost: COLIN, *Labor evangélica* 323-324 no. 179. Printed text of the Spanish translation from the Sanghirese language as it was spoken in Siau (« lengua de Siao »), made by Fr. António Pereira. As a matter of course the same text is to be found in COLIN-PASTELLS (I 574-575).

IV HISTORICAL NOTE: When Frs. Antonio Marta and António Pereira sailed to Siau, after March 11, probably not before early May 1593, they found the king preparing a voyage to Manila. There he hoped to find the help and protection the Portuguese of Maluku were not able to give him. To this end he planned to offer vassalage to the king of Spain in the hands of the Governor. Having stayed in the island for one month the Fathers accompanied the king and his train on their voyage, carrying credentials signed by the chiefs of the kingdom and dated June 12, 1593: the present document. On June 28 the embassy had arrived in Manila and they had their first conversation with the Governor. On August 16 in a solemn assembly, in which Fr. Pereira acted as interpreter, the conditions of a pact of friendship and vassalage were stipulated, read, and signed: D 97. Both documents were shown to Fr. Chirino SJ in Tigbauan (Panay) by D. Jerónimo himself in September, and the Father copied them (COLIN-PASTELLS I 574 note 1). One question remains unsolved: how could Fr. Pereira know the language of Siau so as to be able to translate the credentials written in it into Spanish (COLIN 323, end of no. 178)? Our documents do not reveal that he ever resided there before. Or could he be the Father who lived in Siau in 1589 (D 94,52 and note 61)?

Text

1. *Having to stay back in defence of their islands they cannot accompany their king sailing to Manila in order to communicate his succession to the throne and to give his obedience to King Philip. — 2. Whatever the king and Fathers Marta and Pereira will stipulate with the Governor they promise to observe, asking for his help, protection, and defence.*

Carta de los principales de Siao al Señor Governador Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas

1. Después de hecha toda la devida cortesía, Don Gerónimo, rey de Siao, va agora a Manila a hazer saber al Señor Governador, como el rey Don Juan su hermano[1] passó desta vida, y como él le ha sucedido en el reyno; y juntamente a dar la obediencia al Rey Don Felipe de

[1] D. Jerónimo II Winsulangi was a brother, not the son of his predecessor (See ELIAS 76: *puteranya*).

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Castilla y Portugal, nuestro señor, en manos del Señor Governador, como verdadero vassallo. Todos nosotros holgáramos mucho de poder ir en su compañía, para besar los pies del Señor Governador; pero porque es necessario guardar esta isla y defenderla de los terrenates [2], no sea que nos inquieten, como afirman los que aora vinieron de allá que sin falta lo harán, y vendrán muchos en esta ocasión. Demás de que ellos están ya dentro de la fortaleza de Sanguil, de la otra vanda desta isla [3].

2. Por estas razones nos es fuerça quedar acá, y supuesto que no podemos ir, dezimos que todo quanto nuestro Rey allá hiziere, juntamente con el Padre Antonio Marta, superior de los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús del Maluco, con el Padre Antonio Pereyra su compañero [4], que quanto hizieren los tres, prometieren y pidieren en nuestro nombre al Señor Governador Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, haga quenta Su Señoría que nosotros mismos en su presencia lo prometemos y pedimos de verdad, y [324] de un coraçón. Por quanto nosotros vivos y muertos avemos de ser christianos y vassallos verdaderos del Rey de Castilla y Portugal. Y esto presupuesto, pedimos al Señor Governador que, teniendo necessidad nos ayude, ampare y defienda como a tales vassallos, y no se olvide de nosotros. Dios guarde a V. Señoría.

Desta isla de Siao, a doze de Junio de mil y quinientos y noventa y tres [5].

Vassallos del Rey de Castilla y Portugal: Don Pedro Siao; Thomé Mangapa; Don Martín, socapitán mayor de la mar; Manuel Sarbeja; Francisco Papamdodoras Mananca; Don Antonio Sangajes; Don Duarte [6].

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[2] This proves that in that time Siau had to defend itself against the expansionist policy and military oppression on the part of the sultan of Ternate, and did not live in friendship with him, as is suggested by ELIAS (Consult D 94 note 59).

[3] The southern half of Sangi island (Tamako) was part of the kingdom of Siau. The term *fortaleza* here sounds a little pretentious.

[4] From this we see that the Frs. Marta and Pereira accompanied King D. Jerónimo to Manila. Nobody else but these three persons (« los tres ») were accredited, a proof of the high esteem in which the Jesuits were held by the chiefs of Siau.

[5] This date proves that the embassy did not sail to Manila before; namely not in May as is said by COLIN (322 no. 177) and after him by WESSELS (*Noord-Celebes* 392).

[6] Not one of the names could in any way be identified or explained. We

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96

FR. ANTONIO SEDEÑO, RECTOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, JUNE 24, 1593

TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* f. 286*r-v*, formerly 281, and no. 68. Autograph original in Spanish. The sheet is damaged, especially at the folds, by heavy ink blots which make the reading of our fragment in particular quite difficult and at places impossible. At f. 286*v*, between the end of the letter and Sedeño's signature, a later note runs « Manila 93 P^e Ant^o Sedeño 24 de Junio », followed by a Spanish summary. This letter stays between the two sheets of another letter of the same date (ff. 285 and 287), written by Brother Gaspar Gómez, obviously an autograph original as well. Gómez wrote also the address on f. 287*v*, and it is under this one address that the two letters travelled together. This can also be seen from the same blots occurring on Gómez' letter as well, though less strongly marked. The aforementioned summary contains some information on Br. Gómez which curiously is not to be found in the two letters.

Text

1. *Writes again on some scandals.* — 2. *The first is the way in which the Jesuits of Maluku provide for their livelihood by trading and bargaining, to the offence of many people.*

Ihs.

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Aunque otras vezes e dado [cuenta a V.] P. de algunas cosas que son ofensa y causa de murmuración en los seculares, me pareció por si o por no darla brevemente de nuevo.

2. Lo primero es del modo que los Padres tienen en el Maluco, que aunque parece que es necessario, no lo es en todo para su sustenta[ción, por[a]] lo que parece podrían dexar. Lo escrive a V.P. el Hermano Gaspar Gómez [1], que vino el Agosto pasado de allá [2]. Pero digo que lo

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suppose that the term in plural « sangajes », meaning chiefs of districts, belongs to the three preceding names.

[1] The very short letter of Br. Gaspar Gómez does not describe any point of behaviour of the Jesuits of Maluku. It mentions only « cosas escandalosas que no me atrebo a ponellas aquí », and he asks for permission to go and talk them over with Fr. General in Rome, or at least with Fr. Provincial in Mexico.

[2] This is an important item of chronology, which can correct some erro-

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murmuran y parécenles ofensa. Mucho es el tratar y contratar, y esto, como se haze con tanto cuydado, dase no pequeña nota para gente no sólo apasionada pero aun devota. Si ello pudiese haver otro modo, importaría mucho, y aun la Compañía le estaría mejor, si fuese posible, no tener puestos donde no se pudiese sustentar [. . .][b] que se suele en ella, pues de lo contrario ay tanta nota y offensión de los próximos, no[c] creo tanto del tratar como del modo.
[. . . 286*v*]

De Manila, a 24 de Junio 15[93][a].

Antonio Sedeño.

[*Address* 287*v*] Ihs. A Nuestro Padre Claudio Acuaviva, jeneral de la Compañía de Jesús en la casa profesa de Roma. Roma.

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[a] *d. r., paper damaged* || [b] *some words illeg.* || [c] no. . . modo *add. in smaller script* || [a] 93 *illeg., ink blot*

97

TREATY OF D. JERÓNIMO II OF SIAU WITH GOMEZ PEREZ DASMARIÑAS, GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES

MANILA, AUGUST 16, 1593

I For the BIBLIOGRAPHY, the AUTHORS, and the HISTORY, see at D 95.

II TEXT: COLIN, *Labor evangélica* 324-325 no. 180; COLIN-PASTELLS I 575 (Cf. D 95).

III DATE: The date is given in both the aforementioned works, in no. 178: « a diez y seis días del mes de Agosto de mil y quinientos y noventa y tres años ». COLIN reports that the treaty document was signed and sealed by the Governor, the king of Siau, and the Frs. Marta and Pereira (325 no. 181).

Text

1. *The king of Siau will yearly offer a spade and a shield as a token of his vassalage.* — 2. *He will admit Fathers to preach the gospel.* — 3. *He will not build a fortress*

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neous opinions (e.g., WESSELS, *Amboina* 117: in early 1593). Gómez had arrived in Maluku in early 1592 (D 88,2), was expected back by Sedeño in June (D 90,3), and actually arrived in Manila in August.

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without permission. The Governor can build and man one or more fortresses in Siau at his discretion. — 4. In case of war in the Maluku area the king will serve and help his Spanish Majesty as a true vassal. — 5. In return he asks for the following favours. — 6. That in case of an attack being made by the Ternatans or other enemies he shall receive Spanish protection and help. — 7. That his Spanish Majesty shall invest him and his successors anew with Siau island, including Tahulandang and South Sangi.

1. Que el dicho Rey de Siao, en reconocimiento de obediencia y vassallage[1], dará en cada un año, por el día de Pasqua de Resurrección, al Rey nuestro señor un alfange o espada, y una rodela, puesto en la fortaleza que más cerca de Siao tuviere su Magestad. Y si no pudiere por malos tiempos darlo el mismo día, será después quanto más presto.

2. Iten, promete que traerá a su reyno Padres que prediquen el santo Evangelio, y enseñen la doctrina christiana, y les proverá de lo necessario para su sustento, y hará todo regalo y buena acogida.

3. Iten, que el dicho Rey de Siao no pueda hazer en su tierra fortaleza ninguna sin licencia de Su Magestad, o de la persona que governare estas islas en su nombre. Y que pareciendo a Su Magestad o a su governador de las islas Filipinas, que conviene hazer alguna fortaleza o fortalezas en el dicho reyno de Siao, puedan hazer las que fueren servidos, y poner en ellas la gente de presidio que quisieren.

4. Iten, que ofreciéndose a Su Magestad, o al que governare estas islas en su nombre, guerra y necessidad de su ayuda, particularmente en aquellas partes de Siao y Maluco y sus contornos, acudirá con su persona y fuerças a servir y ayudar la parte de Su Magestad siempre que sea requerido, como su verdadero vassallo. Todo lo qual prometió y se obligó a cumplir, y lo juró por Dios nuestro Señor, y por la señal de la cruz en forma.

5. Otrosí, atento lo susodicho, y que de su voluntad ha dado y da la obediencia a Su Magestad, obligándose a lo arriba contenido, pide y suplica al Rey nuestro señor y al Señor Governador en su nombre le conceda por condición deste instrumento y vassallage en su favor las cosas siguientes.

6. Que por quanto él es molestado de los moros terrenates, y se teme que le harán guerra y vendrán sobre él, que Su Magestad le reciba debaxo de su amparo y protección para que goze de su real de-

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[1] This is only a renewal of vassalage. COLIN notes that the people of Siau were already subjects of King Philip because they had been of the king of Portugal (322 no. 177).

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fensa, y que Su Magestad le mande dar, y el Señor Governador en su nombre, favor y ayuda contra los dichos terrenates, y otros qualesquier enemigos que le hagan guerra.

7. Iten, que Su Magestad le confirme y, si es necessario, de nuevo le [325] dé y haga merced de la isla de Siao, que possee como suya, y de la isla de Tagolanda, que cae al sur de la vanda de Siao, y de la isla de Sanguil Basar[2], que está al norte, excepto los Vacampos[3]. Todo lo qual adjudica por suyo y de sus sucessores en Siao, para siempre jamás.

Lost Letter

97*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Sedeño, Manila, to Fr. General, Rome; about September 593.*

D 103,1: Against the union of Maluku Jesuit mission with Manila. The letter went « por vía de Malaca ».

98

FR. FRANCISCO CABRAL, PROVINCIAL, [TO FR. GENERAL, ROME]

Annual Letter
GOA, NOVEMBER 15, 1593
First *via*

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 70*r*-88*v*, formerly no. XXVIII. Original Annual Letter of the Indian Jesuit Province in Portuguese, written by an amanuensis in

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[2] *Sangi Besar*, the biggest island of the Sangi archipelago; in the native language *Sangihe*. Actually Tahulandang and Sangi fell victims to Ternate's imperialism (D 102,7).

[3] Most probably an incorrect spelling for *Makaampo*. STELLER-AEBERSOLD give as its meaning: an ancient royal scion known as a brute and a ruffian (301, also 8 s.v. *ampo*). But the maps show the name of *Maka Ampu* for one of the summits at the western side of the *Gunung Awu* in the north of the island. Don Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, in a letter of June 30, 1603, mentioned « la mitad de la [isla] de Sanguil de la banda del Norte que se llama de Macampo » (COLIN-PASTELLS II 356). And in 1677 a king of Tabukan (NE Sangi) is named Francisco Maccaampo (*De zelfbesturende landschappen Tahoelandang . . .*, 72-76). I therefore suppose that « los Vacampos » (corrected to « los Makaampos ») indicates the people of the northern half of Sangi, that is, at that time, of the kingdoms of Kolongan and Tabukan which were not claimed by Siau. See D 95 note 3.

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a fluent and clear hand, and bearing, on f. 87*v*, the autograph signature of Fr. Francisco Cabral, Provincial. Folio 88*r* is blank, its *verso* carries the quasi-address, which presumably is an instruction for a Father in Cochin who had to forward the three *vias* with different ships to Portugal. The note « 1ª via » has probably been written in Goa. There are three more later notes on the same page: in Latin « Annua Indiae Orientalis 1593 », and « Non signat cui mittenda »; and another in Italian « Al Rev.mo Gabriele, Patriarca d'Alessª de' Copthi ». (A Coptic patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt, Gabriel, made his submission to Pope Clement VIII by ambassadors. See PASTOR, *Gesch. d. Päpste* XI 497).

Text

1. *Ten Jesuits in Ambon and Tidore.* — 2. *Some Fathers became fleet chaplains, others were sent to Japan, and to Maluku one Father and one Brother.* — 3. *Death of Fr. Pero Nunes.* — 4. *A Father and a Brother sailed to Maluku in April. The Muslims cause many troubles there, but the State* [*of Portuguese India*] *is not able to respond to the yearly requests for succour.*

[... 70*v*]

1. Em Maluco, nas casas de Amboino e de Tidore, há des da Companhia: nove sacerdotes e hum irmão quoadiutor[a] [1].

[...]

2. Forão quatro Padres e dous Irmãos repartidos em tres armadas à pitição do visorrei e à importunação[b] e rogos dos capitãis-mores que sem elles não se quiserão hyr. Pera Jappão e China forão seis Padres, e com o Padre Bispo de Jappão dous Padres e hum Irmão, pera Maluco[c] hum Padre e hum Irmão [2].

[... 85*r*]

Maluco

3. Não há mais que escrever de des da Companhia que estão em Maluco: nove sacerdotes e hum Irmão[d], somente que faleceo lá o Padre Pero Nunez, que avia desanove annos estava na Companhia [3], nos quais, assi em Portugal como cá[e], mostrou sempre ser verdadeiro filho della.

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[1] He depicts the situation of early 1592 (D 88,2), adding the two new Jesuits of no. 2, but mistakenly he writes nine Fathers and one Brother in stead of eight and two.

[2] Fr. Manuel Gonçalves and Br. António da Costa (D 106,1 and 9).

[3] Actually he lived seventeen years in the Society, 1574-91. Cabral counts the years until the date of writing, 1593.

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4. Enviarão-sse para lá, este Abril passado, hum Padre e hum Irmão[4]. Tem continuo trabalho com os mouros. E não sessão de emportunar cad'ano por socorro. Mas o Estado não está por hora para lho poder mandar por causa das muitas guerras que sempre cá tem com reis infieis visinhos. Socorra Deus por sua misericordia aquella christandade, tantos annos há trabalhada com guerras e outros infortunios. [... 87*v*]

Da India e desta casa professa de Jesus da cidade de Goa, a 15 de Novembro de 1593.

Francisco Cabral.

[*Address* 88*v*] Jesus. Annua da India do ano de 93. Aqui vão as tres vias que se hão-de abrir e pôr cada huma em seu lugar. — 1ª via.

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[a] *corr. fr.* quadiutor || [b] *del.* do || [c] *corr. fr.* Malco || [d] *del.* somente || [e] *interl., corr. for* qua

99

FR. NUNO RODRIGUES SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 20, 1593
First *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 93*r*-96*v*, formerly 20-23, earlier 107-109, and no. XXXI. Original text in Portuguese. As the dark brown ink shines through the paper and in many places corroded it, large parts of the letter are scarcely legible, especially when the lines on one page are exactly on the same level as those of the reverse side, which is often the case. Consequently the paper shows many holes, and the biggest one is just in the passage on Maluku where a conspicuous part of five lines is simply lacking. This makes deciphering the remainder the more ticklish. Folio 96*v* is blank except for the address, a part of a seal, and a short Roman summary in Spanish.

II NOTE: Fr. Nuno Rodrigues was one of the official counsellors of Fr. Provincial, and a spiritual Father in St. Paul's College in Goa.

Text

Father General should warn the Fathers of Maluku against taking sides with

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[4] See note 2.

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factions and against organizing succour. The second point applies especially to Fr. Antonio Marta.

[... 94*r*]

De Maluco se escreve[1] que ..... socorro das Felipinas ..... mover V.P. como ..... qua aja separação .....como se teme ..... .[forta]leza se a tomarem, e que se ..... desuniões dos seculares, se as ouver, nem se ocupem com mais que de os pôr em pax sen se fazerem partes, como o Pe Provincial lhes tem escrito[2]. E creo que tambem lhe será necessario averti-los, e em particular al Pe Antonio Marta, que se ... fora neste negocio de procurar socorros, metendo ..... cabedal ..... de Maluco ..... o mesmo Padre ... só a busca-lo ..... Filipinas ..... somente a isso[3].

[... 96*r*]

Deste collegio de S. Paulo de Goa, 20 de Novembro de 93.

De V.P. inutil filho em Christo,

Nuno Rodrigues.

[*Address* 96*v*] Ao muito Revº Padre nosso em Christo, o Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesus. Roma. Pª via.

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[1] This document is important if damaged because two items of criticism can yet clearly be diagnosed from it. The first is that of siding with political parties among the Portuguese. This danger became often acute at the change of captains (D 50,3), and when the captain required Fathers as his counsellors (Cf. D 72 note 16).

[2] Lost Letter, 92*b*.

[3] The second strictures refer to organizing political and military succour for Maluku. One remembers that Fr. Antonio Marta sailed to India in 1589 (D 85,3) with a view of bringing an armada with him, and that as early as 1587 he planned a similar voyage to Manila (D 63,7). That he actually stayed in the Philippines at the time of this letter (Cf. D 100) could perhaps not be known to Fr. Nuno Rodrigues. See also Fr. Pero Martins' criticism of Marta in D 85,4, and Lost Letter 100*b*.

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100

FR. ANTONIO MARTA, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

CEBU, DECEMBER 5, 1593

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 188 Marta no. 12.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 119.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 288*r*-289*v*, formerly no. 69. Autograph original in Spanish. The last page contains the address and a summary in four items in Italian, written presumably by a Roman assistant or secretary of Fr. General, preceded by « Isole Filippine, ma sta al Malucco. 1593. Xbre 5. P. Antonio Marta », and followed by « Philippine. 84. 93. N.P., ... [*illeg. word*] dice che si serà risposto » [??]. The same Roman hand added numbers 1-4 to the text and underlined some passages.

IV PLACE: Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas had decided that Frs. Marta and Pereira, as likewise the king of Siau, should accompany the superb fleet readied for the conquering of Ternate. After the unexpected and dreadful murder of Dasmariñas which caused the withdrawal of the armada from any operation, Marta waited his time out in Cebu to get an opportunity to return to Maluku.

Text

1. *In six years received only once an answer from Fr. General.* — 2. *Seeing Maluku forsaken by the Portuguese, he sailed to Manila because several endeavours to get help from Goa broke down.* — 3. *But now also his effort in Manila became a failure on account of the catastrophe which befell Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas.* — 4. *How Dasmariñas was killed.* — 5. *The fleet, with all the military apparatus, returned to Manila. Maluku is more deserted than ever.* — 6. *Maluku being lost, the Society does no longer stand a fair chance there. It should either withdraw completely, or reduce the work to regular three years missions. Maluku is neglected also by the Society.* — 7. *The feeble position of Maluku is now worsened. The eventual death of the old king of Tidore, only friend of the Portuguese, spells an imminent danger. The fortress of Ambon is besieged.* — 8. *The number of Jesuits in Maluku, nine in all now, could be cut down to about half.* — 9. *It is no use sending new ones.* — 10 *A passage on Moro in the Life of Ignatius should be corrected.*

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Mucho Reverendo en Christo Padro nuestre

Pax Christi.

1. Estamos tam lexo de aquellas tierras que nel cabo de muchos

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annos no tenemos respuesta de las nuestras cartas, ni pudemos ser socorridos a tiempo en las nuestras necessidades. Pues ha seis annos que yo vivo nesta tierra del Maluco y cada anno tengo escritto a V.Rev.P. y com todo esto una sola carta tengo recebido suya, en resposta de las muchas, de 24 de Dezembro del anno de 89[1]. Louvado sea nuestro Señor de tudo.

2. Aora me hallo nestas islas de Manilla de ritorno para Maluco daquí a quinze días[2]. La occasión de la mía venida a esta tierra fue ver Maluco desemparado da los portugheses y toda la christianidad que ella tiene de quarenta mil almas em poder de moros, y una sola pocha que quedava a risco manifiesto de se perder, y ainda los portugheses star en el mismo perigo. Los nuestros Padres passados procuraron col Virey de la India y col P. Provincial que de allá viniesse armada para hechar fuera destas tierras los moros y assigurar los christianos mas nunca puderon alcanzar lo que pretendían[3]. Yo también foi ia tres annos en persona a Goa para este mismo negocio, mas por deradero no hizo más que alcanzar cem soldados.

3. Finalmente me volví para Manilla y hallei el remedio, mas no fue servido Dios N.S. que se pudesse aplicar al nuestro mal. Porque, después de Gómez Pérez das Mariñas, governador destas islas Filipinas, ter ajuntado mil españoles y quattrocentos de la tierra naturales, todos arcabuzeros y mosqueteros, y ia aviados todos debaxo de sus bandieras em cinquenta navios de remo y otros tantos de carga, con todos los petrechos de guerra que eran necessarios[4], aconteció[a] el más desgraciado accidente para estorvar esta empresa que [n]unca se ouvisse.

4. Tenía el susodicho Governador ia aviada la armada diante de sí, y quedava él sólo para venir em una galera com cinquenta soldados y mucha hazienda. Quando los remeros della, que eran chinas y hombres molles y efeminados, sim ninguna otra occasión que de ser malos, una noche pouco antes del día claro mataron los españoles que estavan durmendo, y al Governador que estava debaxo en la cámera, que

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[1] Lost Letter, 77*a*. In no. 9 he reverts to this letter.

[2] We infer that from January 1594 Marta was back in Maluku.

[3] It is not clear which time and which Fathers Marta deals with here. In the sixties the captains António Pais and Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque were sent with succour to Maluku at the instance of the Jesuits in Goa (DM I 355 and 500).

[4] See D 81 note 12. For his navy in particular, COLIN-PASTELLS I 600. He has sent part of it ahead to Oton (Panay) and part to Cebu.

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acudía al aruido, fenderon la cabeza em subindo ariva em dos partes y de allá dieron a vela por otra parte. Foi este un hecho o más memorable que [n]unca aconteció, porque vino de gente la más fraca que ha nel mundo, y aconteció a un cavallero lo más temido que [288*v*] mucho tiempo ha huviesse nesta tierra [5].

5. Com este caso todo el aparejo que estava hecho en un punto se deshizo. Porque el Governador que sucedió [6] mandó tornasse toda esta armada para Manilla por assigurar su tierra de lo que le pudiesse acaecer por isso. Y assí nosotros tornamos aora para Maluco [7] huérfanos y mucho más que antes desemparados y tristes: y com esto tambiém tenemos perdido la esperanza de ser algún día socorridos, porque esta armada fue ajuntada a pura fuerza del muerto Governador. Y los moradores desta tierra no querem poner su vida por ben de otros, ni Su Magestade acode com buon número de soldados, ni tampoco de la India ha remedio polos nuestros males, por estar aquella tierra pobre y avessada de muchos enemigos.

6. Por onde V.Rev.P. entienda y persuádasi que ia Maluco es perdido, y que la Compañía no ha de hazer más caso del. No ia porque Su Magestade no sea poderosa para hazer maior cosa desta, mas porque tiene otras cosas maiores y no ha quem tenga zelo desto e lo enforme de lo que passa. Yo aora escrevo al P. Provincial que no mande más gente a Maluco [8], y pues van las cosas desta maniera, que fuera bien o dexar totalmente esta tierra, o a lo menos reduzir este negocio a missiones de tres annos en tres annos [9], para com esto entretenerse hasta ver se por ventura daquí a vinti annos N. Señor acudirá a esta tierra. No sé lo que él hará, mas polo [b] que vemos aquí y tocamos cada día con man, no ha por aora otro remedio ni nos lo esperamos. Porque [c] no solamente Maluco está desemparado dal Virey de la India, y da los

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[5] He embarked on October 16 and was slain on October 26, 1593, between Luzon and Mindoro. A short narrative in English: COSTA 131.

[6] D. Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, son of Gómez.

[7] *Nosotros*, that is, Fr. Marta, the king of Siau, and their train. But Fr. Pereira was ordered to stay back in Manila and to see that an expedition to Maluku should still be undertaken (COLIN-PASTELLS I 627-635).

[8] In his deep sorrow and discouragement Marta lets himself be tempted to utterances wholly contrary to all that the Maluku Jesuits had ever expressed. See also no. 8.

[9] The temporary missions as proposed in the answers of some Fathers in D 94. Most probably they were Fr. Marta's own idea.

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españoles destas islas, mas tambiém da los nuestros[10]. Pues vemos que en vinti annos que Maluco está trabajado nunca los nuestros tienem scritto o trattado nada com Su Magestade allegando que no era su officio trattar de guerras. Por onde no es maravilla se llegamos ia al último de la desesperación y estamos puestos en última necessidade.

7. Lo stado de Maluco, antes de acontecer este caso, era estar los portugheses y nosotros en continuo perigo de ser muertos da los moros. Porque los portugheses son poucos y no tenemos fortaleza que vaglia, y stamos muy lexo de todo socorro ansí de soldados como de bastimentos y petrechos de guerra, como pólvora, mechias y pelotas. Lo que ha de ser daquí por diante, ha de ser ainda maior porque, tenendo los moros perdido el medo de las nuestras armadas, y sabiendo que no se ha de aparejar otra somejante daquí a muchos annos por razón de star Su Magestade muy lexo, y star muy vieja, y Spagna sogeita a grandes alteraciones, se han de levantar y mostrarse ainda más soberbos y tiranos contra de nos. Y se por algún día nos dexaren vivos en la isla de Tidor, por rispetto del rey de Tidor que agora vive y es nuestro amigo, después dél muerto, que no tarderá mucho por ser ia viejo y enfermo[11], [289*r*] han de mostrar su rabia contra de nos. Y neste tiempo han de procurar de destruir la otra fortalezza de Amboino como aora hazen, pues polas nuevas que teníamos ciertas estavan ia aparejados com mucha armada para tomarla, y cuidamos que aora la tienen cercada[12]. En fin no nos han de faltar trabajos, y nos que aquí estamos somos todos aparejados para sofrerlos por amor de Deos nuestro Señor.

8. Aquí aora estamos siete sacerdotes y dos Ermanos[13]. Somos muchos por tan poca messe, y será bien que torne ametad dellos para India y no vuelvan más hasta saber de cierto lo que passa. Y se yo los annos passados tengo pedido obreros, no era sino porque entonces los moros no se desmandavan tanto como agora, ni tampoco el Virey

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[10] This is a strong and bitter criticism of the policy of his superiors; but Marta is not overcome by his emotions; cf. the last sentence of this no. 6 with that of no. 7.

[11] King Gapibaguna; see DM I 624 note 24. According to CLERCQ (*Ternate* 155), he had no successor until 1599. Our documents, always using the general term « the king of Tidore », do not distinguish the several rulers nor reveal their names.

[12] The documents give no notice of a siege of the fortress of Ambon in those years. But from this moment down to May 1597 (D 114) we regrettably have no document whatever written in the Maluku area.

[13] Not counting Marta himself. Cf. DD 98, 1; 106.

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de la India y el Governador destas islas se tenían declarado de no poder ajudarnos, mas antes teníamos por cierta la jornada y Maluco limpo de moros y enemigos del Evangelio.

9. Por onde respondendo a la primera parte de la carta de V.Rev. P.[14], en que me screve que hará obra de nos enviar obreros y que también escreverá desto al P. Provincial, muy encarecidamente digo que no sará menester más hazer esto, pues nos falta el principal que es la quiete de Maluco. Primero es necessario procurar esta. Y se V.Rev.P. nos pudesse ajudar en alguna maniera, o escrevendo sobre desto a Su Magestade, o mandando al Procurador de la India que de allá tornar para estas partes[15], que tratte sobre deste negocio com Su Magestade, o que el[d] P. Provincial de la India mande de propósito un Padre para esto, fuera muy bueno y remedio oportuno para los nuestros males. Y si assí no se puder, quedaremos como primero: y entienda V.Rev.P. que no passerán muchos meses que Maluco quederá perdido, porque los portugheses que aquí posan son pocos y los moros poderosos, y el socorro fuera de speranza. Yo me quedaré[e] en Maluco con alguns compañeros hasta la obedientia mandar otra cosa, ainda que el frutto de pousar aquí no sea más que de confessar y predicar a los portugheses, y neste officio tener muchos enfadamentos y perigos da vida, que yo no conto agora. V.Rev.P. nos ajude a sofrer esta vida trabajosa com sus oraciones y santos sacrificios, pues sus hijos somos y por su mandado vivemos aquí.

10. Con la occasión desta carta quero tornar a repeter a V.Rev.P. lo que tengo escritto otras vezes, por ser de algún momento. En la vida de N.P. Ignatio se screve que el P. Francisco Xavier fue a Maluco, y allá fue a ter a una isla llamada el Moro, tierra la más triste y esteril que ha en el mundo, abitada de hombres antropófagos etc., tudo com mucho[f] encarecimiento y émfasi. A esto digo que el Padre que esto escrivió fue mal enformado, porque de todo este arcipélago, ansí de Maluco come de Amboino, no ha lá mejor tierra de la isla del Moro assí en la fartura como en la abilidade de las personas ansí hombres como mugeres. Por onde fuera por ventura bien hecho a emendar este erro, por no tirar com esto la verdad a las otras cosas ciertas y ver-

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[14] Of December 24, 1589; see no. 1.

[15] At the time Marta was writing this letter, the fifth General Congregation of the Jesuit Order was held in Rome, to which all Provinces had delegated their deputies or *procuratores*. The delegates of Goa were Frs. Francisco de Monclaro and Christovão de Castro.

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daderas[16]. No digo más com esta. V.Rev.P. se lembre de nos en sus oraciones y santos sacrificios.

De Sebu, una de las islas Filipinas, a los 5 de Dezembro 1593.

Endeño siervo de V.Rev.P.

Antonio Marta.

[*Address* 289*v*] † Al muy Reverendo em Christo Padre nuestro, el P. Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, Roma.

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[a] *del.* la ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* por ‖ [c] *del.* hasta ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* o ‖ [e] *del.* aqui ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* mas

Lost Letters

100*a*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Cebu, to Fr. Provincial of India ; December 1593.*

D 100,6: Fr. Provincial need not send any more missionaries to Maluku. Better leave it completely or reduce the work to temporary missions of three years each.

100*b*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku ; 1593-1594.*

Abstract, extremely brief, of this letter in ARSI, *Congr. 49* f. 531*r*: « Antonio Martae in Moluc. ne te immisceas rebus statuum. Spera melius de fructu. Et tu P. Masoni ». Cf. D 99.

101

FR. ALESSANDRO VALIGNANO, VISITOR, TO FR. MANUEL RODRIGUES, ASSISTANT, ROME

MACAO, JANUARY 2, 1594

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SCHÜTTE, *Valignano*, p. xlviii no. 296.

II TEXT: *ARSI, IapSin 12 I* f. 147*r-v*. Original in Portuguese. The amanuensis noted the addressee in the left lower corner of f. 147*r* « P[e] Ml. Roiz, asisten-

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[16] Repetition of DD 62,7 and 88,9. A result or an echo of this repeated protest can be seen in the *Historia Societatis Iesu* of Jos. JUVENCIUS (V/II, Rome 1710, p. 681): « Huic [Gilolae] adiacet Mauri insula cum aliis minoribus, Mauricis pariter dictis, quae non tam incultae modo et barbarae sunt quam ferebantur ante annos admodum quadraginta, cum in eas S. Franciscus Xaverius exscendit ».

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te »; a Roman archivist added « Valegn. Macao. 94 ». There is no address; presumably the letter was joined under one address with another one of Valignano of January 3 written to Fr. General (ff. 148*r*-149*v*). On the *verso*, the same Roman hand wrote « Machao 94 P. Valignano », and added a short abstract in Latin. Another note runs « ja ».

Text

1. *Fr. Assistant advised him to consider whether soliciting succour from the Philippines was correct for Jesuits.* — 2. *Found that the Fathers in Maluku solicited succour from the governor of the Philippines. Once auxiliaries sent there did not achieve anything.* — 3. *Wrote from India and from Macao to Fr. Marta, he should leave to the captains the making of requests for military help.* — 4. *No Jesuit should negotiate succour by the way of the Philippines, nor should one sail to China, Maluku, or Japan, by another way than that of India.*

† Jesus

Muy Reverendo em Christo Padre

Paax Christi.

1. Em huma carta de V.R. breve, que achei aquí o anno passado [1], me avisava que porquanto alguns escreverão que esperavão socorro de Maluco por via dos Luções, considerasse se convinha aos nossos meterem-se em semelhantes cousas pollo desgosto que disso podia receber o Viso-Rey e outros portuguezes.

[. . .]

2. Achei tambem que os Padres de Maluco, como se vêm tão acurralados com toda a christandade que tem a cargo e tão supiados [2] dos mouros, que não podem levar a converção adiante, nem governar e conservar como convem esse pouco do residuo de christãos que ficou naquellas partes, juntamente com o capitão de Amboyno e Tidor, e os mais portuguezes que ahi estão, desconfiados já de lhe ir socorro da India, se rrecorrem ao Governador dos Luções pera lhe pedir socorro. E forão de llá averá agora sinco ou seis annos trezentos e tantos castelhanos, mas, como se avierão mal com os portuguezes, não fizerão nada e tornarão com perda de muita gente e de reputação pera os Luções [3], com que ficarão os portuguezes em pior estado e mais oprimidos

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[1] Lost letter, 87*a*.

[2] That is, *sopeados*.

[3] He refers to the expedition of Juan de Morón, which was in 1585 (D 49 note 32).

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dos mouros. Por onde continuarão sempre a pedir[a] por huma parte o socorro do Viso-Rey da India e por outra a do Governador dos Luções.

3. Eu sabendo isso escrevi da India [4] e tambem tenho escrito daqui [5] ao P.e Antonio Marta, que está em Maluco por superior, e aos mais Padres que lá estão que por nenhum caso se metessem a pedir socorro por via dos Luções, mas que deixassem fazer aos capitães e portuguezes o que acerca disto quizessem, pera que elles podessem depois dar conta ao Viso-Rey da India do que fizerem e não deitassem a culpa sobre nós, como acustumão ordinariamemte fazer quando lhe não saem bem as cousas [6].

[...]

4. Me parece bem que se não meta nenhum dos nossos a tratar de pedir socorro por via das Felipinas, mas deixem este cuidado aos capitães de Sua Magestade, os quais sabem a vontade d'El-Rrey e do seu Viso-Rei da India, e a elles pertence tratar disso e não a nós outros. E essa ordem a tenho muy bem dada em Maluco e Japão. Alem disto sinto que por nenhuma maneira convem, pera o bem desta Provincia e da mesma Companhia, vir nenhum dos nossos nem à China, nem a Maluco nem a Japão, senão por via da India [7], porque realmente fazendo-sse o contrario se podia seguir grande damno à mesma Companhia.

[... 147*v*]

Deste porto da Amachao, oje 2 de Janeiro de 1594 anos.

De V.R. servo em o Senhor,

Alexandro Valignano.

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[a] *corr. fr.* impedir

Lost Letter

101*a*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Antonio Sedeño, Superior, Manila; May 9, 1594.*

Registered letter in summary: «Al Padre Antonio Sedeño, Rector del Colegio de Manila, manda no se encarguen de Doctrinas de Indios como curas. Se ayudará al Maluco en lo que se pudiese». (Madrid, *Arch. Hist. Nac., Cod. 340b*, f. 219*v*, no. 4).

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[4] Lost letter, 69*a*.

[5] Lost letter, 91*b*.

[6] As it happened to Fr. Marcos Prancudo (D 1,2).

[7] It was Fr. Antonio Sedeño who suggested the Manila route to Maluku as early as 1582 (D 36,2).

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102

FR. ANTÓNIO PEREIRA TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, JUNE 24, 1594
By Mexico, first *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 189 Pereira no. 2.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 120; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 392-394.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 194*r*-197*v*. Earlier numbers: 437-439 [*del.*], 300 [*del.*], 200, V. Autographic original in Spanish with many Portuguese words, expressions, and spellings. On f. 194*r*, left lower corner, a secretary noted « Philippinae et Moluccae. 94. Jun. ». The same hand made some underlinings in the text and put a vertical line in the margin at our paragraph 5. Folio 197*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the address, remainders of a seal, and a Roman summary in Italian, followed by the name of « P. Gio. Álvarez », the Portuguese assistant who obviously had to deal with Pereira's proposals. The text has been written with black Chinese ink commonly used in Maluku, and the entire letter is covered with inky stains, especially at the folds, which, however, do not impede its legibility. Part of the address was written on the label with which the letter was closed and which is now lacking.

IV OUR EDITION: We split up the text into more paragraphs than the MS does which has only one, after our no. 3. Many sentences are syntactically deficient, not well marked off from others, and seemingly endless. We took the liberty of dividing them, even if a regular sentence does not always result from this operation.

Text

1. *Reasons why for some years there was no annual letter written in Maluku, and why also this year there will be none.* — 2. *Came with Fr. Marta to the Philippines to examine the desirability of a union between Maluku and Manila under a vice-provincial. Fr. Marta returned to Maluku.* — 3. *Letters sent by the way of the Eeast Indies did not arrive ; Fr. General should write by Mexico.* — 4. *Sad condition of the Christians in Maluku : fortress [of Ternate] lost in 1575, ever since they were succourless.* — 5. *Some Christian chiefs practised treason in Ambon. Low numbers of Christians in Ambon, in Labuha, and in some islands near Ambon.* — 6. *The few Christians of Tidore are little by little apostatizing, and even some Portuguese did, among them a priest.* — 7. *People of Tahulandang, Manado, Tolitoli, Kaidipan, Sarangani, and Sangi Besar side with Ternate and became Muslims.* — 8. *Only Siau island remained Christian, but the new king does not favour Christianity in any way.* — 9. *Bacan became Muslim.* — 10. *The Moro people are Muslims by force, and are cruelly tyrannized.*

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— 11. Fundamentally, people, even the Muslims, are good-natured. Apostasy explained. Spanish navy was expected; it never came. — 12. The Portuguese of Tidore run the risk of being killed the day the king dies. — 13. Work of the Jesuits: conserve a very few Christians and encourage the Portuguese. — 14. Proposes that some Jesuit should negotiate the succour directly with King Philip. — 15. The king should consider conquering Maluku both lucrative and a matter of conscience. If he is unwilling or unable to send help, he should release the captains of Maluku from their oath. — 16. Fathers of Maluku, not occupied in pastoral work, should go and assist those of Manila. Proposes a Jesuit Province of Manila united with Maluku. — 17. Conclusion.

† Jesus
Muyo Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Como ayan passados tantos annos que en las annuas de la India muy poquita o quasi nunguna mención se tenga hecho de las cosas de la Compañía en el Maluco[1], por[a] rezón de estar quasi toda la christiandad perdida y quasi sin esperanças de en alguno tiempo se hazer — teniéndosse el anno passado respecto a que con el fabor y auxilio divino este anno se recuperaría todo lo perdido por medio del Governador de las Felipinas, que sin falta esperávamos en el Señor si hiziera por tener hecha huna muy grande y custosa armada, si se no deshiziera tudo con su moerte[2] — por esta causa se ha dexado de hazer annua particular de todo este arcipélago (aunque el P.[e] Provincial lo obiesse encomendado por venir orden de V.P. para ello) el anno passado, deixándolo todo para este anno se hazer despoes de tudo recuperado con el fabor del Señor, que él sabe lo que nos hé mejor y lo ordena todo[b]. E por esta causa se comprió con una carta breve solamente[3] deixándolo de propósito para este anno. Mas foy N. Señor serbido que este anno foesse como los passados, y que noestras esperanças se frustassen como en los demás. Y creo que en Maluco aun se no hará anua este anno porque, como esperan aun que la armada del anno passado se continue, temo dexen tudo para despoes del negocio hecho[4].

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[1] The Maluku mission was mentioned in the Indian Annual Letters of 1587 (D 69), 1590 (D 79), 1591 (D 84), 1593 (D 98).

[2] See D 100,3-5.

[3] In 1593 Frs. Marta and Masonio wrote to Fr. General, and the *Consulta* of that year was sent to Fr. Provincial (DD 92-94). So what does Pereira mean by « carta breve »?

[4] We do not know any letter from Maluku of 1594.

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2. Por lo que socediendo venir yo en compañía del P.e Antonio Marta a estas islas Felipinas dende el Maluco[5] por su compañero, como consultor y confessor que era suyo, para se tomar noticia de las Felipinas para que, sendo caso que Maluco se recuperasse, se tratasse con V.P. se sería boeno y necessario que Manila y Maluco se unicen y se hiziesse una provincia de por si, a lo menos con uno viceprovincial para que desta manera se tratasse solamente con V.P. y no se esperasse recado de México ni de la India, visto seren estas partes muy remotas y afastadas y, por conseguiente, nunca jamás vistas ni visitadas por los provinciales, que no dexa de ser desconsuelo particular para todos, aunque Dios N. Señor no deixa de lo dar por otras vías en el medio de tantos trabajos y calamidades. Parecióme que poes el P.e Antonio Marta se bolvió al Maluco, deixándome aquí para saber del noevo Governador si pretendía llevar la impresa adelante o no, [194*v*] no sería cosa conveniente, quedando aquí al tiempo que las naves parten pera Noeva España, deixar de escribir a V.P. por lo menos algunas cosas del, deixando lo demás para la anua que allá se hiziere.

3. Juntamente porque, como ha tantos annos que las naves de la India de Portugal o la ida o la vinida passassen tantos trabajos que o se pierden o arribão, o son desbaratadas y tomadas de los ingleses[6], podrá ser que no tenga V.P. noevas de los Padres del Maluco, así como tampoco tenemos cartas de V.P. de seis annos a esta parte, y esta deva de ser la causa. Y aunque el P.e Antonio Marta tenga escrito algunas vezes por vía de Nova España, con todo no ha llegado ninguna de V.P. hasta oy. Por esta causa me pareció también que convenía escribisse dende aquí a V.P. para le pedir nos hiziesse charidad por amor de Dios de, por vía de las Indias de Castilla, nos consolar con cartas suyas, poes por vía de la India de Portugal ha tantos annos que no merecemos a Dios gozar de alguna carta de V.P. tan deseada de todos nosotros.

4. Las cosas del Maluco han llegado a un estado que quasi no

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[5] They came together from Maluku; this excludes that Pereira was staying already in Siau. See D 94 note 61.

[6] One ship of the fleet of 1586 bound for India was captured by Francis Drake; one captain of the fleet of 1589, when returning to Portugal in the next year, had a narrow escape from a seven days battle with five English ships; in October 1590, a Portuguese *naveta* was taken by the English on the third day of its voyage to Goa; of two ships sailing back to Portugal from Goa in 1592, one was taken by an English fleet, and the crew of the other, seeing they could not save themselves from this fleet, set their ship on fire (*India Oriental* ff. 229*r*-230*v*).

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poede ser peyor. Porque, como despoés de la fortaleza perdida, que foe en el anno de 75, cada día se esperava por armada de la India para se recuperar, los christianos fueron sempre esperando e sofriendo tantos y tan quotidianos trabajos de guerras, como hasta agora an sofrido biviendo nestas esperanças. Y como por otra parte los inimigos vían que se dilatava el socorro, fueron cada día tomando más osadía y ánimo, y quitándolo por otra parte a los christianos, diziéndole que já los portuguezes y españoles se acabaron, que dexen la lei que tienen, que tomen la que dantes tinían. Y con estas práticas y juntamente con lle cativaren cada día los escravos, y muchas vezes los hijos y mugeres, fueron perdendo tanto el ánimo los pocos dellos que con los Padres quedaron, muriendo también los principales y antiguos que, como quien tenía noticia de las cosas de Dios y de la religión y de las cosas de los portuguezes, los hían sustentando. Esto quanto a los que con nosotros están[c], que los que los ternates tomaron y cativaron juntamente con sus haziendas y tierras, já todos son mouros y apostataron, de modo que aun de los que con nos quedaron muchos hizieron já también lo mismo. [195*r*]

5. Y a tanto han llegado, que algunos principales que estavan con los portuguezes en la fortaleza de Amboyno, tenían já armada traición y manera buscado para daren entrada a los inimigos en la nuestra fortaleza [7]. Más digo, llegó Maluco a tal estado, que de coarenta mil almas que avería en el Maluco christianas, todas quasi son mouros, quitando en la fortaleza de Amboyno, que no sé se llegarán a mil entre niños y grandes; y en la isla da Labua, aonde está un Padre [8], que podrá aver cen hombres; e en dos o tres islas junto de Amboyno [9], aonde ha algunos já solamente en el nombre y baptismo mas no en lo demás, que ni Padres queren consentir en su tierra [10].

6. Quitada esta gente que digo, que aun cada día se van destos retrocedendo, averá en Tidore (que es otra fuerça chiquita y flaca, aonde están los portuguezes por rezón del clavo, que es una isla de mouros) como trinta hasta corenta hombres casados poco más o menos, indios digo. Y destes también se van já poquitos a poquitos para los

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[7] The treason of the *pati* of Halong (DD 93,6; 94,30).

[8] Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado (D 94,13-15).

[9] The Lease islands.

[10] One cannot dissemble the feeling that Pereira, supposedly in low spirits after the downfall of Dasmariñas' naval enterprise, exaggerates the negative sides of the situation and frowns very much on it.

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inimigos y se hazen mouros, y lo que peyor los mismos esclavos de los portuguezes, y aun alguno portuguez, que es lo que más sentimos. Y sobretodo un clérigo de missa se foe una vez pera los moros, y segundo fue después castigo, y algunos dizían pretendió serlo[11]. Veya V.P. se son estas cosas para se sentir.

7. Y se me V.P. perguntar, y que se ha hecho del rey de Siao y su gente, digo que toda la isla de Tagolanda días ha que son mouros todos, juntamente con los que avía en los Manados y Totoles y Cauripas[12], y se non lo son del todo, fáltelles poco, por rezón de los ternates, que son los mouros noestros inimigos, tem quasi señoreado gran parte dellos. Pues Serrangan[13] todo está con los ternates, aunque por fuerça. La isla de Sanguir Bassar, que la mitad era de christianos, ya todos se hecharon con los ternates.

8. Queda[d] solamente aun la isla en que posa el mismo rey, en la qual podrán aver hasta 600 hombres, y estos mal avenidos por rezón del noevo rey que socedió, que en verdad meyor fuera no lo aver. Ni pode ser aver allá Padres, porquanto este rey como moço y amigo de su parecer y juizo, no tiene de ver más que dizer que es christiano. Y en lo demás Dios por su misericordia lo remédee que no tiene más que el baptismo, ni pienso tendrá más enquanto bibiere[14]. Y praza a Dios no esteya oy con los inimigos, tam poco es el concepto que todos dél tienen. [195*v*]

9. Tampoco tengo que hablar en el rey de Bachan que con toda su gente es mouro y de los más devotos y afeiçoados a la lei de Mahama. Que vi también son moros já todos los que eran christianos en los papuas con su mismo rey, que es vasallo del rey de Bacham[15] y el mismo lo constrañió a ello.

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[11] See JACOBS, *Vicars* 283 no. 65.

[12] There is no mention whatever of a conversion of Tahulandang island in our documents. Manado is the NE tip of Sulawesi, Totoli or Tolitoli lies in the W, and Kaidipan in the middle of the N arm of that island. Rajas or chiefs of these regions had been converted in 1563 (DM I 413–415).

[13] The Sarangani islands, south of Mindanao; at the present day a part of the Philippines.

[14] Here we have the image of the merely political confession of the Christian faith combined with a complete want of a Christian education. D 97 could deceivingly create a too favourable impression of the religiosity of this D. Jerónimo II Winsulangi of Siau.

[15] We suppose that Pereira speaks here of Lisibata, Hatuwe, and Tolomata, kampongs on the N coast of Seram, claimed by Bacan, and converted to Christianity. See DM I, Index, under these names. They were not Papuan proper.

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10. Pues que diré de la christandade de Moro, gente tam buena y aonde Dios N. Señor hizo tantos regallos al bendito P.[e] Mestre Francisco Xavier? Todos son mouros já, aunque por fuerça, y sus tierras son de los inimigos. Y tiénenlos tan sujeitos más que se foran captivos suyos, tomándoles sus mugeres y hijas y criadas para lo que quiseren hazer dellas, y aun vendiéndolas para partes remotas y afastadas.

11. Veya V.P. y julgue que tales estaremos los Padres del Maluco sino cada día y cada hora[e] llorar y suplicar a Dios aya misericordia de nosotros. Y lo que nos obliga más a esto y nos haze sentirlo más, es ver quán boena gente es toda, aun los mismos mouros, por teneren poca noticia de las cosas de Mahoma y poco dados a vicios y peccados. Y que estaa aquí un arcipélago que en todo el mundo, sin mintir se poede dizir, le hará ventagen se fueren christianos. Que los que agora arrenegaron de la fee fue porque, como después de baptizados siendo chicos vino la guerra y después de seis annos la pérdida de la fortaleza [16] y conseguientemente[f] de todo el Maluco, no pudo ser tener Padres que los dotrinassen más que los viejos que quasi todos son já muertos. Y vendo juntamente por otra parte que una armada de mil e quinhentos españoles basta para allanar y conquistar todo este arcepélago, por rezón de los muchos que están forçados con los inimigos, no solamente christianos mas aun infieles. Que en verdad averá neste arcipélago todo más de duzentos nem trecentos mil[g] hombres[h] y pienso que digo poco, y con tam poca gente tudo poder[i] ser conquistado, destruindo los ternates, que entre boenos y malos serán hasta tres mil e quinientos poco más de pelea[j]. Y que aya tantos annos que[k] se espere por esta gente y nunca llegue, de tanta que por tantas partes de la christiandad anda perdida: aviendo tiemplos profanados, y cálices y patenas, y serviéndosse dellos los mouros como otro Baltasar de Babilonia [17], bebiendo por ellos no digo já sus capitanes mas, lo que es más de sentir, sus proprias concubinas.

12. Estas son las cosas del Maluco y que passa por aquá, y lo que se teme es que moyra cada día el rey de Tidore [18] para no aver [196r] más ni portuguezes ni Padres ni christandade en el Maluco, porque, aunque es mouro, por la gran ganancia que tiene con el tratar con los portuguezes, consiente aver Padres y portuguezes en su población de

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[16] So Pereira reckons that the war against the Portuguese began in 1569, that is, when the first wooden fortress was built in Ambon.

[17] Cf. Dan 5 2-3.

[18] D 100 note 11.

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por si, la qual no quiere consentir que se serque[19], y todas las vezes que él quisiere nos matará a todos sen remedio ninguno.

13. Lo fruto que hazen los Padres es conservar estes poquitos de christianos y confortar a los mismos portuguezes no hagan algun desatino. Los inimigos cada día se van haziendo más poderosos, temo que quando venga algún socorro no aproveche. Lo que nós hazemos, ocho Padres y dos Hermanos[20], que tantos estamos agora en el Maluco, es mirar estas cosas y otras y, como cada día retrocedem muchos sen les podermos valer, llorando a Dios y suplicándolle quera abrandar su ira y bolver los ojos de misericordia para esta tierra[l], que[m] non secundum peccata nostra faciat nobis, nec secundum iniquitates nostras retribuat nobis, sed secundum magnam misericordiam suam[21].

14. En[n] verdad que no dexan muchos de nos echar la culpa que, como es possible que esteamos tantos annos alí mirando estas cosas, y no vaya un Padre a Castilla tratarllo con Su Magestad? Aunque yo quedei aquí para ver si se da alguno remedio en Felipinas este anno y, quando no, passar a la India tratallo en la Congregación Provincial que se ha de hazer para embiaren procurador a V.P.[22], todavía, porque más certo es que aquí se no haga nada, y porque podrá ser que se for yo a la India que primero passe anno y medio, y el camino después a España es tan peligroso, suplico a V.P. por amor de Dios noestro Señor, no solamente en nombre de los Padres e Hermanos que en Maluco estamos mas aun en nombre de todos los portuguezes y christianos, que V.P., se[o] julgar ser necessario, ordene se[p] suplice a Su Magestad del Rey Don Felipe ordene con que con toda la pressa possible por vía de México y Manilla se haga esta empreza, que con mil e quinientos hombres hasta dos mil se acaba tudo. Que desses que andan por México moriendo de hambre y vagabundos y otros semejantes, quando no[q] obiere otros, dé orden con que se haga, porque en verdad que despoés le tie ne de custar mucho más.

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[19] In opposition to Ternate, where the Portuguese had lived around the fortress in a walled town, in Tidore thay were settled near the fort without being protected by a wall. See D 26 note 19.

[20] See D 98 note 1. Presumably the two new ones had arrived in Maluku in late 1593 or early 1594, and Fr. Pereira had been informed of this.

[21] Ps 102 (103) 10.

[22] The Provincial Congregation was held in Goa from 12 to 29 October, 1594 (Letter of Fr. Alb. Laerzio, Goa, November 18, 1595, in *Goa 14* f. 276*r*). Fr. Pereira had been foreordained by Fr. Marta as a deputy to take part in it, but obviously he did not go.

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15. Y no piense que le importa este arcipélago poco, poes dél poden sacar cada un anno por lo menos dos naves llenas de clavo, y dos otras de nôs[r] moscada y massa [196*v*] tam estimada en Europa toda, y juntamente assegura Felipinas. Y serles ha facillíssimo el tomar la isla de Mindanao, aonde já los ternates han también entrado a seminar su falsa y mahometana ceta. Y descargará con esso su consciencia socorrendo a sus vassallos. Y si no quisiere o no podiere, desobrigue así a los capitanes del Maluco de lo omenagen que ten dado; y a los portuguezes que 25 annos ha que andan con trabajos cotidianos sustentando esto desnudos y despidos, les dé licencia para que se vayan aonde bien les pareciere. Mas que ni socorra ni levante la omenagen, ni dé la tal licencia, júlguesse con qué consciencia se podrá hazer.

16. Y si parecer a V.P. que en tal caso o por entretanto, quedando los que fuéremos[s] necessarios en el Maluco, los demás vengan a aiudar los Padres destas islas Felipinas, que harta necessidad tienen. Que por certo tengo que, se Manilla con todo su destricto y Maluco fuera una Provincia desmembrada de México y de la India, podería ser foesse ya todo este remediado. Mas como no lo sea, i Maluco esteya tan remoto de la India, que para aver de tenermos respoesta del P.[e] Provincial es necessario y se han de passar tres annos menos no sé que mezes, veya V.P. qué remedio se podrán dar a tales cosas. Estas no trato con V.P. para lle pedir dé alguna orden nesto, porquanto si ha de tratar con el P.[e] Provincial primero así de la India como de México, mas para que sepa V.P. lo que ha, porque podrá ser que por olvido se deixasse de escrebir; o, se se escrebió, que la nave se perdiesse[t] y, piensando que V.P. lo sabía, se dessimulava con el negocio.

17. Esto es brevemente lo que se me offereció que convenía como procurador del Maluco[23] escribir a V.P., remetiéndome, como dize, alla anua, la qual pienso que ni este anno se hará. Lo que resta es pedir humilmente a V.P. nos haga mandar encomendar por toda la Compañía, que certo harta necessidad es la que[u] padecemos todos los deste arcipélago así Padres como portuguezes como christianos. En la bendición, que humilmente pido, y santos sacrificios y oraciones de V.P. mucho me encomendo.

De Manila, oy día de San Joan Baptista, 24 de Junio de 94.

De V.P. indigno hijo en Christo, el Padre

Antonio Pereira.

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[23] See note 22.

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[*Address* 197*v*] † A noestro Padre Claudio Aquabiva, prepósito ge[ner]al de la Compañía de [Jesús] em Roma. 1ª vía. De Maluco.

[a] *del.* que ‖ [b] *closing bracket ms.* ‖ [c] *closing bracket ms.* ‖ [d] quedi *or* quede *ms.* ‖ [e] *interl.* ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* por conseguiente ‖ [g] *del.* animas ‖ [h] hombres.. poco *interl.* ‖ [i] poder ser *interl.* ‖ [j] de pelea *interl.* ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* y ‖ [l] *del.* en ‖ [m] que.. suam *interl.* ‖ [n] *ins.* ‖ [o] se.. ordene *interl.* ‖ [p] *ins.* ‖ [q] *interl.* ‖ [r] *written in this way in ms.* ‖ [s] *del.* dir ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* pediesse ‖ [u] *ins.*

103

FRS. ANTONIO SEDEÑO, RECTOR, RAYMUNDO DE PRADO, AND FRANCESCO ALMERICI, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, JUNE 25, 1594

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 120.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Philip.* 9 ff. 295*r*-296*v*, formerly 566-567, and no. 73. Original in Spanish, autograph of Fr. Raymundo de Prado. In lower left corner of f. 295*r* « 94 ». On f. 296*v* we find the address, traces of a seal, and a Roman note « Manila. 94. Pes Antº Sedeño, Raymundo Prado y Francº Almerique. 25 de Junio », followed by an abstract of the letter in Spanish. At some distance under it « Placet », and two words « Las razones » cancelled.

Text

1. *Repeat now via Mexico what they wrote about Maluku via Malacca one year earlier.* — 2. *Fr. Valignano is said to negotiate the union of the Maluku mission with the Philippines, which seems reasonable on account of their nearness. But there are heavy drawbacks.* — 3. *The diversity and aversion between Castilians and Portuguese make such a union morally impossible.* — 4. *As both the Philippines and Maluku are considered places of exile of their provinces, a union would work the wrong way. And why should the strong Indian Province part with the poor Maluku mission and burden another with it?* — 5. *From a viewpoint of navigation Maluku is much better equipped and therefore less distant than the Philippines are.* — 6. *Plea for leaving Maluku to the secular clergy.*

Ihs.

Pax Christi, etc.

1. El año passado escrevimos a V.P.[1] por la vía de Malaca un

[1] Lost letter, 97*a*.

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negocio que entendimos de los Padres que aquí vinieron del Maluco [2]. Y porque aquella navegación es muy incierta, nos pareció repetirlo en esta que ha de yr por la vía ordinaria de México.

2. Los dichos Padres Antonio Martha y Antonio Pereyra nos dixeron que el P.e Alexandro Valiñano les avía dicho que procurava con V.P. que el Maluco se incorporasse con esto de Manila [3] y estuviesse subiecto a la Nueva España como lo está agora esto todo. El bien que tiene o aparencia es la comodidad de la cercanía, por donde parece que sería cosa más cómoda que no ser parte de aquella Provincia que está lexos. Esta entendemos que es toda la razón de la mudança dicha porque, si no fuera esta, claro está que no se tratara dello. Pero esta comodidad tiene muy grandes contrapesos y razones en contrario, por donde juzgamos acá que en ninguna manera deve V.P. hazer esta mudança, sino dexar aquello como siempre estuvo.

3. La principal razón es la grande diversidad y aun aversión natural que ay entre estas dos nationes de castellanos y portugueses, la qual pide differentíssimo modo que han de tener los de la Compañía con los unos y con los otros, y assí lo tienen aun en la Compañía aquella y esta Provincia muy differente modo y cosas y manera de tratar consigo y con los próximos. Pues querer amoldar a los de una misma Provincia, perfectos y no tan perfectos, a todas esta[s] diversidades, en lo moral sin duda es muy malo de hazer. Y de solo esto que se ha dicho, assí sin fundamento ninguno a lo que se puede entender, ha avido hartas alteraciones en algunos, y sin duda se entiende lo sentirían mucho de la una y de la otra parte, [295*v*] pues los portugueses no lo sentirían menos.

4. También esto de aquí se tiene por un desterradero de la Provincia de México y aquello de Maluco por otro tal de la India. Pues

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[2] Frs. Antonio Marta and António Pereira.

[3] We doubt if ever Fr. Valignano proposed the union of Maluku with Manila in such a determined way. In his many letters to Fr. General of those years there is no trace of a similar proposal (in *ARSI, IapSin 11 I-II; 12 I-II*). On the contrary, defending the susceptibilities of the Portuguese in Asia, he often pronounced for a strict separation, and rather opposed any contacts and visits between Jesuits of the territories of the two Crowns. His letter of January 2, 1594, is a striking example of this, both the part we publish here (D 101) and the other dealing with Japan. On April 1, 1585, Valignano wrote to Fr. General « Deve V.P. ordenar al Provincial de la Nueva España y al Rector de las Filipinas que por nengún caso manden Padres de aquella Provincia a esta [of India], ni a Maluco ni a la China » (*ARSI, IapSin 10 I* f. 26*r*).

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juntar de principio dos Provincias desta fama, sin duda huyrían muchos della, y aun por razón de aquello perdería esto de las Philippinas. Ni parece que es razón que se quede la India con todas las casas y puestos buenos, y uno que tiene no tal [4] se quiera descargar dél y hechar a otro la carga. Sino ver si conviene dexarlo por razón de no hazerse allí casi ningún provecho, y averse de sustentar los nuestros con modos (como dixo el P.e Alonso Sánchez al Cardenal Alexandrino [5]) no religiosos, cargando y embiando, comprando y vendiendo, lo qual para acá es cosa casi que se abomina, y allá no tanto. Y si se juzga que convendría dexarlo, dexarlo del todo; si se juzga que conviene tenerlo, tenerlo quien lo tiene, pues lo tendrá con menos ruydo y escándalo que se podría tener de aquí.

5. Pues la razón que parece que conbida a esto, que es la comodidad mayor por[a] estar tan cerca estas tierras, no tiene fuerça si se considera bien. Porque están cerca quanto al sitio, pero para las navegaciones esto está lexos y aquello muy cerca. Porque allá están entabladas las naos que van y vienen todos los años, y trahen y llevan sus mercaduríias. De aquí no ay nada sino alguna vez alguna fregata que va de aquí de algún mercader con algunos bastimentos, y estas se pierden muchas y van a grandes riesgos de mar y enemigos por ser embarcaciones pequeñas y mal armadas. Aquello es cosa gruessa y segura, y assí es sin duda aunque estén más lexos, pero es[b] mayor la comodidad del trato y comunicación por allá que por acá [6]. Si el Rey ordenara que la contratación del clavo fuesse por estas islas y por México, es verdad que fuera más cómodo, pero esto es cierto que el Rey no lo hará porque tiene muy grandes inconvenientes.

6. Y assí por amor de Dios V.P. mire mucho este nuestro negocio, porque sin duda tiene grandes inconvenientes. Y si V.P. quiere que de espacio los veamos y informemos dellos, también [296*r*] lo haremos porque esta no es más de por lo dicho che oýmos, aunque no lo avemos podido creer. Que se dexasse aquello del todo al obispo y clérigo y se fuessen los nuestros a donde hiziessen más fruto, esso si nos parecía

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[4] That is, Maluku.

[5] Cardinal Michele Bonelli OP; he died in 1598 (GULIK-EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica* III 47).

[6] This reasoning does not seem free from affectation, and one could doubt its correctness. Also the preceding reasonings create the impression of being rather tendentious; they reveal that the aversion of the Spanish Fathers from their Portuguese fellow Jesuits must have been very strong. See Lost Letters 101*a* and 110*a*.

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(salvo si tiene la Compañía obligación alguna a tenerlo, lo qual nos no sabemos), porque allí ni con portugueses ni con los naturales casi no se haze nada, y cada día lleva talle de hazerse menos. Y para aquello que se haze es necessario, a lo que dizen, sustentarse los Padres con el modo dicho con grande murmuración de muchos. V.P. lo vea y ordene lo que más conviene, que esso entenderemos que es lo que más conviene al servicio de nuestro Señor. Y a nosotros nos encomiende en sus sanctos sacrificios y oraciones.

De Manila, a 25 de Junio 1594.

Antonio Sedeño Raymundo Prado Francisco Almerique.

[*Addres* 296*v*] Ihs. A nuestro P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, [prepósito ge]neral de la Compañía [de Jesús] en Roma. De las Philippinas.

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[a] *corr. fr.* post ‖ [b] *interl.*

104

FR. FRANCISCO CABRAL, PROVINCIAL, [TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME]

Annual Letter
GOA, NOVEMBER 7, 1594
First *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 32* ff. 507*r*-524*v*, earlier no. L. Original in Portuguese, written in different hands, not always easy to read, divided into chapters marked by intercalary titles designating several houses or stations of the Jesuit Province of India, and provided with Cabral's autograph signature. A secretary's hand noted on the first page « India 94 », and « 1594 » at the top of all the pages up to f. 521*v*. Many insertions, underlinings, vertical linings, and marginal catchwords were later added to the text. Folio 524*r* is blank; its *verso* contains the quasi-address « Annua da Provincia da India Oriental de 1594. 1[a] Via ». A Roman secretary added « Annua India Oriental 1594 ». The chapter on Maluku is on f. 521*r*-*v*. It is written in three hands and contains many additions and insertions, which often only render the original words in a clearer way of writing or in a Latin translation, and are evidently made by a later reader.

II PRINTED: In *Litterae Societatis Iesu duorum annorum M.D.XCIIII. et M.D. XCV. ad Patres et Fratres eiusdem Societatis* (Neapoli 1604) 863-864; Latin translation, somewhat free and shortened, of nos. 2-6, omitting the original date and the name of Fr. Cabral.

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Text

1. *Ten Jesuits in Maluku; being troubled by obstruction and wars they cannot achieve much.* — 2-3. *A low-relief wooden statue of Our Lady resisted being destroyed by the Muslims.* — 4. *Deposition of witnesses on this event.* — 5-6. *Martyrdom of Pero Moreira.*

[...]

Maluquo

1. Nas ilhas Maluquas há des da Companhia, nove sacerdotes e hum Irmão[1]. Ocupão-se todos em conservar aqueles christãos já feitos, no que não fazem tão pouco por ser grande o trabalho e contradição que tem da parte dos mouros e reis gentios, que nunqua sesão de os importunar com guerras e alvorosos, aos quais se não pode hir à mão por ser muy pouco o socorro que das partes da India se lhes pode mandar, por cauza das guerras que tãobem quá não faltão. Quanto mais que parece[a] que são tão grandes as ofensas de Deos que por aquelas partes se fazem, que não permitem serem socorridos. Pera prova disto contarey duas couzas de grandissima edificasão que por ocasião dellas[b] acontecerão.

2. A primeira das qu[a]es fui hum manifesto milagre, que socedeo emcontrando-se huma galé e huma fusta nossa com a armada dos imigos[2], os quaes despois de renderem a fusta, aremeterão com novo impetu e força à galé metendo muitos dos seus nella. Hum delles, a subindo polo leme, deu com huma imagem de pao, feita de meio relevo, da serenissima Virgem Senhora Nossa, que na popa da galé estava[3]. Lançou o mouro mam da imagem escondendo-a. [521*v*] E achando este como os demais grande resistencia da parte dos nossos, se recolherão pera as suas embarcações como desesperados já de a poderem render. Idos a terra descobre o mouro a imagem que na galé achara. Os outros em a vendo derão huma grande grita de alvoroço e alegria pola presa que entre mãos tinhão, por se lhe offerecer tão boa occasião de poder zombar da fé [de] Jesus Christo.

3. E asi levamdo das chaves, dos berços, outros dos martelos, outros finalmente do que diante se lhe offerecia, deram tantas marteladas na imagem que, ainda que ela[c] de bronzo fora, se fizera em pe-

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[1] The same error as in D 98,1.
[2] The battle reported in D 80,4-6; it took place in March 1591.
[3] Cf. D 94,29.

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daços. Mas quis[d] Deos, pera confuzão daquelles malvados mouros, que nenhuma leisão recebesse. Pasmados elles do que viam, detreminaram queimá-la, para, o que não acabarão suas espadas e martelos, acabasse e desfizesse o fogo. Fizerão pera effeito huma grande fugeira na qual a lançarão, mas o fogo incensivel, tendo respeito à imagem da Mãy de seu Criador, perdeo de tal maneira sua actividade[e] e vigor que a imagem de pao ferido (como dise) não somente não ardeo mas nem sinal de fogo trazia, mas saindo com suas cores e tintas tam vivas como quando na fugueira a lançarão.

4. Fizeram-se sobre este milagre as inquirições dividas. E alem de se isto saber[f] de alguns christãos que de prezente se acharão, os mesmos mouros o testifiquarão depois. E a imagem dahi por diante foi tida en grande veneração[4]. Louvores ao Senhor[g] que faz tam evidentes milagres por sair polla onrra e veneração de sua benditissima Mãy.

5. A segunda foi hum glorioso martirio que os imigos da nossa sancta fee derão a hum purtuges por nome Pero Moreira[h 5]. Foi a causa desta maneira. Na fusta que arriba dise ser rendida pollos mouros se quativarão quatro portuguezes, hum dos quais foi o ditossissimo Pero Murera, homem bom christão e de bom viver. Este pois tomarão os mouros e, levando-o a huma praya, o despirão todo pera mor vituperio e deshonrra sua e da lei de Christo. Estando elle[i] desta sorte e todos os mouros que a este espectaculo se acharão com suas armas nas mãos, lhe fizerão primeiro com brandas e doces palavras muitas perguntas, se queria arrenegar a fee de Christo e re[c]eber a lei dos mouros, prometendo-lhe se isto fizese não somente a vida mas outras muytas promessas. E se tambem elle não condescendesse[j] com o que elles lhe pedião, que com as armas que nas mãos tinhão o avião de despadeçar.

6. O bom do portuges, estando firmissimo, a tudo respondia que bem podião exequtar nelle quantas crueldades imaginassem, mas que por nenhum cazo avia de deixar a fee de Jesu Christo seu Deos e Senhor. Vendo os perfidos mouros sua constancia, deixando jaa as pro-

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[4] This implies that the Christians received back the statue.

[5] The narrative of this martyrdom can also be found in JARRICUS, *Thesaurus rerum Indicarum* I cap. 30, and in EGLAUER, *Die Missionsgeschichte. Ostindien*, III 272-273, in German, perhaps made after the Latin printed text; both ascribe the event incorrectly to 1595. In the lost second part of Sebastião GONÇALVES' historical work, the first chapter of the ninth book was titled « Do perigoso estado em que as partes de Maluco estiverão no anno de 93, e do martirio do ditoso Pedro Moreno [*sic*] portugues, natural de Goa ». (GONÇALVES, *História dos religiosos* III 373). From no. 5 it is clear that also Moreira's death fell in 1591.

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messas e afagos, remetem a elle cruelmente, e huns a quutiladas com suas espadas e quatanas, outros com arcos e frechas o aseteavão, outros finalmente o tratarão de tal sorte, que o ditosissimo sancto, não dexando nunqua o sanctissimo nome de Jesu, por cujo amor e fee padecia, entregou sua alma nas mãos de seu Criador, torquando a vida temporal[k] e miseravel por essa sempiterna e perduravel, aonde com seu Criador vive e viverá pera sempre [6]. Amen.

[. . . 523*v*]

Desta casa professa de Jesus da cidade de Goa, a sete de Novembro de 1594.

[*Autograph*] De V.P. filho indino,

Francisco Cabrall.

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[a] *corr. fr.* parecem || [b] *start of h2* || [c] *corr. fr.* era || [d] *d. r.* || [e] *start of h3* || [f] se isto saber *corr. fr.* . . tamanho || [g] *del. illeg. words* || [h] Murero *ms., add. interl.* Moreira || [i] *corr. fr.* elles || [j] condesem *ms.* || [k] *del.* por

105

FR. FRANCISCO CABRAL, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 20, 1594
Second *via*

1 TEXTS:

A. *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 240*r*-243*v*, formerly 149-151, earlier 288-290 [*del.*], and no. XXVI. Original Portuguese text with, on f. 242*r*, an autograph signature; neatly divided into eleven paragraphs, afterwards numbered in another hand. The folia 242*v* and 243*r* are blank; f. 243*v* contains the address with the indication of the second *via*. An archivist noted « 94 Nov. Goa. Prov.l. Est et altera cum summario » (last five words cancelled) on f. 240*r*, and twice « 94 » on f. 243*v*, where further a hole in the paper obviously marks the place of the seal. Our passage is on f. 242*r*.

B. *ARSI, Goa 14* f. 244*r-v*, formerly 422, and XXVI 6. Incomplete original text in Portuguese, with autograph signature, only one page (paragraphs 9-11),

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[6] To the notice of the statue of Our Lady, more extensive than in D 94,29, and the story of Pero Moreira, consult D 93,13-14.

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cancelled by two crossed lines. Folio 244*v* bears the address and the indication of the first *via*, and also here a hole suggests the seal. An oblong slip of paper, cut off from the lost first folio of this letter, contains no part of the text but only a blank margin at the foot of which is noted « 94 Nov. Goa. Prov.l. »; it precedes f. 244*r*. Folio 244*v* contains an extensive summary in Spanish mixed up with Portuguese.

II OUR EDITION: We print the small part which deals with Maluku. We borrow it from text A, this being the more complete one and showing a better orthography.

Text

In Maluku the Jesuits, suffering troubles and not being helped, are little satisfied, as can be seen by a consultation held by them. Maluku was never visited by a Provincial or by a real Visitor.

[. . . 242*r*]

A christandade de Maluco padece grande naufragio com as guerras que tem e pouco socorro de quá. Por onde os Padres padecem muitos trabalhos e andão pouco contentes, como V.P. verá por huma consulta que lá fizerão todos sobre se deixarião aquella christandade, que com esta mando[1] pera V.P. ordenar o que for mais serviço de Nosso Senhor. Maluco depois do P.e Mestre Francisco não foy visitado de superior nenhum, digo Visitador nem Provincial, nem doutro que fosse mandado que tornasse a dar informação. Só os que hião pera lá ficarem por superiores o visitavão[2], o que não dava inteira noticia ao Provincial. Veja V.P. o que quer que nisto se[a] faça.

[. . .]

Desta casa professa de Goa, a[b] 20 de Novembro de 1594 annos.

[*Autograph*] De V.P. indino filho[c] en o Senhor,

Francisco Cabral.

[*Address* 243*v*] † Ao muito R. em Christo Padre nosso Claudio Acquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesus. 2 via. Roma. Do Provincial da India.

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[a] se nisto *B* || [b] oje *B* || [c] filho indino *B*

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[1] This is the consultation of 1593 (D 94). Being directed to Fr. Provincial in Goa, it was forwarded by him to Fr. General at this occasion.

[2] They were successively Frs. Luís de Góis in 1570 (DM I 586), Bernardino Ferrari in 1579-80 (D 18,2), Antonio Marta in 1586 (D 55,1).

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THREE CATALOGUES OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA], DECEMBER 15 AND 20, 1594
First *via*

TEXT:

I. *ARSI, Goa* 24 *I* ff. 223*r*-236*v*, original pagination 1-27. Original in Spanish, in a beautiful and clear hand. On f. 223*r*, at the top, someone wrote « 1594 » and « 1595 », both underlined. The catalogue lists all the Jesuits of the Indian Province, grouping them according to the several houses, and giving each one his own number. It is followed, on ff. 237*r*-240*v*, by an alphabetic index of names referring to both pagination and numbers. Folio 240*r* is blank, its *verso* has a note « Catalogus primus personarum Indiae. 1. via ».

II. *Goa 24 I* ff. 241*r*-248*v*. Original in Spanish. It contains the qualities and abilities of all the Jesuits listed in the preceding catalogue, not giving their names but only their corresponding numbers. Folio 248*v* is blank but for the note « Catalogus 2s personarum Indiae. 1. via ».

III. *Goa 24 I* ff. 219*r*-222*v*. Original in Spanish, clearly written in double column. On f. 222*r* the first column contains our passage on Maluku, followed by the *Supplemento* (see title) reporting six deaths and three dismissals; the second column is blank, as is likewise f. 222*v* but for the note « 1ª via ».

Text

I. First *catalogue : Names and biographical data of eight Fathers and two Brothers residing in Maluku.* — II. Second *catalogue : Personal character and abilities of the same persons.* — III. Third *catalogue : actual occupation of the same in the Maluku mission.*

I

Catálogo primero de las informaciones communes de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús de la India Oriental echo a 15 de Deziembre de 1594.

[... 236*r*]

Maluco y sus residencias [1]

296. P. Manuel Gonçález, portuguez, de Coimbra, de 26 años y medio, buenas fuerças, de 8 años de la Compañía, studió casos.

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[1] Consult the notes of DD 48 and 75.

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297. P. Lourenço Massonio, italiano, de Campoleto[2], de 39 años, robusto, de 11 años de la Compañía, studió leies y cánones sinquo años, y después de las artes studió algunos mezes theología.

298. P. Antonio Martha, italiano, de Trevige, de 51 años, buenas fuerças, de 27 años de la Compañía, acabó los studios, leió latín, fue vicerector del colegio de Brexa, ministro de la casa de Venecia y Goa, y superior de Maluco, hizo professión de 4 votos el año de 83, a 21 de Março.

299. P. Luis Hernández, portuguez, de Lisboa, de 44 años, buenas fuerças, indespuesto de la cabeça, de 14 años y medio de la Compañía, acabó los studios de theología, començó las artes, fue ministro de Baçaín, vicerector, y procurador, y prefecto del seminario de los niños de Goa.

300. P. Rogerio Conrrado[3], flamengo, de Trodon, diócesi de Leodio, de 44 años, robusto, de 18 años de la Compañía, oyó leies y cánones, y algunos mezes theología y casos, enseñó latín.

301. P. Antonio Perera, portuguez, de Beja, diócesi de Évora, de 38 años, mediocres fuerças, de 20 años y medio de la Compañía, acabó los studios de theología, fue ministro del colegio de Goa, fue prefecto del seminario de los niños.

302. P. Gabriel de la Cruz[4], castellano, de Toledo, de 40 años, buenas fuerças, de 18 años de la Compañía, studió algunos mezes theología y casos de consciencia.

303. P. Juan Rebelo, portuguez, de Lisboa, de 36 años, buenas fuerças, de 18 años de la Compañía, studió artes y 3 años theología, servió al P.e Mapheo[5] 7 años.

304. Hermano Antonio de Acosta, portuguez, de Lamego[6], de 40 años, de mediocres fuerças, de 7 años y ocho mezes de la Compañía, es coadjutor.

305. Hermano Juan Pablo, alias Mamphreda, italiano, de Cozença, de 38 años, robusto, de 15 años de la Compañía, es coadjutor.
[...]

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[2] Campolieto, Molise, Italy.

[3] Fr. Rogier Berwouts.

[4] Fr. Gabriel Rengifo.

[5] Fr. Gianpietro Maffei, Jesuit historian, author of *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (1st ed., Florence 1588). Rebelo had been his assistant, 1580-86 (EX I 121*).

[6] Lamego, Viseu, Beira Alta, Portugal.

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II

Catálogo segundo de las informaciones de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús de la India Oriental hecho en 15 de Desiembre de 1594.

[... 247*v*]

296. Mediocre ingenio, juizio y prudencia, colérico sanguino, sabe casos quanto baste.

297. Mediocre ingenio, juizio y prudencia, mediocres cánones y leies, colérico sanguino.

298. Mediocre ingenio, buen juizio y prudencia, tiene experiencia de govierno, mediocres letras, colérico sanguino, talento para cosas agibles y para confessar y govierno.

299. Buen ingenio, juizio y prudencia, experiencia de negocios, buenas letras, colérico sanguino, talento para negocios, y bueno para govierno.

300. Mediocre ingenio, juizio y prudencia, mediocres casos, flegmático sanguino, mediocre talento para confessar y cristiandad.

301. Buen ingenio, mediocre juizio y prudencia, sabe mediocramente theología y casos, colérico sanguino, mediocre talento de predicar y bueno para confessar.

302. Mediocre ingenio, juizio y prudencia, sabe poco casos, buen talento para confessar, tratar con el próximo y para la cristiandad.

303. Mediocre ingenio, buen juizio y prudencia, mediocre theología, sanguino flegmático, talento para la cristiandad.

304. Buen juizio y prudencia, flegmático, apto para officios de coadiutor.

305. Mediocre juizio y prudencia, colérico, apto para los officios de casa.

[...]

III

Cathálogo tercero con el supplemento del primer y segundo de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús de la India Oriental, echo en 20 de Deziembre de 1594.

[... 222*r*]

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Maluco y sus residencias

P. Antonio Martha, superior.
P. Manoel Gonçálex
P. Luis Hernández
P. Rogerio Conrrado
P. Antonio Perera } ocúpanse en la christiandad.
P. Gabriel de la Cruz
P. Juan Rebelo
P. Lourenço Mazonio

Hermano Antonio de Acosta } tienen cuidado del temporal.
Hermano Juan Pablo }

[...]

107

CATALOGUE OF THE HOUSES OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE, AND OF THEIR REVENUES

[Goa], December 1594
First *via*

I Text: *ARSI, Goa 24 I* ff. 211*r*-218a*v*. Original in Latin, written in an elegant hand. Folia 218*v* and 218a*r* are blank; 218a*v* has a note « Catalogus domorum et collegiorum Provinciae Indiae. 1ª via ».

II Note: This catalogue could be considered a *catalogus quartus* and be classified with the three of D 106, and consistently be edited together with them. However, since this numerical title has not been used, and both the language and the style of this catalogue are much different from the three preceding ones, we prefer to separate it from them and to publish it apart. Though the title mentions the revenues of the houses, in the case of our passage on Maluku they are only roughly indicated in the last sentence.

Text

1. *Eight Fathers and two Brothers in four residences: Tidore, Sulawesi, Ambon, and Labuha, try to conserve the Christians in the faith.* — 2. *Loss of Portuguese control. Troubles in India impede sending succour.* — 3. *Loss of religion: wavering in the faith and apostasy from it. Useless toiling of the Fathers. Their revenues.*

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Cathalogus domorum omnium, quae Societas Iesu in India habet, anno 1594 mense Decembri confectus. Adduntur communes Provinciae privataeque collegiorum expensae, annui item proventus eorundem, socii tandem omnes censentur.

[... 217*v*]

Malucae insulae

1. Malucae insulae plures nostrorum sedes habent, in quibus socii decem, sacerdotes octo, fratres duo, laborem partiuntur. Earum duae in ora Malucarum, Tydore videlicet et Celebes[1]. In Amboini tractu a Tydore trecentum fere millibus[2] dissito, totidem Amboinum et Lambo[3]. Praestantissima nostrorum cura nutantes in fide stabilire, delere penitus quae non plane oblita sunt mahumetanae superstitionis vestigia. Facile enim ad pristinum ingenium arrepta occasione barbari redeunt, quos nec christianae veritatis fulgor, quia crassiores sunt, praestringit nec metus cogit.

2. Imperii in hoc orbis terrae tractu religionisque par iactura, haud dissimile etiam incrementum. Quidquid hactenus terrarum a lusitano milite expugnatum occupatumque est, totum id in assertoris Christi ditionem[a] feliciter redactum. Quidquid vero propugnantium incuria ab hoste debellatum, Mahumetes imprimis obtinuit. Incredibilis in Malucis insulis rerum lusitanarum iactura. Vastant omnia furentes hostes, depopulantur viribus, multitudine et exercitatione superiores effecti. Quorum superbiam retundere barbaramque cervicem confringere ac demolliri obssessae in India urbes lusitanum adversae refragantem fortunae omnino prohibent.

3. Haud dispar etiam religionis detrimentum, uti erat consequens. Integra in fide nutant oppida; eandem abiecere plurima, in quibus vix religionis vestigia apparent. Integra regna Mahumeti parta, in reliquis retinendis infinitus propemodum labor. Perpetuo hic religionis ministros insudare necesse est, qui cum omnia agant, agunt tamen in praesentia nihil. Aluntur ii annuo censu aureorum quingentorum[4], eleemosynisque pinguioribus[5], quibus inopiam levant.

[a] *corr. fr.* dictionem

[1] That is, in Siau.

[2] The number of the Portuguese *leguas* was tripled into « miles » when translated into Italian or Latin.

[3] Erroneous spelling for « Labuha », after D 75,2.

[4] Cf. D 78,1.

[5] Probably this refers to the four bahars of clove mentioned, for instance, ibid. 2.

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108

LIST OF THE FATHERS TO BE PROMOTED TO SPIRITUAL COADJUTORS, [MADE FOR THE USE OF FR. GENERAL]

[GOA, 1594?]

I TEXT: *Goa 24 I* f. 194*r-v*. Original in Spanish. Another hand, presumably of the receiver in Rome, added somem arginal notes (See crit. app.), which, however, were cut off wholly or partly.

II DATE: Fr. Cruz sailed to Maluku in 1584. Accordingly, this list was made up about 1594 (no. 3).

III OUR EDITION: We pick out three names of Fathers who worked in Maluku.

Text

1. *The following Fathers are proposed to became spiritual coadiutores: António Vaz.* — 2. *Rogier Berwouts/Corrado.* — 3. *Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz.*

> Los seguientes se proponen para Coadiutores spirituales formados, conforme a lo que Nuestra Reverenda Paternidad ordenó que dentro de 4 años fuessen propuestos.

[...]

1. P. Antonio Vaz[a]. Tiene muchas razones su mucha edad, antigüedad en la Compañía, donde ha trabajado bien predicando siempre y confessando. Y aunque el tiempo atrás hizo algunas cosas que lo impedían[1], aora está mudado y secundum praesentem iustitiam no lo desmerece[2].

[... 194*v*]

2. P. Rogerio Conrado. Es muy idóneo y ay muchos años que está ocupado en la christiandad de Maluco con buen fructo y edificación[3].

3. P. Gabriel de la Crus. Es muy idóneo para el grado y ay 10

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[1] See DM I 177-178 note 1.

[2] He made his vows on December 1, 1597 (*ARSI, Goa 24 I* f. 281*v*).

[3] He vowed on November 30, 1596 (D 184,96).

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años que fue a Maluco, y se ocupa en la christiandad con mucho zelo y edificación [4].

[a] *add.* Theolog. *and* 70 *left m.*, 80 e da Comp[a] [. . . *cut off*] -gador *right m.*

Lost Letter

108*a*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. António Pereira, Maluku; 1594-1595.*

D 114,1: « En recompensación de que con las de V.P. me anime y consuele ». Fr. General permitted him to make his profession. Cf. D 109,4.

109

LIST OF THE PROMOVENDI TO THE SOLEMN PROFESSION OF FOUR VOWS

[GOA], JANUARY 1, 1595

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 249*r*-262*v*. Original in Latin, written in a clear regular hand. For each Father a whole page is reserved. Folio 254 is inserted later and written in a different hand; its *verso* is blank. Also f. 262*r* is not written upon, and 262*v* contains only the note [*del.* « Hase dado] Vista a toda la provincia [*del.* y] pareció que los Padres cuyas informaciones aquí se embían se devían proponer para professos », to which another hand added « Promovendi Indiae ». From the numbering it is evident that the recommendations of the Fathers were drawn up after a fixed list of questions. This list, of 1574, introduced by Fr. General Mercurian, is in MS in *ARSI, Rom. 1* f. 33*r-v*. The fact that some Fathers made their profession in Maluku as early as 1596 (see footnotes) shows that earlier proposals had been made and that Fr. General had already taken his decisions; or perhaps such decisions were made by Fr. Visitor. The latter wrote to Fr. General on December 6, 1595 « En Maluco mandé que hiziessen professo al P. Luis Fernández, y al P. Antonio Pereira, ambos portugueses » (*ARSI, IapSin 12 II* f. 327*r*).

II OUR EDITION: We choose those Fathers who in any way were sent to Maluku during the period of this volume. We mention some later Roman additions, being answers to the proposals, in the footnotes.

[4] He sailed to Maluku in April 1584 (D 47,2), and made his vows on May 30, 1596 (DD 126, 197 ; 184, 119).

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Text

1. *The following Fathers are proposed to be promoted to the solemn profession of four vows: Cristóbal de la Vega.* — 2. *Luís Fernandes.* — 3. *Francisco da Cunha.* — 4. *António Pereira.* — 5. *João Rebelo.* — 6. *Brício Fernandes.*

†

Catalogus Patrum qui R.P.N. Generali propositi sunt ad professionem 4.or votorum. Et quia nondum accepimus responsum denuo proponuntur. Cal. Jan. 1595.

Hi octo qui proxime sequuntur a P. Visitatore proponuntur.

[... 251*r*]

1. 1. Christophorus da Veiga[1], hispanus hossunensis, 34 annos natus, mediocres habens vires, scholaris.
   2. 18 abhinc annis[a] admissus ibique probatus iuxta Instituti normam.
   3. Bonos in virtute progressus fecit, circa obedientiam illud occurrit, quod in Mogorica missione contigit[2], de quo Pater procurator[3], in vocatione non vacillavit.
   4. Quadriennium theologiae explevit in quo studio bene profecit, iuri cannonico et civili triennio operam dedit.
   5. Non peregit 3.[m] probationis annum, quia studiis occupatus fuit.

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[1] He is mentioned in D 48,58. He made his profession on July 14, 1596, in Malacca (*ARSI, Lus. 2* f. 140*r-v*). See *Gen. Introd.* III 4 no. 61; DI XII 704 no. 7.

[2] Fr. Vega had been one of the members of the second Jesuit mission to the Great Mogul Akbar in 1591. As Akbar appeared to have invited the Jesuits only to serve the purpose of introducing a new religion of his own making, the mission came soon to an abrupt end. The superior, Fr. Duarte Leitão, felt obliged in conscience to send Fr. Vega with a Brother back to Goa, and he followed them himself three months later. They were charged with disobedience and with lack of patience by Fr. Provincial Pero Martins, but his successor, Francisco Cabral, was of a different opinion (Letter of Vega, Chaul, December 2, 1593, in *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 127*r*-128*v*; CAMPS, *An Unpublished Letter*; MACLAGAN, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* 48).

[3] He points to the procurator or deputy of the Indian Jesuit Province, Fr. Manuel da Veiga, who sailed to Europe in the same ship as the present document (*ARSI, Goa 14* f. 262*r*: Francisco Cabral to Acquaviva, Goa, November 15, 1594).

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6. Logicam et philosophiam triennio cum satisfactione docuit, doctrina et eruditione pollens.
7. Quinquennio in confessionibus et praedicatione versatus cum facilitate, gratia et fructu.
8. Biennio cum dimidio damanensi, biennio item chaulanae domui praefuit cum humilitate, modestia, etc. cum satisfactione domesticorum et externorum, et negotia prudenter tractavit.
9. Non sequitur extraordinarias opiniones nec est proprii iudicii amator, et in affectibus est mortificatus.
10. Devotus et orationi deditus, salutis animarum zelator, strennuus in negotiis promovendis et difficultatibus superandis, optat labores pro salute gentilium perpeti.
11. Non ambivit regendi munus nec dignitatem, indifferens ad quencunque Societatis gradum et ministerium.

[... 251*v*]

2. 1. P. Ludovicus Ferdinandus, [4], ulysipponensis, 44 annos natus, mediocres vires habet, capite infirmus, scholaris.
2. Eborae admissus 14 abhinc annis[b], non potuit experimentis externis [5] probari quia peste laborabat Lusitania, postea in Indiam missus aliis rebus occupatus fuit legendae scilicet logicae[c] et ministeriis Societatis.
3. Bonos in his virtutibus progressus fecit, Instituti amator, in vocatione nunquam vacillavit.
4. Ante ingressum quinquennio fere theologiae vacavit et bonos fecit progressus.
5. Non peregit 3.m probationis annum, quia studiis absolutis ingressus est.
6. Non docuit nisi logicam exiguo tempore.
7. In Malucis concionatur septem abhinc annis cum fructu et in confessionibus audiensis proximis utilis est.
8. Nullam obivit administrationem.
9. Non sequitur opiniones peregrinas nec est proprii iudicii amator, et in affectibus videtur mortificatus.

[4] Here a second, certainly Roman, hand added « ja » in the margin. Fernandes made his profession on July 22, 1596 « in the Jesuit church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Tidore » (*ARSI, Lus. 2* f. 141*r*-142*v*; D 184,111).

[5] Usually they were: assisting in a hospital, making a tour on foot begging one's bread, and various kinds of manual labour.

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10. Devotus, orationi deditus, salutis animarum zelator, in negotiis promovendis et difficultatibus superandis strennuus, optat maxime labores pro salute animarum pati inter infideles.
11. Non ambivit regendi munus nec dignitatem, indifferens ad quemvis Societatis gradum et[d] ad[e] ministeria.

[... 253r]

Qui sequuntur nondum propositi sunt sed modo proponuntur ad professionem 4.or votorum. Cal. Jan. 1595.

3. 1. P. Franciscus[f] a Cuña[6], Castello Branco diaecesis da Guarda, natus 38 annos, mediocres habet vires, miles.
2. Goae admissus 18 abhinc annis, probatus pro more regionis.
3. Bonos in virtutibus progressus, paupertatis et Instituti amator, in vocatione nunquam vacillavit.
4. Biennio theologiae operam dedit cum mediocri fructu, nec ultra progressus quia in Malucas missus est.
5. Non peregit 3.m annum quia non erat in usu.
6. Non docuit.
7. Septennio fere concionatus est cum fructu et audivit confessiones cum aedificatione in missione Malucana[7].
8. Nullam obivit administrationem.
9. Non sequitur peregrinas opiniones nec est proprii iudicii amator, videtur mortificatus.
10. Devotus, orationi deditus, salutis animarum zelator opere in Malucis, strenuus et efficax in negotiis promovendis et difficultatibus superandis.
11. Non ambivit regendi munus nec dignitatem, indifferens ad omnia.

[... 259r]

4. 1. P. Antonius Pereira[8], lusitanus, Pax-Iuliae eborensis dioecesis, natus 38 annos, mediocres habet vires, scholaris.

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[6] In the margin « Promoveatur ad 4.r; dispensamus ... in capite [?] studiorum, etc », written in a third hand.

[7] He lived in Maluku from 1587 to 1592.

[8] Two additions in the margin: « ja » (second hand), and « Promoveatur ad 4.r » (third hand). He made his profession on April 29, 1596 (DD 126,193; 184,114 ; *ARSI, Lus. 2* f. 138r).

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2. Goae admissus 20 abhinc annis.
3. Bonos fecit in virtute progressus, Instituti amator, in vocatione non vacillavit.
4. Absolvit studia theologiae non sine fructu.
5. Non egit 3.m probationis annum quia nondum erat in usu[8a].
6. Non docuit.
7. In concionibus et confessionibus per novem circiter annos in Malucana missione cum fructu et aedificatione versatus est[9].
8. Nullam habuit administrationem Societatis.
9. Non sequitur extraordinarias opiniones, nec iudicio proprio adhaeret, in affectibus mortificatus.
10. Devotus, orationis deditus, salutis animarum zelator, in negotiis peragendis bene se gerit et difficultatibus non cedit, optat labores pati, imo multos pro salute animarum apud Malucas passus est.
11. Non ambivit regendi munus aut dignitatem, videtur indifferens ad omnia.

[... 260r]

5. 1. P. Ioannes Rebellus[10], ulysipponensis, 36 annos natus, robustus, scholaris.
2. Ulysippone 18 abhinc annis admissus, probatus cum satisfactione.
3. Magnos in virtute progressus fecit, Instituti amator, non vacillavit in vocatione.
4. Triennio theologiae operam dedit cum fructu, non ultra quia ad Malucas missus est.
5. Probationis 3.um annum non egit eadem [de] causa.
6. Non docuit quia cum Patre Mapheo septem annis versatus est.
7. Quadriennio et eo plus apud Malucas in confessionibus et concionibus cum fructu proximis adfuit[11].

8a But see DI XIII 593.

9 He arrived in Maluku in 1588; from 1593 on he stayed in the Philippines.

10 The third hand added in the margin « Promoveatur ad 4r ». From this and from D 132,4 it is clear that Fr. General, in 1596/97, permitted him to make his profession. The Visitor Fr. Cristóbal de la Vega carried this permission with him to Maluku in 1598, but he found Fr. João Rebelo already dying. In Goa in late 1598 he was considered a Professed Father (D 122).

11 He sailed from Goa in April 1590.

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8. Nullam habuit administrationem.
9. Non sequitur extraordinarias opiniones, nec est proprii iudicii amator, in affectibus mortificatus.
10. Devotus, orationi deditus, salutis animarum zelator, in negotiis promovendis et difficultatibus superandis strenuus, in ea missione non exiguos sustinet labores.
11. Non ambivit regendi munus aut dignitatem, ad omnia indifferens.

[... 260*v*]

6. 1. P. Britius Ferdinandus[12], lusitanus, oppido Gaviños conimbricensis dioecesis, natus 34 annos, mediocres vires habet, scholaris.
2. Conimbricae 18 abhinc annis, probatus in omnibus experimentis cum satisfactione.
3. Bonos in virtute progressus fecit, Instituti amator, in vocatione nunquam vacillavit.
4. [g] Triennio cum dimidio theologiae operam dedit, nec ultra progressus quia in christiana re occupatur, non mediocres in studiis progressus fecit.
5. Non egit 3.m probationis annum eadem de causa qua supra.
6. Quadriennio litteras humaniores docuit cum eruditione.
7. In concionibus et confessionibus cum fructu et[h] gratia proximis adfuit, praesertim in salsetana messe[13].
8. Nullam habuit administrationem.
9. Non sequitur extraordinarias opiniones, nec adhaeret iudicio proprio, videtur in affectibus mortificatus.
10. Devotus et orationi deditus, salutis animarum zelator, in negotiis promovendis et difficultatibus superandis efficax et strenuus, optat labores perpeti pro salute animarum, et de facto patitur non parvos in re christiana administranda in salsetana messe.
11. Non ambivit regendi munus nec aliquam dignitatem, indifferens ad omnia.

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[12] The third hand added in the margin « Promoveatur cum P. Coellio ». On Fr. Brício Fernandes, see *Gen. Introd.* III 4 no. 70; he lived in India, and his confrere mentioned in the marginal note is Fr. Luís Coelho who precedes him on f. 259*v*.

[13] That is, in the mission of Salsete island near Goa.

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[a] *corr. fr.* annos ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* annos ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* philosophiae ‖ [d] *rep., del.* dignitatem ‖ [e] *interl.* ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* Fransciscus ‖ [g] *del.* bonos in virtute progressus fecit ‖ [h] *interl.*

Lost Letters

109*a*. — *Fr. Valignano, Goa, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku ; April or September 1595.*

That the Fathers Luís Fernandes and António Pereira could be admitted to the solemn profession; letter quoted in D 109, introduction no. I. (*ARSI, IapSin 12 II* f. 327*r*).

109*b*. — *Fr. António Pereira, Cebu, to Fr. General, Rome ; second half of 1595.*

D 121,1: « De Zebu escribí otra ».

110

FR. FRANCISCO DA CUNHA TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, NOVEMBER 1, 1595
First *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 292*r*-295*v*, formerly 208-210 and no. V. Autograph original in Portuguese, in a small somewhat irregular, but generally well legible hand. Six pages written; f. 295*r* is blank except for an archivist's note « (94 *del.*) Nov. 95. Goa ». On ff. 292*r* and 294*r* someone noted « p[a] via » at the bottom; f. 295*v* contains the address and a seal in red wax; a Roman secretary added « 95. India [*corr. fr.* Goa]. P[e] Francisco da Cunha ministro de la casa professa de Goa y consultor », and an abstract in three items of which the corresponding numerals have been added to the text.

II NOTE: Francisco da Cunha entered the Society in Goa and lived in Maluku from 1587 (D 59,1) to 1592 (D 89,2). In late 1595 he was « minister » and « consultor » in the Professed House of Goa.

Text

1. *Can judge about Maluku, the necessities of which he has experienced. It is badly neglected by both the viceroy and Fr. Provincial.* — 2. *Consequences of this negligence. God blesses the Maluku Fathers in their needs.* — 3. *In stigmatizing the disdain with which the Jesuits are treated who entered the Society in India, recounts how he returned with a game leg from Maluku two years earlier.* — 4. *Harm done by this mentality to the Christians. In Maluku, only two out of ten Jesuits are Portuguese who entered the Society in Portugal.*

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† Jesus Maria
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

[...]

1. Tãobem se me offrecem outras duas cousas que, posto não serem toquantes ao officio de consultor[1], tocam-me como filho da Companhia e como tal as escreverei a V.P. Seja a primeira sobre Maluquo, pera onde estou destinado[2] e vy suas necessidades, e daqui poderá inferir como estes nossos velhos que governão estimão as cousas das christandades. Morreo hum homem por nome Antonio Moreno e deixou até 12 mil pardaos pera que o P.e Provincial os repartisse por as casas que lhe parecesse. E sendo Maluquo a mais trabalhossa terra do mundo, e a christandade que tem as cruzes juntas de todas as christandades, e isto está claro a todos, e agora estar em mais necessidade porque este Viso-Rei lhe tirou quaje a terça parte da renda ou ordinarias[3], contudo isto o P.e Provincial na rrepartição não lhe deu nada, e deu mais de sinquo mil pardaos a esta casa que tinha huma grande erança de Don Jeronimo[4] e muytos mil pardaos juntos.

2. Daqui [verá] V.P. duas cousas, huma que já apontei arriba, que hé o pouco que fazem aos das christandades, a outra me dixe hum Padre grave: « Se agora o P.e Provincial avisar algem pera Maluquo, se pode muito bem escusar e dizer que[5], pois se lembrão tão pouco de gente que tantos trabalhos padecem por amor de Deos e da Companhia,

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[1] In every established house of the Society the superior is assisted by some consultors, who, among other things, have to report regularly to Rome on the situation and the proceedings of the community.

[2] In another part of this same letter he declares by the way « Estou quaje de caminho pera Maluquo » (f. 292*v*), but actually he did not return there.

[3] We are, as far as I know, not well informed about this measure of Matias de Albuquerque. Consult also D 129,12.

[4] D. Jerónimo Mascarenhas « falecendo capitão de Ormus, deixou a caza de Jesus de Goa por erdeira universal » (Seb. GONÇALVES, *História* I 512). He died in 1593 (SCHURHAMMER, *Ges. Stud.* II 387-388).

[5] This proposition remains an anacoluthon. For a long time already a strong aversion to the Maluku mission prevailed among the Jesuits in Goa. When Valignano arrived in 1574 he found that nobody wanted to sail there, as he wrote himself to Fr. General later: « Y Maluco — no avía quien lo quisiesse oyr nombrar » (Macao, July 24, 1589, in *ARSI, IapSin 11* f. 109*v*. But Pimenta strikes a different note (D 116,2).

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os quais estão no meio delles esquecidos de todos, pois os mesmos superiores se esquecem delles ».

Jaa que dixe a V.P. do esquecimento dos homens e já que toquei males e trabalhos, não deixarei de confessar quão lembrados são de Deos, que hé o[a] que os sostenta com suas consolações e dões e gostos spirituaes, os quais são tantos que fazem esquecer de todos os trabalhos. E estes são os que me forção e obrigão a folgar a tornar[6], pois sei quanto se Deos lembra dos que o servem naquellas partes tão trabalhosas.
[... 293*r*]

3. Aconteceo aqui que vindo hum Padre[b] há dous annos, quando eu vim de Maluquo[7] avia 6 mezes que elle tinha vindo[8], e cuidou que eu viera de Portugal já entrado, e como tal tratou comigo. E posto que tinha vindo avia pouco, pollo que dos outros tinha ouvido começou a explicar comigo seu conceito e a dizer mil males dos que cá entramos. E entre muitas outras cousas que dixe me dixe estas: Os portugezes que cá entrão hé gente de que a Companhia não fas caso; são recebidos soo pera serviço, mas nenhum delles hé reitor senão de casinhas, nem hé professo; soomente hé gente pera encher, como V.R. vê que nenhum ten quarrego grave nem hé professo. Estas e outras[c] cousas semelhantes me dixe, que bem explicou o conceito que já tinha dos de[d] cá. E não avia mais que seis meses que viera. E eu mostrei o que isto dixe ao Padre Visitador e lhe contei esta istoria. Agora veja V.P. qual eu ficaria que avia perto dum mes que viera de Maluquo alejado das pernas.
[...]

4. Outro inconveniente hé que deste desprezo fica a christandade abatida e não há quem folge de llá estar, porque não mandão a ella senão dos cá entrados ou dos estrangeiros, mas não dos seus estimados de Portugal. E assi não há en Salsete mais que hum que chamão Bricio Fernandez, e esteve laa contra sua vontade e agora vem pera Goa por elle o pedir. Na Serra[9] não está nenhum delles, nem nas Costas[10];

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[6] See note 2.

[7] According to the navigation schedule, Cunha arrived in India from Maluku in February-March 1593.

[8] In the fleet sailing from Portugal in 1592, six new Fathers arrived in Goa, three of whom were Portuguese. Which of them was Cunha's informant cannot be established.

[9] The *Serra* was the mountain region where the Christians of St. Thomas were living.

[10] The coastal missions of Travancore or Malabar and the Fishery Coast.

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soomente estão dous em Maluquo entre 10[11], e hum delles que prestava mandou o P.[e] Visitador, o outro não servia cá, por isso o mandarão[12]. [. . .]

Desta casa professa de Goa, oje o primeiro de Novembro de 1595. Filho indigno de V.P.,

Francisco da Cunha.

[*Address* 295*v*] † Ao muyto Reverendo em Christo Padre, o Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesus. Em Roma. Soli. Primeira via.

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[a] os *ms.* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* Irmão ‖ [c] outrou [outron?] *ms.* ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* ca

Lost Letters

110*a*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Antonio Sedeño, Vice-Provincial, Manila; November 21, 1595.*

Registered letter in summary: « Al Padre Sedeño, Vice-Provincial de Filipinas, manda . . . que Maluco no se uniese a Filipinas, mas se ayudará en todo lo posible ». (Madrid, *Arch. Hist. Nac., Cod. 340b*, f. 219*v*, no. 5).

110*b*. — *Frs. Pierantonio Spinelli and Gio. Luigi Messina, Naples, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Maluku; 1595?*

D 115,6: « Dai quali ho ricevuto carta este anno »; two letters, or one from both together? Cf. D 119,8: « Me escreve sempre ».

110*c*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku; about 1595.*

D 100, on f. 289*v* a note runs: « N.P. . . . . dice che si sarà risposto ».

110*d*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon; early 1596.*

D 123,1: « Este año de 99 receby una de V.P. del año 96 ».

110*e*. — *Fr. Francisco Cabral, Provincial, Goa, to the Fathers of Maluku; April 1596.*

Cabral to Acquaviva, Goa, November 20, 1595: « V.P. ordena que nesta provincia se fação os suffragios das seis missas como a fundador . . . pollo Irmão Gaspar Viegas . . . assim se fez aqui . . . e se escreverá aos da Chyna e Jappão e Maluco . . . » (*Goa 14* f. 283*r*).

110*f*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Tidore, to Fr. Provincial, Goa; shortly after July 22, 1596.*

D 117 note 3. Letter after which D 117 was made in Goa.

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[11] Out of the ten Jesuits living in Maluku at that time (D 106), seven had joined the Society in Europe; two of them were Portuguese: Luís Fernandes and João Rebelo.

[12] The first is Luís Fernandes, sent in 1587 when Valignano lived in India; the other is João Rebelo who left Goa in 1592, Fr. Visitor being in Japan and Macao. That the latter was of no use may rather seem a prejudice.

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110A

FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL: INSTRUCTION FOR FR. NICOLAU PIMENTA, VISITOR OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[ROME], NOVEMBER 1595

I TEXT: There are three original texts, all of them drafts, one being incomplete, the other two showing many deletions, additions, and changes in paragraphs and in their numbering. A definitive fair copy seems lacking.

A. *ARSI, Instit. 117 II* ff. 431*r*-439*v* and 441*r-v*, formerly no. XCVII. Original draft in Spanish, written in different hands and inks, originally in 63 numbered paragraphs, which after many deletions and corrections were reduced to 58. Title: « Cosas que el P^e^ Visitador de la India Oriental deve considerar en su (*del.* visa) visita, (*del.*:) por orden de N R P General Claudio Aquaviva ». At the foot of f. 431*r* a note « Ordini al Visit. Valegn. habentur alibi in registro R.P.N. Everardi ». Folio 441*r-v* is blank, except for a note on the last page « Instructio Visitatori Indiar. Orient. 33 ». After the last paragraph, marked 58, earlier 63, a new unnumbered paragraph was added, partly in the margin, dealing with Maluku. It is our nos. 4-5.

B. *ARSI, Instit. 117 II* f. 440*r-v*. Original in Spanish, without any corrections. Incomplete copy, titled « Cosas que el P. Visitador de la India Oriental deve considerar en su visita ». It contains only the first nine paragraphs of the original version of text A, and the last paragraph, no. 9, is incomplete. At the top of f. 440*r* an important note « Ano 1595. Nov. ».

C. *ARSI, Instit. 117 II* ff. 442*r*-447*v*, old no. XCVII. Original copy in Spanish, written in one hand, divided into 50 numbered paragraphs, exhibiting many corrections and additions, and headed « Cosas que el P. Visitador de la India Oriental deve considerar ». Folio 447*r* is blank, its *verso* has two notes in different script, one in Portuguese « Avisos que se derão ao P. Nicolao Pimenta, Visitador da India », and one in Latin « Instructio P. Pimentae Visitatori Indiae Orientalis ».

II ADDRESSEE: The notes on the last page of text C mention him: Fr. Nicolau Pimenta. He was the new Visitor of the Jesuits in the East Indies. He sailed to Goa from Lisbon on April 10, 1596 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 350), but without having received this instruction. Not prior to May 11, 1596, when Pimenta had already sailed off, could Fr. Provincial of Portugal inform Fr. General that the Instruction had arrived, and that he would see to forwarding it to Fr. Pimenta by a royal messenger who allegedly was going to travel to India from Venice by land (*Lus. 73* f. 126*r*). — Fr. Pimenta was born at Santarem in 1546. In 1562 he entered the Society, and was occupied foremost in teaching successively Humanities, Philosophy, and Theology (RODRIGUES, *A Companhia* 24).

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III DATE: It is clearly indicated in text B. It agrees with the information given in no. 4, which shows Fr. Acquaviva received from Fr. Provincial Francisco Cabral the *Consulta* of the Fathers of Maluku (D 94). This document was forwarded by Cabral in November 1594 (see D 105), and could have reached Lisbon in July or August 1595, and Rome in September or October of that year.

IV OUR EDITION: The paragraphs referring to Maluku are taken from text A, this appearing the most complete and showing the most up-dated redaction. Numbers 1, 3, and 4-5, are crossed out in the MS. In the notes we refer to some parallel passages in text C. We do not know in what form the definitive Instruction, forwarded to Fr. Pimenta, contained the deleted passages. At least they reveal 1. that the *Consulta* of 1593 (D 94) was received in Rome, 2. that Fr. General's reaction to it was in favour of the persistence of the Jesuits in Maluku. — I give my sincere thanks to my colleagues of the Jesuit Historical Institute who, when this volume was already in print, kindly brought this important document to my knowledge.

Text

1. *Fr. Visitor shall consider very carefully the reasons proferred by the Maluku Fathers for abandoning that mission, and its eventual consequences.* — 2. *The Fathers in Maluku shall not request help from the governor of the Philippines.* — 3. *In view of the miserable state of Maluku, the Visitor shall negotiate with the viceroy how to avoid its loss; by no means shall the mission be given up.* — 4. *Received a* Consulta *of the Maluku Fathers; could not yet draw up a definitive answer. His provisional decision is that as yet the Maluku mission shall not be abandoned for several reasons: danger of apostasy, scandal and damage caused, feelings of the king and of the Portuguese hurt.* — 5. *In case of urgent need he shall consult some other Fathers. If withdrawal of the Maluku Fathers then seems inevitable, he shall take up the matter with the viceroy and not proceed without his consent, so that the Society may not be blamed for it.*

Cosas que el P^e^ Visitador de la India Oriental deve considerar en su visita

[. . . 435*r*]

1. 29. De las Malucas nos embían las razones que ay para dexarmos aquello de allá[1]. Y porque dexar lo ya començado a cultivar pide más consideración que entrar de nuevo, V.R., estando más vicino y tratándolo con algunos más intelligentes, lo examinará muy de veras, y nos avisará de lo que alla por una y por otra parte, y del escándalo y daño que de dexar aquel puesto se podría seguir, atentando que aunque el fructo no sea tanto como en otras partes, no es trabajo

[1] See, e.g., DD 92 and 100. Fr. General is likely not to allude here to D 94, to which he refers in no. 4, added later on.

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sin provecho conservar essos pocos, y ganar algunos otros para Dios N. Señor.
[... 436*r*]

2. 35[a]. Otras vezes se ha avisado que los nuestros del Maluco no se metan en solicitar y pedir al governador de las Filipinas socorro, pues puede ofender a los portogueses y a los ministros del Rei a quien esso toca, a los quales se pueden por servicio de Dios dar los recuerdos que la caridad pide [2].
[... 438*v*]

3. 60[b]. Estando el Maluco tan perdido como se nos escrive, y aviendo tan pocas speranças de poder conservar lo que allí ai de christianos, se la cosa no se remedea, desseamos que V.R. lo trate con el Señor Virrei y se procure algún buen modo con que del todo se no pierda aquella gente y se pueda hazer fruto en la demás. Y quando esto no se pudiere aver por las cosas no estaren para ello, iá[c] se escrive a V.R., vea de consolar aquellos Padres, no dexando pero aquel puesto en quanto en el huviere [d] que conservar, pues no se haze menos servicio al Señor, cuias son essas almas, en conservarlas, que en ganar otras por otras partes.
[... 439*v*]

4. El P.[e] Provincial nos embió una consulta que los Padres del Maluco hizieron [3], en que representan las razones que ay para dexarmos aquella tierra, viendo el poco fructo que hazen y el peligro de conservar aquella christiandad pollas continuas guerras con que los moros de Ternate los perturban. Y por nos no avermos aun tomado la resolución neste negocio[e] por esperarmos el Procurador de la India, para con más luz tratarmos y assentarmos lo que conviene, y por él tardar tanto que dudamos se verná a tiempo, en que se pueda avisar a V.R. antes de la embarcación de lo que[f] se juzgar [4], pareciónos advertir aquí

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[2] A somewhat less elaborated text with essentially the same contents occurs in text C on f. 445*r*, no. 34: « Ja se avisó otras vezes que los del Maluco no se metan en pidir socorro a las Filippinas, pues puede ofender los portugueses, y son cosas que tocan a los ministros del Rei, y no a nosotros ».

[3] D 94.

[4] Fr. General was in a fix between two necessities: on the one hand he did not want to make a decision until he had discussed the question with the Fr. Procurator whom he expected every day to arrive from India; on the other hand he could not much delay his decision, otherwise the Instruction would not arrive in time at Lisbon whence Fr. Pimenta had to sail in April 1596. (And ac-

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a V.R. de lo que sentimos por agora, para que, occurriendo alguna grave necessidad de tratar se conviene sacar de allí aquellos Padres, no se halle perplexo de lo que aya de hazer. Y esto es que aquella christiandad no se deve de largar [g] quando no se pudiere hazer otra cosa, por el peligro que ay de dexaren la fee, por el escándalo y daño que se seguirá [5], y por quan mal lo [h] tomará el Rey y los portugueses. Pues se tiene por cierto que partidos los nuestros que cultivan aquellos christianos, serán forçados a desempararen los portugueses y passarse de la banda de los moros, y o a lo menos a no les dar ayuda, sin la qual se tiene por impossible poderse sostentar aquella fortaleza. Y se desto nos dieren la culpa, bien verá V.R. como será esto recebido del Rey y de toda la India.

5. Por lo qual occurriendo urgente necessidad, en [i] que sea necessario tomarse resolución antes que [j] se espere nuestra respuesta [6], V.R. ayuntará los Padres que puedan ayudar con su parecer. Y resolviéndosse convenir en todos los modos quitar de allí aquellos Padres, si non se [k] embía socorro aquellos christianos para se poder defender de sus inimigos, entonces V.R. lo procurará con toda la instancia con el Virey. Y quando él no viniere en ello o no pudiere, V.R. le hablará que aya por bien que los Padres se vengan, pretendiendo que se haga con su beneplácito y de lo que succediere no nos lo den en culpa, ni con Su Majestad ni con otra persona de qualidad. Y por esto con mucha instancia V.R. representará al Virei la necessidad grande de ayudar aquellos christianos.

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[a] *corr. fr.* 38 ‖ [b] *del.* ‖ [c] *d.r.* ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* estuvieren ‖ [e] neste negocio *add. m.* ‖ [f] *del.* nos parece ‖ [g] *del.* sino fuese ‖ [h] o *ms.* ‖ [i] *from here onwards the text continues in he margin* ‖ [j] *del.* sea nuestra ‖ [k] *del.* los

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tually it did not arrive in time). The Procurator, elected by the fourth Provincial Congregation at Goa in October 1594, was Fr. Manuel da Veiga (*Goa 14* f. 276*r*; *IapSin 12 II* f. 311*r*). In a letter from Lisbon of November 26, 1595, Fr. Veiga is said to stay at Évora and to travel to Cadiz « this week » with a view of embarking there for Rome (*Lus. 73* f. 71*r*).

[5] Text C, in no. 26 (f. 444*v*), contains in a simpler form the same reflections about scandal given and harm done by an eventual withdrawal of the Jesuits.

[6] A later and definitive answer of Fr. General, drawn up after discussion with Fr. Manuel da Veiga, did not turn up in the archives.

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111

FR. NUNO RODRIGUES SJ TO FR. JOÃO ÁLVARES, PORTUGUESE ASSISTANT, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 13, 1596
First *via*

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 331*r*-332*v*, formerly no. X. Autographic original in Portuguese. Two pages written; f. 332*r* is blank, its *verso* contains the address with the indication « 1ª via », and a red wax seal; a secretary noted « Goa. Dezemb. 96. P. Nuno Rodrigues. — Ja ».

Text

Fr. Francisco da Cunha was sent to Maluku, worked well there though suffering from a kind of paralysis, and was sent back to India where he recovered and performed some functions giving entire satisfaction.

[. . .]

Creo que já o anno passado se propuserão alguns [1], e entre elles o Padre Francisco da Cunha, irmão do Irmão Martim Soares [2] que V.R. conhesse, o qual com tres annos pouco mais ou menos de theologia [3] o mandarão a Maluco, aonde foi com muita resinação. E nelle esteve alguns annos trabalhando ainda que mui doente e quasi aleijado de huma certa doença que naquellas partes há [4]. E sem [331*v*] o elle pedir o mandarão vir, e achando-sse com melhoria o ocuparão em ministro desta casa de Jesú, e por ser necessario pera bem dos Irmãos do collegio de S. Paulo o puserão nelle com o mesmo officio, tendo na verdade talento e partes pera Reitor, como creo será [5].

[. . .]

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[1] That is, as instances of the misuse of appointing Fathers to a function before they had duly finished their theological studies.

[2] Martim Soares was born at Castelo Branco in 1562 and entered the order in 1578. In 1596 he was already a priest and taught mathematics at the college of Coimbra (*ARSI, Lus. 44 I* ff. 75*v*, 121*v*, 138*v*).

[3] See D 109,3 ad 4.

[4] Presumably a kind of beri-beri.

[5] One year earlier Fr. Nuno Rodrigues had written of the same person « O Padre Francisco da Cunha, ministro agora da casa professa, o qual foy man-

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De Goa, 13 de Dezembro de 96.
De V.R. servo em Christo,

Nuno Rodrigues.

[*Address* 332*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre, o Padre João Álvarez, da Companhia de Jesú. Roma. 1ª via.

112

FR. FRANCISCO CABRAL, PROVINCIAL, [TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL]

Annual Letter
GOA, DECEMBER 16, 1596
iFrst *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT IV no. 1093; V no. 95.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 32* ff. 600*r*-613*v*; ancient numbering « 1 », earlier « 2 » [*del.*], and no. LX. Original in Portuguese with autographic signature, well conserved, clearly written, and conveniently divided into chapters marked by intercalary titles. At the top of f. 600*r* a secretary noted « 1596 », at the bottom « 96. Goa. Cabral ». Once, on f. 606*v*, there is a marginal addition in another hand. Folio 613*r* is blank; its *verso* contains only the note « Annua da Provincia da India Oriental do anno de 1596. Goa. 1ª via ».

III PRINTED: In a Latin translation, in *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu anni M.D.XCVI*, Neapoli 1605, 818-870, our part 869-870. Presumably the Portuguese text was printed in *Compendio de algunas cartas*, Lisboa 1598 (STREIT IV no. 1112); we could not consult this edition.

IV OUR EDITION: We edit the last chapter of the lengthy letter which, under the title « De Maluco », is to be found on f. 612*v*.

Text

1. *The Fathers in Maluku suffer many troubles; work of conversion is impossible; sometimes a fugitive is baptized; Sunday services in the church.* — 2. *No Father resides in Siau; civil war there; Jesuits will try to reconcile parties.* — 3. *Soured life of the Fathers in Tidore; hopes and expectations. Of 40,000 Christians only 3,000 remained.* — 4. *Lack of maintenance is compensated by spiritual consolation.* — 5. *Conclusion.*

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dado a Maluco e nele resedia muitos annos com muito fruto de toda aquella gente, e por resão de huma grave doença o mandarão vir, e serve agora com muita edificação e intereza » (to Fr. General, Goa, December 13, 1595: *ARSI Goa 14* f. 304*r*).

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[. . .]

De Maluco

1. Os Padres e Irmãos de Maluco vivem em continuos trabalhos e persiguições dos mouros ternates e tidores, os quaes defendem a seus vasalos que se não fação christãos, e por este respeito não se fas nenhum fruito com os naturaes. Mas sem embargo disto sempre foge das mãos dos mouros algum escravo ou alguma molher que pede o baptismo, os quais depois de bem cathequisados são baptizados. Todos os domingos do anno se insina a doutrina christãa na nossa igreja com canto, disputas e procisões dos minimos pollas ruas.

2. Visitou o[a] Superior com[b] hum Padre[1] a christandade de Siao[c], donde por justos respeitos não reside agora nenhum dos nossos[2]. E achou el-rey diviso com hum seu principal, e de tal maneira que pouco faltava pera se perderem ambos[3]. Vão procurando agora de os fazer amigos[4]. Queira N. Senhor fazer-lhes esta mercê por que não se perqua de todo aquella christandade.

3. Passão os nossos Padres sua vida em Tidor afligidos, por huma parte de ver a porta fechada ao Evangelho e os filhos que elles em Christo gerarão perdidos, e por outra renovarem-se cada dia suas chaguas com novos accidentes de tristeza. Mas não deixa Deos N. Senhor algumas veses, entre nuvens tão espesas, de lhe mostrar algum rasto de resplandor, dãodo-lhes alguma esperança de os consolar hum dia com socorro da terra e do ceo, pera que tornem ao curral quantas ovelhas perdidas andão fora delle. Porque, de corenta mil christãos que ouve em outro tempo, os quaes deixarão a fee, soo os que perseverão nella chegarão a tres mil, com os quaes se ocupão des dos nossos; e os filhos delles, dos quaes morrem muitos, baptizão os nossos e se vão a povoar as cadeiras do ceo.

4. Os nossos padecem muito trabalho[d] por falta da sustentação necessaria pera a vida humana, e cada ves se arrecea va em crecimento

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[1] Frs. Antonio Marta and António Pereira, in 1593 (D 95).

[2] Cf. D 135,10.

[3] Consult D 94 note 59. ELIAS recounts a petty civil war during the reign of D. João Wuisang (*Sejarah* 72-74), but not during that of D. Jeronimo II Winsulangi, at least not for these first years. According to this author several wars, both internal and external, e.g., with Mindanao, were begun over charming young ladies.

[4] If such an intervention on the part of the Jesuits ever took place, a certain if short presence of a Father in the island of Siau seems plausible.

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esta falta, a qual Deos tempera com muitos gostos do ceo, os quaes os vão alentando pera perseverar com grande resignação na vontade de Deos atee à morte. E mais estimão esta missão que todas as da India, por serem os trabalhos que se aqui padesem mais conformes com a cruz de Christo N. Senhor [5].

5. Do collegio de Malaca não há cousa que dizer em particular. Isto hé o que se offereceo pera refirir a V.P. deste Oriente. Pedimos todos nos lance sua santa benção pera que creçamos em spirito e tudo o que fizermos seja pera gloria do Senhor, encommendando-nos juntamente em seus santos sacrificios e orações.

De Goa, 16 de Dezembro de 1596.

[*Autograph*] De V.P. filho en o Senhor,

Francisco Cabral.

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[a] *corr. fr.* hum ‖ [b] com . . . Padre *interl.* ‖ [c] Sião *ms.* ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* muitos trabalhos

113

CATALOGUS TERTIUS OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[Goa], December 19, 1596

I Text: *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 266*r*-269*v*. Original in Spanish, written in two columns, with autograph signature of Fr. Francisco Cabral, Provincial. Folio 269*v* is blank but for a note « Catálogo commún de la India Oriental del año de 1596 ». The part on Maluku is on f. 268*v*.

II Note: This *Catalogus tertius* stands alone, no other catalogue of Maluku of this same year being known to us. It is a complementary catalogue to those of earlier years (D 106).

Text

The names of ten Jesuits living in Maluku.

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[5] Compare this high-strung utterance of Fr. Cabral with the judgment Fr. Nuno Rodrigues gave on him to Fr. General when, speaking of the neglected Maluku mission, he mentioned « a pouca afeição que o Padre Provincial mostra a esta obra da conversção » and « o pouco que sofre e favorese os obreiros della, e de não querer sofrer as dificuldades que necessariamente se hão de passar e soceder em semelhante obra, como os nossos Padres antigos com tanto animo sofrerão » (Goa, December 13, 1595, in *Goa 14* f. 304*v*).

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[266*r*] Catálogo tercero con el suplemento de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús de la India Oriental, hecho en dezinueve de Dizembre de 96.

[... 268*v*]

Maluco y sus residencias

P. Luis Hernandez, superior [1]
P. Juan Rebelo
P. Antonio Martha
P. Antonio Perera
P. Manoel Gonçalvez
P. Gabriel de la Cruz
P. Rogerio Conrrado
P. Laurencio Masonio
H. Antonio da Costa
H. Juan Pablo
[...]

} Ocúpansse en la christiandad.

[*Autograph*, 269*r*] Francisco Cabral.

Lost Letters

113*a* — *Fr. Diogo Pinto, Macao, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon ; late 1596.*

D 115,1: On Fr. Centomani working among the Portuguese of Canton and going to Chao-tcheou to confess. Fr. Lazzaro Cataneo. (On Pinto in Macao, see MHJ I 1272).

113*b*. — *Frs. Provincials of India to the Maluku Jesuits ; 1590-1596?*

D 114,12: « Los Padres Provinciales nos regalan y consolan con sus cartas »; rather indefinite as to number and time.

113*c*. — *Fr. Girolamo Centomani, Macao, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon ; 1590-1596?*

D 115,1: « Este anno eu não recebi carta de V.R. », which implies that in other years he did receive his letters.

113*d*. — *Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku, to Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome ; 1596-1597.*

D 138,6: On sending a Maluku Jesuit to the king of Portugal. « Muitas vezes » may be an exaggeration, yet some unknown letters seem indicated by it.

113*e*. — *Fr. António Pereira, Ambon, to Fr. Franc. Cabral, Provincial of India ; March 1597.*

D 114,7: « Le tengo escrito a más de un mes y medio, y agora bolveron las cartas que no passaron, y tienen de esperar un anno entero y más ».

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[1] First mention of Fr. Luís Fernandes as the new superior, successor of Fr. Antonio Marta. See D 119,3.

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113*f*. — *Fr. Franc. Cabral, Provincial, to Fr. Luís Fernandes, Maluku ; April 1597.*

D 120,1: Fr. Provincial appointed him superior of Maluku.

113*g*. — *Fr. Fernão Vaz, Cochin, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon ; April 1597.*

D 119,1.

113*h*. — *Fr. Gabriel de Oliveira, Quilon, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon ; April 1597.*

D 119,1.

113*i*. — *Fr. Andrea Bucceri, Quilon, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon ; April 1597.*

D 119,2.

114

FR. ANTÓNIO PEREIRA SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 13, 1597
By Manila, First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 189 Pereira no. 3.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 119-120; 122; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 393-394.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 340*r*-342*v*, formerly 314-315, and no. II. Autograph in Spanish, written in black ink in a regular handwriting, neither beautiful nor always clear, and divided into only seven paragraphs. On f. 340*r* archivists noted « Malabarica 1597 », and « Molucco Maii 97 »; f. 342*r* is blank; f. 342*v* contains, besides the address, a trace of a seal and a Spanish summary in seven items.

IV NOTE: That this letter, and the next one, sailed by Manila, we know from D 115,5.

Text

1. *Plans to write in future at every useful occasion. Thanks for being admitted to profession.* — 2. *Fr. Provincial being far away, and no visitor ever having reported on Maluku, prefers to write directly to Fr. General, and especially on three items.* — 3. First: *Many people were formerly converted by the Fathers. They are under one superior who is in charge of three residences: Tidore (without Christian community), Ambon, and Labuha (with eighty or ninety Christians).* — 4. *Ambon comprises three more Christian islands; recently two principal villages went over to Islam. Christians of Siau and North Sulawesi returned to paganism.* — 5. *It is Fr. General's wish that the*

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Jesuits work on there, but only three out of ten can attend to the natives if no [*military*] *help is forthcoming; therefore they took counsel that* [*regular, temporary*] *missions would be more advisable.* — 6. Second: *They were never visited by a Provincial or a Visitor. If Fr. Superior wants the Fathers to live in only two centres for the sake of better religious discipline, nobody can oppose or correct him.* — 7. *Writing to Fr. Provincial is of no use, because it takes two full years before an answer can be received; so the deficiencies of the mission cannot be remedied.* — 8. Third: *The Maluku Jesuit mission should be united with that of the Philippines into one (vice-)province.* — 9. *First reason is the closeness.* — 10. *Second reason: they can better be helped and provided for by the way of the Philippines.* — 11. *That these are Spanish and Maluku is Portuguese is not a serious drawback.* — 12. *Otherwise, Maluku should be visited every four years and be represented in the provincial congregation.* — 13. *The king should supply the necessary livelihood, the more so as the viceroy withdrew the sustenance ordered by his majesty.* — 14. *Two Fathers are living in Tidore; one should be enough.* — 15. *Asks for broader communication of faculties, e.g., for blessings.* — 16. *Requests the privileges granted to the Christians of the West Indies and Philippines also for those of Maluku.* — 17. *A doubt about the Crusade Bull.* — 18. *Conclusion.*

† Jesus
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi, etc.

1. De Filipinas escrebí a V.P. quando allá me dexó el P.e Antonio Marta, y fue la primera que escrebí[1]. Mas agora lo haré todas las vezes que se offerecere oportunidad, assí por razón de tener esta casa de Amboino a cargo con la christiandad a ella annexa[2], como también en recompensación de que con las de V.P.[3] me anime y consuele, pues que, sin que yo lo merecesse ni en mi se allasse virtud y sufficiencia alguna[a], me quiso admittir al corpo de la Compañía con tam paternal amor[4]. Por lo qual suplico a V.P. que, como padre que es, responda a las mias y me enseñe, anime y reprehenda en todo quanto[b] jusgar ser necessario.

2. Y aunque V.P. tiene ordenado que las cosas de la christiandad se escrivan a Roma per orden e vía del P.e Provincial, con quien se tienen de comunicar primero[5], todavía V.P. aja por bien de que, sin que se guarde esse orden[c] agora, lo[d] escriba yo de este Amboino y los

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[1] D 102.
[2] He appears to be the local superior of Ambon.
[3] Lost Letters, 108*a*.
[4] Cf. D 109 note 8.
[5] Consult WICKI, *Missionskirche* 99 no. 54.

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Padres que aquí están [6], y dende el Maluco o Tidore los que allá estubieren [7], aunque no sea más que por razón de que V.P. no pueda ser informado a tiempo como de las otras partes se puede hazer. Porquanto estamos tan alongados del P.e Provincial, y tam poco o nunca visitados ni por él ni por persona que él embíe para ello que boelva con la visita, que esto haze hazer esto que digo. Por lo qual tres cosas tengo de advertir a V.P. para que dende allá dee el remedio a todas ellas que para bien de la Compañía conviene advertir como padre que es.

3. La primera es, que nestas partes, assí en Amboino como en el Maluco como en los Ciaos, ha mucha christandad hecha por los noestros. Que toda ella, com todos nosotros que nella estamos, está subiecta al superior universal del Maluco [8], el qual tiene dos casas e una residencia, o para mijor hablar tres residencias. La primera está en la isla de Tidore, en la fortaleza que tienen los portugueses, adonde[e] no ai christiandad. La segunda está neste Amboino adó estaa otra fortaleza de portugueses, y que más verdaderamente se llama y deve llamar fortaleza porque estaa en terra propria y es obedecida de todos, lo que no tiene la fortaleza del Maluco porque estaa en tierra de moros, y el capitán perpetuamente deve andar pairando con ellos so pena de ponerse a riesgo todo. La tercera residencia está en la isla da Labua aonde podrá aver hasta ochenta o noventa hombres christianos [9].

4. Suposto esto todo, digo que neste Amboino, demás desta isla en que bivimos (y aonde ha[f] dos iglesias que están pegado a la fortaleza, y ha muchos lugares todos de christianos sin que tengan una sola [10]), ha otras tres islas [11] en las quales ha muchos christianos. Hablo desta manera porque todos fueron christianos hechos por los noestros, y agora en las dos destas islas están dos lugares principales que deixaron noestra santa fee e son agora mouros [12]. En las islas de los[g] Selebes también ha muchos lugares de christianos, entre los quales está la isla toda de Siao cujo rei es cristiano, y la mitad de[h] la isla de Sanguir Bessar,

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[6] The only other letter coming from Ambon is the one of Fr. Masonio (D 115), but it was addressed to Macao and not to Rome.

[7] No letter written at Tidore in that year came to us.

[8] Fr. Luís Fernandes (D 113).

[9] Two hundred in D 73,34; five hundred in D 94,3.

[10] Apparently the chapel of Wakasihu or Liliboi (D 91,3) did not count any longer.

[11] The Lease islands.

[12] Unfortunately their names are not revealed.

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que también son christianos y reconocen al mismo rey de Siao[13]. Demás de outras poblaciones grandes que están en la costa de la isla que llaman Selebes, y en la isla de Manado cujo rey primero fue cristiano, y en la isla de Cauripa que también primero fueron christianos[14]. Y agora corren todos ellos[i] como gentiles por no tener[j] Padres, deseándolos ellos y, quando a caso ven alguno en su tierra, lo acarician mucho. [340*v*]

5. Pues agora digo, con aver todos estes cristianos e sermos embiados al Maluco por su causa dellos, y esta ser la voluntad de V.P., todos se perden por no le socorrermos y se van al inferno. Y de ocho Padres y dos Hermanos que estamos en todo este Maluco, assí Tidore como Amboino e Labua, solamente tres Padres están occupados con los cristianos[15]. Y los demás bivimos nas dos residencias que están en las fortalezas dichas para confessar a quatro portugueses que en ellas ha y sus negros, avendo sus vicarios y beneficiados para ello. Y como esto veían los Padres que quá están, y que se no acodía a la cristiandad, dixeron y assentaron que mijor convenía estar en el Maluco por modo de missiones[16] que de otro modo, poes no servían de más que de confessar a los portugueses con sus criados y esclavos, la qual consulta pienço se embió a V.P.

6. La segunda cosa que digo[k] es, que todo esto passa desta maneira y la cristiandad perece por nunca sermos visitados, que des annos ha que yo estoy nestas partes y nunca llegó a ellas ni Provincial ni Visitador embiado por él para poder dar orden en las cosas. Y se me dixere: no tienen los Padres su Superior universal?, respondo que sí, tenemos. Mas pergunto yo, y se él desea que esteamos en dos casas grandes, como quien estaa en los collegios, para que assí se conserve y guarde mijor la disciplina, aunque pereçan las ánimas, quien le tiene de ir a la mano para que con esto biva desenquieto y desgustoso? Verdad es que mijor se guardará la disciplina religiosa juntos muchos. Mas si esso es assí, para qué sacan[l] de los collegios a obreiros? Mijor estarán en los collegios. De modo que quero dizir que es necessario para bien, quietud y govierno de la Compañía y para descargo de las consciencias que de quando en quando seamos visitados, pues tan facilmente se puede hazer.

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[13] See DD 95 note 3; 97 note 2.

[14] DM I 413-416.

[15] It is difficult to tell whom he has in mind. Most probably Frs. Masonio and Cruz in Ambon, and Berwouts/Corrado in Labuha. See D 117.

[16] As were proposed and discussed in D 94, 12, 15, 17, 21, 41, and 47.

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7. Y se me perguntaren, porqué no[m] se escriben estas cosas a los Padres[n] Provinciales en la India?, respondo: estamos tan lexos que, a presto llegaren las cartas, y a no faltar navío como muchas vezes falta, más presto tendrá el mismo P.[e] Provincial de la India respuesta de las que escreviere a V.P. que nós de las que le escrebirmos a él. Porque en dezeocho meses tiene el P.[e] Provincial respoesta de Roma, y nós no puede ser tenermos respuesta de las que escrevirmos al mismo P.[e] Provincial menos de 24 meses, y los Padres del Maluco que están en Tidore más. Y yo pyenso tener primero rispuesta desta de V.P. que no de la que escribo al mismo P.[e] Provincial, porque já le tengo escrito a más de un mes y medio, y agora bolveron las cartas que no passaron[17], y tienen de esperar un anno entero y más para partiren dende aquí! Jusge V.P. como se podrán remediar las cosas del Maluco con tan larga distancia sin sermos visitados, aunque se tenga escrito sobre esto.

8. La tercera cosa que digo es, que tratando como hijo de la Compañía y como quien desea que ella se conserve en sus principios y en su Instituto, que no devo de mirar a carne ni a sangre[18], sino a lo que mijor estubiere a la misma Compañía so' pena de no mostrar ser hijo della. Por lo qual digo que, para todas estas cosas teren remedio, corte por quien cortar y siéntalo quien quisiere: que conviene y es muy necessario que estas islas — los Padres digo que en ellas estamos — se junten con los Padres de Filipinas y se faça una provincia de por sí ou viceprovincia, como já es la de Filipinas[19]. Y a esto me moven muchas causas o razones[o].

9. La una y más principal es estarmos todos tam cercanos, que de Zebu a Maluco se pone 20 días, poco más [341*r*] o menos; y de Mindanao que es en medio, adonde já residen Padres noestros[20], até el Siao, que es christiandad[p] noestra, se pone día y medio, y até Maluco otro ta..to. Y tan fácil navegación y que tam fácilmente se pode negocear tudo, y que puede un Provincial ou Viceprovincial partir de Felipinas e visitar tudo después de partidas las naos para Nova España, e bolver otra vez a escrevir en las que partieren el otro anno. Y aunque no venga todos los años basta vir de quando en quando ou embiar.

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[17] Cf. D 115,5, last sentence.

[18] Cf. Gal 1 16.

[19] The Philippine Jesuit Viceprovince was erected in 1595.

[20] A first Jesuit mission station was founded at Butuan, Mindanao, in November 1596 (COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 165-166).

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10. La segunda razón es que, como están tam perto los Padres de Felipinas y el Viceprovincial, puédese[q] dar remedio a lo que se offerecere, o que agora no puede ser humanamente, porque en sinco mezes tenemos respuesta de Filipinas, y de Goa es necessario passante de dos annos. Demás desto que[r] el provimento tam bién puede venir de Felipinas como de Malaca, porque no faltan fragatas todos los annos.

11. Una cosa se offerece en contrario, y es que Fellipinas están debaxo del govierno de españoles y Maluco de los portugueses. A esso se puede responder que quien sabe que no estamos unidos com la India, quando esso fuere, quanto más nos todos no estamos debaixo de un mismo rey que haze estar debaixo de differentes governadores. El virrei de Sicilia y el de Nápoles son dos goviernos y con todo esso tiene V.P. algunos collegios o casas debaixo del Provincial de Sicilia que pertencen a la governança de Nápoles[21]. Quien mira en ello? Assí quá, quien mira agora si el superior que tenemos es portuguez, si castellano, si italiano? Lo mismo será después: quien mira en que el superior de Maluco es superior de Filipinas, o se el superior de Filipinas es superior del Maluco? Quanto más que para esso podríase[s] de quando en quando hazer que los superiores ora fossen portugueses, ora castellanos, ora ytalianos. Esto me parecía por razón de la comodidad que avía para todo.

12. Mas se sobre todo V.P. jusgare que no conviene, ou el P.[e] Provincial de la India repugne por se le tirar tam gran empreza, por lo menos es necessario que V.P. dee orden con que de quatro en quatro annos, ou más ou menos, venga una persona visitar estas partes. Y que, já que ha comodidad, que quando oviere Congregación Provincial, nos avisen para escrevir noestras dudas. Y también para que algunas vezes se alle[t] en ellas el superior del Maluco o su procurador, visto estarmos tan lexos y afastados, aunque bien creo que no olvidados, porque los Padres Provinciales nos regalan y consolan con sus cartas[22]; mas al fin son cartas. Un mal ay en[u] esto, y es que si los Padres Provinciales se obieren de mudar de tres en tres annos como en Europa, que mal se pueden remediar muchas cosas porque, se acontesse de no aver navío hun anno, como muchas vezes acontesse, no es possible tener respuesta el mismo P.[e] Provincial de las que escrevire, sino de otro que novamente toma el cargo.

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[21] For a number of years the college of Reggio di Calabria, situated in the territory of Naples, belonged to the province of Sicily. Consult MHSI, *Epp. Salmer.* II p. XX-XXI.

[22] Lost letters, 113*b*.

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13. Otra cosa aun muy importante y necessaria es, que se devría tratar con Su Magestad que nos diesse lo necessario para noestro sustento, como dan en Filipinas y en otras partes, y no tenermos bares de clavo que podamos embarcar, que V.P. entienda no es mucha [v] edificación. Mas como ni somos visitados ni avisados para escrevir noestras cosas a la Congregación, y los que están más cercanos no les falten sus necessidades, las noestras quedan por socorrer y la Compañía no gana mucho en esto. Si nesto se desse remedio, mucho convernía para bien de todos y para mijor nos occuparmos, y no padecermos tanto como padecemos por el Virrei nan dar lo que davan dantes y Su Magestad manda dar [23]. Y la falta es por no estar metido en las ordinarias. Y hecho esto nos [341v] ocuparemos todos en noestros ministerios mijor [w], y no estará un Padre occupado en hazer clavo en Tidore para embarcar en el galión [24].

14. Y para que esse Padre se confiesse tiene necessidad de otro, y son [x] dos Padres que quedan menos para la cristiandad. Y como no puede la India dar tantos, y el Rey la limosna que daa hé para los Padres que andan en el Maluco que tienen coenta con cristiandad — porque doutro modo pienso que no lo dera, pues esto no es casa ni collegio que él pretenda fundar — y para confessar portugueses sus vigarios bastan, V.P. en esto ordene o que mijor vir que conviene al Instituto de la Compañía como padre que es de todos. Y [y] por ser aquella fortaleza, dasse por razón para que aja Padres en ella y, si es necessario, aja uno solo [z], y el superior universal quando allá estubiere, y en el interin se confessará el Padre con el vigario.

15. Una cosa suplico a V.P., y es que declare nesto su voluntad para quitar escrúpulos, y a mí particularmente pido me los quite. Y es que el P.e Provincial de la India nos tiene dados sus poderes, no solamente a los superiores, que a estos acresenta los que convienen tener los superiores, como bendizir cosas sagradas, mas a todos los demás por razón de estar mui apartados y no poder tan fácilmente aver recurso a los superiores. Es necessario saber si, quando el Provincial acaba, espiran ellos o basta comunicarlos uno una vez para sempre en quanto no fueren espresamente revocados por otro Provincial. Y para mis escrúpulos pido a V.P. aja por bem, si nesto ha que tener escrúpulo, que me los conceda assí e da mesma manera que el P.e Provincial Pero Martins, que ahora hé bispo de Japón, me los concedió.

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[23] D 110,1.

[24] In this paragraph for the first time a Maluku Father himself reveals that the Jesuits' buying and shipping clove did not make an edifying impression.

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16. Otra cosa queda aora, y es que aos christianos novamente convertidos en las Indias Occidentales y en Felipinas se concedieron certos previlegios de que usan, como no guardar todos los días de fiesta mas certas fiestas y los domingos[25], y que no ajunen más que certos días de la coresma y otros desta maneira. Que se podremos gozar destos mismos previlegios, y que para más declaración se alcansse de Su Santidad si fuere menester para que, por lo menos los que están nestas islas, corrão como corren los christianos de las Felipinas[26], y que se entendan aquá por naturales los mismos que se entenden en Felipinas. Y para no aver pendenças con los vigarios sería bien un breve de Su Santidad para esto ou declaración si fuere necessario, aunque no fuera más que vivae vocis oraculo.

17. También es necessario saber si tenemos necessidad de tomar las bullas de cruzada quando vienen para que possamos livremente usar de noestros privilegios, y si se podría escusar de alguna maneira. E quando no, qué quantidad avremos de dar, porque algunas vezes dize que todos paguen tanta quantidad aun los religiosos y religiosas, tirando los de S. Francisco, ou outra cosa semejante; y se podremos correr como ellos, pues no haze mención de mendicantes[27].

18. Paréceme que tomaré mucho el tiempo a V.P. que tanta necessidad tiene del, por lo qual no soy en esta más largo. Si caso fuere que algo escreviesse en contrario en la que escreví de Felipinas, aunque no me lembra, prudentis est mutare concilium. Lo que resta es suplicar a V.P. sea yo encomendado en sus santos sacreficios y oraciones para que N. Señor me dé gracia para que sea verdadero hijo de la Compañía e obrero desta su viña, y que dende allá me lance V.P. su santa[a] bendición.

De Amboino, a 13 de Mayo de 1597.

De V.P. indigno hijo en el Señor,

Antonio Pereira.

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[25] Cf. note 130 to D 73.

[26] « Que gozen de todos los privilegios concedidos a Indios [de las islas Filipinas] los mestizos y negros y qualquiera otra nación » (COLIN-PASTELLS I 477).

[27] *Bulla cruciata* is originally the name given to papal letters conceding various privileges to those who participated in or contributed to the war against the Muslims. As crusades to the East waned, the *bulla cruciata* came to apply exclusively to Spain and Spanish territory, whereas the emphasis was more and more placed on the offerings of the faithful, and the privileges were modified or expanded to include various dispensations, e.g., from fast and abstinence. To « take the Crusade Bull » practically meant to make an offering to the Church.

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[*Address* 342*v*] † Al muito Reverendo en Christo Padre, el Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito general de la Compañía de Jesús, [en Ro]ma. 1ª vía. Del Maluco.

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[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *del.* se ‖ [c] *del.* se ‖ [d] agora lo *interl.* ‖ [e] adonde . . christiandad *interl.* ‖ [f] *del.* demas de ‖ [g] de los *corr. fr.* dos ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* desse ‖ [i] todos ellos *interl.* ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* teneren ‖ [k] *del.* que ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* salan ‖ [m] *ins.* ‖ [n] *ins.* ‖ [o] o razones *interl.* ‖ [p] *corr. fr.* christiano ‖ [q] *corr. fr.* pueden ‖ [r] *del.* es ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* podrianse ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* alla ‖ [u] *del.* que ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* mui ‖ [w] *interl.* ‖ [x] *corr. fr.* levan ‖ [y] Y por . . vigario *ins. between two paragraphs* ‖ [z] *corr. fr.* o dos

[a] *ins.*

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FR. LORENZO MASONIO SJ TO FR. GIROLAMO CENTOMANI, MACAO

AMBON, MAY 20, 1597
Via Manila

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 3.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 124.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* f. 343*r-v*, formerly 94, and no. III. Autograph original in Portuguese. The letter is cut at the top, title and « Pax Christi » are lacking on f. 343*r*, and at the *verso* several lines must have got lost, whereas two fragments of the end of a foregoing proposition have been made illegible by a thick black ink line; only some incoherent words can be read « deste . . . e . . . lhe. . . paguos[?] em Deos N.S. ». The address at the foot of the page has been written in another hand. The addressee is noted again in the lower left corner of the first page « P. Centimanus ». One suspects that a second folio carrying the original address has been cut off.

IV ADDRESSEE: This is Fr. Girolamo Centomani, living in Macao. His surname is differently spelled: in our document both *Santimano* and *Centimanus*. He signs his own vows in 1598 *Centimano*, and an autograph letter of 1588 *Centomani* (Cf. the Latin *centimanus*, one with hundred hands). — This Father was an Italian, born in Potenza, Basilicata, who sailed to India in 1586, and after a few years was sent to Macao, where he was active in pastoral work, especially as a confessor, for more than 25 years. He must have been a friend of Masonio from the time of their Jesuit formation in the Naples province. (Cf. MHJ I 1151).

V. NOTE: This document raises the question how it came to land in the Roman archives. Did the postmaster of Manila join it mistakenly to the letters directed to New Spain and Europe (as D 114 was)? Or did Centomani himself

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forward it to the Roman headquarters thinking it to be of some importance? We do not know.

Text

1. *Understands that, as Fr. Centomani was absent from Macao, he was unable to write him.* — 2. *Goes on working in good health for the Christians of Ambon.* — 3. *Ambon is more quiet than in the past years; the Christians hit out very well against the enemies, and many settled down near the fortress.* — 4. *Baptized over one thousand children in the Christian villages. Instruction in the faith is given by means of children. Shortage of Fathers.* — 5. *Greets a friend. Conclusion.* — 6. [Postscript] *Sends kind regards from some common Italian friends who wrote to him.*

1. Este anno eu não recebi carta de V.R.[1], do que certo me pesou [muito[a]] por [não] ter nova de V.R. senão por huma do P. Dioguo Pinto[2], o qual me escreveo[3] que V.R. estava em Cantão com os portugueses e que dahi hia a confessar ao P. Lazzaro Cattaneo na sua risidentia de Xauqueo[4], com que me consolei muito, assí por entender que estava de saude como tãobem por soccorrer ao nosso santo e virtuoso Padre Cattaneo e consolarem-se ambos em partes tão remotas no meio de tão manha multidão de gentilidade, em tempo que o bom Padre estava soo sem seu companheiro, por onde escusei V.R. em não escrever-me pois estava ausente de Macao.

2. De mi dou novas a V.R. como, louvores a Deos, estou de saude como sempre estive, e nesta mesma casa de Amboyno com as mesmas occupações que tinha de christandade, a qual procuro cultivar ao melhor que posso, inda que não com tanta diligencia como devera, nem com tanto fruito como os outros pouderão della tirar, contudo me vou detendo a pouco a pouco.

3. A terra esteve este anno hum pouco mais quieta que os annos

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[1] This implies that some time before he had received letters from Fr. Centomani. Lost letters, 113*c*.

[2] The author of D 25. In 1595 he was transferred to Macao from Malacca (DEHERGNE no. 641).

[3] Lost Letter, 113*a*.

[4] Fr. Lazzaro Cattaneo of Sarzana, Liguria, entered the Society in 1581, sailed to India in 1588 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 302), and hence to Macao in 1594, destined for the China mission. He published Chinese translations of some works (DEHERGNE no. 158; SOMMERVOGEL II 896). The Jesuit residence of Xaucheo, on the Chinese continent, started in November 1582 (MHJ I 392 and 429; 286 « Shiuchow », 313 « Shaochow »; DEHERGNE 49 « Chao-tcheou »).

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passados, e os inimigos não ficarão com tanta soberbia quanto tinhão, pois os nossos christãos lhes fizerão muitos garos [5], nos quaes lhe mattarão e cattivarão perto de oitenta almas, metterão a fogo hum lugar forte, o qual era muito prejudicial a esta fortalezza [6], mattando nella más de 30 pessoas com ajuda dos portugueses e capitão que com elles forão. Vierão tãobem algumas cento cinquanta almas fugidas das terras dos inimigos a pousar nesta fortaleza e dar obediencia ao capitão [7]. Tãobem com humas pazes que fizerão huns nossos lugares com os inimigos se vierão pera nós muita gente que estava com os inimigos.

4. Fomos este anno bautizzando mininos por totos estes lugares nossos onde não há Padre a petição dos mesmos lugares e se bautizzarão mais de mil mininos pequenos. Os grandes que tinhão necessidad de cathequismo se deixarão até aprenderem; e pera isto derão cada lugar hum paró de meninos e mais grandes que viessem aprender a doutrina nesta fortaleza, pera que elles despois pudessem insinar os outros mininos. E desta maneira agora estão providos quasi todos os lugares de meninos que insinão a doutrina, e de quando em quando vai algum [b] Padre a visitá-los e ver o fruito que fazem [8]. E se espera que este anno

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[5] *Garu*, raid, surprise attack.

[6] Unfortunately no name is mentioned.

[7] The then captain of the fortress of Ambon was João Caiado de Gamboa (APO III 2 p. 764 no. 276). He was the son of António Rodrigues de Gamboa (*Cadaval* 819 p. 235; *Título dos capitães* 366), and was succeeded in 1599 by Estevão Teixeira de Macedo (*AGI, Filip. 19* ramo 2 no. 46; *Brit. Libr., Add. 28432* f. 11*r*). Later we find him as a captain of Malacca, 1615-16; for offences against the bishop he was ordered to be put in shackles and sent to Goa (APO VI p. 1139 no. 453). Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque, by an *alvará* of April 17, 1597, provided that from that day on the two offices of *capitão* and *feitor* of the Ambon fortress should be hold by one and the same person, and that such had to be intimated « a João Cayado de Gamboa, capitão de Amboyno » (APO III 2ª 765 no. 276). Obviously Ambon was losing importance.

[8] From this paragraph it is clear that the Fathers could visit the villages of Ambon, and that consequently the interpretation of WESSELS (*Amboina* 124) is deceiving, that is, that the Fathers made the people come to the fortress because the insecurity prevented themselves from visiting them. Apparently only this paragraph was considered for being inserted into the Annual Letter of the Province of India of 1598. This Annual Letter is only known from a later Latin translation in *ARSI, Goa 32* ff. 657*r-v* and 668*r*-670*v*. On f. 669*v* the passage on Maluku reads: « Magnus fructus collectus est ex missione quam fecit unus nostratum ad insulas aliquas Molucarum de Liacer et Oma dictas, ubi fuit receptus maximo solatio et baptizavit plus mille trecentos. Et ut melius instituerentur in

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e fará fruito com elles porque dão mostra de se quererem aproveitar. Se over aqui Padres não faltarão lugares pera se occuparem com elles. Quererá Deos mandar-nos alguns pelo anno com algum soccorro temporal pera poudermos levantar hum pouco a cabeza contra estes nouros inimigos da nossa santa lei.

Peço a V.R. me faça chari-[c] [343*v* . . .]

5. Não tenho que escrever mais a V.R., senão [d] roguar-lhe me emcomende sempre a Deos N.S. em as suas santas orações e sacrificios, e eu farei o mesmo como sempre o fiz inda que friamente. Dará minhas emcomendas ao P. Baldassar Torres, dicendo-lhe que bem parece estar bem occupado com S. Thomaso [9], já que não tem tempo de escrever huma carta. Eu lhe não escrevo pera não furtar-lhe o tempo tão bem empregado, mas V.R. me fará charidade comunicar-lhe esta e dicer-lhe que se alembre de mi, assi como eu me alembro de S.R.

Deste desemparado Amboyno, oje 20 de Maio 1597.

Esta va por Manilha porque este anno aqui não tivemos nao de ritorno pera Malaca [10].

De V.R. servo em o Senhor,

Lourenço Masonio

6. O P. Pietro Antonio Spinello e o P. Messina [11] se raccomandano a V.R., dai quali ho ricevuto carta [12] este anno de muita consolação e hum Panicarola sobre os salmos [13], com hum livrinho de meditações da vida de N.S. Jesu Christo e de N. Senhora com suas figuras seu registos em cada meditação, o qual serve muito pera mostrar os misterios de nossa fé aos christãos.

[*Address h2*] A[o] muito Reverendo em Christo Padre, o Padre Jeronimo Santimano da Companhia de Jesu.

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mysteriis sanctae fidei aliquos [*read* aliqui] ex illis domum nostram conducti sunt ubi plene instructi doctrinam haustam deinceps aliis traderent ».

[9] Baltasar Torres, from Granada, Spain, sailed to India in 1586 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 294); after 1590 he taught theology in Macao (hence his being occupied with St. Tomas Aquinas !) until he sailed to Japan in 1600 (MHJ I 1312).

[10] This agrees with D 114,7.

[11] For Spinelli (1555-1615), see D 91, Introduction, no. III. Fr. Giovanni Luigi Messina entered the Society in the Naples province in 1581 and died at Cosenza on December 29, 1607 (*ARSI, Neap. 175* f. 25*r*).

[12] Lost letter, 110*b*.

[13] Francesco Panigarola OFM, 1548-1594, famous preacher and author of many publications in the polemic and spiritual field, bishop of Asti (*Enciel. Cattol.* IX 680). He wrote commentaries on the Psalms and on other books of Holy Scripture.

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[a] muito *and* não *paper damaged* ‖ [b] vai algum *corr. fr.* vamos ‖ [c] *rest is lacking., see introduction* ‖ [d] *del.* por

Lost Letter

115*a*. — *Fr. João Álvares, Assistant, Rome, to Fr. António Pereira, Maluku; September 1597.*

D 135,1: « Me derão huma de V.R. escrita em Setembro de 97 ».

116

FR. NICOLAU PIMENTA, VISITOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 1, 1597
First *via*

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 125.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 32* ff. 614*r*-621*v*, formerly no. LXI. Original in Latin in a very readable handwriting. The first folio should be the last one and be placed after f. 621. Its *recto* is blank, the *verso* contains the address with the indication « 1ª via », and the numeral « 5 » corresponding to a note at the top of f. 615*r* saying « Epistola 5ª »; at the bottom a secretary wrote « 97 ».

III NOTE. On December 1, 1597, Pimenta signed a series of letters, of which the present document is the fifth; the same codex *Goa 32* contains also, on ff. 643-650, the sixth and seventh letter.

Text

1. *Ten Jesuits, living in three residences of Maluku, suffer much from Muslim enmity. — 2. Discouragement and renewed zeal. A new church was built. Plans to send more missionaries. The vireroy sent a new captain for Ambon with provisions.*

[... 620*r*]

1. Ad Malucas insulas maior nostrorum labor quam fructus, zizania nimirum super agellum Mahomete fundente. Inter arma, quae in lusitanos movet per insulanes reges ac dynastas, qui tum alias tum maxime hoc anno in nomen lusitanum videntur conspirasse, tribus locis decem e nostris commorantur et ubique hanc cladem experti.

2. Cadunt scilicet animo ac deficiunt[a] christiani parum roborati

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in fide. Non absistunt tamen nostri, sed urgent opus accuratius. Et superiore anno in Abulana residentia[1] absolutum est templum e ligno, caeteris maius et capacius. Nostri eo maxime ire ardent, et nonnullos ad Aprilem insequentem mittere cogito[b 2]. Neque in subsidii militaris petitione desumus insulanis: iamque Prorex[3] cum classe, quam contra piratas anglos adornavit[4], suppetias misit cum Amboini duce[5].
[... 621*v*]

Goa, Kal. Decem. M.D.XCVII.
V.P. filius in Domino,

Nicolaus Pimenta.

[*Address* 614*v*] † Al muy Reverendo Padre Nuestro en Christo Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús. Roma. 1ª vía.

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[a] *corr. fr.* defficiunt || [b] *corr. fr.* cogitabam

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[1] This can only be Labuha.

[2] He kept his word; in April 1598 two Jesuits sailed to Maluku: 26th Sending (D 118,2).

[3] The new viceroy, D. Francisco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira (mostly called «Conde Almirante»), took over from Matias de Albuquerque on May 25, 1597 (COUTO XII 15).

[4] For the putting in readiness of this armada within a good month, see COUTO XII 49-54. The commander was Lourenço de Brito. He set sail from Goa on September 24, 1597, sailed first to Malacca and hence to Sunda, to the port of Banten. See TIELE V 212-214; WESSELS, *Amboina* 124-125. The immediate occasion for Gama to ready this fleet was a notice that, in July 1597, two Dutch ships had been sighted near Mozambique, presumably bound for Sunda. Though in this case the Dutch ships of COUTO were actually English, the presence of the first Dutch at Banten in June 1596, of which vague notices were spreading irregularly and slowly among the Portuguese, may have struck terror into them. VLEKKE (*Nusantara* 94) raises the impression as if Gama reacted directly against this first Dutch appearance in Indonesia. When Brito arrived at the roadstead of Banten he did not find there either Dutch or English ships.

[5] Estevão Teixeira de Macedo. According to his own letter of Ambon, June 2, 1601, he had taken possession of the fortress on March 2, 1599 (*AGI, Filip. 19* ramo 2 no. 46).

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117

CATALOGUS TERTIUS AND SUPPLEMENT TO THE FIRST AND SECOND CATALOGUES OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA], DECEMBER 15, 1597
First *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 272*r*-274*v* and 277*r-v*. Original in Spanish, written in two columns. Folio 274*v* is blank; likewise is f. 277*r-v*, but for the note « Catalogo 3° de 97 dell'India Orientale. 1ª via » on the last page. Our part is on f. 274*r*.

II NOTE: The title *catalogus tertius* does not necessarily imply that originally there were a *catalogus primus* and *secundus* of the same date as well. The first and second catalogues were practically triennial because they should be forwarded to Fr. General by the *procuratores* who every three years were called tolRome as deputies of each province. (The Indian Province, however, had to deegate its procurators to Rome every sixth year only). The third catalogue, also called short catalogue, had to be sent every year, joined with the necessary supplement to the last first and second catalogues. This Supplement mainly consisted of short lists of the deceased, the dismissed, and of those who had newly entered the Society in that province. For these regulations, see DI IX 722. As a matter of fact, the official author of the catalogue was Fr. Provincial, Francisco Cabral, and the addressee was Fr. General. Cabral based his informations on letters received; cf. note 3.

Text

The names of eight Fathers and two Brothers residing in Maluku.

†

Catálogo 3°ª, con el suplemento del primer y segundo, de los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañía de Jesús de la India Oriental, echo en 15 de Deziembre de 1597

[... 274*r*]

Maluco y sus rezidencias [1]

P. Luis Hernandez, superior, professo
P. Antonio Martha, professo

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[1] It is strange and regrettable that the Jesuits are not listed here according to their residence, Tidore or Ambon, as one could expect of a « third » catalogue.

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P. Antonio Perera, superior de Amboyno, professo
P. Manuel Gonsalez [2]

P. Rogerio Conrado
P. Gabriel de la Crus, formado [3]
P. Juan Rebello
P. Lorenço Masonio
} Todos estes Padres se occupan en la cristiandad de Maluco y Amboyno

Hermano Antonio de Acosta, es muy enfermo [4]
Hermano Juan Pablo [5], tiene cuidado de lo temporal.

---

[a] 3° *interl.*

118

FR. SIMÃO DE SÁ SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter
GOA, JANUARY 1, 1598
Second *via*

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 125.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 32* ff. 622*r*-641*v*, formerly no. LXII. Original in Portuguese, written in at least two hands. Divided into titled paragraphs. Folio 622*r* contains the quasi-address and the archivistic numeral LXII, its *verso* is blank. The letter starts on f. 623*r* in whose left lower corner a note runs « India 98 ».

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[2] The criterium for the distinction between the first and the latter four Fathers seemingly is « working among the (native) Christians ». Fr. Manuel Gonçalves was working in Labula (D 120,2-3).

[3] Fr. Fernandes made his profession in Tidore on July 22, Pereira in Ambon on April 29, and Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz made his vows of a spiritual coadiutor in Ambon on May 30, all in 1596. They are termed, therefore, *professo* and *formado*. Fr. Berwouts/Corrado made his last vows in Tidore on November 30, 1596. That he is not yet called a *formado* proves that after July 22 a ship sailed to India in which the Jesuits sent letters to Fr. Provincial; these could not yet report on the vows of Berwouts/Corrado. Lost Letters, 110*f.*

[4] He had already died; consult D 120,2-3.

[5] Manfrida. He made his last vows of a temporal coadiutor in Tidore on November 30, 1596, on the same day as Berwouts (*ARSI, Lus. 25* f. 107).

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A secretary's hand added many catchwords and signs in the margins. Folio 641*v* is blank but for again « LXII ». Our passage on Maluku is on f. 637*v*.

III CHARACTER of this letter. That it is an annual letter is testified by the quasi-address, by the contents consisting of one year's reports of all the houses, and by the first sentence introducing these reports to Fr. General: « Deixando a relação do socedido na viceprovincia de Jappão e China às cupiosas annuas que de lá se escrevem este anno a V.P., somente tratarei desta provincia oriental ». Though any indication that the author wrote by order of Fr. Provincial is lacking, this must be supposed.

IV AUTHOR: Simão de Sá was born in Guarda, Portugal, in 1560, entered the Society in 1577, and, not yet a priest, sailed to India in 1586 (WICKI, *Liste* no. 284). He was ordained a priest in 1588 (*Goa 24 II* f. 231*v*).

Text

1. *The eight Fathers and two Brothers of Maluku suffer troubles and persecution. Delegates coming from there returned hopeful.* — 2. *A new captain and succour were sent to Ambon. A Father Visitor of Malacca and Maluku, and his companion, will sail with the new captain of Tidore.*

[... 637*v*]

Maluco e Amboino

1. Das residencias que estão neste archipelago, nas quaes estão 10 da Companhia, 8 sacerdotes e 2 Irmãos, se pode dizer muito do muito que os nossos padecem na concervação daquella christandade tão perceguida dos mouros, pollo pouco poder que ali tem os portugueses. Contudo não faltão esperanças; com ellas forão daqui huns embaixadores que de lá vierão[1], e pollos quaes a Companhia fez aqui quanto pode.

2. Com a armada de Malaca[2] partio o capitão de Amboino[3], muito devoto da Companhia. O Conde o socorreo quanto por ora

---

[1] Cf. King Philip III to Viceroy Conde Almirante, December 10, 1598: « Achareis na cidade de Bemgalla um embaixador de Amboino dos 4 que tinham vindo pedir socorro a Matias de Albuquerque contra os mouros que se levantaram contra os cristãos daquela fortaleza » (Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Pecúlios, caixa 16, VI* 230, 3ª via).

[2] See D 116 note 4.

[3] Estevão Teixeira de Macedo. Apparently he remained in the fleet of Lourenço de Brito, in which he was captain of a « fusta » (COUTO XII 53), until its return to Malacca on July 10, 1598 (ibid. 90-92), because not before March 1599 did he actually become captain of Ambon (DD 116 note 5; 119,7).

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era possivel. Esta monção[4] vai o capitão de Maluco[5], tãobem fidalgo muito devoto da Companhia, e como tal hum só filho que tem deixa no seminario de Sancta Fee. Com elle vay o P.e .....[6] pera visitar Malaca e Maluco. Não leva mais que hum companheiro por não serem lá necessarios por ora mais, sendo muitos os que desejão esta missão.
[... 641*r*]

De Goa, 1° de Janeiro de 1598.
De V.P. indigno filho em Christo,

Simão de Saa.

[*Address* 622*r*] † Annua da Provincia da India Oriental do anno de 1597. 2ª via. Roma.

Lost Letter

118*a*. — *Fathers of Tidore to the Fathers of Ambon ; February 1598.*
D 119,3: « Como escrevem de Maluco »; on the edifying humility of Fr. Antonio Marta, no longer a superior.

119

FR. LORENZO MASONIO SJ TO FR. ANDREA BUCCERI SJ, [TRAVANCORE]

AMBON, MAY 1, 1598

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* f. 367*r-v*, formerly 102, earlier 113 (*del.*) and no. V. Autograph original in Portuguese. The second folio, of which the *recto* presumably was blank and the *verso* contained the address, is lost. In the left lower

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[4] That is, in April 1598.

[5] His name was Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira. He arrived in Tidore on November 20, 1598 (D 131,2), and took over from D. Julião de Noronha. COUTO XII 129 mistakenly has *Malaca* instead of *Maluco*. On him, see RIBEIRO, *Registo* 288 no. 1221; TORRES Y LANZAS, *Catálogo* IV 5478-5479 (incorrectly *Gómez* instead of *Gonçalves*; error committed already by the Spanish copyist); *Brit. Libr., Add. 28432* f. 11*r*; MORGA 144. He captained Tidore until 1602.

[6] Open space. The Fr. Visitor was Cristóbal de la Vega, and his companion Vasco da Cunha (D 122); manifestly they had not yet been appointed at the date of writing.

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corner of f. 367*r* Masonio mentioned the addressee « P. André Buccerio ». Roman secretaries added at the top « Al Padre Andrea Bucerio che sta nell'Indie, scritta dal Padre Lorenzo Masonio da Amboino del Maluco »; at the bottom « Amboino, Masonio. 98 » and « Molucc. ».

II ADDRESSEE: Fr. Andrea Bucceri was born about 1562 in Avella (Nola), Italy, entered the Society in 1581 and was ordained a priest in 1591. The next year he sailed to India and was at once stationed among the Christians of Travancore in the college of Quilon, where we find him still in 1599 (*Goa 24 I* f. 234*r* no. 264; WICKI, *Liste* no. 328; a letter of his of December 1599 in *Goa 14* ff. 409-411).

Text

1. *Writes briefly because had to write two lengthy letters to fellow Jesuits.* — 2. *Thanks for letter received. Is doing well. Had an abscess in the face.* — 3. *Fr. Marta, superior for ten years, was succeeded by Fr. Luís Fernandes. Local superiors: João Rebelo of Tidore and António Pereira of Ambon.* — 4. *They have to mount guard and to be armed in their own house which, situated at the entrance of the town, is protected by native defensive fences.* — 5. *Attack made by Javanese and « Moors » against the ortress and town; their daring. Nobody can leave the town; dearth of food.* — 6. *In the past year more than thousand children were baptized. Crosses were erected and pagan sanctuaries destroyed in various villages.* — 7. *The new captain did not yet arrive. Progress of the Society in the Philippines.* — 8. *Greetings. Recommends a young Amboneses, son of a pati.*

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. Nam queiro ser nesta muy comprido assi porque o tempo me não da lugar, como porque ahy escrevo duas cartas compridas em reposta e pago doutras duas tãobem compridas que aqui eu recebi do P. Fernão Vas e P. Oliveira[1]. E como V.R. facilmente se comunica com elles ao menos por cartas, dellas sabrá alguas novas de cá mais ao comprido. Por onde me pareceo scusado o trabalho de repetir o mesmo.

2. A carta de V.R.[2] me foi de grandissima consolação, emtendendo por ella como estava de saude avantejada aos outros. Queira N. Senhor

[1] Four lost letters, 113*g-h*; 121*a-b*. Fr. Fernão Vaz entered the Society in Portugal in 1567 and sailed to India as a priest in 1579. He lived in the college of Cochin (*Goa 24 I* f. 234*r* no. 264; WICKI, *Liste* no. 328; DI XI 25*). Fr. Gabriel Oliver, or de Oliveira, was a Spaniard. He became a Jesuit in 1551 and having been ordained sailed to India in 1565 (*Goa 24 I* f. 234*r* no. 259; WICKI, *Liste* no. 102; DI VI 19*). He was stationed in the small college of Quilon.

[2] Lost letter, 113*i*.

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conservar-la sempre ao melhor per sua maior gloria e serviço. De mim lhe digo o mesmo, que estou com os mesmos exercitios e occupações dantes e com a mesma saude, inda que algum tanto velho. Este anno tive huma postema no rostro da banda esquerda, a qual durou perto de seis meses e ainda há algumas reliquias della. Mas louvores a Deos não me empidio muito os meus exercitios[a] com os christãos e m ssa. Somente as pregações foy necessario deixá-las porque o falar rigio me fazia danno.

3. O P. Martha, veneciano, que era superior destas partes, desde o anno passado descansa. Soccedeo em seu lugar o P. Luys Fernandez, Padre de muita virtude, prudencia, charidade e authoridade. E o P. Martha, assi como governou dez annos[3] com muita sodisfação de todos, assi agora se mostra suddito muy humilde e obediente, o qual, como escrevem de Maluco[4], edifica muito com sua humildade. Superior da casa de Maluco hé o P. João Rebelo, meu companheiro de Roma até Portugal, desta casa de Amboyno o P. Antonio Pereira.

4. Aqui hé necessario estarmos sempre de vigia e com as armas nas mãos por estar a terra sempre de guerra. E como a nossa casa está na emtrada do lugar[5] hé necessario vigiarmos mais que os outros. Este anno tivemos nella por muitos meses vigia de portugueses e amboynos, e foy necessario fazer-se hum baluarte novo pera isto. E pera ficarmos mais seguros das espias, que de quando em quando emtrão o lugar, foy necessario arrodiar menos e cercar menos alem da cerca de pedra, de outras cercas de sungas[6], que são bambus[7] fendidos e agutos postos no chão à maneira de abrolhos, pera empedir o caminho

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[3] He was appointed superior in 1586 and took over the direction of the mission in March 1587; Fr. Fernandes appears to be nominated in Goa in December 1596 (D 113), but it is possible that his nomination did not arrive in Maluku till late 1597.

[4] Lost letter, 118*a*.

[5] It is not quite clear how this should be understood. The Jesuit residence was in a street that in the Dutch time was very significantly called « Kloosterstraat » and whose present-day name is Jalan Cempaka. The boundaries of the then town appear to have been at the southern end, or nearly, of that street. At that time there must have been still a wide flat strip of land between the town and the foot of the mountains, whereas the modern city is extending into them.

[6] Malay *sungga*, mantrap, caltrop. See SÁ IV 552, where the author (who?) of the *Glossário* opposes himself to the author (who?) of the footnotes.

[7] See D 73 note 16. Here *bambu* is not used for the plant, but for the cane applied in human use.

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e de pecas-pecas [8] que são muitos paos altos e bambus plantados ao redor, de coattro e cinco brazas de largo [b], que ficão [c] como muitas fortissimas sepes, e desta mesma maneira ficou cercada toda a povoação.

5. E se esta cerca não fora [d], o anno passado teriamos recebido muito danno dos jaos e mouros que vierão com armada formada contra esta fortaleza. E ainda que queimassem os arabaldes de fora, contudo não pouderão entrar dentro. Mas chegarão até diante de nossas casas pelejando, onde cahirão alguns delles mortos. Pola resistenza, inda que pouca que acharão, morrerão delles 14 e mais de trinta feridos; da nossa gente seis. E com isto arrecuarão discontentes e nos deixarão emvergonhados por accometter-nos ao meio dia com tanto animo nas bocas das bombardas, cousa que nunca ategora acconteceo nesta fortaleza, com muitas grossas armadas que vierão contra ella. Estamos emcorolados de maneira que ninguem pode sahir fora, nem per mare a pescar nem por terra buscar comida sem perigo das cabezas, porque o mar e mattos nunca estão sem ciladas de inimigos. Por onde os mantimentos são carissimos, que per comer huma pessoa huma comida mediocre e religiosa [9] de peixe somentes, sagu e bretos com hum pouco de urraca [10], lhe não basta meo cruzado.

6. O fruito que se faz com estes christãos hé o ordinario, inda que o anno passado se bautizzarão mais de mil mininos pelos lugares de fora desta fortaleza, nesta mesma ilha e outras adjacentes [11]. Se ordinou que nos ditos lugares se insinasse a doutrina aos meninos, porque os grandes não deixão tão facilmente seus ritos e pagodes nem querem trabalhar por aprender. Se levantaram alguas cruzes pelos lugares com muita festa e alegria dos moradores [12]. Se queimarão muitas casas de pagodes [13]. Queira Deos N.S. abrir os olhos a este[s] cegos pera verem [e] a cegueira em que estão de suas cirimonias. [367*v*]

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[8] This is the Malay term *pegas* which in the dictionaries is now given in the meaning of 1° spring, 2° carpetbeater, so something that makes one shrink back. It occurs also in the *Relação Vasconcelos* (371) as « *peguas*, que são huns paos de muitos esgalhos, que servem tãobem de *sunguas* ».

[9] Here in the sense of frugal.

[10] D 87 note 8.

[11] D 115,4.

[12] On the use of erecting crosses, consult DM I 720: Index, s.v. Cross.

[13] The term *pagode* was used for an idol and for its temple or sanctuary. Of course, the *pagodes* of Ambon were very simple wooden constructions. See YULE 652-657.

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7. Estavamos esperando o novo capitão[14] com algua armada, mas ategora não pareceo nada nem nova delle depois de sair de Malaca. Os nossos Padres de Manilha têm muitas ilhas pera coltivarem e fazerem christãos, e já têm muitas risidencias e dous collegios com viceprovincial[15]. Estão os castelhanos accabando de sogeitar o reino e ilha de Minenao, que está perto de Silebe alem de Tidore onde nós temos christandade sem Padres[16].

8. Não queiro ser mais comprido porque do demais me remetto às cartas do Padre[e] Fernão Vas e P. Oliveira. Dee minhas emcomendas ao meu carissimo P. Spinola, reitor[17], e ao P. Antonino[18], ao P. Theofilo[19] e ao P. Fenicio[20] com os mais Padres desse collegio. Ao P. Fenicio da minha parte lhe emcomende muito a Sancho que daqui lhe mandou o P.e Antonio Martha, porque hé moço muy onrado, filho de hum pate[21], que hé como senhor de hum lugar, o qual os annos passados foy morto por ordem de justicia. Dia-me por charidade alguas novas de Napoles da casa professa, collegio e outros Padres, porque o P. Pero Antonio[22] que me escreve sempre não se mette muito

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[14] D 118 note 3.

[15] The viceprovince was erected in 1595. The actual viceprovincial was Fr. Ramón Prat. The two colleges were those of Manila and Cebu (COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 242 and 601).

[16] That is, in Siau.

[17] Fr. Nicolò Spinola, an Italian, born about 1549, entered the Society in 1569 and was ordained in 1577. In the next year he sailed to India where he worked in Travancore. For nine years he was rector of the college of Quilon (*Goa 24 I* f. 234 no. 260; *Goa 24 II* f. 268*r*; WICKI, *Liste* no. 201; DI XI 22*).

[18] Fr. Antonino Schipano, a Calabrian, born 1550, a Jesuit in 1578, priest in 1584; in 1585 he sailed to India, and from then was working in Travancore and the Fishery Coast (*Goa 24 I* f. 235*r* no. 281; *Goa 24 II* f. 317*r*: rector of Cochim college; WICKI, *Liste* no. 263).

[19] Fr. Teofilo Masci, from Naples, was stationed in Porcá (Purakkad) and in 1598 in Calicut. He was born in 1562, a Jesuit from 1580 on, and sailed to India in 1591 (*Goa 24 I* f. 233*v* no. 253; *Goa 24 II* f. 317*r*; *Neap. 80* f. 8*r* no. 42 [« Mascius »]; WICKI, *Liste* no. 313).

[20] Fr. Giacomo Fenicio, from Capua, was Masci's cooperator in Porcá. For his life, see DI XII 13*. Born 1558, a Jesuit in 1579, ordained in 1583, he sailed to India in that year (*Goa 24 I* f. 233*v* no. 254; WICKI, *Liste* no. 237). He is known for having studied and described Hinduism.

[21] This Sancho (named after Sancho de Vasconcelos?) quite likely was the son of the *pati* of Halong who had been executed (D 93,6).

[22] Fr. Pietro Antonio Spinelli was rector of the college of Naples for nine years. See D 91.

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nas novas. E não deixe de me emcomendar a Deos N.S. em os seus santos sacrificios e orações. O mesmo peço a todolos Padres e Irmãos desse collegio.

Deste Amboyno, oje primeiro de Maio 1598.

De V.R. servo em o Senhor,

Laurenço Masonio.

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[a] *del.* somentes || [b] *del.* pera || [c] *corr. fr.* não || [d] *corr. fr.* havia || [e] *corr. fr.* emtestarem || [f] *interl.*

120

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

[AMBON], MAY 9, 1598
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 190 Fernandez no. 2.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 126.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 363*r*-364*v*, formerly 223-224 and no. III. Autograph original in Portuguese, written in a bold and clear hand and divided into a few paragraphs. The first page contains some later notes « Malabarica, 9 Maii 1598 », and « Molucc. 98. Maii »; f. 364*r* is blank; its *verso* contains, except the address, the seal and a Spanish summary in seven items; the corresponding seven numerals have been added in the margins of the letter.

IV PLACE: The letter is dated « De Maluqo ». From D 121,6 it is clear that Fernandes wrote in Ambon. « Maluqo » was used in its wide meaning of the whole of the mission area, such in opposition to no. 4 where it stands for Tidore.

Text

1. *Being the new superior feels bound to write to Fr. General.* — 2. *They were eight Fathers and two Brothers in three residences. But one Brother died and one Father returned to India. None of the others wants to leave.* — 3. *Three are stationed in Tidore. Only one resides in Labuha ; a new Father should be sent from India as his companion. No Jesuit should live alone among the natives. Three Fathers are working in Ambon.* — 4. *The native Church of Tidore is nearly wholly destroyed. The reason : lack of power of the Portuguese.* — 5. *No succour is forthcoming from India.* — 6. *In Ambon a part of the Christian community apostatized, a part remained loyal, a part are Christians only in name.* — 7. *Frs. Masonio and Cruz each guide their prosperous parishes*

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at Ambon. Expectations of royal help. — 8. Requests a relic of a Saint. — 9. Requests the same privileges for the Christians of Maluku as were bestowed on those of the West Indies and the Philippines. — 10. Requests some books and some more relics.

† Jesus
Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Por me ser encomendado por noso P.e Provincial[1] o anno passado de 97 o governo dos nosos de Maluqo e Amboino, cujo superior tinha sido até então o P.e Antonio Marta, me pareceo que tinha obrigação de fazer esta a V.P. pera lhe dar novas e conta asi de nós como da cristandade destas partes.

2. Quãoto a nós, ategora estivemos nestas ilhas de Maluqo e Amboino dez da Companhia, scilicet, oito Padres e dous Irmãos, em tres casas que temhos, scilicet, huma na ilha de Tidore e outra na ilha da Labua de Maluqo e outra na ilha de Amboino. Agora ficamos oito, não mais, porque hum Irmão se nos faleceo o anno passado[2], e agora mandamos hum Padre pera a India por ordem de noso P.e Provincial por não ser sogeito pera estas partes[3]. Dos oito que fiquão, as novas que posso dar a V.R.[4] são que todos procedem como bons filhos da Companhia, e com serem os trabalhos grandes que nestas partes se passão assi por causa das continuas guerra[s] com os mouros, que são possantes e por cuja causa a cristandade de Maluqo e Amboino está quasi perdida, comtudo todos vivem nestes trabalhos contentes sem nenhum que eu saiba fallar palavra em querer sair delles. Antes, todos estão muito contentes em parmanecer nelles até à morte.

3. Na casa de Tidore fiqão tres, scilicet, o P.e João Rabello por superior daquella casa, e o P.e Antonio Marta e o Ir. João Paulo, olim Manfreda, por seus companheiros.

Na cristandade da Labua fiqa o P.e Rogerio Conrado que há muitos annos que reside naquella trabalhosa cristandade com muita edificação de todos e consolação sua. Agora speramos por hum Padre da India pera lhe dar por companheiro. Porque o que lá tinha como

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[1] Fr. Francisco Cabral. Lost letter of appointment, 113*f*.

[2] Br. António da Costa. In D 117 he is said to be very ill; in D 122 he is lacking.

[3] Fr. Manuel Gonçalves. He is missing too in this last catalogue.

[4] Fernandes uses « V.P. » and « V.R. » promiscuously.

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disse a V.R. mandamos agora pera a India por não ser pera estas partes [5]; porque nem todos da India servem pera cá. Como vier o Padre, lho daremos por companheiro. Porque eu nunca serei de parecer que esteja Padre algum em cristandade soo sem companheiro [6], mas que tenha muito pouco que fazer nella, pelos muitos perigos e males que daqui se podem seguir e se experimentão. Pelo que eu peço a V.P., se meu parecer nisto val alguma cousa, que nunca permitta estarem os nosos soos nas cristandades. Não digo isto porque saiba dalguma que esteja o Padre soo de ordinario, mas digo-o pera que, fazendo V.P. esta lembrança aos Padres Provincial e Visitadores destas partes, estará esta ordem tão necessaria em pee e elles proverão de sogeitos pera se continuar asi.

Neste Amboino residem tres Padres, e hum Irmão que faleceo [o] anno passado [7]. Os Padres são: o P.e Antonio Pereira, superior daquella casa, e o P.e Lourenço Masonio, que tem cudado de huma boa e grande fregezia, e o P.e Gabriel da Crus que tem cudado doutra fregezia não inferior à do P.e Lourenço Masonio [8]. [363v]

4. O que se pode dizer em huma palavra da cristandade de Maluqo, hé que está quasi toda perdida por causa das continuas guerras e do muito poder temporal dos mouros e pouqo dos portugezes. E a gente destas ilhas não tem aquella constancia dos japões. E ainda que muitos tem padecido muitos trabalhos por se conservarem cristãos, todavia o verem pouqo poder nos portugezes, e nos mouros muito, isto os fas virarem as coastas e tornar-sse mouros. E asim por esta causa e polo parentesco que tem com os mouros e avexações que elles lhe fazem, de que os portugezes os não podem livrar, os tem feito retroceder a quasi todos, salvo alguns pouqos que se conservão ainda na ilha de Tidore, pera a qual cada dia se vem tornando outros dos mouros pera nós, e outros pouqos na ilha da Labua. Queira Deos socorrer a necessidade que estas almas têm pera sua salvação com socorro do ceo, pois com o temporal dos reis da terra tão mal se lhe socorre.

5. Não fazemos outra cousa cada anno senão escrever à India a grande multidão de almas que por todo este arcipelago se perde por esta causa, e o grande proveito temporal que Sua Magestade d'El-Rey

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[5] This sentence reveals that Fr. Manuel Gonçalves had been working in Labuha.

[6] See D 30 note 35.

[7] António da Costa.

[8] See D 94,24.

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perde do cravo e nos e massa, que somente nestas ilhas se dá, sem nunca acabar de vir este socorro pera estas ilhas se conquistarem. Porque nestes tempos em que estamos parece que quer Deos[a] que sua fee se meta e arreige nesta gente com as armas, pois elles isto os fas mais render que exemplos de boa vida e virtude.

6. Da cristandade de Amboino pola mesma causa que dixe se tem perdida muita, que ainda que são[b] muito numero delles cristãos, todavia huma parte estão apostatas e feitos mouros. Outros conservão o nome de cristãos e a vida hé de gentios, os quais não se podem cultivar emquãoto não ouver braço temporal. Porque, como temos experimentado de muitos annos a esta parte, hé operam et oleum perdere asi com os grandes como com os pequenos. E elles mesmos não folgão que os cultivem emquãoto não vier socorro temporal de armas.

7. Comtudo nesta ilha de Amboino se conservão as duas cristandades que dixe, que fazem os Padres Lourenço Masonio e Gabriel da Crus, as quais são boas e grandes e estão bem cultivadas[c]. E vai-sse com estes e com outros, que de fora se vem pera estes, fazendo cada dia fruto bom, graças a Deos. Estamos com paciencia sperando cada dia que El-Rey mande conquistar estas ilhas, que com pouqo custo o pode fazer. E certo que a o não fazer perde grande perda asi no spiritual como no temporal. E como este temporal que El-Rey perde hé tão grande, temos confiança que se o bem spiritual destas almas o não mover, ao menos o proveito temporal do cravo, nos e massa destas ilhas que hé muita em quãtidade, e do ambar[9] que tãobem aqui se acha, o á-de mover.

8. Esta cristandade e os Padres della pedem a V.P. huma cabeça das honze mil Virgens[10], porque huma que nos escreveo que trazia o P.[e] Francisco de Monclaro[11] não chegou cá nem sei que seja feito della.

9. Tãobem pedimos a V.P. que nos impetre de Sua Santidade que os cristãos de Maluqo e Amboino e das ilhas a elle adjacentes gozem

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[9] On *ambar* (ambergris), consult DALGADO I 30; ORTA I 45-58; ENI I 34. The last declares that in Indonesia *ambar* is mostly won in the seas of Maluku. The term is of Arab origin.

[10] The legend of the eleven thousand virgins who allegedly were martyred together with St. Ursula was still living, and their relics were in great demand.

[11] For his early life, see DI VIII 17*. Having been a *procurator* of the Indian Province, he had returned from Rome in 1592, and apparently had brought relics for several Asian churches, also for Maluku.

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dos privilegios que Sua Santidade tem concedido aos cristãos da India Ocidental e Felipinas[12]. Pois somos aqui tão vezinho que em quinze dias se vay de Maluqo às ilhas Felipinas. E de Siao à ilha de Mindanao, aonde já estão os nosos Padres de Filipinas, se vay em tres dias. E estes previlegio[s] serão muy proveitos[os] e são necessarios pera estes cristãos. Nestes previlegios não entendo o comerem minudos ao sabado, porque nem elle lhes hé necessario porque o comer ordinario destas terras hé peixe ou ervas.

10. Mande-nos V.P. alguns volumes dos nosos previlegios asi indicos como comuns[13], e venhão dirigidos a este Maluqo ou por via das Indias de Castella ou das de Portugal. E algumas reliquias de santos pera se faze[re]m alguns reliquiarios pera estas igrejas. E com isto acabo pedindo ser encomendado na santa benção, devotas orações e santos sacrificios de V.P.,[d] e pedindolhe faça encomendar esta cristandade a N. Senhor.

De Maluqo, e de Maio oje 9 de 598.

De V.R. filho e servo indigno em Christo,

Luis Fernandez.

[*Address* 364*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre, o P.e Claudio Aquaevivae, geral da Companhia de Jesus, em Roma. 1ª via. De Maluqo.

[a] *interl.* || [b] *del.* os || [c] cultivados *ms.* || [d] V.P. *corr. fr.* V.R.

121

FR. ANTÓNIO PEREIRA SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 10, 1598
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 189 Pereira, no. 4.
II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 365*r*-366*v*, formerly 239-240, and no. IV. Au-

[12] For their nature, see D 114,16.

[13] Such were: *Compendium facultatum et gratiarum* ***Societatis Iesu***, Venetiis 1577; *Compendium privilegiorum et gratiarum Societatis Iesu*, Romae 1584; ***Compendium Indicum in quo continentur facultates et aliae gratiae a Sede Apostolica Societati Iesu in partibus Indiarum concessae, earumque usus praescribitur***, Romae 1580 (***ARSI, Instit. 1*** 18 no. 1).

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tographic original in Spanish mixed with many Portuguese turns, words, and spellings. The letter fills two pages, f. 366*r* is blank, f. 366*v* contains the address, a seal in relief, a secretary's note « Amboino. Maluco. 10 de Maio. 1598 », and a Spanish summary in which the requests for the privileges and for the Holy Cross relic are underlined; beside it a different hand put an answer, unfortunately for the greater part illegible. On f. 365*r* an archivist or secretary noted « Malabarica 10 Maii 1598 » and « Molucco 98 Maio ».

Text

1. *Wrote earlier from Manila and Cebu.* — 2. *Back in Maluku found permission to make his profession; thanks for it.* — 3. *Is superior of the Ambon residence. Praise of the Ambon people.* — 4. *None of the Jesuits wishes to go away.* — 5. *All are ready to suffer both wars and illness. A Brother died. Requested another from Fr. Provincial.* — 6. *Fr. Superior Luís Fernandes arrived from Tidore; unhappily his bad health is to be worried about. Invited Fr. Visitor to come and visit Maluku.* — 7. *Requests privileges for the Maluku Christians and a relic of the Holy Cross.*

† Jesus
Muyto Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Dende Manila escrebí a V.P. y de mi ida allá[1], y de Zebu escribí otra[2], y de la christiandad que alí ha tomado a cargo la Compañía, serviendo a los Padres en lo que pude aunque no como ellos merecían[3].

2. De boelta al Maluco hallé la charidad que V. Merced me hizo en se lembrar deste su indigno hijo y que, sin lo merecer, me quiso admittir a la Compañía haziendo professión en ella[4]. Bien se vé ser

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[1] D 101.

[2] Lost letter, 109*b*.

[3] Comparing several notices on Pereira's sojourn in the Philippines in CHIRINO and COLIN, one cannot but retain some doubts about his exact whereabouts in various periods. Twice he spent a certain time at Cebu, and it is quite likely the second stay our text is referring to. On his activity there and then, see CHIRINO 34; COLIN-PASTELLS III 187-189; COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 148-149 and 166.

[4] When did Fr. António Pereira return to Maluku from Cebu? According to COLIN-PASTELLS III 188 he left this town in late 1595, that is, after the death of Fr. Sedeño there on September 1. In this CHIRINO (68) agrees with COLIN. But the latter, in another context, ascribes his departure to early January 1596 (o.c. II 40). The real difference may not be very conspicuous. On April

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el amor grande y voluntad que V.P. tiene de me hazer charidades, pues me las haze tan avantajadas. Dios N.S. se lo pague que yo no sé con qué más que[a] de en mis sacreficios y fracas oraciones encome[n]dar a V.P. a Dios N.S. y procurar de corresponder en alguna maneira a la openión que de mí[b] tiene, pues de tal maneira me quiso recebir per hijo. Ben veyo que de mi parte soy tal y puedo tan poco, que no alcansarei de Dios lo que deseo sin ser de V.P. ajudado.

3. En Amboino quedo con cargo desta residencia adonde se haze mucho servicio por meyo de los noestros (de los compañeiros digo, que yo no soy de provecho). Y mucho más se hiziera si obiera puder, e por falta dello se perde mucho. Porque la gente destas islas Malucas hé mui boena y apta para se fazer mucho en ella por las malas costumbres de que carece, teniéndolas de sobras otras naciones, y ser esta gente naturalmente bien enclinada y dómita y fácil para qualquier cosa de bien. Dios N.S., de quien es la viña, ordene con que venga el poder deseado para que, destruida la falsa lei de Mahoma que nestas islas reina, se abrace de verdad la de Christo que con su sangre redemió estas ánimas.

4. Para esto pido a V.P. nos haga encomendar a Dios para que possamos con la carga de los trabajos que son grandes e graves, aunque fidelis Deus qui non permittit nos tentare [!] supra id quod possumus[5]. E con su ajuda y favor vivimos aquí en medio dellos, todos los que quá estamos, con mucho gusto y alegria, sin que aya quien desee bolver atrás, sino que de noevo desea fuerças y salud para emplearlo todo en servicio deste Señor y bien desta su[c] viña tan[d] olvidada de los del mundo [365*v*] y tan regalada suya. Pues a quien ama (dize Christo) Dios argue y[e] castiga[6], salvo si no está de por medio ser yo el malo y no seren aun acabados os castigos que las cousas de Maluco merecen.

5. Sea lo que se fuere, la viña es de Dios, estas ánimas suyas son, y nos siervos suyos. Lo que ordenare es cierto que es lo mejor y más provechoso, para nosotros; estamos todos prestes para lo que veniere. Demás de los trabajos de las guerras tão continuas que aquí hay, no faltarão estes annos otros, ni faltan, que es fruta mui usada en toda parte y mayormente nesta. Ni tãopoco faltaron enfermedades con que Dios como padre nos quiso visitar, llevándonos hun Ermano que avía

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29, 1596, Pereira made his profession in Ambon, in the church of St. James (*ARSI, Lus. 2*, f. 138*r-v*).

[5] 1 Cor 10 13.

[6] Rev 3 19.

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nesta casa[7]. El fue a descansar, como confío en el Señor[f], por el boen olor que sempre dio. Y yo quedé con trabajo dobrado por quedar correndo con todo. Ahora pedí al P.e Provincial otro en su lugar[8], mas Dios dio el frio conforme el pano y me dio fuerças para que, enfermando los Padres, no enfermasse yo.

6. Aquí llegó pouco más de mez y medio el Superior universal destas partes de Maluco que vino de Tidore, el qual es el P.e Luis Fernandez, y nos contó como allá tanpoco faltaron trabajos. El ha socedido en el officio al P.e Antonio Marta y lo haze con grande edificación e exacción, aunque o ser tan enfermo le hé estorvo grande. Porque demás de ser mui enfermo de la cabeça, passa de nove meses que anda [con] unas caleenturas aunque chicas, mas danle mucho trabajo y pienso que, se le durar el cargo, le custe la vida o quedar mui cerca de no poder más correr con cosa alguna. Yo tengo escrito al P.e Visitador sobre ello[9], y juntamente[g] le pedí su reverencia veniesse visitarnos a los que estamos en este Maluco, pues nunca ha llegado aquá ni visitador universal ni provincial, no lo desmerecendo esta christandad ni los menistros della, si no fue alguno que veniesse para se quedar. Y por esto si no dio remedio a algunas cosas.

7. Se a V.P. parecesse que se tratasse con Su Santidad que conceda poderen los christianos destas islas todas [usar] de los privilegios y concessiones de que gozan los de las Indias Occidentales y Felipinas. También escribimos a la Congregación Provincial sobre ello[10]. Lo que resta es pidir a V.P., si fuere possible, una reliquia aunque chiquita del santo legno de la cruz de Christo, y ser encomendado en sus santos sacreficios y oraciones, cuja bendición humilmente pido.

De Amboino, a 10 de Mayo de 1598.

De V.P. indigno filho en el Señor,

Antonio Pereira.

[*Address* 366*v*] † Al mui Reverendo en Christo Padre, el Padre Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito [general] de la Compañía de Jesú, [en Roma]. 1ª via. Del Maluco.

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[a] *ins.* ‖ [b] mim *ms.* ‖ [c] *del.* d.. ‖ [d] *del.* ob.. ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* c ‖ [f] fue *ms.* [*sic*] ‖ [g] *del.* se

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[7] Br. António da Costa; D 120, 2-3.

[8] Lost letter, 121*e*.

[9] Lost letter, addressed to Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, 121*c*.

[10] Lost letter, 121*d*.

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Lost Letters

121*a*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon, to Fr. Gabriel de Oliveira, Quilon; May 1598.*

D 119, 1.

121*b*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon, to Fr. Fernão Vaz, Cochin; May 1598.*

D 119, 1.

121*c*. — *Fr. António Pereira, Ambon, to Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor, India; May 1598.*

D 121, 6: « Yo tengo escrito al P. Visitador »; praises Fr. Superior Luís Fernandes, invites Fr. Pimenta to come and visit Maluku.

121*d*. — *Frs.* [*Luís Fernandes and António Pereira*], *Ambon, to the Provincial Congregation in India; May 1598.*

D 121, 7: « Escribimos a la Congregación Provincial », it should obtain from the Holy Father some special privileges for the Christians of Maluku.

121*e*. — *Fr. António Pereira, Ambon, to Fr. Nuno Rodrigues, Provincial, Goa; May 1598.*

D 121, 5: Requests a Brother instead of Br. António da Costa who died.

121*f*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior of Maluku, to Fr. Francisco Cabral, Provincial, Goa; May 1598.*

DD 128, 5; 138, 7; 137, 11: Insisted in vain on sending a Maluku Jesuit to King Philip. As for the date: Fernandes became a superior in late 1597, and at that same time Fr. Cabral was succeeded in the provincialate by Fr. Nuno Rodrigues, but this was still unknown to Fernandes.

122

« CATALOGUS TERTIUS » OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA, DECEMBER 1598]

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 315*r*-318*v*. Original in Italian often reminiscent of a Portuguese example (da India, freguesia, studianti), written in two columns. Folio 318*v* is blank but for an archivist's note « Catalogo 3. de l'India ».

II NOTE: This is an example of a defective writing, presumably made in a hurry or by an unexperienced secretary. It contains astounding errors, e.g., the first entry is already a blunder running « P. Nicolò Pimenta, Provintiale »; this Father came to India in 1596 as a Visitor and was never a Provincial. Also the spreading of the Maluku Jesuits distorts the real situation: Fr. Vega does not belong to Ambon; he was a Visitor who resided in Tidore from November 1598 to March 1599, and then in Ambon until May, when he sailed back to India.

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Fr. Rebelo lived in Tidore from 1593 to his death in 1598. Frs. Masonio and Cruz were constant residents of Ambon till 1605, the first since 1590, the latter from 1593 on. Sometimes names are lacking, and the writer contented himself with « P. . . . . ». The catalogue is accompanied by another Italian list in the same hand (ff. 322*r*-323*v*) of those who entered the Society in India (Consult D 110).

III DATE: The catalogue is neither signed nor dated. It is written, as was the rule, in or about December, but of which year? Fr. Cristóbal de la Vega is listed under Maluku. In December 1597 he was rector of the college of Malacca (*Goa 24 II* f. 274*r*). In Goa, he was appointed visitor of Maluku in early 1598 and he sailed from Malacca in August that year (DD 116, 2; 118, 2; 133, 1). Consequently, early 1598 is the inferior limit of dating, which practically results in December 1598. This is proved as well by the fact that Fr. João Baptista is called rector of Malacca (he succeeded Vega); in the catalogue of 1597 he is still *ministro* in the Professed House of Goa. But in December 1600 the death of Fr. Vega was known in Goa (see D 133, 5). Therefore December 1599 is the upper limit. However, as we have other, and very ample, catalogues of this date (DD 126-128), our present document must be ascribed to December 1598.

Text

The names of ten Jesuits residing in Maluku, spread over Ambon, Tidore, and Labuha.

Ihs.

Cathalogo de Padri, Fratelli et case et collegii da India

[. . . 318*r*]

Residentie de Maluco

Amboyno

P. Christophoro de Veiga, professo, visitatore [1]
P. Antonio Martha, professo [2]
P. Antonio Pereyra, professo [3]
P. Giovanni Rebello, professo [4]
P. Vasco da Cugna

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[1] For a notice on his visitation voyage, see D 131.

[2] He had already died on August 15, 1598 (D 131, 2).

[3] He was the superior of Ambon residence (D 121, 3).

[4] He was the superior of Tidore (D 120, 3), but he had just died in Tidore on November 23, 1598 (D 131, 2).

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Tidore

P. Luigi Fernandez, professo, superiore de Maluco[5]
P. Lorenzo Marzonio, professo
P. Gabriele de Croce, formato[6]
Fr. Giovanni Paolo Manfrida, formato

Labua

P. Rogerio Conrrado, formato

Lost Letters

122*a*. — *Fr. Pierantonio Spinelli, Rome, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon; January 1599.*

D 145, 1: « Ho ricevuto nel mese de Febraro de 602 una de V.R. de Gennaro 99 ».

122*b*. — *Fr. Cristóbal de Vega, Visitor of Maluku, Tidore, to the Frs. in Manila; early 1599.*

D 124, 2 and 125, 2: more than one letter, one addressed to Fr. Pedro Chirino, one obviously to Fr. Diego García; « Tuvimos cartas de los nuestros ». As Vega left Tidore on March 2, 1599, he wrote to Manila before that date.

122*c*. — *Fr. Cristóbal de Vega, Visitor, Ambon, to Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor of India; March-May 1599.*

D 131, 4 and 153, 5: Report of the counselings held with the Fathers of Ambon.

122*d*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Acquaviva, Rome; April-May 1599.*

D 128, 1 and 3: « El año passado he escrito a V.P. », on the needs of the mission, on the death of Frs. Marta and Rebelo, on the arrival of Dutch ships.

123

FR. LORENZO MASONIO SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

[AMBON], MAY 10, 1599
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 5.

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[5] Fr. Fernandes was the general superior of the entire Maluku mission (D 120, 1).

[6] Frs. Masonio and Cruz lived in Ambon, and not in Tidore.

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II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 129; JACOBS, *Vicars* 284.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 379*r*-380*v*; originally 75-77, and no. II. Autographic original in Spanish, not free from Lusitanisms. Notes on f. 379*r*: « Malabarica 1599 » and « Molucc. 99. Maio »; f. 380*v* contains the address, a seal, and a Spanish summary, made in Rome, in five items, the corresponding numerals having been added in the margin of the letter.

IV PLACE: No place is mentioned at the end of the letter. But Masonio is known to live in Ambon, and from the context as well we can infer that the place of writing was Ambon (no. 2: « los Padres que allá estavan » and « los tres que acá estamos »). Fr. Masonio could just dispatch his letter with the ship in which Fr. Cristóbal de la Vega sailed to India from Ambon on May 15, 1599 (D 133, 5).

Text

1. *Received a letter from Fr. General, forwarded by Fr. Vega, Visitor.* — 2. *The galleon arrived in Tidore* via *Brunei; Fr. Visitor found Fr. Antonio Marta deceased and Fr. João Rebelo at death's door. He left Fr. Vasco da Cunha back in Tidore; Fr. Fernandes is due to carry one of the Ambon Fathers with him to Tidore.* — 3. *The general situation remains ambiguous and restless. Javanese allies and two English* [= *Dutch*] *ships came rendering help to the enemies.* — 4. *A doubt on ecclesiastical law: who is comprised under the term* Ordinarius? *The vicars, uneducated men, behave like bishops and often exceed their powers. Can the Jesuits use here their privileges?* — 5. *Four more jurisdictional questions.* — 6. *Requests the same privileges as are enjoyed by the religious of New Spain and Manila.* — 7. *And for the Christians the same regulations of feast-days and fasts.*

Muy Reverendo em Christo Padre Nuestro
Pax Christi.

1. Este año de 99 recebý una de V.P., del año 96[1], de grandíssimo consuelo por ver nella el grandíssimo amor y viva lembrança que V.P. tiene deste indino sogetto de la Compañía, y de todos los Padres y hijos de la Compañía que en estas partes estamos. Y como el portador della fue el P. Christovão de Vega, que vino a visitarnos y a consolarnos, fue l'alegria y gozo doblado, pues con él se cumplió el deseo que todos los de acá teníaamos de sermos visitados.

2. Y cierto llegó a tiempo muy oportuno y no sin grandíssima providentia divina, pues em Tidore, onde fue el galión de la carreira por el camino de Burneo, halló un de los dos Padres que allá estavan já defunto, que fue el bueno y santo viejo P. Antonio Martha[2], vene-

[1] Lost letter, 110*d*.

[2] Born in 1543 he was 55 of age. He died on August 15, 1598 (D 131, 2).

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ciano, y el otro que estava já espirando, que fue el buen Padre Juan Rebello [3], portugues, cujo compañero yo fui viniéndomos desde Roma a Portugal [4], ambos grandíssimos siervos del Señor y de grandíssima edificación. Y ansí el P.e Visitador con su venida por allá remedió a las necessitades daquella casa, deixando allá con su partida pro interin el P.e Vasco da Cunha su compañero [5]. Y agora será necessario al P.e Luys Fernandez, superior destas partes, llevar consigo un de los tres que acá estamos para remediar las necessidades de Tidore. Por onde puede considerar V.P. la necessidad de Padres que acá tenemos.

3. Las cosas destas partes están en el mismo estado que primeiro estavan, muy trabajosas y dudosas, llenas de inquietaciones, desassosiegos y guerras quotidianas. Tornaron este año los jaos en ajuda de los moros nuestros inimigos, amenaçándonos de quereren accabarnos o morerem todos. Y por nuestros peccados se les ajuntaron este año en su favor dos naos de ingleses, que están surtas y ancoradas en la praia de Ito con los jaos, cinco legoas desta [379v] fortaleza, con los quales nos rongan mucho y dizen que les promettieron todo el cravo deste año para que vengan con sus naos a batter esta mínima fortaleza. Non sabemos lo que será. Estamos con continuas sintinelas y haziéndonos prestes pera defendérmonos. Dos [a] otras naos de ingleses que vinieron en compañía destas fueron el camino de Banda em busca de noz e massa, speciaría daquella isla [6].

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[3] He died on November 23 that same year.

[4] From where they both sailed to India in April 1588.

[5] Otherwise, as Fr. Berwouts/Corrado lived in Labuha, Br. Manfrida would have been left alone.

[6] The ships called English here were actually Dutch. Four sails, under Wybrant van Warwyck and Jacob van Heemskerk, sailed from Banten on January 8, 1599, and being prevented by the strong current from entering Ambon Bay, anchored before Hitu in early March, where the Dutch, like the first Portuguese more than eighty years earlier, received a kind treatment. While Warwyck started loading the *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht* with cloves, Heemskerk ran with the *Zeeland* and *Gelderland* to Banda to take in nutmeg and mace. But the two Dutch ships of Warwyck did not inflict any harm on the Portuguese; they left Hitu for Ternate in May (VALENTYN I a 175-176; TIELE VI 146-150). This is, in our documentation, the first notice of Dutch ships in the Maluku waters. The new captain of Ambon fortress, Estevão Teixeira de Macedo, who had arrived just three days before the Dutch ships, reported: « Tomei posse desta fortalleza Nosa Senhora d'Anumsiada de Amboino, ... em dous de Março [1599] ... Em simco do mesmo mes chegarão ha Itto, leguoa e meia della, porto de grandes imiguos nossos, quoatro naos imgrezas e dezaseis jumcos jaos » (Letter

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4. Per acá hay una duda quotidiana sobre l'intelligencia de nossos privilegios y Concilio Tridentino, a la qual diversamente respondieron el P. Provincial de la [b] India y P. Visitador, que fue el P.[e] Valenhano: Quid veniat appellatione ordinarii, an episcopus tantum cum suo vicario generali, an vero quilibet alius prelatus habens vices episcopi in suo districtu?[7] Porque como el Concilio Tridentino en muchas cosas nos sojette al ordinario, es menester en esto tenermos clareza. Porque el obispo de Malaca[8] ordinariamente accustumbra dar suas veces a los vigarios desta fortaleza de Amboyno y Malucco[9]. E como ellos sean idiotas, paréceles que son obispos y hazen muchas cosas fuora de sus límites, y a nos por bien de los christianos y de la Compañía muchas vezes fora menester que usássemos de nuestros privilegios, de los quales no usamos p[or][c] esta duda que ha. Aunque muchas glosas y dottores tratten es[ta][d] duda, como nellos se halla diversidad es necessario V.P. hazer charidad: determinar lo que tenemos de hazer, pues es caso quotidiano.

5. Y tãobién pregúntase se el Concilio se ha de emtender también daquel ordinario qui habet universitatem causarum, aunque alioquin sean delegatos como son estes vigarios d'acá, los quales conforme a las

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of Ambon, June 2, 1601, in Seville, *AGI, Filip. 19* ramo 2 no. 46 f. 1*r*). From D 119, 5, from this passage, and from some subsequent communications (DD 129, 3; 130, 4, and others) it is clear that the Javanese — most probably from Japara, Tuban, Gresik, and Jaratan — were constant allies of the Ternatan-Hituese against the Portuguese.

[7] Council of Trent, Session 25, chap. 11 (Cf. D 71, 6). It put the religious occupied in the cure of souls of laymen under the jurisdiction and visitation of the bishop «in iis quae ad dictam curam et sacramentorum administrationem pertinent». (The term *ordinarius* is not used in this chapter). Canon law always considered *ordinarii* the bishop and his vicar-general, but not the *vicarius foraneus* representing the bishop only in a certain territorial part of the diocese. The present-day *Corpus Iuris Canonici* deals with the *ordinarii* in canons 196-198. The question, actual in the entire Portuguese-Asian area, referred to visitation and to a number of permissions. Fr. Valignano dealt with it in 1583 (DI XIII 389-391), but it was still a burning issue in 1609 (See *Livros das Monções* I 265). To this and further questions here, see also D 49, text and notes.

[8] D. João Ribeiro Gaio. The bishop had left Malacca for Goa in 1597, and meanwhile the diocese, in the opinion of the viceroy, was badly ruled by ignorant and obtuse clerks who gave bad example and produced great scandals (Consult TEIXEIRA, *Malacca and Singapore* I 186-188).

[9] In this way they were constituted *vigários da vara* or *vicarii foranei* for their district (See D 49, 7-11).

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Constituciones de la India[10] son delegatos, mas después los bispos les dan suas veces que parece con este amplo poder tengan universitatem causarum.

También pergúntase se se emtiende tenere universitatem causarum aquelle vigario que tiene las vezes del obispo, mas no tiene em particular (ea quae non comprehenduntur in generali concessione).

También pergúntase si universitas causarum intelligatur respectu totius diecesis, an respectu provinciae sibi demandatae tantum.

También pergúntase si los nuestros escravos y moços que sirven a la iglesia o casa gozen del privilegio del foro[11] assí in civilibus como in criminalibus, particolarmente los escravos casados que posan [380r] fuora de nuestra casa mas quoad victum et vestitum viven de los bienes de casa.

6. Los religiosos de Nova Spanha y Manilla gozan de muchos privilegios con sus christianos, particolarmente de un amplíssimo de Julio 3.ro del año 1544[12], el qual los haze sus comissarios y delegatos pera poder admini[st]rales los sacramentos y gastigalos en sus delittos etc. sin consentimiento de los obispos[13], y de otro amplíssimo de Pio V[14]. Se será bien que nos gozássemos de los mismos para podermos correr con los nuestros christianos y gastigalos en sus delittos sin que los vigarios se emtromettan, porque nos los castigamos como padres[e], ellos procuran más el provecho proprio de las penas que otra cosa.

7. Tãobién los christianos d'allá[f] gozan de un privilegio amplo pera las fiestas y ayunos[15], de lo qual estes nuest[r]os no gozan y cierto

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[10] Perhaps he points to the *Constituiçones do arcebispado de Goa . . . approvadas pello primeiro concilio provincial*, Goa 1568, or to the later edition, Lisbon 1592 (ANSELMO, *Bibliografia* nos. 537 and 1271). As early as 1536 the new captain of Ternate, António Galvão, brought a book of *Constitutiones* with him for the vicar of the fortress (CASTANHEDA VIII 454: « levou pera o eclesiástico as Constituyções que o Cardeal D. Afonso . . . fez »).

[11] That is, the privilege of all clerks to be judged exclusively before an ecclesiastical court (Cf. CIC can. 120).

[12] This is an impossible combination; Julius III reigned 1550-1555; he was preceded by Paul III, 1534-1549.

[13] Brief *Ex debito pastoralis officii* of Paul III, January 1, 1544: the missionaries who set out for the lands of the infidels « vayan con el oficio de Comisarios y Delegados de la Santa Sede » (HERNÁEZ, *Colección de bulas* I 392-393).

[14] Pius V, Brief *Exponi nobis* of March 23, 1567: the missionaries can carry out their apostolic and pastoral work among the infidels « Ordinariorum locorum et aliorum quorumcumque licentia minime requisita » (HERNÁEZ, o.c. 397-398).

[15] See D 73 note 130.

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tienen mucha necessidad dello por ser gente pobre y cuidada, y las muchas fiestas con el continuo trabajo que los capitanes les dan los haze más necessidados no tenendo tiempo de buscar sus comidas.

No quiero ser más prolixo. Solamente me queda emcomendarme de todo corazón en las devotíssimas oraciones y santíssimos sacrificios de V.P., a la qual facendo humilmente riverenza y pindindo su santa benedición, accabo.

A 10 de Maio 1599.

De V.P. hijo y siervo indiníssimo en el Señor,

Lorenço Masonio.

[*Address* 380*v*] Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre Nosso, el P. Claudio Agoaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, Roma. 2ª vía.

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[a] *corr. fr.* das ‖ [b] las *ms.* ‖ [c] *paper damaged* ‖ [d] *paper damaged* ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* pays ‖ [f] d'allá *interl.*

Lost Letter

123*a*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Maluku, to Fr. Provincial, Goa; May 1599.*

D 137, 1: « Por más que con nuestras cartas hemos importunado al Provincial de la India todos los annos atrás, . . . ».

124

FR. DIEGO GARCIA, VISITOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, AUGUST 6, 1599

I TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 395*r*-398*v* (among which f. 396 is only a small slip of paper). Autograph. Spanish. At the bottom of f. 395*r* the author wrote « n.p.g. » (Nuestro Padre General); an archivist added « Diego García 99 ». Besides the address there is a Society seal on f. 398*v*, and a summary in 15 items corresponding to numerals added in the margins. The part on Maluku is no. 13. After the summary a note runs « Rs Abril 602 »; Rs means respuesta or rescripto.

II AUTHOR: Fr. Diego García came to the Philippines as a Visitor in 1599; from 1601 to 1605 he was a vice-provincial (COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 601).

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Text

1. *Maluku is besieged by two English ships; more of them were seen near Malacca and in Sunda.* — 2. *Frs. Antonio Marta and João Rebelo died in Maluku. Fr.* [*Visitor*] *Cristóbal de la Vega fell ill there. Succour is being sent.*

[...]

1. Del Maluco llegó aquí avrá 3 días una fregata y en ella un portugués honrrado a pedir socorro[1], porque están allí cercados de ingleses[2]. Dize que estavan ya dos galeones surtos en el puerto[3], y que avían dicho venían atrás otros quatro de Malaca[4]. También escriven que en un puerto que está allí cerca, llamado la Sunda, avían surgido doze navíos de ingleses[5] y que no sabían su designio. Por acá están con harto miedo, a lo menos de daños que podrá hazer por estas costas.

2. Del Maluco escrive el P.e Vega[6] como murier[on] allí los Padres Martha y Juan Ravelo, y quedó él solo; y está tan [enf]ermo que me dixo el portugués, que viene a lo del socorro, que [398*r*] no podía dezir missa. Aquí avemos intercedido con el Señor Governador[7] para que les dé a los del Maluco alguna ayuda, y Su Señoría está en embiarles bastimentos de que están necessitadíssimos y junta-

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[1] The captain of Tidore, Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira, wrote on May 8, 1599, to the governor of the Philippines that he sent him « Melchior de las Nieves [das Neves], que es un ciudadano muy omrrado y muy gran vasallo de Su Magestad, a quien este pueblo eligió para emviar con estas cartas a V.S. y con él pedir misericordia en acudir a esta fortaleza com as cosas necesarias para la defensa della ». Neves came in a *junco*, and was commissioned to buy, if possible, a *fregata* in Manila. The other letters were of the garrison (of May 30) and of the king of Tidore (of June 9). All three are conserved in copies in *AGI, Filip. 19* ramo 1 nos. 12-14, and again *Méx. 1* ramo 2 no. 90, 2-4; another copy of the garrison's letter in *Patr.* 46 ramo 27. (Cf. TORRES Y LANZAS, *Catálogo* IV nos. 5478-5479, 5490-5491, 5583-5586).

[2] That is, by two Dutch ships; D 123 note 6.

[3] In the port of Talangame of Ternate island (Gonçalves's letter).

[4] The Dutch crew had said « que herão seis naos, que as quatro vinhão atrás » (The garrison's letter).

[5] From *circa* December 20, 1598, to January 8, 1599, eight Dutch ships anchored together before Banten, port of Sunda (VALENTYN I a 175).

[6] Lost letter, 122*b*.

[7] D. Francisco Tello de Guzmán, 1596-1602.

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mente dos dozenas de soldados, que para como acá están no se haze poco. Dios ponga en todo remedio.

[. . .]

De Manilla, y Agosto 6 de 1599.

Diego García.

[*Address* 398*v*] Ihs. A nuestro Padre Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús. Roma. Va[a] de Philipinas.

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[a] *corr. to* via *h2*

125

FR. PEDRO CHIRINO SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, AUGUST 8, 1599

I TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 9* ff. 399*r*-400*v*. Autograph. Spanish. Another hand numbered the paragraphs and made a corresponding summary on f. 400*v*, where a note runs « Manila 99. P. Pedro Chirinos. Ag.° 8 ». Our part is no. 1. Beside the address there is a seal. At the bottom of f. 399*r* an archivist noted « Chirino 99 ».

II AUTHOR: Fr. Chirino had just been appointed rector of the Manila Jesuit college in June (Cf. COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* 179 and 181).

III OUR EDITION: The similar contents of DD 124 and 125 dispense us from the need of repeating the commentary. Therefore we refer the reader also to the footnotes of the preceding document.

Text

1. *English ships in Maluku. A messenger arrived from there to request succour.* — 2. *Fr. Cristóbal de la Vega fell ill in Maluku* [*Tidore*]; *he will soon sail to Ambon. Frs. Antonio Marta and João Rebelo died at Tidore.*

Ihs.

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Despachadas ya deste puerto las naos ordinarias para la Nueva España, en que van los pliegos duplicados para V.P., se uvo de acrecentar otra de nuevo por ocasión de la llegada a Maluco de dos naos

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inglesas[1], fuera de otras muchas que se sabe an llegado al archipiélago i costa de la India, para embiar de todo aviso al Rei nuestro señor. Esta mala nueva de enemigos tuvo aquí el Governador en días passados por cartas de Malaca, i aora ultimamente la tuvo por embaxador que de Maluco se hize para venir aquí a pedir socorro, el qual se emvía mui a ventura.

2. Con este tuvimos cartas de los nuestros[2], i yo la tuve del P.e Visitador de Maluco, Christoval de Vega, que es de Ossuna[3], en que me avisa de una grave enfermedad que tuvo en llegando a Maluco, i de ser ya fallecidos el P.e Antonio Marta i el P.e Juan Rabelo allí en Tidore; i estar ya de partida para Ambueno el dicho P.e Visitador, de donde con el fabor de N. Señor pensava ser en Malaca el Junio passado[4]. Por manera que, si los enemigos no lo an cojido en el camino, ya está oi en Malaca.

[. . . 400*r*]

Manila, 8 de[a] Agosto 1599.

Pedro Chirino.

[*Address* 400*v*] † A nuestro Padre Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, etc. Roma.

[a] *del.* juli . .

126

A SET OF CATALOGUES OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[Goa], December 1599
Second *via*

I Text: *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 278*r*-314*v*. Original, written in a clear and regular hand and consisting of five parts:

[1] That after the regular ships bound for New Spain still a special one was dispatched to announce the arrival of Dutch sails in Maluku shows the exceptional impression this event made on the subjects of King Philip III.

[2] Lost letters, 122*b*. The one of Fr. Vega may be the same as mentioned in D 124 note 6.

[3] Fr. Chirino was himself a native of Jerez de la Frontera, only good eighty km. from Osuna (Andalusía).

[4] Fr. Vega left Tidore bound for Ambon on March 2, 1599, and he sailed from Ambon on May 15 to arrive in Malacca on June 30 (D 131, 3-4).

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— ff. 278*r*-280*v*: an alphabetic index of names with numerals referring to the second part.

— ff. 281*r*-295*v*: the catalogue proper or first catalogue, containing the numbered names and matter-of-fact information of all the 322 members of the Goa Province. This is our (I).

— ff. 296*r*-305*v*: a second catalogue, containing moral information, and drawn up according to numerals corresponding to those of the preceding one. Our (II).

— ff. 306*r*-310*v*: a third catalogue, or of the houses. Our (III).

— ff. 311*r*-314*v*: a fourth catalogue, or of each one's occupation. Our (IV).

All of them are in Portuguese, except for the third catalogue which is written in Latin. The first and second catalogues at the end bear the autograph signature of Fr. Provincial Nuno Rodrigues. The third catalogue finishes on f. 308*v* and is completed with lists of the deceased in the years 1594-99, and of the dismissed in 1595-99. Folio 309 is an additional inserted smaller sheet bearing more names of deceased Jesuits. The fourth catalogue is written in two columns. Folio 314*r* is blank, its *verso* as well, containing only the note « 2ª via ».

II OUR EDITION: We choose the names or the parts belonging to the Maluku mission, leaving the rest to *Documenta Indica*. We omit the index.

Text

(I) *First catalogue: Names of the Jesuits of Maluku, and objective information on them.* — (II) *Second catalogue: Moral information on them.* — (III) *Third catalogue: Fr. Vega went visiting Maluku and will report on it.* — (IV) *Fourth catalogue: The Maluku Jesuits and their official occupation.*

(I)

CATALOGO DOS PADRES E IRMÃOS DA COMPANHIA DE JESUS DA INDIA, FEITO EM DEZEMBRO DE 99.

[... 284*r*]

59. P. André Pereira, de Filgueiras[1], arcebispado de Braga, idade 38, boas forças, 15 da Companhia, ouvio artes, vay no quarto anno de theologia, leo tres annos e meio humanidade, ha hum anno que hé procurador da Provincia. [... 286*r*]

111. P. Jorge da Fonseca, de Lixboa, idade 41, boas forças, 26 da Companhia, ouvio artes e quatro annos de theologia, leo grammatica 5 annos, esteve na christandade 6. [... 288*r*]

146. P. Francisco da Cunha, de Castello Branco, bispado da Guarda, idade 43, mediocres forças, da Companhia 23, estudou artes, dous annos e meio de theologia, 10 annos na christandade, 3 annos minis-

[1] Felgueiras, in the province of Porto, Portugal, 12 km SE of Guimarães.

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tro em Goa, fez profissão de quatro votos ao primeiro de Janeiro de 99. [... 288*v*]

163. Irmão Bertholameu Daniel, framengo de Vlessighe[2], 26 de idade, [289*r*] boas forças, 6 da Companhia, estuda casos. [... 290*r*]

190. P. Christovão da Veiga, castelhano de Ossuna, arcebispado de Sivilha, idade 40, mediocres forças, da Companhia 23, acabou seus estudos, leo hum curso de artes, ouvio leis e canones 3 anos, foy superior de Chaul, Damão, Malaca 7 annos, foi por Visitador de Maluco, fez profissão de 4 votos a 14 de Julho de 96.

191. P. Luis Fernandez, de Lixboa, 49 de idade, mediocres forças, da Companhia 19, acabou seus estudos, começou hum curso, foi algum tempo ministro em Baçaym, vice-reitor e procurador, fez profissão de quatro votos no anno de 96, hé superior de Maluco.

192. P. Antonio Martha, italiano de Triuegit [!], idade 56, acabou seus estudos, leo latim, foi superior de Breça, ministro da casa de Veneza e Goa, superior de Maluco alguns annos, fez profissão de quatro votos a 21 de Março de 83, 31 da Companhia.

193. P. Antonio Pereira, de Beja, arcebispado de Evora, idade 43, mediocres forças, da Companhia 25, acabou seus estudos, foi ministro algum tempo do collegio de Goa, fez profissão de 4 votos a 29 de Abril de 96, prega e confessa e occupa[-se] na christandade.

194. P. João Rabello, de Lixboa, idade 41, boas forças, 24 da Companhia, estudou artes e tres annos theologia, escreveo ao P. Mapheo 7 annos, anda na christandade.

195. P. Lourenço Masonio, italiano de Campoleto, idade 44, robusto, da Companhia 16, ouvio leis e canones sinco annos, ouvio artes e alguma theologia, vay em 7 annos que se occupa na christandade.

196. P. Rogerio Conrrado, framengo de Trodon, bispado de Leodio, idade 49, robusto, da Companhia 24, coadjutor spiritual, ouvio leis e canones, e alguma theologia e casos.

197. P. Gabriel da Cruz, castelhano de Toledo, idade 45, boas forças, da Companhia [290*v*] 23, estudou alguma theologia e casos, fez os votos de coadjutor spiritual a 30 de Mayo de 96.

198. P. Vasco da Cunha, de Baçaym, arcebispado de Goa, idade 32, boas forças, 13 da Companhia, leo 3 annos e meio grammatica, estudou artes, ouvio hum anno e meio de theologia.

199. Irmão João Paulo[3], italiano de Cosença, idade 43, robusto, 20 da Companhia, fez os votos de coadjutor formado no de 96. [...]

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[2] Vlissingen (Flushing), town and port in the island of Walcheren, Province of Zeeland, Netherlands.

[3] Manfrida.

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203. P. João Bautista, de Cochim, idade 42, mediocres forças, da Companhia 26, acabou seus estudos, leo humanidade cinco annos, foi superior de Damão 3 annos, ministro da casa anno e meio, hé superior de Malaca, fez profissão de 4 votos a 13 de Outubro de 96.

205. P. Manuel Carvalho, de Barrellas [4], bispado de I :go, idade 40, boas forças, da Companhia 22, acabou seus estudos, leo grego e hebraico 4 annos, foi alguns mezes ministro, esteve 3 annos na christandade da Serra, prega e confessa. [... 293*v*]

269. Irmão Matheus de Brito, de Braga, idade 46, poucas forças, 6 da Companhia, coadjutor.

[...]

[*Autograph* 295*v*] Nuno Rodriguez.

(II)

CATALOGO SEGUNDO FEITO EM DEZEMBRO DE 99

[... 298*r*]

59. Bom engenho, arezoado juizo e prudencia, tem alguma experiencia de negoceos, sabe arresoadamente, colerico sanguineo, talento pera pulpito e os mais ministerios da Companhia. [... 299*v*]

111. Mediocre engenho e juizo, arrezoada prudencia, experiencia da christandade, mediocres letras, boa compleição, mediocre talento pera os ministerios da Companhia. [... 300*r*]

146. Bom juizo, mediocres letras, boa prudencia, alguma experiencia de negoceos, colerico, talento pera confessar, fraco pera praegar, bom pera ministro e pera tratar com o proximo. [... 300*v*]

163. Pouco engenho, juizo e prudencia, mediocre, fleimatico sanguinho, inexpertus, servirá pera a christandade. [... 301*v*]

190. Bom engenho juizo e prudencia, colerico sanguinho, experimentado em tratar com o proximo pera o que tem bom talento, boas letras, e pulpito e governo.

191. Bom engenho, juizo e prudencia, experiencia de negoceos, colerico sanguinho, talento de coverno [!] e negoceos.

192. Mediocre engenho, bom juizo e prudencia, experimentado no governo, mediocres letras, colerico sanguinho, talento pera governo e negoceos.

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[4] *Portugal antico e moderno* (I 341) refers to a Barrellas, village in Beira Alta, belonging to the *concelho* of Fraguas, and distant 30 km from Lamego. It was in the diocese of Lamego.

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193. Bom engenho, mediocre juizo e prudencia, experimentado na christandade, mediocres letras, mediocre talento de pulpito e governo, mais que mediocre pera a christandade.

194. Mediocre engenho, bom juizo e prudencia, mediocres letras, fleimatico sanguinho, talento pera a christandade e cousas spirituais.

195. Mediocre engenho, juizo e prudencia, mediocres letras, colerico sanguinho, experiencia e talento pera a christandade.

196. Mediocre engenho, juizo e prudencia, mediocres casos, fleimatico sanguinho, talento pera confessar e pera a christandade.

197. Mediocre engenho, juizo e prudencia, fraco casuissta, bom talento pera confessar, tratar com o proximo e pera a christandade.

198. Mediocre engenho, juizo e prudencia, menos que mediocres letras, fleimatico sanguinho, talento pera ministerios da Companhia.

199. Mediocre juizo e prudencia, colerico sanguinho, experiencia e talento pera os officios. [... 302*r*]

203. Bom engenho, juizo e prudencia, boas letras, fleimatico sanguinho, talento de governo, arrezoado pulpito. [...]

205. Mais que mediocre engenho, juizo e prudencia, mediocre colerico, mediocre letrado, com talento pera lingoas e pera a christandade. [... 303*v*]

269. Mediocre juiso e prudencia, fleimatico, apto pera os officios. [... 305*r*]

[*Autograph*] Nuno Rodrigues.

(III)

3us Catalogus Indiae Orientalis anni 1599.

[... 308*r*]

Malacense collegium atque residentiae insularum Molucarum [...]

Pater Christophorus a Vega, Malacensis rector, Molucarum residentiarum visitator declaratus, cui adiunctus comes navigationis Pater Vascus a Cugna, quibus exceptis 8 numerantur, e quibus sacerdotes septem [5], Frater unus, regia [308*v*] liberalitate victitant; cum ad nos redierit P. Visitator [6], plenius de rebus molucis Paternitatem vestram certiorem faciemus.

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[5] That is, in Malacca college.

[6] Unfortunately Fr. Vega never returned to Goa as he died at sea on his way back (D 131, 5).

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(IV)

CATALOGO QUARTO, DOS OFFICIOS

[. . . 313*v*]

Maluco

P. Christovão da Veiga, visitador.
P. Luis Fernandez, superior universal.
P. João Rabello, superior da casa de Maluco[7].
P. Antonio Pereira, superior da caza de Amboino.
P. Antonio Marta, pregador e confessor[8].
P. Lourenço Mazonio, pregador e confessor.
P. Rogerio Conrrado, na christandade.
P. Gabriel da Cruz, confessor.
P. Vasco da Cunha, pregador e confessor.
Ir. João Paulo, coadjutor.

[. . .]

127

ANNUAL LETTER OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE

[GOA, DECEMBER] 1599

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 14* ff. 374*r*-378*v*, earlier no. I. Italian translation of passages of an edifying nature, taken first from a general or annual letter from India of 1599, and then from a letter of Fr. Manuel Pinheiro of June 1599 on the Mogor mission (from f. 377*r* on). The MS is full of corrections made in the same handwriting. Folio 374*r-v* is blank except for the beginning of a letter (salutation, Pax Christi, and, cancelled, the first five words « Queste poche righe sono per . . »), and moreover a secretary's note « 99 » on the first page. Folio 375*r* bears the note « 99 » in the left lower corner; f. 378*v* is blank. Our passage belongs to the first letter and is on ff. 376*v*-377*r*.

II NOTE: The Annual Letter of the Indian Province of 1599 is not known to us. On the other hand, very well known is the report Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor, wrote in December 1599 on his visit to the southern Jesuit residences from Cochin to São Tomé, including notices on Pegu and Camboia. It was

[7] That is, of Tidore. He had died.
[8] He had died.

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printed several times (see STREIT IV no. 1130), but it does not contain a paragraph on Maluku. Since our text is said to have been borrowed from the Annual Letter, Fr. Provincial Nuno Rodrigues must be designed as its official author; the original language was Portuguese.

III CHARACTER of this document. It belongs to the class of edification literature, not contributing much to historical knowledge. Only no. 3 reports a determined historical fact, unfortunately in a quite vague wording.

Text

1. *In Maluku [Tidore] a woman was killed because she refused to become a Muslim.* — 2. *In Ambon the Christians believe that God protects those who attend Holy Mass. Instances of such protection.* — 3. *A village was baptized.*

Alcuni particolari più[a] notabili cavati[b] dall'Annua dell'India Orientale del 99[c], e tradotti di portughese in italiano.

1. Nella residenza di Maluco una donna maritata essendo da suoi parenti mahomettani importunata a rinegare la nostra santa fede, ella in dispreggio di Mahometto sputò in loro presenza ch'è[d] atto di gran dispreggio, del quale[e] essi tanto si risentirono[f] che gli tolsero con[g] pugnalate la[h] vita. Et n'andò[i] quell'anima gloriosa a prendere in cielo la corona del martirio. Il moro che l'uccise[j] gittò in mare il[k] santo corpo acciò i christiani non lo seppellissero, et il re del[l] paese, nostro capitale nemico, hebbe a dire che costei non era né mora né christiana, credendosi con questo levarli l'honore quale egli sa che i christiani danno a tutti quelli che spargono il sangue e spendono[m] la vita[n] per la fede[o]. [377*r*]

2. Nella residenza d'Amboino quei christiani sono[p] molto devoti della[q] chiesa et massime di sentir messa. Tanto che se ad alcuno occorre qualche disgrazia, credono che gli sia avvenuta[r] per non haver udito messa o non[s] esser andato alla chiesa quel giorno. E così, scappando una volta alcuni christiani miracolosamente[t] dall'insidie de nimici, un solo che non intese la messa con gli altri fu da loro preso et ammazzato. Come[u] fu[v] ancora[w] un altro ch'andava[x] con i compagni[y] a pescare, liberando Dio i compagni perché udirono prima la messa, alla quale cresce perciò incredibilmente la divotione di questi fedeli. Alcuni che il demonio tormenta con[z] horribili[a] e mostruose apparitioni l'hanno fugato per sempre mediante gli essorcismi et col confessarsi et invocare li santissimi nomi di Giesù et di Maria, rimedii ordinarii che li Padri li danno.

3. Quest'anno vennero a trovarci un popolo di ducento persone,

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parte christiane et parte gentili, i quali tutti ricevettero il santo battesimo.
[. . .]

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[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *add. interl. and del.* e tradotti di portughe[se] in italiano ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* 98 et 99 ‖ [d] ch'è . . dispreggio *interl.* ‖ [e] del quale *interl., corr. fr.* et ‖ [f] *del.* di quest'atto ‖ [g] tolsero con *add. interl., del. and rep., corr. fr.* diedero di molte ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* dalle quali in breve finì questa misera ‖ [i] n' *interl.* ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* ammazzò ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* quel ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* di quel ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* sperdono ‖ [n] *del.* per amor di Dio ‖ [o] per la fede *interl.* ‖ [p] *del.* in particolare ‖ [q] della . . massime *interl.* ‖ [r] gli sia avvenuta *interl.* ‖ [s] *interl.* ‖ [t] *interl.* ‖ [u] *del.* intervenne, *corr. to* fecero *del.* ‖ [v] *interl.* ‖ [w] *del.* ad ‖ [x] *corr. fr.* andando ‖ [y] con i compagni *del. ms.* ‖ [z] *del.* apparir loro in varie forme mostruose.
[a] horribili . . apparitioni *interl.*

Lost Letters

127*a*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Antonio Marta, Maluku; early 1600.*

D 148, 1: « Las de V.P. . . . que venían para el P. Antonio Marta », but they were received by Fr. Luís Fernandes. More than one letter.

127*b*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon; early 1600.*

D 147, 1: « La carta de V.P., . . . escritta nel año de 600 ».

127*c*. — *Fr. « Procurador de las Indias » [Baltasar Barreira], Lisbon, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon; before April 4, 1600.*

D 147, 8. For the name of this Procurador, see SCHÜTTE, *Cortes* 8. As to the date: in 1600 the ships sailed from Lisbon on April 4.

128

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, APRIL 25, 1600

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 190 Fernandez no. 3.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 129.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 5*r*-6*v*, earlier 81 and no. IV. Autograph original letter in Spanish On f. 5*r*, at the bottom, Fr. Fernandes himself noted the addressee « P. Geral »; a Roman secretary added « 25 Abril 1600 » and « Malabarica ». Folio 6*r* is blank; its *verso* bears a red wax seal and a Spanish summary in four items; the corresponding numerals were put in the letter's margins.

Text

1. *One year earlier wrote of troubles caused by both wars and famine and disease*

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from which Frs. Marta and Rebelo died. — 2. War and disease continue ; four Jesuits were very ill but recovered. — 3. An aggravating evil : the Dutch. The crew of two ships provided the Muslims of Banda with arms and established two trading posts. — 4. Two ships sailed to Maluku [Ternate]. A trading post was erected and the arrival of ten more ships was promised. Foresees heavy threat for the Christian Church. — 5. The viceroys of India send no succour. The proposal of dispatching a Father from Maluku to the king was dismissed by Fr. Provincial. — 6. Seven Jesuits in Maluku ; he himself and Fr. Cunha are on the verge of sailing to Tidore. Ambon retains only two Fathers. — 7. Recommendations. Conclusion.

† Jesus

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. El año passado he escrito a V.P. [1], dándole cuenta de los grandes trabajos que los nuestros passavão en este Maluco y Ambueno assí por causa de las continuas guerras, con que estos moros, inimigos del nombre christiano, molestan este rincón[a] de la Iglesia de Christo, como también por causa de la grande hambre que destas guerras se ha seguido, e dolencias graves, que son como peste. Y [b] como destas murieron los dos nuestros buenos Padres Antonio Marta y Joan Rabello, los quales ambos Vuestra Paternidad bien conocía, mucha falta avemos sentido, y io en particular lo siento, con la muerte de tales dos compañeros. Mas consuélame saber de su vida que los tenemos en el cielo, adó están rogando delante de Dios por nos.

2. Este año fueron continuando [c] los trabajos del año passado. Porque la guerra no ha ablandado, antes se continua más crudamente. Y a esta se sigue la hambre [2], ainda que fuemos socorridos de diversas partes. Mas como el socorro fue flago, no dexa de aver falta, y mucha,

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[1] Lost letter, 122*d*.

[2] The letters quoted in D 124 note 1 contain some touching witness about this famine, not in Ambon indeed, but in Tidore. Captain Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira wrote « El mantenimiento con que esta fortaleza se sustenta es sagu, y comunmente vale vemte y cinco o treinta pardaos [obviously a copyist's error for fardos] un çatopa, y oy no se halla medio fardo por una çatopa. Que prometo a V.S. delante de Dios que es lástima grandísima la que oy se pasa en esta fortaleza, porque una gallina no se halla menos de seis-siete pardaos. Que más particularidades de necesidades es verguença de escrivir a V.S. ». The soldiers of the garrison reported « No tempo da pas se dabão nesta fortalesa vint'e cinco fardos de sagu por un satopa, e oje se não acha un muito pequeno por elle. Afirmamos a V.S. con verdade que se acharão já polas ruas desta terra alguns omens naturais e mininos mortos a pura fomen ».

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de los mantinimientos necessarios. Las dolencias fueron ansí mismo continuando, de las quales tres Padres y hun Ermano, que estivemos en Maluqo, estuvimos todos muy propinqos a la muerte. Mas fue servido nuestro Señor darnos salud para podermos socorrer a las necessidades spirituales destas almas.

3. A estes trabajos se acrecentó el otro, de que también escreví a V.P. el año passado [3], scilicet, de las quatro naos olandezas que havían passado a estas partes. De las quales dos fueron a las islas de Banda, que están desta isla de Ambueno jornada de dos días, y allí carregaron de nues noscada y massa, y se bolvieron dexando en aquellas islas vinte e tantos hombres con dos fetorías y mercadorías [4]. Entre las quales trahían muchas armas de diversa suerte a estes moros, inimigos del nombre de Christo, con las quales y con el fabor destas naves olandezas ellos se hazen más fuertes y soberbios contra nos y contra los christianos.

4. Las otras dos naves passaron a este [5*v*] Maluqo a buscar el clavo, adó compraron lo que hallaron y se bolvieron [5], dexando también ocho hombres em Maluqo con otra fetoría y casa de contratación, para averen de continuar estas islas y esta navegación. Y ansí tienen prometido a estos moros que daquí a tres años han de bolver acá con dies naos gruessas con muchas armas y mercadorías; lo que será en causa de se acabar de perder las reliquias de la cristiandade que ha quedado por estas partes, porque, si a los moros solos no podíamos resistir, qué haremos a moros y a hereges juntos? Ajúdenos Dios, porque en solo él confiamos.

5. Muchos años ha que avemos pronosticado este negocco, y escrito sobre ello a la India a los nuestros superiores. Y viendo [d] nos que por vía de los vyrreis de la India no se dava remedio a estas partes, propusimos al P.[e] Provincial Francisco Cabral por muchas vezes [6], que no veíamos otro remedio a este negocco, sino mandar Su Reverencia hun Padre deste Maluqo a Europa, para que pudiesse enformar a Su Magestade del Rey de las cosas dél, para que le socorriesse [7], antes que viniessem a estado que no tuviessem remedio, o a lo menos muy di-

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[3] See note 1.

[4] Cf. D 123 note 6. The Dutch stayed in Banda until July 2, 1599.

[5] They left Ternate on August 19, 1599 (VALENTYN I a 176).

[6] Lost letters, e.g., the one of 110*f*.

[7] The example of Fr. Alonso Sánchez travelling to Europe on behalf of the Philippines (D 62, 6) made the Maluku Fathers desirous of trying the like.

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Ihs.
Mui Reverendo Padre nuestro

Pax Christi, etc.

1. El año passado escreví a V.P. huna[1], en la qual le dava conta destas residencias que acá tiene la Compañía. Agora por cumprir con l'obligación que tengo de nuestras reglas[2] escrevo estas pocas palabras, dando a V.P. conta del mismo.

Quedamos el año passado con grandíssimo sobresalto y miedo de los ingleses, que nesta isla vinieron con quattro naves. Duas dellas tomaron el camino de Banda en busca de noz y massa, las quales ambas tornaron passando a vista desta isla mui bien carregadas. Las otras dos se quedaron acá en el porto de[a] nuestros inimigos[3], amenaçándonos de quereren venir[b] en compañía de los mismos inimigos para cá a hazernos guerra. Mas por derradiero no hyzieron nada mas fuéronse para Ternate, onde estuvieron algunos poucos meses haziendo sus viniagas[4] de clavo. Y quando cuidavan todos que irían en favor del Ternate sobre[c] el nuestro forte que en Tidore tenemos, pois los ternates estavan con sangrienta guerra con los tidores e portugueses, dissimularon con tudo y si fueron dalí con mucha priessa[d] y fuera de moción, no sabendo nos[e] para onde.

2. Y ansí la[s] dos naos de Bamda como de Ternate deixaron gente ingles[a] o olandesa (como dicían que eran)[5] en Banda y en Ternate, promittiendo ansí a los unos como a los otros que tornarían daly a tres años con gruessa armada sobre ambas las fortalezas deste Amboino y de Tidor. El soccesso que terná Dios lo sabe.

3. Partidos los ingleses quedamos algún tanto dissallivados, aunque no del todo. Porque quedaron nesta isla en favor de nuestros inimigos más de docentos jaos, gente muy irrational nel accomettet[6], [7*v*] como yo lo vi con esperiencia otra vez, quando vinieron para entrarnos este lugar. Pues sempre anda[n] por dianti no stimando las

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[1] D 123.

[2] As a local superior he was due to write a yearly report.

[3] Hitu, on the N coast of Ambon.

[4] *Veniaga*, see D 21 note 17.

[5] When the captain sent a reconnoitring vessel to the Dutch ships, the strangers claimed to be « de Gelandia » and « ingreses de Jelanda » (Letters of Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira and of the garrison, quoted in D 124 note 1).

[6] He points to their method of running amok; consult D 119, 5.

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espingardadas hasta morer, y yo me vi muy perto dellos en el tempo de la pelea. Cuidávamos que el año passado quirían provar otra vez la mano con estes christianos y portugueses, mas dissimularon también como los ingleses, esperando más gente de soccorro, la qual este año es[f] venida. Y dizen que sarán hasta seiscentos[g] hombres de pelea emtre todos, los quales agora se están aparejando y haziendo prestes para vinir[h] acá, como tenemos por novas; y los de acá[i] estamos también haziéndonos prestes para defendernos dellos.

4. Los lugares que tenemos contra de nos son muchos y grande número de gente. Los nuestros son pocos y algunos de muy poca confiança, por onde maior es el arreseo que tenemos de los que están de nuestra parte que de los inimigos. Y já se comiença a discubrir alguna trama que contra nos van texiendo. Quiera Dios dishazer sus trazas. Nos padecemos ordinariamente la maior parte destes trabajos, porque, como tenemos nuestras casas sobre las tranquieras, y nel entrada del poblado[7], es menester continuamente estarmos allerta, con velas velando las espías que vienen de noche. Y a mi muchas vezes me coube dos quartos de vela por falta de veladores[8].

5. Por onde, como estamos nestas continuas guerras, poco es el fructo que se puede hazer con los christianos de los lugares de fuera, no podendo nos[j] visitalos a menudo. El que también se causa de la penuria de sogettos que acá estamos, no sendo nos[k] más que dos que ordinariamente residimos nesta casa, e ambos occupados cada un con su fleguesia de ochocientas almas de confessión cada una[9]. Afuera esto predicamos a los portugueses todolos días santo[s] y maior parte de los domingos, confessándolos assí a ellos como a sus esclavos y familias. Y los domingos y días santos tãobién se haze práttica a los christianos conforme a lo Concilio Tridentino[10], de modo que muy bien occupados estamos acá dos Padres, y se un enferma no ha quien quede en su lugar.

6. Por onde es menester V.P. mande prover de algunos Padres más, para que al menos possan correr por modo de visitas con los christianos de los lugares de fuera, y con los de las islas de Oma y Liacer[11]. Y para esto fuera menester a lo menos dos Padres de más por agora,

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[7] For this, consult D 119 note 5.
[8] See D 93, 8.
[9] The parish churches of Saint Thomas and Saint James (D 93, 2).
[10] Council of Trent, Sessio XXIV, Decretum de reformatione, canon 4.
[11] *Viz.* Haruku and Saparua.

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para sostentar estes pocos christianos para que no se hagan mouros. Porque es tal y tanto el tráfico que con ellos tienen los de las islas, que mais pierden por ellos que por nos.

7. L'ajuda y soccorro más principal que acá es necessario, después de lo divino, es lo de las armas para conquistar de todo este archipélago. [8r] Porque no basta razón humana para convencer esta gente, pues se governan conforme al appetido y deseo carnal solamente. Por onde son necessarias las armas, con las quales conquistados, quedará campo amplíssimo para seminar la palabra de Dios. Y se el Rey estuviesse desengannado nel poco gasto que nesta impresa es necessario y el muccho que se gana, ablando del temporal onde el mundo tien neste día el ojo principal, cierto días ha que estuviera ganado.

8. El inimigo más poderoso que acá tenemos es el rey de Ternate, el qual con menos de mil soldados se sogettaría. Y como él estuviesse ganado, ten[d]ríamos la maior parte deste archipélago y todos los lugares de clavo y noz massa, o noz moscada que llaman, de la qual droga cada año se pueden carregar en todas estas islas a lo menos tres naos. Mas como los capitanes que para cá vienen cada un busca su provecho [12], no se les da nada del bien común.

9. Y esta empresa mais facilmente y com menos gasto se haría de la parte de Manilla que de la de Goa, porque de Goa para cá es necessario a lo menos un año de viagen, de Manilla mes y medio. Más, em Manilla ha muchos mantinimientos de arrós, carne, vinho y otras cosas necessarias, y facilmente faltando se poden mandar buscar, el que se no puede prover tão facilmente de Goa. Mais, las embarcaciones de [l] que usan [m] estes d'acá, se hazen en Manilla también e d'allá vienen facilmente para Tidor, mas no [n] de Goa ni [o] de Malaca pueden venir. Y sin estas embarcaciones, que son como pássaros en el mar, no se puede conquistar esta gente, la qual, como usa dellas, zomba de nuestras galeras y fustas. Y este es lo común parecer de todos los de acá, quanto

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[12] Couto has a captain say « Eu não vou à minha fortaleza senão pera vir rico » (*O Soldado prático* 14). And the captain of Tidore, Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira, revealed the same mentality writing to the governor of Manila « Fue Dios servido de me traer de Portugal y mandarme Su Mag[d] que le viniesse a servir a esta fortaleza para della yr rico y próspero » (Letter of note 5). What excesses the king could expect his captains to commit can be known by an undated *alvará* mentioned in *Boletim Filmoteca* I 177 no. 61. Masonio's statement in this place and at this time seems to suggest that the then captain of Ambon, Estevão Teixeira de Macedo, was not of a different stamp.

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más que son tantas las necessidades de la India, por los muchos inimigos que tien al redor de si, que no puede accudir a partes tan lexas, deixando el inimigo en casa.

Este mi pareció advirtir, para que, trattándose algo deste soccorro, se sepa la necessitade con el remedio más facil para cá.

10. Quanto a la necessidade temporal que acá los nuestros padecen, no dexarei de dizer duas palabras para que V.P., como padre piadoso de todos, con entranhas de compassión acuda a lo que se pudier. En Amboino no nos dan d'esmola más que sessenta cruzados [13], los quales valen cada un siete reales de plata [14]. La qual esmola muchas vezes no basta para vino [p], harina y cera polas missas, [8v] particolarmente este año que se compró a quattro y cinco cruzados la canada [15] del vino[q], que es medida poco más de un mes para un Padre dizer missa. En la India muchas vezes está escritto el mismo, mas como allá recibe cada Padre cento y diez xeraphins, que son poco menos de cruzado cada un [16], no se alembran tanto de nuestra pobreça. V.P., se le parecier bien se remediasse algo desta esmola con el Rey, sará grandíssima charidade para nosotros, pois acá se compra tudo muy caro, y tan caro que con un cruzado de pexe no comen quattro personas mediocremente. No ablo de carne, porque es grande fiesta quando se[r] come algun pedazo de puerco.

11. Deixo las limosnas[s] que cada día es menester hazer a los necessitados, los quales no tienen otro refugio sino los Padres, y los enfermos mucho más, a los quales es necessario accudir no solamente con medicinas y purgas, mas también con otras necessidades corporales. Ajúntase tãobien a esto la finta de quarenta cruzados [17], que nos mandan pagar cada año de la India por las necessitades de la Provincia, la qual es grandíssima carga para nos, pois no tenemos con que sustentarnos. Se V.P. nos quitasse esta finta saria grandíssima limosina.

12. El virey Mattias de Albuquerque nos quittou por quattro o

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[13] Consult DM I 662-663, doc. 205: eight Jesuits receive together 540 cruzados, which comes to 67.5 cruzados each.

[14] The silver real equalled forty reis; a cruzado, as a rule, was worth 400 reis. For the silver real of Philip II (*real sencillo*), see MARTINORI, *La moneta* 422.

[15] Liquid measure of 1.3 litre.

[16] The Goa *xerafim* theoretically was a gold coin of 300 reis, but actually of a changing weight and value. (YULE 974).

[17] The yearly tribute of each house to the common Province outlay was to be collected by the Province procurator; see DI XIII 543-544 no. 86*; 875 no. 11. Cf. introduction to D 56: sixty xerafins.

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cinco años toda la limosina que acá nos davan de los sessenta cruzados por cada Padre[18]. Y más nos quittou quattro bares de clavo forro que los otros nos deran en cada año, con los quales tappávamos muchos buracos; donde puede V.P. considerar como quedaríamos. No quiero ser más prolixo nesta materia por no dar molestia a V.P., e se nesta lhe fui molesto, per l'amor de Dios me perdone, porque la necessitade[t], como dizen, no tien ley.

13. El año passado escreví a V.P. una duda acerca de los ordinarios que assí los nuestros privilegios, como también el Concilio Tridentino y cánones hablan. An vicarius foraneus habens vices episcopi veniat appellatione ordinarii. De manera que quando el sagrado Concilio diz ser necessaria licentia del ordinario, o que se obedesca al ordinario etc., estamos nos obligados al mismo nestas partes, onde no ha bispo ny vigario general, mas vigarios foráneos, los quales muchas vezes, aunque sean idiotas, trahen poderes y vezes del bispo[19]. En la India fue preguntada y hasta agora nos deixaran dudosos, algunos diziendo que no son ordinarios, otros que si. Pido a V.P. que lo determine, porque cada día estamos con alguna differencia con estes assí en el dispensar de matrimonio, como en guardar sus censuras etc. Y acá, como tenemos pocos libros, no podemos estudar [9*r*] el caso ex professo, pois es[u] materia de canonistas, cuio[s] libros acá no tenemos.

No quero ser más prolixo, solamente pido a V.P. con la humildade e reverencia que devo mi dia[20] su santa benedición, a la qual desde acá me arrodillo.

De Amboino, 30 de Abril 1600.

De V.P. muy indino hyjo y siervo en el Señor,

Lorenço Masonio.

[*Address* 9*v*] Al muy Reverendo em Christo Padre nuestro, el P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito general de la Compañía de Jesú, Roma.

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[a] *del.* nossos ‖ [b] *interl., d.r.* ‖ [c] *del.* la ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* pressa ‖ [e] mos *ms.* ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* les ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* quattro . . ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* viren ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* ca ‖ [j] mos *ms.* ‖ [k] mos *ms.* ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* que ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* van ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* ne ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* ne ‖ [p] *corr. fr.* vinho ‖ [q] *corr. fr.* vinho ‖ [r] *interl.* ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* es. . ‖ [t] *brackets open here* ‖ [u] *corr. fr.* de

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[18] Consult D 110, 1.

[19] See D 123 note 7; JACOBS, *Vicars* 211-212, 284; and consult *Livros das monções* I 264-265 (for 1609).

[20] Read *dé.*

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Lost Letters

129*a*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Provincial, Goa; May 1600.*

D 137, 1: « Por más que con nuestras cartas hemos importunado al Provincial de la India todos los annos atrás, . . . ».

129*b*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Acquaviva, Rome; prior to August 24, 1600.*

D 130, 1: « Cuido que el P. Luis Fernandes . . . escrivió a V.P. ». This supposition did certainly materialize.

130

FR. LORENZO MASONIO SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, AUGUST 23, 1600

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 7.

II AUTHORS: GUERREIRO, *Relação Anual* I 49-50; WESSELS, *Amboina* 131-132; JACOBS, *Vicars* 284.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 10*r*-13*v*, earlier 85-87, and no. III. Autograph letter in Spanish, with many Lusitanisms, covering ff. 10*r*-12*r*, ff. 12*v* and 13*r* being blank. Administrative notes on f. 10*r*: « Aamboino 23 agosto 1600 », and « Malabarica ». On f. 13*v* the address, a wax seal, a secretary's note « 600. P. Lorenço Masonio. 3 de Agosto. Amboino », a short summary in Spanish, and finally the indication « col Padre Assistente e Padre Procuratore Generale », with whom some items of the letter had to be discussed. A small part of the seal is lacking; together with it a slip of paper was cut off at the inner margin, damaging some words of the text on ff. 10*v* and 11*v* (see at our nos. 4 and 10).

Text

1. *Writes on a special occasion. From May to August they lived under the threat of war.* — 2. *Three English* [*Dutch*] *ships at Ambon in the past year.* — 3. *Now again three English* [*Dutch*] *sails arrived; two went to Banda, one to Hitu. The English* [*Dutch*] *assisted the enemy with three armed pinnaces.* — 4. *The Ambon Christians and Portuguese defended themselves very well; the English* [*Dutch*] *pinnaces fled as well as the Javanese, who abandoned two forts opposite the fortress. The English* [*Dutch*] *returned with the ship, but they could not do much harm.* — 5. *Their landward attack remained ineffective too. Then the enemy retreated.* — 6. *The fortress was left behind in a risky position and with a reduced garrison, especially after the cargo ship had sailed off. The captain sent a sampan to Malacca to request help.* — 7. *No help can be hoped*

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or from Malacca or Goa ; it has to be given by Spain. — 8. *Continuous trouble of mounting guard.* — 9. *Requests the privileges of the Philippine religious that the vicars shall not meddle with the native Christians.* — 10. *Specifies some privileges.* — 11. *Repeats request of being freed from the vicars' interference.* — 12. *Drawbacks of the actual situation. Deference to the bishop. Conclusion.*

†

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Estando una pequeña embarcatión[1] a la vela para Malaca oje 27 de Agosto[2], después de ter echo el pliego y entregátole al portador, me pareció ser grandíssima discortesía religiosa y contra las reglas dexar passar esta occasión sin escrivir a V.P. Aunque cuido que el P. Luis Fernández, superior universal destas partes de Malucco, escrivió a V.P.[3] dándole cuenta de tudo el estado destas partes y de los trabajos y periguos de guerra en que estuvimos desne el mes de Maio hasta el mes presente de Agosto, los quales me pareció brevemente acá relatalos a V.P., para que d'allá, con el Rey y con otros que pueden dar remedio a isto, se tratte el remedio possible.

2. El año passado, como se escrivió, vinieron a esta isla tres naos de ingleses, y surgiron en el puerto de nuestros inimigos nesta mesma isla, lexo d'acá quattro leguas. Y cuidávamos todos que[a] havían de venir para esta fortaleza. Lo que per divina permissión soccedió al contrario, pues dos dellas fueron a la isla de Banda en busca de las drogas, de noz y massa; la outra quedó acá en el dicho puerto, donde después partió para Ternate, y de allá se fue contra moción no sabiéndose para onde[4].

3. Este año tornaron otras tres naos de ingleses[5]: las dos fueron

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[1] Called a *champana* in no. 6. This was an extraordinary occasion.

[2] Here 27, but in the dating (no. 12) 23; the latter date is the right one. In his letter to King Philip III of June 2, 1601, the captain of Ambon, Estevão Teixeira de Macedo, reported that he had sent a *korakora* to Malacca « a pedir socorro com cartas ao Visso-Rrey » on August 24, 1600 (Seville, *AGI, Filip. 19* ramo 2 no. 46, f. 2*v*.)

[3] There is no letter of Fr. Fernandes known in this year after D 128. At the time Masonio wrote this one, Fernandes was in Tidore (D 128, 6).

[4] See D 123 note 6. Why Masonio, in opposition to his former letter and to the facts as well, mentions three ships instead of four does not become plain.

[5] That is, three Dutch ships under the command of Steven van der Haghen, of which two sailed to Banda and one to Hitu. See VALENTYN I a 178-179; TIELE VI 163-166. Van der Haghen came with his ship *De Zon* before Hitu on May

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también para la dicha isla de Banda, la otra [10*v*] vino al mismo puerto de Ito[6] [de] nuestros inimigos, en esta misma isla, per nuestro disassosieguo y inquiedud. Onde los inimigos, sirviéndose de la occasión, persuadieron a los ingleses que venissen a hazernos guerra. Y los ingleses para contentalos mandaron tres patajos, muy bien esquipados de soldados y piezas y municiones, en compañía de las caracoras de los inimigos, que son embarcaciones de pelea.

4. Y aunque le succidiesse mal esta primera determinación — porque los christianos de acá y los portugueses le tomaron una caracora principal[7] y mattaron quasi toda la gente della[b], que fueron más de ciento personas, y los ingleses con sus patajos a la noche se pusieron en fogida, y los jaos que venieron en ajuda de los inimigos se pusieron también en fogida desemparando dos fuertes que[c] havían echo, uno en la praia defrente de nuestra fortaleza[8] y el otro en un guno[9] poco lexo de la praia — con todo esto, otra vez tornaron con nova determinación. Y no solamente truxieron los tres patajos primeros, mas también la nao que allá quedara, con que cuidavan los inimigos tomar esta flaca[d] fortaleza. Y dándonos con la nao, patajos y otras diez embarcaciones inimigas quatro[e] vezes batería con muchos tiros y muy grandes, y respondiéndole la n[uestra][f] nao que aquí avía, indo camino de Ma-

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2 (VALENTYN) or rather 5 (Teixeira's letter). The latter (see note 2) deals with this second Dutch visit to Maluku in an extensive way on ff. 1*v*-2*v*, giving accurate dates of a train of events: May 5, the Dutch ship and three pinnaces arrived, and about the same time also some Javanese vessels; two forts were built opposite the Ambon fortress; June 4, a fleet consisting of the three Dutch pinnaces, four Hitu *korakoras*, two *kelulus* of the Javanese, and a lot of smaller craft entered Ambon Bay and anchored near Hukunalu (the present-day Rumahtiga); June 5, they fell upon Halong but were beaten off; June 11-12, the Portuguese fleet gave battle and defeated the enemy, expelling them from the bay; June 13, the Portuguese demolished the two forts of Hukunalu; June 28, the enemy fleet returned into the bay, this time accompanied by the Dutch ship. The fortress was besieged over weeks but resisted; August 13, an attack on shore went wrong, whereupon the enemy fleet retreated to Hitu; August 24, Captain Teixeira dispatched a *korakora* to Malacca (the *champana* of our no. 6); September 17, the two Dutch ships from Banda joined the one at Hitu; October 7, the Dutch sailed off, leaving behind thirty men in a fortress at Hitu.

[6] This Hitu is likely to be the New Hitu or Hila near Kaitetu, about 10 km west of Hitulama (Old Hitu).

[7] According to VALENTYN (II b 19) the *korakora* of Nusaniwi.

[8] Near Hukunalu or Rumahtiga.

[9] That is, on a hill (*gunung*), probably somewhat west of Rumahtiga.

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lucco, y la fortalez[a] como podieron, quis Dios que no nos hyziessen más mal que m[a]tarnos hun sol hombre con tantos tiros, que fueron más de cie[nto] y diez. Y ellos cuido que ricibieron más mal, porque hun piloro solo de la fortaleza que dio en un patajo ingrés pôs fuego en la munición y abrasó perto de veinte hombres, de lo[s] quales sabemos que murieron hasta seis; los otros quedavan mal abrasados [10].

5. Y ansí determinaron accometternos por tierra. Y haziéndolo ansí por ambas las partes de la fortaleza, les salieron los nuestros christianos y los pozeron en fogida, y les mattaron algunos pocos hombres sin recibir los nuestros daño ninguno. Y desta manera quedando los inimigos y [11*r*] ingleses emvergonzados, tornaron otra vez per sus tierras con los ingleses al puerto sobredicho [11], donde aun nos ameaçan que quieren tornar otra vez con tres naos, esperando que vengan las dos que fueron para Banda, y para isto despacharon dos patajos para que se diessen priessa.

6. No sabemos lo que será se vinieren las tres. Lo cierto es que estarremos en grandíssimo apierto y risco de se perder esta fortaleza. Porque, como se fue la nao de la carriera para Malucco con su gente, y aun más de la que traxo, quedó esta fortaleza muy manca y pobre de gente, que no haverá nella settenta hombres portugueses, y estos medios viejos y enfermos. Por onde se determinó el capitán della mandar una champana para Malaca a pidir soccorro, con la qual escrivo la presente carta a V.P. [12].

7. Mas que soccorro podrá mandar Malaca que no tiene gente para sí? El soccorro proprio y que possa dar remedio a todo ha de venir de la fuente, determinándose Su Magestad o accudir a estas partes de propósito o largalas a los ingleses, el que no convien. De Goa poco soccorro se puede tanbién esperar, porque tien mucho onde accudir y la gente no es tanta que le sobeje, y como estas partes están muy remotas, accuden al más perto. Por onde el soccorro ha de venir de España, como esperávamos el año passado, que tivemos novas vinía capitão con gente y flota determinada para estas partes, lo que asta agora no se vio.

8. Por tanto V.P. entendiendo la necessidade grandíssima ø de soccorro que ha, podrá conforme a su grandíssima charidad y prudencia

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[10] Teixeira: « Loguo morrerão seis imgrezes e foram nove mal queimados » (f. 2*r*).

[11] Hitu, or rather Hila.

[12] See note 1.

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dar algún remedio para que esta christiandad se no pierda, y se tire de tantos peligros em que está puesta. De los trabajos que nos padecemos en casa, [11*v*] con las continuas velas y sustentar soldados para que nos ajuden a velar, pues estamos puestos en la frontería de los inimigos sobre los muros, y nuestra casa es la llave y puerta deste poblado, no escrivo nada para no ser cumprido y prolixo.

9. Antes que accabe quero trattar otro punto con V.R. por bien desta christiandad, el qual está trattado con el Provincial de la India, mas como depiende de V.P. no tenemos astagora repuesta, y es esto.

Deseamos en estas partes que V.P. nos comunique los privilegios concedidos en favor de los christianos por tantos summos pontífices, de los quales sabemos gozan los christianos de Manilla, a lo menos los que goviernan los frailes, para que los vigarios no entiendan con ellos[13]. Porque, como todos pretiendan sus emteresses y son todos idiotas, no procuran más que la borsa llena, y con cappa de visitas todo el año entienden con ellos. Y como están poco fundados en la fee, algunos no dexan de bradar y murmurar, con peligro de appartárense dal gremio de la Iglesia.

10. Por onde, pareciendo assí bien, nos podrá comunicar el privilegio de Paulo 3.ro del año 1544, en lo qual haz sus delegados todolos prelados de las religiones que nelas Indias se occupan [h] con lo[s] [i] christianos[14]. El mismo concedió la Omnimoda ad instantiam Gener[alis] Sancti Francisci, etiam intra duas dietas cum consensu tamen episcopi[15]. Julio [3.ro] a instancia del mismo general confirmó todolos privilegios [de] sus predecessores, y pone pena de suspensión a los obisp[os] que

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[13] Cf. D 123 note 14.

[14] Ibid., note 13.

[15] Paul III, Brief *Alias felicis* of February 15, 1535, at the request of Fray Vicent Lunel, commissary and soon after general of the Franciscans. This brief was a confirmation of the Bull *Exponi nobis* of Hadrian VI of May 9, 1522, commonly known as the *Omnimoda*, because it bestowed *omnimodam auctoritatem nostram in utroque foro* on all the religious working among the infidels in regions where there were no bishops, and also where bishops were available but could not be consulted within two days (*intra duas dietas*). Pope Paul's brief freed this *omnimoda auctoritas* from the couple of days, but added the restriction « si episcoporum ad praemissa accedat assensus ». For Hadrian's *Omnimoda*, see TOBAR I 90-95; BRUNO 117-121; for the one of Paul III, HERNÁEZ I 390-392; BRUNO 124; TORRES 13-14. Consult also COSTA 419-420; PASTELLS, *Catalogo* VI pp. CCXCII-CCXCV; COLIN-PASTELLS III 677-678.

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no guarden sus privilegios[16]. Pío[j] V concede muchos otros, praesertim contra 38 gravamina que los bispos cumulavan contra los religiosos[17], etc.

11. E se este privilegio se emtende revocado pelo que determinó en una su bulla Gregorio 13[18], al menos V.P. nos alcanse que los vigairos, por seren idiotas y cubiçosos, no entendan con los christianos né in visitas né en otras maneras, mas solamente los bispos por persona propia. Y que en su ausencia confíen de nos, porque no somos menos zelosos de las almas que sus vigarios de dinero y penas. Porque mucho mejor conoscerá [12*r*] la enfermedad de su oveja un Padre que ha muchos años la comunica, y le sabrá aplicar mejor las medicinas proporcionadas que hun clérigo poco esperimentado y de poco zelo.

12. Y acontece muchas vezes que una culpa se castiga muchas vezes, porque los Padres las castigan con el mejor modo que pueden conformándose con el tiempo y condición de persona, y los vigarios después las tornan a castigar de novo, de lo que quedan ellos muy escandalizzados. Por onde parece convenga darse algún remedio. Y peço por amor de Dios no pareça isto deseo de mando y de poca subordinación a los bispos, los quale[s] todos devemos tracer sobre las cabezas, porque[k] cierto es puro zelo de poder con maior mansedumbre y amor governar estas ovejas, y no las ver en las uñas de los orsos y lobos.

No quiero ser más prolixo nesta materia, porque cuido lo Provincial de la India terná enformado V.P. del todo. Accabo encomendándome mucho a las devotíssimas oraciones de V.P. y santos sacrificios, y puesto[l] de rodilla[s] pido su santa bendictión.

De Amboino, oie 23 de Agosto 1600.

[Lorenzo Masonio].

[*Address* 13v] † Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro, el P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesú, Roma.

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[a] *del.* ven.. ‖ [b] delle *ms.* ‖ [c] *del.* tinha ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* fraca ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* unas ‖ [f] *peper damaged along four lines* ‖ [g] grandissimas *ms.* ‖ [h] *del.* en ‖ [i] *paper damaged along four lines* ‖ [j] Pioo *ms.* ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* pois ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* posto

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[16] Brief *Cum sicut carissimus* of July 20, 1554 (Bruno 121; Levillier, *Organización* II 70-72).

[17] Brief *Exponi nobis* of March 24, 1567 (Tobar, 351; Bruno 125; Torres 31).

[18] Brief *In tanta rerum* of March 1, 1573 (Tobar 398; Bruno 125).

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131

FR. NICOLAU PIMENTA, VISITOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 1, 1600

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT V 12; ATKINSON no. 439.

II AUTHORS: JARRICUS III/2 439–441; VISSER 247-248; WESSELS, *Amboina* 127; ID., *Batjan* I 145.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 48* ff. 5*r*-35*v*, formerly no. V. Original in Portuguese. Vigorous but very elegant and clear handwriting. At the bottom of f. 5*r* « Indica variarum missionum 600 ». Folio 35*r* is blank, its *verso* contains only the address. This is the first letter of a series Pimenta wrote about the same time. The part on Maluku is on f. 32*r-v*.

NB. *ARSI, Goa 33 I* ff. 41*r*-72*v*, and ibid. ff. 83*r*-109*v*, and *Goa 48* ff. 36*r*-63*v*, is not only a Latin translation of the same text, but at the same time an enlarged version, sent again to Europe by Pimenta two years later under the date of December 21, 1602. See D 153.

IV PRINTED: Italian translation: *Copia d'una del P. Nicolo Pimenta Visitatore della Provincia d'India Orientale*. Roma 1602. (99 pp., our part on pp. 91-93). Latin translation, made by Johannes Busaeus after the Italian version, in Joannes HAYUS, *De rebus japonicis, indicis et peruanis epistolae recentiores*, Antverpiae 1605 (pp. 855–856 on Maluku).

Text

1. *Jesuits were sent to Maluku twice. The first time Frs. Cristóbal de la Vega as a Visitor, and Vasco da Cunha ; they sailed* via *Brunei.* — 2. *Arrived in Tidore. On death of Frs. Antonio Marta, João Rebelo, and Br. António da Costa.* — 3. *Fr. Visitor fell ill. Fr. Corrado came from Labuha in the fleet of the king of Bacan to see him.* — 4. *Though not wholly recovered, Fr. Vega made the visitation of Ambon and drew up a report on it.* — 5. *He returned to Malacca, performed the visitation there too, and sailing to India he died at sea near Ceylon.* — 6. *Second sending of Jesuits to Maluku : three Fathers and a Brother.*

[. . .]

1. A Maluco forão nossos Padres per duas veses. Da primeira foi o P.e Christovão da Veiga, levando por companheiro o P.e Vasco da Cunha, pera visitar nossos Padres e Irmãos daquellas partes e a christandade que tem a seu cargo, que por falta do s[o]corro temporal padece grande persiguição dos mouros inimigos deste Estado. Partio o

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Padre de Malaca aos vinte de Agosto [1] em hum galeão [2]. O capitão e officiaes do qual fizerão sua viagem polla via do Borneo, que hé caminho extraordinario, somente por encurtarem hum anno de viagem ao P.e Christovão de Veiga: tanto era o amor e respeito que todos lhe tinhão naquella cidade, onde acabava de ser reitor de nosso collegio [3]; provendo-o juntamente [32*v*] de todo o necessario com tanta liberalidade, que bastou pera ir e tornar sem fazer despeza aos nossos de Maluco, que padecem grandes necessidades.

2. Chegarão a Tidore aos 20 de Novembro, ao tempo que o P.e Antonio Marta era falecido aos 15 de Agosto, e o P.e João Rebelo estava tam enfermo que faleceo tres dias depois da sua chegada, e assi ficava aquella caza redusida somente ao Ir. João Paulo [4], coadjutor. Foi esta perda grande pera aquella afligida christandade e pera toda a Provincia, porque erão estes dous Padres dos mais exemplares e milhores operarios della. Era tambem falecido o Irmão Antonio da Costa, depois de soldado e capitão, coadjutor mui virtuoso e homem pera muito [5].

3. Ali veo ter com o P.e Visitador, que em chegando adoeceo e estava propinquo à morte, o P.e Rogerio Conrrado que rezide na Laboa [6], e pode passar seguro por vir em companhia d'el-rey de Bachão, o qual vinha com toda sua armada em socorro da nossa fortaleza [7]. Tendo alguma melhoria e feito seu officio naquellas igrejas, deixando ali por entretanto o P.e Vasco da Cunha, se partio aos 2 de Março [8].

4. Em breve chegou a Amboino, onde achou o Superior de Maluco [9] e os mais Padres [10] todos com saude. E inda que a sua era pouca, fez seu officio com exacção, tendo com os Padres não menos de trinta e tres consultas sobre cousas tocantes ao bem daquella christandade,

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[1] August 20, 1598.

[2] In the galleon in which the new captain of Tidore, Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira, sailed to Maluku. Cf. D 118, 2.

[3] From this it is evident that Fr. Vega sailed to Maluku from Malacca, not from Goa as Fr. Vasco da Cunha did.

[4] Manfrida.

[5] He is likely to have died in 1597.

[6] Cf. D 120, 3. After Fr. Manuel Gonçalves, his assistant, had left, Fr. Berwouts/Corrado remained alone in the mission of Labuha.

[7] So the king, though having fallen away from Christianity, remained loyal to the Portuguese.

[8] Of 1599.

[9] Fr. Luís Fernandes.

[10] Frs. Lorenzo Masonio and Gabriel da Cruz.

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porque em o mais há pouco que fazer naquelles nossos Padres, provados como ouro no fogo da adversidade. E como quem adivinhava que não avia de chegar a Goa a dar conta de sua visita, apontou as consultas e tudo o mais per escrito mui exactamente [11].

5. E embarcando-se em 15 de Mayo, chegou a Malaca a 30 de Junho. E visitado aquelle collegio, se partio pera a India [12] com o P.e Sebastião de Sexas [13], porem tam dibilitado que meteo na nao elle mesmo o olio sancto pera lhe não faltar este sacramento se Nosso Senhor o levasse na viagem, como levou vindo já na paragem de Seilão [14], com grande sentimento de todos os da nao, que trazia com sua doutrina e exemplo muy edificados. Foi este sentimento geral na India, porque era nella conhecido e extimado por sua virtude e raras partes.

6. Em socorro dos nossos de Maluco forão este Abril passado tres Padres: Jorge da Fonsseca, André Pereira, Bertolameu Daniel e o Irmão Mateus de Brito [15]. Quererá Nosso Senhor que cheguem a salvamento e achem de paz aquellas duas fortalezas de Maluco e Amboino, que ficavão em principios de guerra e não pouco arriscadas.
[. . . 34*v*]

De Goa, 1º de Dezembro de 1600. Nicolao Pimenta.

[*Address* 35*v*] † A N.P. Claudio Aquaviva, praeposito geral da Companhia de Jesus. Primeira carta.

132

FR. SEBASTIÃO GONÇALVES [BY ORDER OF FR. NUNO RODRIGUES, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL, ROME]

Annual Letter
GOA, DECEMBER 20, 1600

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 55* ff. 1*r*-24*v*; originally, in right upper corner, 1-24;

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[11] Lost document, 122*c*; at least it did not come to light in any archives up to now. But this part of Pimenta's letter cannot be based but on the visitor's report.

[12] Here, curiously, a date is failing.

[13] Fr. Sebastião de Seixas was a Portuguese from Coimbra, born in 1569, and he joined the Society at Goa in October 1587 (*Goa 24 I* ff. 175*v* and 233*r*).

[14] The exact date is unknown: late 1599 or early 1600.

[15] The 27th Sending; Gen. Introd. III 4 nos. 63-66.

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these numerals, from 3 to 24, were changed into 26–47; and no. VI. Original in Portuguese with autograph signature of Fr. Gonçalves, the historian, and written in a steady and legible hand. The title runs « Carta do anno de 600 da Provincia da India Oriental », to which the same hand added afterwards « do Padre Sebastião Gonçalvez ». The text is well divided into chapters indicated by intercalary headings. On f. 1*r* a secretary noted « 600 »; f. 24*v*, whose lower half is blank, contains a later note « Annua da India. 600 ». Parts referring to Maluku are on f. 1*v* and ff. 19*v*-20*r*.

Text

1. *Three Fathers and one Brother sailed to Maluku.* — 2. *On the death of Fr. Cristóbal de la Vega.* — 3. *And of Fr. Antonio Marta.* — 4. *And of Fr. João Rebelo.* — 5. *Tributes to the Maluku Jesuits. Danger of war in Ambon.*

[. . . 1*v*]

1. Forão para a China dous Padres e hum Irmão; para Maluco tres Padres com outro Irmão [1].

[. . .]

2. Falecerão 4 Padres. O primeiro foi o P.e Christovão da Veiga, castelhano, natural de Ossuna, de quarenta e hum de idade e vinta quatro da Companhia. Era bom theologo, leo artes, foi superior sete annos e, sendo reitor de Malaca, foi visitar as cazas de Amboino e Tidore. E como quer que fosse bemquisto de todos, de tal maneira soube ganhar a vontade ao capitão da fortaleza e da viagem, que fez emcurtar a navegação, levando outra derrota differente da dos outros annos. E os devotos lhe derão a matalotagem em tanta abundancia que lhe sobejou grande parte, com a qual socorreo aos nossos que estavão em grande aperto do necessario para passar a vida, aos quais consolou grandemente com sua prezença.

E fazendo volta para Goa, se achou tam fraco que se embarquou trazendo os santos oleos e hum companheiro sacerdote, parecendo-lhe que na viagem acabaria, como acabou santamente recebendo os sacramentos [2]. Era professo de 4 votos. Foi por companheiro da missão do Mogor com o P.e Duarte Leitão [3]. Sua morte foi mui sentida geralmente de todos.

[. . . 19*v*]

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[1] See D 131, 6.

[2] All of this is illustrated by D 131.

[3] D 109 note 2.

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3. Em Maluco fallecerão os Padres Antonio Martha e João Rebello. O primeiro era italiano, natural de Trivegit, de 56 annos e da Companhia 31. Era professo de 4 votos, theologo, leo humanidades, foi superior de Breza, ministro da [20*r*] casa de Veneza e de Goa. Foi por visitador de Tidore e Amboino. Acabada a visita ficou por superior daquellas partes em tempo de grandes difficuldades e trabalhos, avendo-se sempre com grande virtude e prudencia nelles.

4. O P.e João Rebello era natural de Lixboa, de 41 annos e da Companhia 24. Era theologo. Escreveo ao P.e Mapheo 7 annos, ocupou-se na christandade de Maluco outros 7. Sua virtude foi mui conhecida assi em Portugal como em Roma, onde esteve; de grande paciencia e soffrimento, devoto, humilde, dado à oração, bemquisto de todos. Falleceo nas mãos do P.e Christovão da Veiga com grande consolação e alegria, não avendo mais que dous dias que tinha desembarcado. Levava comição para o admittir à profissão de 4 votos[4] pola muita satisfação que nelle avia, mas elle foi professar ao ceo, como esperamos, deixando toda esta Provincia mui saudosa de sua santa vida.

5. O que das cazas de Amboino e Tidore se pode dizer hé, que os nossos procedem como verdadeiros filhos da Companhia, não lhes faltando materia nem occasioens para aproveitar no spirito. Os de Amboino ficavão com temores de guerra, por os naturaes da terra estarem confedrados com os ingrezes e certo rey da Java[5] para darem na fortaleza. Mas N. Senhor os terá defendido, como já os annos atrás defendeo de seus inimigos.

[. . . 24*v*]

Desta caza de Jesus de Goa, 20 de Dezembro de 600.

Sebastião Gonçalvez.

Lost Letter

132*a*. — *Fr. João Álvares, Assistant, Rome, to Fr. Manuel da Veiga, Vice-Provincial of Malabar, Cochin; December* 20, 1600.

Fr. Manuel da Veiga, Cochin, December 4, 1601, to Fr. Álvares: «Na mesma carta me diz V.R. que não falei pro necessitate rei sobre as cousas de Maluco. Fi-lo muito de praeposito. Mas o que toca a Maluco Deus o remedeará. Porque os homens não abrem os olhos nem dão ouvidos aos que os avisam». (*ARSI, Goa 15* f. 48*r-v*). In the same letter: he received relics and distributed them sending some to Maluku.

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[4] Cf. D 109, 5.

[5] Of one of the coastal Muslim states from Japara to Panarukan.

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[FRS. ALBERTO LAERZIO AND FRANCISCO VIEIRA,] PROCURATORS OF THE INDIAN JESUIT PROVINCE, TO KING D. PHILIP II OF PORTUGAL

Petition
PORTUGAL, LATE 1600

I TEXT: *ARSI, Lus. 106* ff. 279*r*-282*v*. Copy in Portuguese in a beautiful and clear handwriting; the last part (ff. 281*v*-282*r*) in a second hand, likewise easy to read. At the bottom of f. 279*r* a Roman note in Italian « Suplica de' Padri dell'India al Re di Portogallo ». Folio 282*r* contains only a few last lines; the *verso* is blank; later hands put three notes: « Sine Anno » (cancelled), « Cousas que se hão de tratar com el-Rey, vindas da India este anno de 600 com o Padre Alberto Laercio », and « Molucae. 1600. Patrum postulata a Rege Lusitaniae ».

II DATE: The Provincial Congregation of Goa of 1599 elected two Fathers as delegates or procurators who in Lisbon and Rome should promote the interests of the Indian Province. The first was Fr. Alberto Laerzio, the second Fr. Francisco Vieira (*Goa 32* f. 710*v*). They sailed to Europe in early 1600 and arrived at Lisbon in August (*India Oriental* f. 233*r*). It must have been shortly after that they drew up the petition to present it to the king. As early as January 1601 the king answered it (Cf. D 134). As Fr. Laerzio, before sailing back to India on March 25, 1602, also visited Rome, it can be understood that he brought a copy of the petition to be seen by Fr. General.

III NATURE of the document: it is a petition or rather a list of petitions touching upon nearly all the areas of the Indian Province. Curiously here Maluku occupies the first place, whereas in most other documents it has to content itself with the last.

Text

1. *In Maluku nine Fathers take care of two thousand Christians. Once there were eighty thousand. Regress is due to negligence of viceroys and governors taking at heart only the clove trade. The king should provide.* — 2. *The king should order that the Maluku Jesuits become payed out their stipends which are already some years in arrears.*

†

Estas são as cousas que reprezentão a V. Magestade os Procuradores da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia da India pera o serviço de Deos Nosso Senhor e de V. Magestade, e bem de sua religião e christandade daquellas partes.

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1. Tem a Companhia em Maluco nove Padres [1] que ao prezente cultivão em Tidore e Amboino como duas mil almas christãs somente, avendo sido há mais de trinta annos passante de oitenta mil, todos vassalos de V. Magestade. E perderão-se pollo levantamento e guerra d'el-rey de Ternate, ao qual desde então se podera facilmente resistir se os viso-reys e governadores do Estado [2] se aplicarão a isso. E não se aplicão, porque se contentão com o cravo fazendo pouco caso de christãos e vassalos, que à mingoa estão perdidos, feitos mouros e vassallados com o Ternate, e com isso a mesma arrecadação do cravo muy arriscado. Pedem os Padres a V. Magestade mande prover nesta falta com effeito, pera que se não percão tantas almas e se não acabe de perder de todo o senhorio de V. Magestade naquelle arcipelago.

2. Conseguintemente pedem os Padres a V. Magestade mande aos seus viso-reys e governadores provejão os Padres da Companhia que lá estão do que ateegora tiverão de V. Magestade e dos viso-reys e governadores do Estado [3]; e isto com facilidade, porque têm mui grande desinquietação e trabalho na arrecadação de seus ordenados n'alfandega de Malaca onde os vencem [4]. Sendo pobres e não tendo nenhum outro subsidio, nem de missas e mortuorios, porque lhe não sofre seu instituto, nem de esmolas porque a gente de toda a sorte hé aly muito pobre, todavia são tam mal pagos que lhes devem os ordenados d'alguns annos.

[...]

Lost Letters

133*a*. — *Fr. João Álvares, Assistant, Rome, to Fr. António Pereira, Maluku; late 1600 or early 1601.*

D 159, 8: «Con el P. Assistente me escrivir que V.P. me escrivía». Fr. Pereira had received this letter before May 14, 1603.

133*b*. — *Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. António Pereira, Maluku; late 1600 or early 1601.*

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[1] The number is given after the catalogue of December 1599 (D 126, IV), minus the Fr. Visitor, Cristóbal de la Vega, who was known or supposed to have left Maluku; the death of some of the Fathers was not yet known when the Frs. Procurators sailed from India.

[2] That is, of the State of Portuguese India.

[3] Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque had withdrawn from the Fathers both the ordinary pay (the so-called royal alms) and their licence of shipping yearly four *bahars* of clove tax-free to India (DD 110, 1; 129, 12).

[4] This is a chronic complaint in the life of the Maluku Fathers.

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D 159, 8: Same indication. But on May 14, 1603, Fr. Pereira had not yet received the letter.

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KING D. PHILIP II OF PORTUGAL TO THE VICEROY [AIRES DE SALDANHA], GOA

LISBON, JANUARY 24, 1601

TEXT: Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, cod. 282* ff. 33*v*-36*r*. Registered file copy in Portuguese, written in a flowing readable hand. The letter is divided into sixteen numbered paragraphs, successively containing the king's answers to several topics of the petition of the Jesuit Procurators (D 133). In correspondence with the petition our part is the first paragraph.

Text

The viceroy shall see that due payment is made to the Maluku Jesuits.

4ª carta para o Viso-Rei

Viso-Rei amigo. Eu El-Rei vos envio muito saudar.

Os relligiosos da Companhia dessas partes me pedem mande pagar os mantymentos que são devidos [34*r*] a alguns rellegiosos que rezidem em Maluco na converção de alguma cristandade daquellas ilhas da muita que já ouve nellas. Encomendo-vos vos informeis quantos relligiosos da Companhia asistem ally e lhe façais fazer pagamento de tudo que lhe for devido dos ditos mantymentos, porque não hé rezão que lhes falte o que lhe for dado para sua sostentação [1].

[. . . 36*r*]

Escrita em Lixboa, a 24 de Janeiro de 1601.

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[1] Similar royal instructions were often repeated in those years; see, for instance, the letter to Aires de Saldanha of March 22, 1601, in *Bol. da Filmoteca* I 562 no. 15.

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FR. ANTÓNIO PEREIRA SJ TO FR. JOÃO ÁLVARES, ASSISTANT OF FR. GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, FEBRUARY 13, 1601

First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 189 Pereira no. 5.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 123, 133-134; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 394; JACOBS, *Vicars* 285.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 32*r*-33*v*, formerly XIV. Autograph letter in Portuguese with only three divisions into paragraphs. On f. 32*r* a note « Pereira Tidor ex Moluco »; on f. 33*v* « Maluco Tidori 601. P. Ant.° Pereira », and « Já »; further a remnant of a seal.

Text

1. *Answers to a letter of September 1597.* — 2. *Writes on two topics:* first *on succour; the great distance renders any request for help useless.* — 3. *The enemies are no longer only natives but also English and Dutch. Dangerous position of the weak fortresses of Tidore and Ambon.* — 4. *No disastrous situation whatever did move those responsible to send succour.* — 5. *The Dutch settled already in three places: in Ternate they left a trading agent, in Ambon they have a brick bulwark, and in Banda another fort.* — 6. *If Maluku gets lost, the entire South, i.e., China and Japan, are finished.* — 7. *The* second *topic is the Christian community; it is next door to complete ruin. Small number of Christians in Tidore; they have their vicar.* — 8. *At Labuha the Christians are about seventy. Bad example of conjugal infidelity given by the chief. Apostasy influenced by renegade Bacan.* — 9. *Total loss of Moro.* — 10. *For the Christians of Siau no Father was available over fourteen years. The king is frivolous in conjugal life.* — 11. *Only in Ambon can one speak of a Christian people, but there too nearly fourteen villages were lost.* — 12. *Therefore the Maluku Fathers, in a consultation, considered it better that the Jesuits should be applied to Maluku in such a way that they could easily be recalled. Then also others would like to be sent there.* — 13. *Requests some books.* — 14. *Instances of exorbitant prices.* — 15. *A relic Fr. Francisco Monclaro brought for Maluku from Europe appears lost in India. Conclusion.*

† Jesus

Muyto Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi etc.

1. Depois de ter escrito a que com esta vai pera nosso P.e Geral [1],

[1] Lost letter, 135*a*.

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me derão huma de V.R. escrita em Setembro de 97 [2], quando Nosso Padre foy a Napoles [3], como V.R. na sua me diz. E foy a primeira e a ultima que de Roma viesse pera mim, avendo 13 anos que nestas partes de Maluco estou e avendo oito que não faço senão escrever e soo esta agora de V.R. veyo. E cuido que foy vir [a] por via das Felipinas, por onde, se vierem cartas de Roma, podem vir quá en 14 meses. Nosso Senhor pague a V.R. a lembrança que de nós tem, e a charidade de se lembrar de mim em me escrever sem que eu primeiro o tivesse feito. E pois V.R. com tanto amor começou esta tão boa comunicação, não deixarei nunca emquanto viver de a levar ao cabo. Demais que com particular obrigação fico obrigado de em meus sacreficios e fracas oraçõis todos os dias encomendar a N. Senhor [b] V.R., pois tãobem estou confiado fará o mesmo.

2. Polla que escrevo a Nosso Padre poderá V.R. saber o que passa por quá, mas tãobem brevemente nesta direi duas cousas.

A primeira que, como estejamos no cabo do mundo e tão afastados, que parece importar pouco d'oje por diante avisar dos trabalhos destas partes. Porque se em oito anos nunca tive huma carta nem os que quá estão [4], que remedio se pode esperar se dará às cousas que estão tão a pique de perderem-se. Que com verdade posso quasi affirmar a V.R. que, quando esta laa chegar, poderia ser que fossemos primeiro todos mortos, se [c] na monção que vem deste anno não forem estas partes socorridas [d], e com differente socorro do que atequi se pedia, ou Deos não acudir milagrosamente com seu particular auxilio e emparo.

3. Porque já não nos tememos tanto dos inimigos naturais de Maluco, como dos ingreses, olandeses e outros que cada anno já vem das partes septentrionais. E agora estão nossos inimigos, com quem se tem confederado e muito bem recebido em suas terras, esperando cada hora por armada sua pera com ella destruir esta fortaleza [5], que mais hé hum pombal que outra cousa, por não ser mais que hum ba-

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[2] Lost letter, 115*a*. That in 1598, consequent on the blockade of Lisbon by the English, no fleet departed to India, helps to explain why Fr. Pereira did not receive this letter until early 1601.

[3] On this visit, see Francesco SCHINOSI SJ, *Istoria della Compagnia di Giesù appartenente al Regno di Napoli*, Napoli 1706-1711, II 329-336. Fr. General arrived in April 1597 and stayed over for the spring.

[4] This does not agree with what he wrote earlier in D 114, 1, nor with the lost letter of Acquaviva to Fr. Marta, 100*b*. Pereira's report appears not free from a certain emotional exaggeration.

[5] Of Tidore.

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luarte de pedra que não joga artelharia, e outro de madeira e de pedra e barro que não sei quando dará consigo em terra. Que em Maluco não há já outra cousa, tirando outra fortaleza em Amboino, a qual teve este anno grandissimo trabalho e esteve em perigo de ser perdida com huma soo nao olandeza ir pelejar com ella [6], estando neste mesmo tempo hum galião nosso que vinha da India, no qual poderião vir entre bons e maos soldados, brancos e negros, até dez pessoas [7]. Pois se huma soo nao poz em tanto perigo aquela fortaleza, que fora se viessem seis e sete? E se isto aconteceo em Amboino, aonde podem já os casados e moradores recolher seu pobre fato dentro da fortaleza, que será de Tidore aonde não há lugar em que se possa guardar hum caixão de ornamentos que possa estar seguro?

4. Isto [32*v*] escrevo a V.R. assi polla obrigação que V.R. tem por razão do cargo, como tãobem por ser da propria nação que, se o não fora, não me atrevera, nem cuido que convinha a gente estranha descobrir taes miserias. Mas pera que V.R. sayba o estado em que estaa Maluco, antigamente tão prospero, agora tão caido e desaventurado per o descuido e niglegentia de quem o devia socorrer, que o não socorreo. Que nem bastou estar Ternate 6 anos continuos sercado pera lhe acudirem, até se perder por não poderem os homens mais. Nem bastou perder-se, ne[m] estarem os casados e moradores taes, que chegarão quasi ao estremo da miseria. Nem bastou tanta gente chistãa perdida, huns por se affogarem no mar com grandes naufragios por não deixarem os Padres, outros retrocederem por não poderem mais, que vê-llo hé amargura do coração grandissima. Nada bastou pera socorrerem a esta miseravelissima terra e tão desemparada que, com muito pouco que viera, estivera de maneira que nenhuma gente estrangera nos poderia fazer mal algum.

5. Mas da falta deste socorro forão-se fazendo os inimigos cada dia mais poderosos. E o que peor foy, que vindo naos olandezas a estas ilhas, nossos inimigos as recolherão con muito amor e gazalhado. E jagora estão em tres partes. Na ilha de Ternate tem feitor que deixarão ahi com alguns companheiros [8]. Em a ilha de Amboino tem

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[6] Cf. D 130, 4.

[7] This is one of the biased representations of Pereira. According to Captain Teixeira's own report (letter quoted in D 130 note 5) he had arrived with a ship and two galleys numbering fifty soldiers (f. 1*r*).

[8] When Warwyck, on August 9, 1599, sailed from Ternate, he left there Frank van der Does with five men (TIELE VI 150).

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hum baluarte já feito de pedra, ainda que não estava acabado [9], que são daqui 80 legoas. E em as ilhas de Banda, que de Amboino laa podem ser 25 legoas, tem outro forte com 20 ou trinta pessoas e peças d'artelharia [10]. E cada hum destes estaa esperando por armada sua pera com ella tomarem a fortaleza de Amboino e este pombal de Tidore.

6. E se acontecer (o que Deos não permitta), acabou-se Maluco e, o que peor hé, todo o Sul. Quero dizer, nem averá China nem Japão. Falo da navegação, porque, se tomarem pee nestas ilhas, tomão o passo por onde necessariamente hão-de passar os que vão pera Japão e China [11], o qual hé tão largo que vai huma nao quasi tocando com a ponta da vella de huma banda e doutra, e assi não passará ninguem [12]. De tudo se tem avisado a India, e que parecia ser necessario ir hum Padre dos de Maluco a Portugal avisar de tudo. Não pareceo necessario.

Esta faço a V.R. pera que, sendo que este ano não venha armada nossa e isto se perder, se saiba de Maluco brevemente o que se tem feito; e tãobem pera que, sendo caso que N. Senhor nos mande armada, veja V.R. o perigo em que estavamos se nos não socorrião tão depressa. E praza a Deos que, se vier armada, que baste, que tal estaa Maluco.

7. A outra cousa hé a christandade, da qual posso com verdade affirmar a V.R. que estaa no peor estado que pode estar estando em pee. Porque daqui a se perder não tem degraos que decer, mais que perder-se totalmente tudo por falta de ser Maluco socorrido. E digo ser este o estado da cristandade deste Maluco, porque em Tidore, quando muito, averaa 20 até 30 homens da terra entre casados e por casar, demais de outros tantos portugueses pouco mais que poderá [haver]. [33*r*] E com estes todos corre o vigairo da fortaleza e nós ajudamos a

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[9] Not having been able to conquer the Ambon fortress, Steven van der Haghen made a treaty with the chiefs of Hitu and had a fortification built on the N coast near Kaitetu, in which he left 27 volunteers under Jan Dircksz Sonnenbergh (VALENTYN II b 28; TIELE VI 165).

[10] Jacob van Heemskerk made a treaty with the *syahbandar* of Ortatan in Banda, and before leaving on July 3, 1599, established two agencies: one in Neira island under Augustijn Stalpaert van der Wiele, the other in Lontor island under Adriaan van Veen, with twenty men (VALENTYN III b 75; TIELE VI 150).

[11] That is, the Singapore Strait.

[12] This refers to the narrow entry into the old strait between Batu Berlayar (or Lot's Wife) in Singapore island and Tanjung Sarang Rimau in the island of Belakang Mati. See C. A. GIBSON-HILL, *Singapore: Notes on the History of the Old Strait*, in JMBRAS XXVII 1 163-214. See *Docum. Ultram. Portug.* I 146.

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confessar esta gente. Que com molheres, meninos e escravos, que destes há mais, bem cuido que chegarão por todos, e com a gente dos galiões, a mil almas pouco mais ou menos. Mas partidos os galiões pera a India, como partem todos os anos, ficão na terra entre portugueses, casados e soldados, e christãos naturais, até cento e 10 pouco mais ou menos [13].

8. Na ilha da Labua averá 60 cinistãos até 70, e a cabeça destes [14] esteve 7 anos publicamente amancebado, ora [e] com mouras ora com duas irmãas, sem bastar amoestações [f] do Padre [15] que laa estaa. E estando assi a cabeça, julgue V.R. que tal estarão os membros, id est, os seus vassalos. Basta, huns se tornarão mouros, outros lançando as molheres tomarão outras publicamente. Outras apartando-sse de seus maridos tomavão outros amigos, ora christãos ora mouros. Tudo por razão da companhia que tem, porque estão juntos os labuas com os bachõis, que primeiro forão christãos e agora arrenegados e finos mouros.

9. Pois nas ilhas do Moro, que são tres [16], todos são mouros oje e seguem a lei [g] maldita de Mafamede, posto que os velhos bem sentidos de andarem daquela maneira. Tudo por não serem socorridos. Alem de tantos que se afogarão em o mar em tempestadas e naufragios que padecerão por não quererem ficar em suas terras quando se perdeo Ternate.

10. O Siao, posto que christão, á 14 anos que não tem Padres, somente eu estive em companhia do P.[e] Antonio Marta (que N. Senhor tem em sua gloria) laa hum mes [17]. E o rey [18] hé revoltoso nem se quer aquietar: oje se amanceba com huma e diz que se casa, amenhã lança aquela e toma outra, nem há quem o possa emendar, se não for Deos. E a cabeça assi, já V.R. julgará que tal estarão os membros. Esta hé a christandade de Maluco.

11. Soomente em Amboino há alguma, da qual não há que tratar mais, que remeter-me à carta anua de 97 [19], quando laa estive por su-

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[13] One cannot dissemble the feeling that the numbers in this and in some following paragraphs are highly coloured.

[14] Rui Pereira, sengaji of Labuha.

[15] Fr. Rogier Berwouts/Corrado.

[16] He refers to Morotia (which is part of Jailolo), Morotai, and Rau.

[17] Consult D 94 note 61, and the introduction to D 95 under IV.

[18] D. Jerónimo II Winsulangi.

[19] D 114.

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perior, em que dei conta de tudo meudamente. Mas tambem laa se perderão perto de 14 lugares de christãos por semrezõis que lhes[h] fazem os capitães, e muitos trabalhos e poucos favores, e pouco poder. Veja V.R. que tal estarão todos. O anno passado soo com huma nao que laa foy de olandezes teve bem de trabalhos[20].

12. Esta foy a causa (isto trato com V.R. por ter o cargo que tem), porque em huma consulta que se fez neste Maluco[21], muitos forão de parecer que os Padres que laa estão, estivessem como estão nos collegios e casas da India[22], visto não aver christandade e serem muito poucos ou nenhuns os que queirão quá vir padecer esta c[ru]z[i] tão seca. Não porque os que quá estão pretendessem tornar, pois todos, Deos seja louvado, estamos muito animados a sofrer estes trabalhos e todos os demais que se offerecerem, senão porque, se os que ouverem de vir entenderem que poderão tornar, poderá ser que folguem alguns de vir. Digo isto assi, porque o P.e Alexandro sendo provincial, quando nos mãodou pera quá ao P.e Luis Fernandez e Francisco da Cruz e ao Ir. João Paulo e a mim[23], nos mandou chamar de diversos collegios donde estavamos e polla posta, por muitos se terem escuzado e não se atreverem. O que resta hé pedir a V.R. faça com N.P.e Geral nos faça encomendar por toda a Companhia a Deos N.S. dê o remedio, pois dos homens estamos já desconfiados.

13. Tãobem peço a V.R. que, sendo caso que V.R. ouça dizer que veyo pera quá armada, faça com Nosso Padre parta connosco de alguns livros que agora sairão a lume de nossos Padres assi de cazos, como de pregaçõis, como da Companhia, pera estes matos, pois o que temos d'esmola hé tão pouco e as cousas valem tão caras que se não pode crer. Somente direi duas cousas donde julgará V.R. as demais.

14. Huma galinha valeo estes dous anos tres, quatro e sinco pardaos; hum bonito chegou a valer 7 e oito pardaos, [33*v*] e hum pardao são trezentos reis de Portugal. E este ano chegou a valer o vinho das missas[j] quatro canadas hum bar de cravo, que são sinco quintaes. E logo passão muitos dias que não se come na terra mais que hum pedaço de sagu, que hé a farinha do pao, e humas[k] poucas de ervas: e quem tem hum pedaço de peixe salgado tem grandes mimos.

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[20] D 130, 4.

[21] In 1593 (D 94).

[22] The point is that they could easily be recalled and transferred, which was impossible, or nearly, in Maluku. Of all the valid and reliable missionaries there, none was ever recalled to another post in India.

[23] The 23rd Sending.

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15. Portanto no que V.R. nos poder favorecer o faça, pois não perderá V.R. nada. Porque, posto que por causa de nossas muitas imperfeições não mereçamos ser ouvidos de Deos, todavia elle por sua infinita misericordia pagará as charidades que homem [l], como pecador [m] e fraco, no[m] pode pagar. E demais disto lembro a V.R. que nos disserão que o P.e Francisco de Monclaro trouxera huma cabeça das Virgens pera Maluco [24], e que na India não se sabe nada. Se laa ouver novas [n] que se concerta e que vem armada, não deixe V.R. de se lembrar de nós. E se não vier nada de armada, com sermos encomendados a Deos em suas devotas oraçõis e santos sacrificios nos contentamos. Que elle per sua infinita misericordia se lembre de tantas almas que lhe custarão seu proprio sangue, e por amor das quaes se offereceo à morte como pellas nossas. E eu farei o mesmo em minhas fracas oraçõis para que assi alter alterius onera portemus [25].

De Tidori, a 13 de Fevereiro de 601.

De V.R. indigno filho e servo em Christo,

Antonio Pereira.

[*Address*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo P.e João Alveres, da Companhia de Jesus, assistente da Provincia de Portugal, em Roma. De Maluco. 1ª via.

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[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] N. Senhor *w. corr.* ‖ [c] *del.* daqui ‖ [d] socorrido *ms.* ‖ [e] *interl.* ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* amoestação ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* cei. . ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* lhe ‖ [i] *hole in paper* ‖ [j] *del.* trez. . ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* huns ‖ [l] *del.* que ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* pedador ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* noss. .

135A

[FR. LUÍS FERNANDES TO FR. VISITOR OR/AND FR. PROVINCIAL, GOA]

Annual Letter of the Maluku Mission [TIDORE, FEBRUARY 1601]

I TEXT: Is inserted into D 154 nos. 7-10, but perhaps not in a literal rendering.

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[24] Consult D 120, 8.

[25] Gal 6 2.

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II AUTHOR: Most probably Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior of the mission, to whom it was due to write the annual report, or to have someone write it.

III ADDRESSEE: Is likely to be Fr. Provincial Nuno Rodrigues, or Fr. Visitor Nicolau Pimenta, in Goa. Therefore, this letter is distinct from DD 137 and 138; in these documents it is possibly alluded to; see D 137, 11 and D 138, 7.

IV PLACE: The combination, in D 154, 10, of « esta fortaleza » with Labuha reveals that the author was writing at Tidore.

V TIME: See introduction to D 154 no. IV.

135B

FR. JORGE DA FONSECA SJ TO A JESUIT IN INDIA

AMBON, FEBRUARY-MAY 1601

I TEXT: Is inserted into the annual letter of the Malabar Province of January 14, 1603, either literally or in a free rendering (D 154, 1-4).

II ADDRESSEE: Is unknown. Since the letter was opened and read at Cochin, we may suppose that is was directed to a Superior in India, possibly to Fr. Provincial at Goa.

III TIME: See introduction to D 154, IV.

IV PLACE: Fr. Fonseca had arrived in Ambon in February 1601; shortly after he must have written his letter.

V For BIBLIOGRAPHY and AUTHORS, see D 154.

Lost Letters

135*a*. — *Fr. António Pereira, Tidore, to Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome; February 1601.*

D 135, 1: « Depois de ter escrito a que com esta vai pera nosso Padre Geral, . . . »

135*b*. — *Frs. of Maluku to Fr. Provincial, Goa; February-May 1601.*

D 154, 6: « Todas as cartas asim particulares como geraes . . . ». For the *carta geral* (or *anual*), consult D 135A. As to the *cartas particulares*, see D 154, introduction, IV Note.

136

CAPTAIN JOÃO PINTO DE MORAIS TO FR. CRISTOBAL DE LA VEGA SJ, VISITOR

[TIDORE], MARCH 1, 1601

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 48* ff. 64*v*-65*v*. This text is part of a collection of copied

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documents in Portuguese which cover ff. 64*r*-70*r*, formerly 343-349 and no. IX, under the heading « Novas da India do anno de 602 pera Portugal » and signed on f. 70*r*, in his own hand, by Fr. Sebastião Gonçalves SJ, author of *História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesús . . . nos reynos e províncias da Índia Oriental*, of which, however, only Part One, reaching up to 1570, has been conserved (Ed. José WICKI SJ, 3 vols, Coimbra 1957-1962). Furthermore, on ff. 70*v*-71*r*, originally 350, is a part of a letter of 1602 copied in another hand and not signed, whereas f. 71*v* is blank. The collection shows three headings, first at the start the one of D 142, then that of the present document, and finally, on f. 69*r*, « Relação da guerra de Damão ». While thus knowing where the letter of Captain João Pinto starts, we are not so sure about its end which is not marked in the text. Whereas no. 5 still belongs to it, each of nos. 6-7 seems to be of a different origin.

II NOTE: From 1597 to 1602 Fr. Sebastião Gonçalves was secretary to Fr. Provincial Nuno Rodrigues and as such he collected news for the Annual Letter, or perhaps with a view of using them for his *História*, although he does not appear to work on it before 1604 (*História*, ed. WICKI, I p. IV). That the letter, though free from Jesuit news, was written to Fr. Vega and collected by Fr. Gonçalves, justifies its insertion into our volume.

III CHARACTER: The title « Sumario » reveals that this is not the entire letter, and the first words of no. 5 show that it does not give always the literal text. Nos. 6-7, though being put under the same heading, manifestly are not a part of João Pinto's letter. For the sake of simplicity we edit the whole of it under one title and one date.

Text

1. *On February 2, an English, or Dutch, ship was sighted off Toloa and was friendly received by the Portuguese.* — 2. *João Pinto planned to conquer it. First attack.* — 3. *The ship surrendered.* — 4. *Booty of guns. Annoyance of the Ternatans.* — 5. *Notices on Manila [the Philippines] : sea battle of English [Dutch] against Spaniards ; ravage caused by Mindanao people.* — 6. *Particulars on the conquering and the guns of the [Dutch] ship.* — 7. *Preparations made by the viceroy for the fleet against Sunda.*

Sumario de huma de[a] João Pinto de Morais[1], capitão da viagem de

[1] João Pinto de Morais distinguished himself as a thorough warrior, « homem versado na guerra ». In 1606 he became captain of a galleon in the fleet of Viceroy D. Martim Afonso de Castro, and in 1614 he was dispatched to Malacca to defend this city against the Dutch. Four years later he received the captainship of Manar fortress in view of twenty years' good service. He was a *fidalgo* of the royal house. When he wrote this letter, he was the captain of the royal trading galleon that had sailed to Maluku (BOXER-FRAZÃO 132; *Boletim Filmoteca* I 765; RIBEIRO, *Registo* I no. 2025; BOCARRO, *Década XIII* 280).

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Maluco, escrita ao primeiro de Março de 601, pera o P.e Christovão da Veiga da Companhia de Jesus [2].

1. Dia de Nossa Senhora das Candeas, aos 2 de Fevereiro [3], apareceo sobre a tarde ao mar de Taloa [4] huma nao yngreza [5] (assy chamão cá tambem olandeza confundindo yngrezes com olandezes por todos virem de mestura). E ao dia seguinte, cuidando o capitão Ruy Gonçalvez de Siqueira ser a sua fragata, achou-se com esta nao, e lhe derão toa pera a levarem ao surgidouro. Jacome de Moraes [6] meteo-se logo nella e se fes grande amigo do capitão, de modo que se veo a fiar delle muito.

2. Eu me determiney a tomar a nao em pessoa com os meus soldados e oficiaes [7]. O Adolfo [8] esteve os tres dias atee que se deu Sant' Iago nos yngrezes, o que fes Vicente Rodriguez, meu mestre, com muita facilidade e como bom cavaleiro. E como Jacome de Moraes vio o negocio baralhado [65r] matou logo o capitão, de modo que os [9] que estavão na [b] nao a aquelle tempo, que não tinhão mais que crizes [10], não poderão mais fazer que virem-sse pera a popa. Os yngreses

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[2] We suppose that he wrote from Tidore (or perhaps Ambon?) because otherwise he would have known of the death of his addressee (D 131, 5).

[3] 1601.

[4] Two explanations are possible: either the ship, coming from the Pacific, was first sighted in the Talaud Sea due north of Halmahera, or, more plausibly, it was noticed off Toloa, a village at the SW side of Tidore island.

[5] It was the Dutch ship *De Trouw* captained by Balthasar de Cordes. It sailed from Holland on June 27, 1598, entered the Strait of Magellan on April 6, 1599, and set out from Chile to cross the Pacific Ocean in mid-1600. At arriving in Maluku it had a crew of only eighteen men and six boys (Estevão Teixeira's letter quoted in D 123 note 6). See COUTO XII 449-451 (« Surgiram no lugar de Soli [*read* Seli] da Ilha de Tidore, meia legua de nossa fortaleza »); TIELE VI 157-158; ENCINA II 310-321).

[6] Jácome de Morais Sarmento appears as captain of a galleon in the fleet of D. Martim Afonso de Castro in 1606, as an *Almirante* in 1618, and as captain of Mozambique in 1620 (BOXER-FRAZÃO 131, 134, 136; Cf. *Boletim Filmoteca* V 156 no. 25).

[7] So the Dutch craft was not captured by the captain and garrison of Tidore fortress, but by the crew of Pinto's ship.

[8] As he is mentioned here by his Christian name only, he must have been familiarly known to both Captain Pinto and Fr. Vega. Perhaps the steersman of Pinto's vessel?

[9] Understand: Portuguese.

[10] The creese (Malay *keris*), dagger with wavy blade.

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tomarão armas e matarão tres homens, que forão Ruy Dias, castelhano, Gaspar Fernandez e João Cardoso. Estando neste trabalho, os yngrezes negoceavão as peças pera atirarem aos que estavão em popa esperando socorro.

3. Neste tempo cheguei em hum paró bem esquipado com quatro ou sinco espingardas e logo pola proa me baldeey dentro. Ao sobir me derão huma lançada que me passou a coura danta e me ferio perigosamente na barriga. Mas as espingardas forão fazendo seu oficio, matando quatro ou sinco dos que andavão pelejando, e fiserão com que não jugassem as peças contra os nossos que estavão em popa, e meterão-sse logo debaixo da cuberta. E com[c] este socorro se rendeo a nao. Baltezar Jorge deteve o dia da peleija em terra o mestre da nao com hum companheiro dando-lhes de jantar.

4. Trazião muitos[11] de fogo e dezoito[d] ou dezanove peças grossas, e quatro ou sinco pequenas que atiravão por cima da xereta. Os ternates dão grandes mostras de sentimento pola tomada desta nao, pera nisto se mostrarem amigos do[s] ingreses.

5. Diz mais Yoão Pinto que os ingreses forão às Manilhas, onde peleijarão com os castelhanos que lhes sairão ao emcontro em huma grande nao bem artelhada, com cento e sincoenta soldados da melhor gente que avia. Os castelhanos meterão huma naveta dos yngreses no fundo, o que elles vendo começarão de jugar d'artelharia grossa, e meterão no fundo a nao castelhana com toda a gente que trazia[12]. Os mindanaos derão nas Manilhas e fizerão grande destruição nos christãos e nas igrejas[13].

6. O capitão de Tidore Ruy Gonçalvez de Siqueira escreve que nenhum viso-rrey por rico que seja leva pera o Reino a metade do que

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[11] Here the copyist may have omitted a word, e.g., canhões.

[12] This passage refers to the visit of Olivier van Noort to the port of Manila and to the battle there in which the Spaniards managed to chase away the Dutchman on December 14, 1600. For particulars, see MORGA 103-119; TIELE VI 159-161; COSTA 189-190.

[13] The term « as Manilhas » was often used for the whole of the Philippines. The raids of the Muslims of Mindanao and Jolo against the Christian population of the Visayan islands were a regular happening. « Mucho nos an inquietado este año los mindanaos y terrenates (que profesan la maldita secta de Mahoma). Vinieron el octubre pasado con 40 baxeles y hizieron grandes daños en las islas de nuestros Pintados. Quemaron iglesias, casas y pueblos, robaron mucha hazienda y captivaron más de ochocientos christianos » (Fr. Diego García SJ, Manila, June 25, 1601, in *ARSI, Philip. 10* f. 68*r*).

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esta nao[14] trazia. Diz que os primeiros que entrarão forão 14 com suas adagas ou crizes debaixo de capa de resgate levando cravo. Especificando a artelharia, diz que trazião duas esperas, duas colubrinas, 4 canhões, oito peças de colher e 4 peças pequenas: que a menor atirava pelouro de 14 arrates, as maiores de 32. Que os ternates estavão pera ir dar toa à nao e levá-la a seu porto, por estar anchorada defronte da terra que está entre a fortaleza de Tidore[15] e Ternate, que estão muito perto [65*v*] huma da outra, mas os nossos lhe ganharão por mão.

7. O Senhor Viso-Rrey[16] tem fomentado quanto pode a[e] armada da Sunda, reforçando-a de gente e monições duas vezes no anno, em Março e Setembro[17]. Mandou este anno seis galeotas com boa gente, duas das quaes arribarão a Ceilão.
[...]

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[a] *corr. fr.* do, *del.* P.[e] || [b] *corr. fr.* a || [c] *corr. fr.* como || [d] *corr. fr.* dez a oito || [e] *ins.*

Lost Letter

136*a*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio visiting Ambon villages; March-April (?) 1601.*

D 150, 15 and D 168, 19: « Escreveo hum chito ao Padre ». As to the date, consider that Fr. Fernandes left Ambon for Tidore in May (D 150, 3), and that from May to September sailing to Lease from Ambon is impossible. So the visiting of the villages was earlier, most probably during Lent (Easter was on April 22).

137

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 1, 1601

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina*, 190 Fernandez no. 4.

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[14] He seems to speak again of the ship *De Trouw* though the description of its riches does not hold.

[15] Cf. D 73 note 110.

[16] D. Francisco da Gama, Conde Almirante (1597-1600).

[17] Supposedly he speaks of the succour sent to Malacca by the Conde Almirante under the captain Guterre de Monroy in 1600: two galleons and three galliots in September that had to join with two others sent there earlier in May (COUTO XII 433, 506).

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II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 134.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 36*r*-37*v*, originally 220-221, and no. XVI/a. Autograph letter in Spanish mixed with Portuguese, covering the first two pages, the postscript occupying a part of f. 37*r*. The text is divided into a few paragraphs. Fernandes himself noted the addressee (as seems to be his custom) in the lower left corner of f. 36*r* « P. General ». A later hand noted on the same page « Malabarica. De Maluco 1° de Mayo 1601 ». On f. 37*v*, the address, the Jesuit seal, and a summary in Spanish, preceded by the note « 1601. Maluco. P. Luis Fernandez, Superior. 1° de Mayo ».

IV PLACE: Though having « Maluco» in the dating, this letter, and also the next one, D 138, surely have been written in Ambon. Fr. Fernandes did not sail to Tidore from Ambon until May 1601 (D 149, 3). The ships bound for India sailed yearly from Ambon after May 15, and post from Tidore had to be sent there much earlier. Some expressions indicate Fernandes' presence at Ambon: « esta fortaleza de Amboino » (here no. 5, and D 138, 12). Being a superior of the entire Maluku area, he preferred « Maluco » to « Amboino » in the dating.

Text

1. *Disastrous situation of Maluku, especially on account of the Dutch making friendship with the Muslim enemies.* — 2. *Many Dutch ships came in 1599, 1600, and 1601, with numerous crews and heavy artillery.* — 3. *They furnish all kind of arms to the enemy. They sailed around the Cape of Good Hope; other ships arrived through the Strait of Magellan.* — 4. *All carry letters patent of the Prince of Orange ordering them to destroy Portuguese and Castilians.* — 5. *A three months' siege of Ambon fortress in 1600 fortunately remained without result. Dutch collaboration with the Ternatans.* — 6. *The Muslims plan, for 1602 and with the help of Dutch ships, to capture the two Portuguese forts.* — 7. *Fr. General ought to negotiate armadas with the pope and with King Philip.* — 8. *A Maluku Father should handle the question personally with the king.* — 9. *Conclusion.* — 10. [Postscript] *Insists on getting succour, otherwise at any rate a Maluku Jesuit ought to go to Spain.* — 11. *In case Maluku will be lost, Fr. Provincial Francisco Cabral will have to be blamed.*

† Jesus

Muy Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi.

1. El anño passado escreví dende este Maluqo a V.P.[1] el estado trabajoso e miserable em que quedava todo el Maluqo por rezón de las muchas guerras que los moros nos hazían, y el poco remedio o ninguno que a este negocio davão los vireis desta India. Y por más que con nuestras cartas hemos importunado al Provincial de la India

[1] D 128, which, however, was written in Ambon.

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todos los annos atrás [2], nunca se ha acodido a esto. E asim ha venido este negoceo a tales términos que lo que dantes se acabara con poca costa, ahora ha mister muy gran caudal para se poder hazer algo. Porque, demás de las guerras que nos hazían los moros, agora se nos acrecentarão otros inimigos muy más poderosos, que son grande multidão de naves de herejes olandezes, que de tres años a esta parte no cesan de venir a estas partes. Y tienen travado tanta amistad con estos moros, que se han echo como hermanos suios para le compraren el clavo y la nues y maça a truque de armas muy buenas que le trahen de allá, y plata y paños y otras mercadorías.

2. El año de 599 passarão para estas partes des o doze naos olandezas [3], y destas vinieron a Ambueno y Maluqo 4 naos [4], las demás se partiron por diversas provincias destas Indias. El de 600 passaron otras des o doze naves [5] de flamengos daquellas provincias de Holandia, Zeelandia etc. E este anno de 1601 são passadas acá otras tantas naves [6] destes herejes, de modo que todo este mar destas islas de Maluco, Amboino y Banda anda quajado de sus naves, las quales son mui poderosas así por rezón de la mucha gente que trahen, como de la mucha e poderosa artelharía de que vienen cargados.

3. Alem desto, las mercaderías que trahen a estes moros nuestros inimigos son muchas armas, scilicet, mosqetes, arcabuzes, capacetes, saias de malha etc., que les venden a trueco de su clavo, nues y maça, con que estes moros cada día se hazen más poderosos contra nós. Todas estas naves que tiengo dicho a V.P. han venido a estas partes por el Cabo de Buena Sperança. Y afuera estas han venido para estas partes el ánño de 598 por [36*v*] el Estrecho de Magalhanes otras nueve o des naves [7]. De modo que rodean el mundo todo por virem por todas

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[2] Lost letters, 121*f*, 123*a*, 129*a*.

[3] This lines up with the facts; eight Amsterdam ships and four of Zeeland sailed to Indonesia in 1598 (TIELE VI 143).

[4] D 123, 3.

[5] Three ships under Steven van der Haghen, four under Pieter Both, and four under Jacob Wilckens sailed from Holland in 1599 (TIELE VI 164, 167). But as the ships of one squadron did not always remain together, and neither arrived nor returned at the same time, one cannot tell which vessels corresponded exactly to the rumours Fr. Fernandes picked up. Our indications only prove that those rumours were not unfounded.

[6] Perhaps the six of Jacob van Neck and the two under Cornelis Pietersz that left Holland in 1600 (TIELE VI 174).

[7] Five ships under Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes (among them *De*

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las partes a estas islas em demanda del clavo y de la nues noscada y maça.

4. E todas vienem con orden y patente del Príncipe de Ora[n]je [8], que se ha hecho governador daquellas provincias de Holandia, Zeelandia etc., para destruirem quãoto hallarem de portugezes y castelhanos. Y como se ha sabido por hun dellos que los portugezes cativaron, trahen ordem para se unirem con estos reis moros de toda esta India, y los moros por tierra y ellos por mar nos hazer cruda guerra até ver se nos pueden destruir.

5. El anno passado de 600 já vinieron ellos con estos moros amboinos y jaos contra esta fortaleza de Amboino, y nos tuveron de cerco passante de tres mezes [9], adonde yo me halhé [10], e nos hizieron cruda guerra, aonde passamos muchos trabajos. Mas fue Dios servido que nos libró, y ellos, viendo que no podían conseguir su intento, se fueron. Y en Maluqo salió una nave destas, por mandado del rey de Ternate nuestro inimigo capital, a pelear con dos naves nuestras [11], mas por ser la suia más ligera se nos fue de manos. Así que em todo que puedem se muestran inimigos capitales nuestros, y los moros nuestros inimigos se ajudan dellos quãoto podem para nos destruir.

6. Y este anno que viene de 1602 se tienen concertado todos estos moros del Maluqo y Amboino, de ver se puedem tomarnos estas dos fortalezas y botarnos totalmente destas partes. Y esto determinan de pôr en effeto con ajuda de grande copia de naves destos flamengos, que tienem mandado venir y ellos prometido de se las traher para le ganar las voluntades, para que le vendan a ellos su clavo, nues y maça.

7. De aquí puede V.P. sacar em quãoto peligro estea toda esta cristandade de se perder. Y no solamente ella, mas las fortalezas del Rey y todo quãoto los portugezes en ellas tienem. Pelo que yo pido a V.P. com quãotas veras puedo, y por lo amor de Dios, que Vuestra

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Trouw of D 136 note 5, under Balthasar de Cordes), and four ships of which Olivier van Noort was the commander in chief (TIELE VI 157-158).

[8] Prince Maurice, stadholder of Holland and Zeeland, captain and admiral-general of the armed forces of the United Provinces.

[9] D 130, 3-5.

[10] Cf. D 128 note 10.

[11] This was the *Hendrik Fredrik*, captained by Pieter Esias de Lint (TIELE VI 163), of which Estevão Teixeira de Macedo reported « Outra chegou a Ternate . . . donde sahio a pelejar com o gualião de Francisco Tosquano [Pereira] » (Letter of June 2, 1601, in *AGI, Filip. 19* ramo 2 no. 46 f. 3*v*).

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Paternidad trate este negoceo con Su Santidade[12] para que escriba a el Rey Felipe, e V.P. tãobien haga lo mismo, para que con sus armadas socorra luego y con presteza a estas fortalezas de Maluqo y Ambueno, se quer no perdellas, y con ellas toda la cristiandad dellas, que tanto trabajo nos ha costado hasta ahora a hazer y conservar.

8. Y V.P. devía de ordenar que destas partes fuesse hun Padre a tratar este negoceo con Su Magestade del Rey, porque cartas son cartas muertas que quedan al rincón y se olvidan. Porque ha tantos annos que bradamos y clamamos con estos vireys desta India Oriental y nada aprovechamos. Y[a] se tuvéramos hido a la fuente, por ventura no veniéramos al apreto em que estamos, y a riesgo de todo se perder[-a].

9. Y porque sobre este negoceo escribo al P.e Assistente más largo[13] por no enfadar a V.P., acabo pedíndole nos faça encomendar a N. Señor a todos nuestros Padres e Irmãos charissimos, porque[b] quedamos en mucho peligro de acabarmos así nos como toda esta cristandad, si Dios no nos socorre. En la bendición y santos sacrificios y oraciones de V.P. mucho todos nos encomendamos.

De Maluco, y de Maio al primero de 1601[-b].

De V.P. hijo y servo en Jesu Christo,

El P.e Luis Hernandes.

10. [37*r*] Y torno a suplicar a V.P. que no se olvide destas dos cosas que le pidimos, scilicet, que se procure con Su Magestade del Rey Felipe que socorra con toda brevedad y diligencia a este Maluco. Y se él socorrer, escursarsse ha la ida del Padre que digo sobre este caso a Espanha. Y se esto no se effetuare, es necessario en todalas maneras que vaia hun Padre a Espanha tratar con el Rey sobre este negoceo, porque con los virreis desta India est oleum et operam perdere.

11. Y se esta cristandad y todo lo demás de acá se perdiere antes que acá lhege este socorro, a V.P. tomo por testigo de quãotas vezes el P.e Antonio Marta, que Dios tiene en su gloria, y yo que le socedí a quatro años tengo escrito al P.e Provincial de la India, Francisco Cabral[14], este medio de mandar a Portugal hun Padre a tratar con el Rey este negoceo, sem nunca ser oido ni respondido. Y agora hago lo mismo al P.e Visitador e al P.e Provincial desta India[15].

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[12] At that time, Clement VIII (1592-1605).

[13] D 138.

[14] Lost letters, see note 2. Only 121*f* could be addressed to Fr. Cabral.

[15] The new provincial was Fr. Nuno Rodrigues. Two lost letters, 135*b* and 138*a*.

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[*Address* 37*v*] † Al Padre Claudio Aquaviva, general de la Compañía de Jesús en Roma. Roma. Del Maluco.

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[a] y a.. perder *interl.* ‖ [b] porque.. 1601 *in smaller script at bottom of page*

138

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. JOÃO ÁLVARES, ASSISTANT, ROME

AMBON, MAY 1, 1601

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 38*r*-39*v*, formerly no. XVI/b. Autograph letter in Portuguese, covering three and a half pages. At the bottom of f. 38*r* Fernandes noted down the addressee « P. J° Alvarez Assistente »; a later hand added « Fernandez Maluco »; f. 39*v* shows, besides a part of the text and the address, half a seal and an archivist's note « Maluco. Majo 1601. P. Luis Fernandez », and « Já ».

Text

1. *No good news can be expected from Maluku.* — 2. *Miserable state of the Christian community through the negligence of the viceroys in reconquering the fortress of Ternate by right belonging to the king of Portugal.* — 3. *King Philip was certainly not rightly informed about so many souls and such great riches of cloves, nutmeg, and mace that will be lost.* — 4. *The viceroys give tricky information to the king and only a rotten support to Maluku.* — 5. *Over fifty years of wars; they could be finished by an armada of five hundred men.* — 6. *Fr. Marta often wrote to Frs. General and Francisco Cabral that a Father from Maluku should be sent to the king.* — 7. *Fernandes himself wrote to Fr. Cabral, but though he duly insisted on the necessity of it, he attained nothing.* — 8. *For much more insignificant affairs some Fathers were sent to Portugal from India, so why not send one on behalf of many thousands of Christians?* — 9. *Fr. Assistant ought to promote this with Fr. General, this being the most efficient means, and certainly pleasing to King Philip.* — 10. *Bearing the responsibility of a superior, insists that without delay Fr. General should apply to the king, otherwise Maluku runs the risk of being taken by the Dutch.* — 11. *Numerous Dutch ships coming by the Strait of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope.* — 12. *Three months' siege of Ambon fortress in 1600. A naval fight in 1601.* — 13. *The Dutch promised ships and left men as guarantees in trading posts at Ternate, Ambon, and Banda.* — 14. *Puts his hope not in the two strongholds, decaying and rather goats' pens than fortresses, but in God.* — 15. *Repeats his main requests.* — 16. [Postscript] *The Dutch are true heretics.*

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† Jesus Maria

Pax Christi.

1. Bem folgara que esta fora chea de tão boas novas de Maluco como V.R. e N.P. Geral as desejão. Mas que farey que as não posso dar se não taes, que cortão a alma e coração daquelles a quem não tocão, quãoto mais a V.R. que tanto as tem a cargo?

2. Padre meu, estas partes de Maluco e Amboino tem chegado ao mais miseravel estado que pode ser. E a cristandade dellas está toda quasi perdida e esse pouco que ainda dura a risco de se perder muy cedo de todo. Tudo isto por culpa dos viso-reis desta India Oriental, que tão pouqo zello tem da honrra de Deos e de seu Rey, sem nunca há tantos annos quererem mandar a estas partes huma armada que destruisse aos mouros ternates, que nos tem tomado a fortaleza de Ternate á 26 annos e usurpado aquelle reino tyranicamente. O qual per direito e justiça hé d'El-Rey de Portugal, a quem o deixou per erança hum rey de Maluco cristão por não ter erdeiros legitimos que lho erdassem [1]. À mingoa desta armada se perdem tãobem as ilhas de Banda e deste Amboino, aonde se perde huma muy grande cristandade e das milhores que há per toda esta India, gente de bom entendimento e sem muitos vicios, e todos os que são gentios bem affectos às cousas de nosa santa fee.

3. E alem de se perder esta infinidade de almas, que parte estão convertidas, parte em sua infedilidade, perde tãobem El-Rey de Portugal grandissimas riquezas temporais, porque perde humas minas perenes de cravo e nos e maça, mais perenes e seguras que a[s] minas de ouro e prata do Peru. Bem cudamos que tudo se perde por Sua Magestade d'El-Rey Felipe não ser informado com[a] verdade do que nestas partes se passa e do muito que nellas perde. Porque não no tenho eu por tão pouqo zeloso[b] da salvação de tantas almas, quãotas à mingoa se perdem, e tão pouco amigo de sua honrra e da conservação de seus reinos, estados e do proveito temporal delles, que deixe perder à mingoa huma cousa tão grande, como hé Maluqo e Amboino e Banda, terras tão celebres por todo[c] o mundo por rezão do cravo e nos noscada e maça, o que[d] não há em outra parte do mundo senão nestas ilhas,

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[1] This was King Tabarija, who after his baptism in Goa in 1537 called himself D. Manuel (SÁ I 372-374). His testament by which he bequeathed his realm to the king of Portugal, in SÁ III 74-78. King Philip III (II of Portugal), wishing to establish his rights, ordered to look for it in the archives (*AGI, Filip. 1* ramo 3 no. 180).

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se[e] elle fora informado com verdade do que se passa. Aonde, como digo, está começada e in spe huma christandade tão grande e tão boa como (se Deos for servido acodir-lhe) o tempo o mostrará. E ay[f] outras muitas riquezas que nestas ilhas se achão, como ambre, etc. [38v]

4. Isto hé possivel que, sendo Sua Magestade informado com verdade do que aqui se lhe perde, não acuda com huma armada de menos de mil homens, com quatro ou cinco naos e des galeotas, que a India pode muy bem armar e mandar a estas partes? O caso hé este[g]. Como Maluqo está tão alongadõ, e os viso-reis são mais amigos de seu interesse que do bem comum e da honrra de Deos e do seu Rey, informão falsamente a Sua Magestade e não lhe contão mais que algumas vitorias que Deos lhe deu e as cousas de seus louvores. E de Maluco dizem que está bem e que cada anno vem de lá o cravo ordinario, procurando pôr-lhe cada anno hum speque podre até que dê consigo no chão, como ao presente está. Que taes estão estas partes que, se Deos lhe não acode em[h] sua misericordia, milagre será escaparem ellas e sostentaren-sse estas duas fortalezas que El-Rey nellas tem, huma em Maluco outra em Amboino, daqui a dous annos. Pelo que logo contarey a V.R.

5. Há V.R. de saber que estas duas fortalezas, nas quais temos nosas cristandades e nas quais residimos nove ou des da Companhia de ordinario, sempre forão molestadas de continuas guerras que nos fazem os mouros maluqos de Ternate, e os amboinos e jaos, todos mouros. E estas guerras durão há mais de cincoenta annos. Com estes pelejamos de continuo, hora de baixo hora de riba, como podiamos, e estes com suas guerras nos erão o estorvo total da cristandade. Pera se acabar de destruir estes mouros, clamarão de continuo os moradores destas fortalezas e[i] os nosos Padres aos viso-reis da India, que quizessem mandar a estas partes huma armada de quinhentos homens, que com ella se acabarião estas guerras e teria El-Rey suas fortalezas pacificas, e toda esta terra debaixo de sua jurdição. Por mais que os Padres e os moradores clamarão, nunca se quis acodir a isto.

6. Escreveo o P.[e] Antonio Marta por muitas vezes, até escrever a nosso P.[e] Geral, como elle o dirá, pera que Sua Paternidade o quisesse tratar com Sua Santidade e com El-Rey Felipe [2]. E ao P.[e] Francisco Cabral que, pois os viso-reis fazião orelhas de mercador e não querião acodir a isto, que Sua Reverencia devia de escolher hum Padre destas

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[2] Cf. D 100, 9. « Muitas vezes » may be an exaggeration.

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partes e mandá-lo a Espanha a tratar este negoceo com Sua Magestade d'El-Rey Felipe [3].

7. E eu escrevi o mesmo ao mesmo P.e Francisco Cabral [4], sendo provincial desta India, pedindo-lhe por amor de Deos e polas chagas de Jesu Christo, que quisesse Sua Reverencia aver compaixão desta cristandade tão afligida e miseravel. Que pois avia mais de 30 annos que não se fazia senão cada anno bradar aos viso-reis da India, que quisessem acodir a estas fortalezas de[j] Maluco e Amboino, tanto de sua obrigação, sem nunca por aqui podermos alcançar nada. Que o ultimo remedio era hiren-se tratar estes negoceos de rosto a rosto com El-Rey. Que quisesse Sua Reverencia tentear este meio, que confiamos em Deos que avia de aproveitar. Que quissesse mandar a Espanha hum Padre destas partes que fosse informar a Sua Magestade do muito que perdia nellas, e do muito proveito que alcançaria dellas acabando-as de conquistar, pera por aqui tirarmos os estorvos que tem esta cristandade e abrirmos esta porta que o diabo procura tanto de fechar. E já nunca pareceo ao P.e Provincial desta India que este meio se intentasse. E praza a Deos que pareça ao P.e Visitador Niculau Pimenta, a quem agora o torno a escrever, lançar mão delle.

8. Sendo verdade que se tem mandado da India o P.e Cristovão de Crasto[k] [5] a Portugal por amor de duas aldeas do noviciado [6], e agora foy o P.e Francisco Vieira [7] tãobem a Portugal sobre humas casas que hum clerigo fes ou quer fazer diante das casas do noso noviciado, e pera se abrir huma cristandade de tantas milhares de almas, sobre a qual anda a Companhia morrendo á mais de cincoenta annos, não se [39*r*] tomará este meio, que hé o unico e ultimo, de mandar a Portugal hum Padre que informe a Sua Magestade d'El-Rey Felipe como con-

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[3] No letter of Marta to Cabral is recorded surviving. The idea of sending a Maluku Father to the king seems to have arisen only in the later years (first mention in D 128, 5). Lost letter, 89*a*.

[4] Lost letter, 121*f*. Fernandes became a superior in the same year in which Cabral terminated his provincialate, that is, in 1597.

[5] For his life, see DI X 23*-24*. The Provincial Congregation of Goa elected him as a second procurator in 1589; the next year he sailed to Portugal, from where he returned to India in 1592 (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 189 and 322b).

[6] To the foundation of the noviciate of Goa belonged certain revenues of some villages in the Salsete sland near G a.

[7] For Fr. Francisco Vieira, cf. DI XI 10*. He was chosen as a procurator in 1599, sailed to Rome in 1600, and returned to Goa in 1602 (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 225 and 450a).

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vem, pera alcançar delle esta armada que tãoto lhe importa, a qual alcançada não duvido que tudo isto fiquasse[l] concertado e corresse bem?

9. Eu faço queixume disto a V.R., pois lhe incumbe como Assistente deste reino, pera que trate este negoceo com N.P.[e] Geral pera que a Sua Paternidade lhe pareça que se tome este meio, pois hé tão ordinario na Companhia mandar a negoceos graves hum Padre a longas terras. Pois este, como digo, hé o mais efficas que se pode tomar pera que tenha efeito o que pertendemos. Que com elle não himos buscar interesse particular nosso, senão o bem e salvação de tantas milhares de almas, cousa tão propria de nosa Companhia. E cudo que El-Rey Felipe[m] devia de agardecer muito este negoceo à Companhia, porque da informação delle viria bem quão leais vasalos tinha nos Padres da Companhia, e quão zelozos do bem temporal de seus estados e da salvação das almas.

10. Faço esta lembrança tão viva e esta petição tão efficasmente a V.R., porque, pois a santa obediencia me pôs às costas[n] o cargo destas partes á quatro annos, dezejo e tenho obrigação que isto vá adiante pera honrra de Deos e da nosa Companhia e bem destas almas. E peço que se acuda a isto com a mais brevidade que for possivel, e que V.R. faça logo com N.P. Geral escreva[o] a Sua Magestade d'El-Rey Felipe e faça com Sua Santidade o mesmo, porque, se hay tardança de acodir a estas partes de Maluco e Amboino, corre risco perder-sse tudo muito depressa, por rezão das muitas naos de framengos daquellas provincias de Holandia e Zelandia etc., que são passadas a estas partes de dous annos a esta parte. As quais são mandadas polo Principe de Orange a estas partes, com patentes suas pera nos fazerem crua guerra e ajuntaren-se com os mouros destas partes, e fazerem-nos guerra até nos botar dellas.

11. E pera este effeito rodean o mundo todo, hu[m]as vindo polo Estreto de Magalhães e outras polo Cabo de Boa Sperança; e são tantas que anda o mar destas ilhas de Maluco e Amboino e Banda coalhado dellas. O anno de 98 partirão pera estas ilhas de Holandia nove ou des naos, que vierão polo Estreito de Magalhães, e roubando polo Peru. Naos poderosissimas assi de arrtelharia como de gente, das quais lhe tomarão os portugezes huma neste Maluqo[8] e os castelhanos em Felipinas huma[9] e em Peru outra[10]. Polo Cabo de Boa Sperança nes-

[8] D 136 note 5.

[9] Ibid. note 12. The Spaniards seized the Dutch yacht *De Eendracht* at that occasion.

[10] This could be a ship out of the fleet of Mahu that fell into Spanish hands near Valparaiso (TIELE VI 157).

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tes dous ou tres annos tem passado pera estas ilhas e pera esta India mais de trinta naos muy poderosas.

12. O anno passado de 1600 nos cometerão esta fortaleza de Amboino juntamente com[p] os mouros jaos e amboinos, e nos fizerão crua gerra tendo-nos de cerco mais de tres mezes, onde eu me achey. Mas foy Deos servido ajudar-nos contra elles e livrar-nos; forão-sse sem poderem conseguir o que desejavão. Este anno de 1601 huma nao destes holandezes, per persuasão d'el-rey de Ternate, cruel inimigo noso, saio em Maluco a pelejar com dous galeões nosos[11]. Cudamos que não saio o framengo bem do partido, mas como são naos muito ligeiras fogio das mãos aos nossos.

13. Este anno estão estes mouros nosos inimigos de Maluco e Amboino e Banda sperando por copia de naos destes framengos, pera virem sobre estas nosas duas fortalezas e nos acabarem de destruir. El-rey[q] de[r] Ternate mandou pedir oito naos e elles lhas prometerão, e de penhor lhe deixarão em Ternate des homens com hu[m]a feitoria pera recolher o cravo e pera virem como lhe prometerão[s]. Os amboinos lhe pedirão vinte naos, as quais elles lhes prometerão, e de penhor pera virem, lhes deixarão vinte homens com outra feitoria. O mesmo fizerão nas ilhas de Banda, aos quais prometerão outra copia de naos e deixarão outros tantos homens[12].

14. De modo [39v] que este anno que vem de 1602 estamos sperando esta pancada. E se V.R. soubesse o com que a speramos[t] fiqaria spantado, porque speramos isto em duas fortalezas que são mais currais de cabras que fortalezas, e que estão caindo no chão. E em cada huma dellas, quãodo muito, averá setenta até oitenta portugezes e estes mortos de fome. Por donde quãodo cudo nisto fiqo admirado e não posso cudar outra cousa, senão que Deos, que conserva estas duas fortalezas com estes tão pouqos portugezes cá no cabo do mundo, em meio de tantos inimigos, antes rodeadas por todas as partes delles, scilicet, de mouros maluqos, jaos e amboinos, e ainda agora destes framengos herejes, que isto não hé pera dezemparar esta cristandade, se não pera a provar por aqui e lhe socorrer, e nestas partes ser exaltada a fee de Jesu Christo e seu santissimo nome.

15. Torno a lembrar a V.R. as duas cousas que lhe peço. Que acabe com Noso Padre que se tome este meio, de hir hum Padre destas partes a Portugal a tratar as cousas de Maluco e Amboino pera

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[11] Cf. D 137 note 11.
[12] D 135 notes 8-10.

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ter remedio esta cristandade, pois tratá-lo com os viso-reis desta India hé cousa escuzada. A outra hé que faça com N. Padre que trate com Sua Santidade que escreva a El-Rey Felipe e N. Padre tãobem lhe escreva: que, porque isto se não perca, por causa das muitas naos destes herejes que por cá andão, que socorra logo com toda a brevidade com armada bastante, que venha de Portugal a Maluco pera isso. E pode ser que esta baste pera efeito do que desejamos e escuzemos hir Padre a Portugal. E com isto acabo encomendando-nos a todos nos santos sacrificios e devotas orações de V.R.

De Maluco, e de Maio ao primeiro de 1601.

16. Estes framengos destas naos todos são herejes. Negão a veneração das imagens e negão o Papa ser cabeça da Igreja cristã. E asim dizem que são cristãos, mas não papistas, somente tem o sacramento do bautismo, todos os outros negão, etc.

O P.e Luis Fernandez.

[*Address*] † Ao P.e João Alvarez, da Companhia de Jesus, assistente de Portugal em Roma. De Maluco.

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[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* amigo [?] ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* tudo ‖ [d] *del.* ha ‖ [e] se. . passa *interl.* ‖ [f] *interl.* ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* estes ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* hem *corr. fr.* mi. . ‖ [i] e os. . Padres *interl.* ‖ [j] da *ms. w. corr., del.* India ‖ [k] *del.* per ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* fiqua ‖ [m] *del.* na ‖ [n] *del.* por suerte ‖ [o] *del.* logo ‖ [p] cos *ms.* ‖ [q] *interl.* ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* o ‖ [s] *del.* nest. . ‖ [t] a speramos *interl.*

Lost Letter

138*a*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Ambon, to Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor, India; May 1601.*

D 137, 11: « Agora hago lo mismo al P. Visitadore e al P. Provincial ». For the letter to Fr. Provincial, cf. 135*b*; the text may be in D 154, 7-10; consult D 135A. The letter to Fr. Pimenta, also recorded in D 138, 7, must be considered lost.

139

FR. NICOLAU PIMENTA, VISITOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MARGÃO, DECEMBER 1, 1601
Third *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 9 I* ff. 8*r*-13*v*, formerly no. IV. Original in Portuguese.

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Elegant and clear handwriting of a foolproof legibility. Divided into paragraphs, afterwards numbered by a secretary. At the bottom of f. 8*r* a « I ». Folio 13*r* is blank, its *verso* contains the address, a hole where presumably the seal was, and a Roman secretary's note « 1601. Margan. Pe Niculas Pimienta Visitador. 1° de Deziembro ». Another preceding note « Ad Generalem. anno 1601. epistola secunda », apparently incorrect, was cancelled. The two parts of importance for our collection are on ff. 9*v* and 12*r-v*.

II PRINTED: Partly, but including our portion, in H. HOSTEN SJ, *Fr. N. Pimenta's Annual of Margão, Dec. 1, 1601*, in Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series) XXIII 1927 no. 1 pp. 83-107 (Portuguese text and English translation).

Text

1. *A fleet sent in succour of Maluku was put under the command of André Furtado de Mendonça. Frs. Brício Fernandes and Sebastião da Veiga were given him as fleet chaplains. — 2. From Maluku news about the arrival of the Fathers and the achievements of Furtado is expected. There was no opportunity yet to put into operation the visitation of Fr. Cristóbal de la Vega.*

[... 9*v*]

1. Por capitão-mor da armada que digo foy André Furtado de Mendoça [1], assy para alimpar aquelles portos de navios olandezes, como pera socorrer a Maluco, e outros bons intentos. Pedio-me instantemente Padres, e forão com elle no seu mesmo galeão dous: Brizio Fernandez [2] e Sebastião da Veiga [3], e o Irmão Antonio Gomez [4] para ficar em Malaca. Levava intento de fazer fortaleza no Achem [5], e quería

[1] André Furtado de Mendonça, « o Grão Capitão », was born about 1558 in Lisbon, and sailed to India twice, in 1576 and in 1588. He served in many military expeditions and became famous by conquering Jafanapatam in Ceylon in 1591, but still much more by his victory over « o Cunhale », the fiercest and mightiest enemy of Portugal on the Malabar Coast, in March 1600. But his enterprise against Sunda and Maluku which the coming documents deal with, though extolled to the skies by the common Portuguese historiography, was far from successful. Consult BOXER-FRAZÃO, *André Furtado de Mendonça*, [Lisbon] 1955.

[2] See Gen. Introd. III 4 no. 70.

[3] Gen. Introd. III 4 no. 71.

[4] This Brother was a Portuguese who entered the Society in 1585 and sailed to India in 1596 (*Goa 24*; WICKI, *Liste* no. 356).

[5] After Sultan Mansur Syah of Acch had been killed in 1586, and the town of Johor had been seized and destroyed by D. Paulo de Lima in 1587, the new

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Padres[a] para ficarem nelle; que lhe não concedemos esperando pelo successo e pela informação do Reitor de Malaca[6], à cuja obediencia hão-de estar os ditos Padres emquanto por lá andarem.
[. . . 12*r*]

2. Acerca do Maluco estamos esperando este Março o que tem soccedido com a chegada de nossos Padres[7], e com o socorro que lhes terá mandado o capitão-mor André Furtado de Mendoça. E porque ategora estiverão as cousas daquellas partes muy revoltas, não pareceo que era tempo de pôr em ordem a visita que em meu [12*v*] nome tinha feito o Padre Cristovão da Veiga, deixando correr tudo na mesma forma em que o Padre o deixou. O que se poderá fazer como soubermos o estado em que ficão Amboyno e Tydore com suas residencias. E com isto dou fim a esta primeira carta encomendando-me na benção e santos sacrificios de V.P.

De Margão[8], primeiro de Dezembro de 1601.

De V.P. filho em o Senhor,

Nicolao Pimenta.

[*Address* 13*v*] † A N.P. Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesu. Roma. 1ª carta. 3ª via.

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[a] *corr. fr.* pazes

Aceh ruler, Ala ud-Din Riayat Syah Sayid (1589-1604), wanted to be on good terms with the Portuguese, and the latter, on their part, eagerly tried to meet this wish. There was a Portuguese embassy to Aceh in 1593; and Aceh ambassadors came to see the viceroy in Goa; they sailed back in 1599. In 1601 another Portuguese embassy was sent to Aceh. The fondest wish of the Portuguese was to have a fortress on the Aceh coast in order both to cover their own fortress, and to control the Strait, of Malacca. King Philip wrote to André Furtado de Mendonça on February 20, 1603, he should favour the friendship with the Aceh ruler and propose him that « a fortaleza que tem na barra do Dachem » should be ceded to Portugal (Lisbon, *Arquivo do Ultramar, cod. 282* f. 171*v*). And Fr. Pimenta reported on December 1, 1600, with regard to the king of Aceh: « Tem amisade com este estado e mandou agora a Goa seus embaxadores » (*ARSI, Goa 48* f. 32*r*). Cf. APO I 2ª 35; COUTO XII 242, 512; TIELE V 173, 177; LOMBARD 186, 189, 227.

[6] Fr. João Baptista.

[7] The four of D 131, 6.

[8] Central and main town of Salsete island, south of Goa.

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140

I REGULATIONS OF THE MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PROVINCIAL OF GOA AND THE VICE-PROVINCIAL OF COCHIN

[ROME, LATE 1600 - EARLY 1601]

I TEXT: *ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 1443 9 no. 44.* Original file copy in Spanish. Loose folded folio sheet of four pages, not paginated. Page 4 is blank except for two later archivistic notes « Ordo servandus inter Provincialem Goanum et Viceprovincialem Provinciae Malabaricae », and « 172 Goa Malabar ». Regular and readable handwriting. Text of 16 numbered items, followed by four more regarding the Vice-Provincial of Japan. Any indication of an author, addressee, place, and dating is lacking.

II NOTE: The nature and contents of the document reveal that this was the Roman file copy of an arrangement made by Fr. General on the occasion of the division of the Goa Province. So its author proper is Fr. General, and it was written at Rome. Since the response to it (text II) is dated December 1601, it is manifest that this arrangement was received in India in September of that year, that it sailed from Lisbon in April, and that it was written in Rome in late 1600 or early 1601.

II FR. MANUEL DA VEIGA, VICE-PROVINCIAL OF MALABAR, TO FR. JOÃO ÁLVARES, ASSISTANT, ROME

COCHIN, DECEMBER 10, 1601
Second *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 60*r*-61*v*, ancient no. XXb. Original in Portuguese with autograph signature. At the bottom of f. 60*r* the amanuensis noted the addressee « P. João Alvarez », another hand added « Veiga Cochin ». Fr. Álvares put a few numerals in the margins and underlined some passages; on f. 61*v*, containing only the address, he wrote a note saying « Malavar. Dezembro 601. P. V. Provincial Manuel da Veiga. Trata da divisão da V. Provincia e difficuldades que occorrem nella. — Já ».

II NOTE: This letter is the direct reply of the first Vice-Provincial of Malabar to the *Orden* ore regulations (text I) he had before his eyes and to which he refers. The reply mainly consists of difficulties and objections: the Vice-Province has no house in Goa for the contacts with the authorities, it lacks a noviciate and a theological training centre, the Cochin college being destitute of sources and manpower, some cases of jurisdictional dependence on the Goa Provincial are unpractical and disadvantageous to Cochin, etc.

III OUR EDITION: As the *Orden* is undated, and as Fr. Veiga's letter is unun-

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derstandable without it, for usefulness' sake we prefer to publish both documents under the date of the latter under one number, selecting those passages that treat of the Maluku mission directly.

Text

I 1. *Jesuit places that continue belonging to the Goa Province.* — 2. *Places coming under the Malabar Vice-Province.* — 9. *The Vice-Provincial has to visit Malacca and Bengal soon; he shall not visit Maluku.* — 10. *He has to prove himself a true father and cooperator in the mission work.*

II 1. *Proposes some difficulties entailed on him by the division of the Goa Province.* — 2. *Even not visiting Maluku, will need three years for the visitation of the Vice-Province, and will, during that time, only once be able to stay at Cochin at the sailing time of the ships, and for that matter of the letters, from and to Portugal.*

I

Orden que se ha de guardar emtre el Provincial de la Provincia de Goa y el Vice-Provincial de la Vice-Provincia del Malavar y partes del Sul [1]

1. Quedará la Provincia de Goa con todas las casas de Goa, Salsete, Baçain, y con las demás partes del Norte con sus missiones y residencias.

2. A la Vice-Provincia del Malavar pertenecerán Cochin, y Malaca con todos los demás collegios, y partes de Maluco.

[...]

9. La principal solicitud del Vice-Provincial de Malavar ha de ser en visitar diligentemente los lugares de su Vice[a] Provincia, procurando en el principio de su govierno visitar una vez Malaca, y otra Bengala, y la[s] otras vezes embiará quien lo haga, como también a Maluco, adonde no irá por no se ausentar tanto tiempo de su Provincia [2]. [2]

10. En estas[b] visitas (que ha de ser su continua occupación) el principal cuydado ha de ser ayudar, consolar, y animar los nuestros con un paternal affecto, para que mejor puedan con la cruz de aquellas missiones, que sabemos ser tan pesada, mostrándoseles en todo padre y cooperador en sus trabajos y augmento de nuestra santa fé, y procurán-

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[1] As an official document *ad hoc* of the division of the Goa Province and of the erection of the Vice-Province of Malabar does not seem extant or preserved, this *Orden* appears to be an important record of this event. — Note that the paragraph numerals used in I belong to the MS; not so in II.

[2] So Maluku had to be visited by a delegate of Fr. Vice-Provincial.

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doles el remedio temporal, y las más ayudas necessarias para el mesmo fin[3].
[...]

II

[*Letter of Fr. Manuel da Veiga*]

Pax Christi,

1. Nesta tratarei em geral no que toca a esta Viceprovincia. Dividio-se a Provincia da India em duas partes: em huma dellas fica Goa com todas suas casas, com os collegios, residencias e missões que estão para a parte do Norte, com[c] nome de Provincia; na outra fica Cochim com todos os mais collegios, residencias e missões que estão para a banda do Sul, estendendo-se atée Malaca e Maluco, isto com titulo de Viceprovincia. Nesta divisão se offerecem algumas difficuldades. [... 60*v*]

2. No § 9 se diz e ordena que no[d] principio de seu governo visite pessoalmente a Malaca e Bengala. No que toca à visita, ficou esta divisão muito desigual. Porque a Provincia do Norte pode-se visitar toda em pouco mais de 6 meses, mas esta Vice-Provincia ha mister tres annos, não visitando Maluco. Porque pera visitar Malaca ha mister hum anno, indo em Maio e vindo em Março por ser moção boa; que a de Setembro, alem de ser de mais periguo, desta cidade não partem para Malaca mas de Goa somente e[e] passa sem se deter em Cochim. E tambem[f] se perde a moção do reino, porque não se pode responder às cartas que vierão sendo já partidas as naos em Janeiro. Tambem avendo de visitar Bengala se parte em Maio e se torna em Fevereiro, onde ha os mesmos inconvenientes. E na visita das costas de Travancor, Pescaria, Manar atée S. Thomé se gasta mais de seis meses, porque partindo em Maio não se torna senão em Outubro para tomar as naos do reino, não falando na visita de Coulam e Vaipicota por estarem perto. Donde se vê que em tres annos, avendo de visitar a Vice-Provincia, só hum anno se pode achar na moção das naos do reino, e receber e responder as cartas de Roma.
[... 61*r*]

De Cochim, aos 10 de Dezembro de 1601.

[*Autograph*] Manoel da Veiga.

[*Address* 61*v*] Ao Padre João Alvares da Companhia de Jesus, asis-

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[3] By these heartfelt words the Fathers of the Roman headquarters showed that they felt sorry for their subjects living in troublesome circumstances of loneliness and distress.

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tente da Provincia de Portugal em Roma. 2ª via. Da India do Padre Viceprovincial.

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[a] *ins.* || [b] En estas *corr. fr.* Nestas || [c] *del.* tit || [d] *del.* seu || [e] *corr. fr.* mas || [f] *interl.*

Lost Letters

140*a*. — *Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Maluku; December 20, 1601.*

D 160, 1: « La de V.P. que este año me fue dada en este Maluco, de 20 de Dezembre de 601 ».

140*b*. — *Fr. Nuno Rodrigues, Provincial, Goa, to King Philip; December 20, 1601.*

D 157. For the date, see introduction to D 158.

141

FIRST ANNUAL LETTER OF THE VICE-PROVINCE OF COCHIN OR MALABAR

GOA, DECEMBER 25, 1601

I AUTHORS: GUERREIRO, *Relação anual* I 49-50.

II TEXT: A. *ARSI, Goa 55* ff. 25*r*-52*v*, formerly 190-216, and no. VIII [*corr. to* VII in leadpencil]. Original in Portuguese, not signed. Small, elegant, steady, and readable handwriting. Title « Annua [*corr. fr.* Anua] da India Oriental. Anno de 1601 ». At the bottom of f. 25*r* an archivist noted « Goana 1 »; f. 52*r* is blank; its *verso* contains only the Latin title « Annuae literae Indiae Orientalis anni 1601 ». The letter is clearly divided into chapters indicated by headings. The chapter on Malacca and Maluku is on f. 51*r*-*v*.

B. *British Library, MSS Department, Add. 9853* ff. 425*r*-434*v*, also numbered 2-12. Portuguese copy of the second part of text A (see III). All of it written in one hand, not always easy to read, the more so as the paper has been damaged by the ink in many places. The text is divided into titled chapters, abruptly beginning with the Cochin college, the more general title at the top of f. 425*r* « Anua da Viceprovincia do Sul de 601 » having been added in a different hand. Also some postils and a lot of marginal crosses originate from another writer. The ff. 433*v*-434*v* are blank. That at first in paragraph 3, after the first *jaos*, the amanuensis jumped to the second *jaos* (see *app. crit.*), proves that he copied from an earlier script. This copy was once conserved in the archives of the Provincialate in Goa; so it may certainly be considered an authentic copy. The part on Maluku, in one with Malacca, is on ff. 432*v*-433*r*.

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III NOTE: In 1601 an order of Fr. General arrived at Goa by which the Province of India or Goa (or henceforth also « do Norte ») was divided and a new administrative section was created with the title of Vice-Province of Cochin or Malabar (or « do Sul »), comprising S.-India, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, and Maluku. Fr. Manuel da Veiga was appointed vice-provincial. Our present document is the last Annual Letter of the still undivided Goa Province, but at the same time the first in which the new Vice-Province is already named and recognized. The author (Fr. Provincial Nuno Rodrigues), mentioning the above-cited division, declares « Assi de huma como de outra Provincia por este anno darei conta pollo pouco tempo que a Vice-Provincia per ora tem pera o poder fazer per carta particular ». And so we read, on f. 39*v*, the title « Collegio de Cochim e suas residencias na Vice-Provincia do Sul ». And it is exactly from this title that the copyist started writing text B. This justifies its added title, as reported before, and it justifies our heading of this document as well.

Text

1. *The Malacca Jesuits benefit by peace, as the kings of Aceh and Johor are both competing for the friendship of the Portuguese.* — 2. *Also the eight Fathers and two Brothers of Maluku are doing well.* — 3. *Ambon fortress was pressed hard by combined English* [*Dutch*] *and Javanese forces. They were beaten off.* — 4. *Hope is placed on the strong fleet the viceroy sent from India that very year.* — 5. *Conclusion.*

Collegio de Nossa Senhora do[a] Monte de Malaca e[b] Residencias de Maluco e Amboino [51*v*]

1. Deste collegio não sabemos ao presente mais que o que na monçam passada[c] de Março se escreveo, que hé ficarem os nossos com saude; que sam por todos 8[d], quatro Padres e quatro Irmãos, empregando-a[e] nos ministerios da Companhia, nos quaes mais comodamente se poderam exercitar pollas pas de que gosa aquella fortaleza, procurando cada qual dos imigos antigos, que sam o Dachem, rei de Samatra[1], e o Raiale[2], rei de Jor[f][3], ter os portuguezes por sua parte.

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[1] The king of Aceh in Sumatra island. See D 139 note 5.

[2] Raiale is Raja Ali (full name: Ali Jalla Abdul-Jalil Riayat Syah), Sultan of Johor 1570/71-1597. Fr. Rodrigues (or his informants) either payed no attention to the succession of rulers in 1597, or they termed the new sultan also Raiale, his name being Ala-ud-Din Riayat Syah (1597- after 1615) (GIBSON-HILL 144-146, 165).

[3] Cf. app. crit. The amanuenses evidently had no inkling of the name of Jor (Johor); they misread it and combined it with the following *ter*, writing *rei de Sorter* (text A), and *rei de Soter* (text B). Even GUERREIRO, and his later

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2. Da mesma [4] gozam [g] tambem [h] os 10 [i] nossos que estam em Maluco repartidos em duas fortalezas, de Tydory e Amboyno. Os 8 [j] sam Padres e 2 [k] Irmãos coadjutores [5], de cuya paciencia e charidade nos trabalhos que padecem na concervaçam [l] [daquella christandade] [6], tam perseguida dos mouros, se podia dizer muito.

3. Acresentou-se [m] agora verem-se quasy na derradeira com a guerra que os jaos, de mistura com os ingreses, fizeram à fortaleza de Amboyno: que pera o poder grande com que a combateram de gente, naos ingrezas e outras muitas embarcações da Jaoa, todas bem petrechadas de artelharia e monições, e a pouquissima soldadesca portuguesa que avia na fortaleza, com todo o desapercebimento, foy quasi milagre escaper. E quis N. Senhor que, com hum galeam da viagem que da India chegara e duas ou tres embarções pequenas da terra, se deu tam boa mão aos ingrezes e jaos [n], que depois de tres ou quatro asaltos que deram, de que não colheram mais que mortes de muitos, perda de algumas embarcações suas e desaparelhamento das naos ingrezas, se acolheram tomando por partido os jaos recolherem-se a suas terras, e os ingrezes tornarem-se a aparelhar pera fazer sua carrega [7].

4. Mas padeceram os nossos, que estavam na fortaleza animando os soldados, muito. Quererá N. Senhor que com a boa armada que o Viso-Rey este anno da India mandou [8], pera deitar de todo fora os ingrezes daquelle arcipelago e fazer de novo as fortalezas nelle [o] que mais importam [p], comecem aquellas partes a respirar, e os nossos mais comodamente e com meno[s] trabalho a exercitar seus ministerios.

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editor as well, have *Rei de Soter*, adding however a second *ter* (*Relação anual* I 49; cf. III 429).

[4] Presumably this *mesma* refers to *saude*, and not to *pas* (paz), this latter being excluded and contradicted by nos. 3-4. GUERREIRO rendered freely « Não vivem tão quietos os dez Padres . . . ».

[5] Frs. Luís Fernandes, superior; Lorenzo Masonio, Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, António Pereira, Rogier Berwouts/Corrado, Jorge da Fonseca, Bartolomeo Daniel, and André Pereira; Brs. Giampaolo Manfrida and Mateus de Brito. But André Pereira and Br. de Brito had not yet arrived in Maluku (D 144, 2). Originally not being intended as a permanent missionary for Maluku (D 131, 1), Vasco da Cunha apparently was recalled, but we do not know when exactly; in the following years we find him working at Malacca (*Goa 24 II* ff. 344*r* and 356*r*).

[6] See app. crit.

[7] D 130, 3-5.

[8] The fleet of André Furtado de Mendonça.

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5. Isto hé, muy Reverendo Padre, o que se offereceo pera escrever a V.P. deste anno de 1601. Resta pedirmos sua bençam e ser encomendados em seus santos sacreficios e de nossos Padres e Irmãos, lembrando a grande falta de obreiros em que estam [q] estas partes, e as muitas portas que Deos cada dia abre ao Evangelho, às[r] quaes nãopodemos acudir sem o socorro dessas.

De Goa, 25[s] de Dezembro de 1601.

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[a] de *B* ‖ [b] *om. B* ‖ [c] *om. B* ‖ [d] oito *B* ‖ [e] empergando-o *B* ‖ [f] Jor, ter] Sorter *ms.*, Soter *B* ‖ [g] *del.* tram ‖ [h] *om. B* ‖ [i] des *B* ‖ [j] oito *B* ‖ [k] dous *B* ‖ [l] conversação naquella christandade *B* ‖ [m] acresenta-se *B* ‖ [n] *del.* recolherem-se a suas terras *B* ‖ [o] *om. B* ‖ [p] importam nelle *B* ‖ [q] *del. and rep.* estas partes *B* ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* aos ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* 23 *B*

142

SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF THE NEW VICE-PROVINCE OF COCHIN

[GOA?], DECEMBER 1601

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 275*r*-276*v*. Original in Portuguese, except for the Latin headings; written in two columns. The document consists of two catalogues, one on each of the two leaves of one folded double folio. As the two catalogues have been written on the same paper and in the same hand and ink, and, furthermore, the second (*Alter*) refers to the first, they clearly make together one document. The Portuguese author, perhaps an occasional secretary, proves unfamiliar with Latin (cathalog*os*, alphabetic*os*, vic*i*). The first catalogue is alphabetical by Christian names; the other is a classification of the same persons according to their residences. Every name of the first list is preceded by a numeral corresponding to those of the general Goa catalogue of 1599 (our D 126). Any trace of a signature, an address, and of later notes is lacking.

II NOTE: This document presents some riddles. Though being of the same date as D 141, and dealing with the same weighty event of the splitting of the new Cochin vice-province from the Goa province as that one does, neither refers to the other, while paper (watermark), handwriting, and ink are different. The chief problem, however, is: why did the author list six names of Maluku Jesuits, and why did he omit five other names (Fernandes, Cruz, António Pereira, Corrado, and Manfrida)? By what criterion did he compose this roll? Did he intend to say that the non-listed still belonged to the Goa Province? Later catalogues prove that this is not the case (DD 167, 184). Four out of the six

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names belong to the group starting from Goa in April 1600 (D 131, 6). A fifth Father, Vasco da Cunha, had sailed in April 1598 (D 118, 2). Only the sixth, Lorenzo Masonio, is one of the prior residents, and therefore the only one. As he was stationed at Ambon, and the first four were perhaps supposed to arrive there too, one could be tempted to conjecture that the author listed the Ambon missionaries, overlooking those of Tidore. But this supposition does not hold, for in that case at least Fr. Gabriel da Cruz, resident at Ambon from April 1593 on, ought to be mentioned. So the problem remains unsolved, the only explanation being the author's gross unawareness of the real situation and of the existence of some more Jesuits, absent from India for many years. Could such ignorance be explicable at the outset of a new vice-province, scarcely having taken off for its flight? On the other hand, it is our ignorance of the author and of his informative material, that impedes a further understanding. One way or other, our document is incomplete and seems rather arbitrary.

III PLACE: No place is indicated. Both Goa and Cochin seem possible. But, in the light of D 141, Goa stands the best chance.

Text

1. *Six Maluku Jesuits, listed twice: scattered in an alphabetical index.* — 2. *And as a group stationed in Maluku mission.*

1. Cathalogos alphabeticos Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesus qui sunt in vici-provincia australi Indiae Orientalis anno 1601 mense decembri. Numerus inservit cathalogo totius Indiae anno 1599.

[*Among other members of the Vice-Province, these Maluku Jesuits are listed*]

59 P. André Pereira . . .[1]
163 P. Bertholameu Daniel . . . [275*v*]
111 P. Jorge da Fonsequa . . .
195 P. Lourenço Masonio . . .
269 I. Matheus de Brito . . .
198 P. Vasco da Cunha[2] [276*r*]

2. Alter cathalogus iuxta divisionem collegiorum et residentiarum eiusdem vice-provinciae, eodem anno et mense. [. . . 276*v*]

Maluquo
O Pe. Jorge da Fonsequa, superior[3]

[1] He and Br. Brito did not arrive at Ambon until February 1602 (D 144, 2).
[2] Cf. D 141 note 5.
[3] Fr. Fonseca was appointed superior for during the voyage of the group of four sailing in April 1600, but he was not so for Maluku (D 154, 2).

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O Pe. André Pereira
O Pe. Laurentio Mazonio
O Pe. Vasco da Cunha
O Pe. Bertolameu [Daniel [4]
O Ir. Matheus] de Brito

143

FR. JOÃO BAPTISTA SJ, RECTOR OF MALACCA COLLEGE, TO FR. SEBASTIÃO GONÇALVES SJ, [GOA]

MALACCA, FEBRUARY 22, 1602

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 48* f. 64*r*, formerly 343. Copy in Portuguese. Bold and clear handwriting. This is a part of the collection of historical texts gathered under the title « Novas da India do anno de 602 pera Portugal ». See introduction to D 136. At no. 1, in the margin, there is the catchword « Sunda », underlined. The continuation of the letter treats of what happened to the patache mentioned in no. 2, and to the men seized in it near Macao.

Text

1. *First vague rumours report that André Furtado de Mendonça subjected Sunda and captured two Dutch ships. — 2. Anyhow, the Dutch are in a pretty bad way and becoming desperate. They cannot afford their voyages without loading spices at the coast of Java now being guarded by the Portuguese armada. Various losses they suffered.*

Copia de huma do P. João Bautista, reitor de Malaca, escrita aos 22 de Fevereiro de 602, pera o P.e Sebastião Gonçalvez.

[. . .]

1. Da Sunda[a], onde está o general André Furtado de Mendoça ,[1] esperamos cada dia por novas; e quanto mais as desejamos, tanto ellas

---

[4] By mistake the secretary jumping from one name to another wrote « O Pe Bertolameo de Brito », who is a non-existent person.

[1] Furtado sailed from Malacca on September 23, 1601, and, after a stop at Palembang, Sumatra, he arrived before Banten, Sunda (W. Java), on December 24 (D 146, 3; Letter of António de Brito Fogaça of October 14, 1602, in COLIN-PASTELLS II 345).

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mais se fazem derrogar, porque atee agora, deste Novenbro passado, nenhumas chegarão, salvo humas que vierão por via dos malayos de Jor. Entre os quaes se tem por certo que André Furtado está senhor feito da Sunda, e com duas naos olandezas tomadas, que mandou dous galeões no alcançe doutra que lhe vay fogindo [2]. Estes malayos derão as novas que conto, ainda que não forão festejadas por não aver carta da armada que as certifique. Tambem dizem que polla contra-costa do Achem tem o general mandado estas novas ao Viso-Rrey.

2. Mas será o que for, os olandezes [b] andão já aos grilos, huns cá e outros lá, como homens desesperados. E não cuide V.R. que o apparecerem elles na China, em Patane [3] e no Achem, hé andarem feitos senhores do mar; antes o aperto em que se vem, lhes causa e força fazerem estas ambayens. Digo isto porque esta gente fora da costa da Java, aonde estão as minas das drogas, não podem ter vida nem remedio pera juntarem o grande cabedal que metem em andarem suas naos a este arcipelago. E como este anno estão impedidas estas minas com a nossa armada [4], releão estes inimigos de cá pera acolá, e permitte Deos que aonde cheguem, lhe quebrem as cabeças. Na [c] China lhe tomarão hum pataxo [5], em Maluco [d] duas naos [6], Manilha outra [e] [7], agora na Sunda as que tenho [f] dito arriba. E como forem conhecidos por homens de pouco negocio em cousa de guerra, tratá-los há este [g] Sul como elles merecem.

[. . .]

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[a] Da Sunda *underl.* || [b] *corr. fr.* landezes || [c] Na. . tomarão *underl.* || [d] Maluco.· naos *underl.* || [e] *underl.* || [f] tenho. . arriba *underl.* || [g] *corr. fr.* estes.

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[2] D 146 reveals that the truth was rather the other way round: Furtado did not achieve anything, either against Banten or against the five Dutch ships under Wolphert Harmensz he found there. It was he who lost two *fustas*, and after a week of skirmishes he sailed off to Ambon.

[3] Pattani in S Thailand on the Gulf of Siam.

[4] Another statement wide of the mark. A Portuguese control of the Java coast was out of the question.

[5] Tiele VI 177-178.

[6] At best one (D 136, 2-4).

[7] Van Noort (D 136 note 12) lost a yacht to the Spaniards.

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Lost Letters

143*a*. — *The king of Tidore to André Furtado de Mendonça at Ambon island; February 1602.*

D 146,29: gives him a warm welcome.

143*b*. — *The residents of Tidore to André Furtado de Mendonça; February 1602.*

D 146, 29: welcome him.

144

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, [TO FR. NICOLAU PIMENTA, VISITOR, GOA]

Annual letter of Tidore
MALUKU [TIDORE, FEBRUARY] 1602

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO III 92; MILLIES 54; STREIT V no. 46; WESSELS, *Amboina* 190 Fernandez nos. 6-7. (All of them ascribe the letter to 1603).

II AUTHORS: GUERREIRO I 271-272; IARRICUS III/2 445-447; TIELE VI 198 note 2; WESSELS, *Batjan* 145-146; ID., *Noord-Celebes* 394-395.

III TEXT:

A. *ARSI, IapSin 46* f. 323*r-v*, earlier 320*r-v*. Copy in Portuguese, presumably made at Cochin, in a close, elegantly thin but well readable handwriting, the same in which also the year-letter of China of 1602 is copied (ibid. ff. 318*r*-322*v*). At the bottom of f. 323*r* a mistaken note runs « 603 China Antunes ».

B. *British Library, Add. 9853* f. 471*r-v*, otherwise numbered 13*r-v*. Another copy in Portuguese, written in a beautiful, bold, and clear hand that occurs also in some letters from Cochin of 1604-1605 (e.g., *Goa 15* ff. 201-221 *passim*). Close upon the letter's end on f. 471*v*, the annual letter of Ambon (D 150) follows in the same hand. The signature of Fr. Fernandes is a counterfeit, clearly different from the many autographs occurring elsewhere. The paper is somewhat damaged; a few small holes do not hinder the legibility.

IV AUTHOR, PLACE, AND TIME: In the MS text, under the common title « Annua de Maluco e Amboyno », there are two letters: « De Maluco » (the present document), and « Annua de Amboino » (D 150). Owing to this opposition the former certainly is the report coming from Tidore. It was not only signed but also brought to Ambon by Fr. Superior Luís Fernandes (D 146, 29). Presumably he had instructed another Father in Tidore to make the draft of it, and he completed and corrected it at his discretion in Ambon. Otherwise, how to explain some irregularities? For instance, Fr. Fernandes, who by signing took the authorship of the letter, is mentioned in it in the third person more than once; and whereas the writer appears still ignorant of the arrival of Furtado in Ambon

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in February 1602, yet he knows about the coming of Fr. André Pereira and Br. Mateus de Brito there at that same time. Officially Fernandes is the author. The original time of writing must be February 1602.

V ADDRESSEE: The letter is directed to « V.R. », to the same who in 1600 sent four new Jesuits to Maluku (no. 2), i.e., to Fr. Pimenta, Visitor (DD 131, 6; 153, 7). In 1604 its text is used by Fr. Laerzio, Vice-Provincial of Cochin (D 163), but in early 1602 the news of the erection of the vice-province had not yet reached Maluku (first mention in May 1603; D 159, 5). So Fernandes wrote to Pimenta, not excluding, to be sure, Fr. Provincial Nuno Rodrigues as an addressee.

VI PRINTED: Italian: in *Lettera annua di Giappone scritta dal P. Gabriel de Matos*, Roma 1605, 108-112 (free, with shortenings and mistakes); Latin: in *Litterae Societatis Iesu, anno MDCII et MDCIII e Sinis, Molucis, Iapone datae*, Moguntiaci 1607, 147-151, apparently made after the Italian translation; French: in A. MAGIN, *Histoire universelle des Indes Orientales*, Douai 1607, 70-71.

Text

1. *Writes this annual letter hoping it to be the first to report good news.* — 2. *Six Fathers in Tidore; arrival of the four sent in 1600. State of health. Cure of souls. Spiritual exercices.* — 3. *In May 1601 news arrived from Ambon of the shipwreck of the Maluku galleon and of the return to Malacca from there of three more vessels [not calling at Tidore]. Therefore Fr. Fernandes left Ambon for Tidore to buoy up the Portuguese.* — 4. *Two Dutch ships and many Ternatan boats came assailing Tidore fortress.* — 5. *A four hour shelling by the Dutch ships did not even kill one single Portuguese. The former had to retire. Assistance given by the Jesuits.* — 6. *The king of Siau came soliciting help against Ternate. It could not be rendered him. His son of five years and some other Siauese were baptized.* — 7. *Sending a Father to Siau failed to come off; he may go this year.* — 8. *Four jubilees celebrated with great devotion.* — 9. *Among the Portuguese of Tidore two parties attempted each other's life; the Fathers reconciled them.* — 10. *In 1600 the sengaji of Labuha gave up his dissolute life and was married in good order; now he discharges his Christian duties; his example was followed by many.* — 11. *Christian instruction in Malay of Labuha youth; their devotion.* — 12. *Procession on Maundy Thursday.*

Annua[a] de Maluco e Amboyno
De Maluco[b]

1. Porque sei quanta consolação assi V.R., como os nossos charissimos Padres e Irmãos de toda a India, receberão de ouvir algumas boas novas assi de Maluco como de Amboyno; e tambem por continuarmos com o bom costume da Companhia de escrevermos annuas das cousas de edificação destas partes, quis fazer esta pera com ella dar principio às boas novas, que daqui por diante confiados em Deos es-

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peramos mandar a V.R., e dar fim às tristes e malenconizadas que até agora se escreverão [1].

2. E começando pellas de Maluco, residimos o anno passado em Maluco 6 da Companhia, 5 sacerdotes e hum Irmão [2]. Neste numero entrão dous da missão que V.R. mandou pera estas partes o anno de 600 [3], scilicet, o P.e Jorge da Fonseca e o P.e Bertolameu Daniel, porque os outros dous, scilicet, o P.e André Pereira e o Irmão Mattheus de Brito arribarão a Solor [4] e chegarão a Amboino este Fevereiro de 602. Todos tiverão mediocre saude, tirando o P.e Rogerio Conrado e Bertolameu Daniel que residião na christandade da Labua [c]; mas prouve a Deos que, com a mudança que o Superior lhe fez pera os curar, cobrarão ambos mediocre saude e agora ficão já quasi bem. Occupão-se [d] todos nos ministerios da Companhia com edificação do proximo, e com grande instancia pedirão au Superior fazer os Exercicios da Companhia e recolherem-se. Mas parte por causa da guerra e parte por doença, se dilatarão [e] por então guardando-os pera o [f] tempo mais [g] oportuno, pera não perderem o bom costume que tem de os fazerem quasi todos os annos.

3. Em Mayo do anno passado, estando os portugueses da fortaleza de Maluco esperando pollo galeão da carreira, e por algum socorro da India, pollo grande temor que tinhão de tantas naos olandezas [h], quantas cada anno vem a Ternate [i], mandarão huma caracora a Amboino saber novas do galeão da carreira e da armada que esperavão. Chegada a caracora a este Amboino, achou aqui as tristes novas da perdição do galeão [5], e de como erão tornadas pera Malaca as duas fustas [j] e o galeão que Guterres [k] de Monrroy [l] tinha mandado a este Amboino [6]. Com

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[1] The first paragraph may have been added by Fr. Fernandes at Ambon (Cf. Introduction to this document, IV).

[2] Frs. Luís Fernandes, António Pereira, Rogier Berwouts/Corrado, Jorge da Fonseca, Bartolomeu Daniel, and Br. Giampaolo Manfrida. Fr. Fernandes used to voyage to and fro between Tidore and Ambon.

[3] DD 131, 6; 153, 7.

[4] D 154, 3.

[5] It was captained by Fernão Pereira de Sande, and shipwrecked on February 3, 1601, near Madura island (Couto XII 433; D 154, 1).

[6] See D 136 note 18. As soon as Teixeira's *champana* had brought the news of the Dutch attack against Ambon in 1600 to Malacca (D 130, 3-6), a relief galleon of the rich ship-owner Guterre de Monroy was fitted out and sent with two galliots to Ambon, where they arrived on February 11, 1601. This in addition to the royal galleon that was shipwrecked by the way. The chief captain

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as quaes novas[m] ficou o portuguez que vinha na caracora tão triste, que não ousava tornar pera Maluco. O que vendo o P. Luis Fernandez, que aqui estava neste Amboino, se foi na caracora pera Maluco, pera poder animar assi os portuguezes, como a mais gente de Maluco, e consolar das tristes novas que a caracora levava.

4. E quis Deos que chegou lá a caracora a tão bom tempo, que foi de muito effeito a ida do Padre nella, porque, tendo aquella noite que chegarão novas que vinhão duas naos olandezas de Ternate a pelejar com aquella fortaleza de Tidore, e el-rey de Ternate com muitas caracoras, se animou a gente muito assi com a vista do Padre, como com quatro portugeses que hião na caracora. E o dia seguinte, que era do Spirito[n] Santo, se confessarão todos e ganharão o jubileo de nossa casa, pera com estas armas se aparelharem pera a briga que tiverão o dia seguinte com as ditas naos[7].

5. Na qual briga se repartirão os nossos em duas partes pera ajudarem os que pelejavão. E durando a bateria da artelharia das naos olandezas quatro horas de relogio, foi Nosso Senhor servido de nos livrar a todos de seus pelouros, de modo que nem huma só pessoa nos matarão, matando-lhe os nossos muita gente principal sua, e[o] quebrando-lhe suas naos, que forão forçados, por se não perderem, a cortar as amarras e deixarem duas ancoras[8], com as quaes sorgirão pera a briga defronte de nossa fortaleza. Com o que forão assi os olandezes como os ternates mui envergonhados, aguardecendo muito assi o capitão da fortaleza[p 9] como os moradores a ajuda[q] que dos nossos tiverão.

6. El-rey de Siao[10] veo este mesmo anno de sua terra a Tidore a pedir ao capitão socorro contra os ternates, seus inimigos. E porque nos perseguirão muito estas guerras das naos olandezes, não lho pode o capitão dar, o que ouvera de ser em causa de muito trabalho e des-

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of the relief flotilla was Traiano Rodrigues de Castelbranco. It returned to Malacca without visiting Tidore (D 150, 2; Teixeira de Macedo's letter of June 2, 1601, f. 3*r*; Letter of Cosmo de la Feita, Cochin, January 15, 1602, in Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Corp. Chron. I 114 53* f. 4*r*).

[7] The Dutch sails were the ship *Amsterdam* and the yacht *Gouda* of the fleet of six with which Jacob van Neck had left Holland on June 28, 1600. They anchored off Ternate on June 2, 1601, and shelled the Portuguese ships and fortress on Whit Monday, June 11 (*Begin ende Voortgangh* I no. 7, 6-7; TIELE VI 176-177).

[8] Particulars not mentioned in the Dutch reports.

[9] Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira.

[10] Jerónimo II Winsulangi (1591-1631).

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gosto, se os nossos não forão, que, com seu conselho, acabarão com el-rey de Siao que se tornasse pera sua terra contente. [323*v*] E lhe bautizamos hum filho seu menino de sinco annos, que elle trouxera consigo de Siao, e outros oito ou nove siaos que vinhão com elle e pedirão ser bautizados. O qual bautismo, por entrar o filho do rey nelle, se fez solemnemente e com bons vestidos.

7. Vendo esta conjunção, o P. Luis Fernandes ordenou mandar hum Padre[11] a Siao. E tendo já o fato e matalotagem embarcada em hum junco que el-rey de Tidore[12] mandava pera Siao, socedeo que o junco se desamarrou do porto antes que o Padre se embarcasse. E indo o Padre em huma embarcação de pós[r] elle, não o pode alcançar, o que foi causa de o Padre não passar este anno a Siao como desejavamos, mas quererá Deos que este anno tenhamos mais oportunidade de passar lá.

8. Os quatro jubileos se celebrarão[s] em nossa casa[t] com[u] muito concurso de confissões e comunhões, tanto que os dous Padres que nos vierão de novo se edificarão e consolarão muito ver cá no cabo do[v] mundo tanta frequencia de confissões e comunhões.

9. Tambem se exercitarão os nossos em[w] compor inimizades. Antre outras ouve em Tidore dous bandos antre dous homens principaes, ajuntando-se muita gente de huma parte e outra pera se matarem huns aos outros sem aver remedio, nem o capitão lho pode[r] dar. Ficando com estes bandos a fortaleza a risco de se perder, o capitão se valeo dos nossos pera que se metessem no meio e compuzessem estas pessoas. E per meio dos nossos ajudando o capitão se compuzerão e concertarão[13].

10. O Sangage da christandade da Labua[14], que hé senhor de vassalos e responde antre nós a conde ou duque, avia muitos annos que vivia[x] em peccado mortal[y] com huma molher moura, por rezão de lhe ser morta a sua propria molher. Foi Nosso Senhor servido que

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[11] Perhaps Fr. Jorge da Fonseca; see D 167.

[12] Cf. D 100 note 11. The new king is called Cachil Mole in the Portuguese and Spanish sources, Molé Madjimoe by CLERCQ (155). (ARGENSOLA 265; COLIN-PASTELLS III 51).

[13] Disorders among the Portuguese in Tidore are recorded as early as 1580 (D 26, 9). They seem to have been chronic. This clash of parties in 1601 is not further known to us. For a later one (or a continuation of this one?), see DD 171-173.

[14] Rui Pereira.

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o cazamos com a mesma amiga, de quem tinha huma filha, o anno de 600. E depois pera cá commummente[z] viveo bem com sua molher, e acode assi elle como a molher bem[a] a suas missas de obrigação, assistindo a ellas com devação e às praticas que o Padre faz, e confessão-sse. E com este bom exemplo foi Nosso Senhor servido que muitos dos seus vassalos, que vivião em peccado mortal[b], se tirarão delle e se cazarão, e agora correm bem com as cousas de sua obrigação.

11. Continuou-se nesta christandade com ensinar aos meninos todos os dias a doutrina christã em lingoa malaia, cantada na igreja; e com a Salve[15] em portuguez todos os sabados, cantada pollos meninos e mininas com suas candeas acezas todos nas mãos, que causa muita devação. Pera a qual elles mesmos offerecem à igreja suas candeas da terra, que pera isto servem, e offerecem tambem outras cousas em sinal de sua devação.

12. 5ª-feira das Endoenças[16] se fez a procissão dos disciplinantes com muita devação pollo terreiro do lugar com seus altares, indo nella obra de quarenta disciplinantes, e levando o mesmo Sangage o crucifixo, indo o Padre cantando as ladainhas, cousa[c] que admirava a grande multidão de gente que de todas as[d] partes concorria.

Luis Fernandez.

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[a] *preceded by* Jesus Maria *B* ‖ [b] *add.* de 602 *and* Pax Christy *B* ‖ [c] Zabua *B* ‖ [d] ocuparão-sse *B* ‖ [e] delitarão *B* ‖ [f] *interl., om. B* ‖ [g] *del.* o ‖ [h] holandezas *B* (*so continuously*) ‖ [i] Ternatem *B* ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* festas *B* ‖ [k] gutteres *B* ‖ [l] morroy *B* ‖ [m] *interl.* ‖ [n] do Spirito] dia do Ispirito *B* ‖ [o] *interl. B* ‖ [p] da fortaleza *add. m. B* ‖ [q] *corr. fr.* ainda *B* ‖ [r] de pos *corr. fr.* depois *B* ‖ [s] celebrão *B* ‖ [t] *interl.* ‖ [u] *interl. B* ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* no ‖ [w] *corr. fr.* os ‖ [x] *corr. fr.* vivião *B* ‖ [y] M. *ms. AB* ‖ [z] *add.* sempre *B*

[a] *del. and. rep.* ‖ [b] M. *ms. AB* ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* cousas *B* ‖ [d] *interl.*

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FR. LORENZO MASONIO SJ TO FR. PIETRO ANTONIO SPINELLI, RECTOR OF THE ROMAN COLLEGE, ROME

AMBON, MAY 1, 1602

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 81*r*-82*v*, earlier 156-157 cancelled, 139-140, and

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[15] Latin *Salve Regina*, Portuguese *Salve Rainha*, first words of a well-known prayer to Our Lady; service to the honour of the Blessed Virgin.

[16] Maundy Thursday; apparently of the year 1601, in which it fell on April 19.

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no. XXVIII/a. Autograph in Italian sometimes mixed with Portuguese and Spanish reminiscences in choice of words and orthography. On f. 81*r* we find the addressee « P. Spinello » and an archivist's note « Masonio. Amboino »; on f. 82*v* the address, traces of a seal, and the remark, obviously written by Spinelli, « P. Masonio. Respondi 14 [*corr. fr.* 13] decembris 1604 ».

II ADDRESSEE: For Fr. Spinelli, see introduction to D 91, IV. Having been a rector of the German College 1587-1589, and having fulfilled other offices, he governed the Roman College 1597-1599.

Text

1. *Thanks for letter received. Sustained an injury to his leg.* — 2. *Thanks Fr. General for exerting himself with the king, which resulted in sending a powerful fleet to Maluku under André Furtado de Mendonça.* — 3. *It arrived at Ambon on February 7, 1602; Furtado subdued many people, opening a door for the mission.* — 4. *Expectations of a flourishing future of the mission.* — 5. *The Christians of the Lease islands and of Ambon were visited, over a thousand children were baptized, about twenty Fathers are wanted for the area when subdued.* — 6. *Victories scored, Hitu burnt down, and a fort taken by the Christians before Furtado arrived.* — 7. *Greetings.* — 8. *Frs. Marta and Rebelo died. Thanks for some presents.*

†

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre

1. Ho ricevuto nel mese di Febraro de 602 una de V.R. de Gennaro 99[1], la quale mi ha cagionato grandissima alegreza e contento, intendendo in quella como V.R. stava di salute con il governo di cotesto Collegio Romano. Piaccia al Signor conservarla pera magior carigo che me pare vederle sopra le sue spalle. Questo contento se augumentò nel mio cuore con la viva memoria que V.R. di me tiene, et con la santa benedittione di N. Padre che mi manda, la qual stimo molto. Assi anco con la memoria che di me tiene il mio molto amato P. Maselli, assistente[2], al qual procurirò di responder[3], benché stia algun tanto indisposto con una piaga nella gamba, causatami nel armata. Non ho potuto senza lagrime leggere la sua per vederme tanto pigro et negligente ali sproni di V.R. Piaccia al Signore darmi gratia da qui avanti d'andar con maggior diligenza al palio que pretendo per mezzo di questi sproni e infocate orationi di V.R.

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[1] Lost letter, 122*a*.

[2] Fr. Ludovico Maselli was assistant of Fr. General for Italy, 1593-1604.

[3] Lost letter, 150*e*.

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2. Padre mio, dia le gratie da mia parte e de tutti i Padri che qui stiamo, prima al molto Reverendo N. Padre General e dopo al P.e Giovanni Alvarez, assistente di Portugal, por la diligenza estraordinaria con que hanno battuto la porta de Sua Magestade, acciò mandasse alcuno soccorro militare a queste parti remotissime. Porque con la importunità del battere, finalmente si aprì la porta nell'India con la venuta del novo vicerè in Goa [4]. Il qual subbito mandò una grossa armata in queste parti de otto navi, una galera, quattro galiotte con alcune venti fuste, la magior armata que molti anni sono sallì di Goa, con un general, il magior, più prudente, generoso e di magior esperienza che haveva nell'India, per nome André Furtado de Mendoça, molto nostro amigo.

3. Et benché le fuste tornassero adietro con la galera, per non poter passar il golfo de Ceilan, il remanente passò e arrivò qui in Amboino a 7 di Febraro passato dopo nove mesi que partì di Goa. Fece qui alcuno effetto riducendo alcuni popoli al servitio di Sua Maestà, benché non del tutto sicuri [5]. Credesi que guadagnandosi la fortezza di Ternate (ove irà da qui a mese e mezzo), restarà sicuro per Sua Maestà la magior parte di questo grandissimo arcipelago, e si abrirà porta a la magior christianità che habiamo in queste parti orientali.

4. Con che potranno i carissimi Fratelli e Padri di cotesto Collegio, de lo de Napoli e altri d'Italia saturare i loro sitibondi animi di ridur pecorelle al gremio de la santa Chiesa. Per onde desde adesso podranno dimandar questa missione di Maluco, la qual benché non paia tanto bella e speciosa como la del Giappone, nondimeno non sarà con la gracia del Signor meno fruttuosa e de menor merito. Dico di adesso, porque, quando questa [81v] starà in Roma, tengo certissima speranza che sarà conquistato il tutto. Perché l'armada è bastante pera soggettar tutto, ven[en]doli il soccorro che quest'anno speramo, per poter lasciar presidio sufficiente a la conservatione di Malucco, Amboino e Banda. De maniera que potemo dir que messes albescere ceperunt, e quest'anno con gracia del Signor da qui a alcuni mesi cominciaremo a battizzar molti. E venendo Padri che ci agiutino si potrà far grandissimo frutto, perché già cominciano a dimandar pane. Opus est qui frangat eis [6].

5. Quest'anno con tutte le guerre che tenessimo si visitarno le

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[4] D. Aires de Saldanha, 1600-1605.

[5] Very significant and interesting this moderate and reserved judgment of an eye-witness.

[6] Allusion to Lam 4 4.

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isole de Oma, Liacer, di Russalao [7] e questa de Anboyno, le quali stanno piene di christiani, che per causa de le guerre e penurie de Padri non si cultivano. E si fece algun frutto con loro insegnandoli il catecismo, battizandoli i loro figlioli que furno più de mil fanciulli, e animandoli a la perseveranza nella fe. Tutti dimandavano Padre acciò loro insegnasse, mostrando deseo de la loro salvacion[e]. In quest'isole, benché picciole, si ponno occupar alcuni vinti Padri. Considere che sarà del'altre isole convicine molto grandi, como è la de Veranula [8], Burro, Sulla e altre. E che sarà de le isole Maluche quando starà tutto conquistato, como se spera se concluirà quest'anno con gratia del Signor, perché l'armada (se il Signor sta già pago de nostri peccati) basta per dar fine al tutto.

6. Tutto questo anno e il passato, prima che venisse questa armada, sempre i nostri christiani restarno vittoriosi contra sui inimici uccidendo e fa[ce]ndo schiavi molti di loro. E due volte posero fuogo a la città di Ito, la qual è il capo principal de nostri inimici, uccidendo molti di loro. E una volta io mi ritrovai in molto pericolo della vita, perché entrando con tre christiani amboini e dui portuguesi uno loro forte [9], benché seguissero altri dopo a sachear [10] e rubar il forte, ove stava molta roba e facenda, salirno di una imboscata gli inimici che posero tutti i nostri in fuga. E como io fosse l'ultimo a ritirarmi, pensarono tutti che era già morto, ma Nostro Signore mi liberò delli loro mani senza pericolo alcuno, il qual sia lodato sempre [11].

7. Non voglio essere più lungo per non ser molesto a V.R. Solamente li prego continue in raccomandarmi al Signor nelle sue abrasate [12] orationi e santi sacrificii, acciò per mezzo di quelle il Signor use de sua misericordia meco. Pregoli anco da mia parte faccia con i devoti Padri e Fratelli di cotesto Collegio Romano che facciano il medemo, ai quali in Domino me raccomando, particularmente al P.e Maselli, assistente. Me farà charità raccomandarmi [a] tutti i Padri e Fratelli de Napoli: al Padre Mario d'Andria, P.e Cameroto, P. Messina, P. Bartolomeo Riccio, — con il quale comunicarà questa e con il P.e

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[7] That is, Haruku, Saparua, and Nusalaut.

[8] (W) Seram.

[9] This is the « baluarte » of D 135, 5, called by the Dutch *Kasteel van Verre;* it had been abandoned by Sonnenbergh and his garrison in January 1601 and served since as a store house (TIELE VI 173).

[10] Portuguese *saquear*; Italian *saccheggiare*.

[11] Cf. D 150, 9.

[12] Portuguese *abrasado*; Italian *infocato* or *infiammato*.

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Mario giaché non posso scrivere a tutti, — al Fratello Giovanni de Pedro, al Fratello Stefano e tutti gl'altri [13].

8. Il P.e Martha con il P. Giovanni Rebello, che fu compagno de Roma a Portugal, l'anno passato[a] passarono a meglior vita. Nostro Signore pague a V.R. [82*r*] la charità del stuccio, benché fin adesso non lo ho ricevuto, forse per discuido di chi lo portava o per perderse nel camino. Il medemo digo de la 2a parte delle meditationi del P.e Bruno [14] che non l'ho ricevuta, e altri libretti che l'anno passato mi mandò. Di tutto do le gratie che posso e debbo a V.R. N. Signore guarde e conserve sano a V.R. e lhe dee sempre augumento del suo santo spirito.

Di Anboino, primiero de Maggio 602.

Di V.R. servo nel Signor,

Lorenzo Masonio.

[*Address* 82*v*] † Al molto Reverendo in Christo Padre, il Padre Pietro Antonio Spinello, rettor del Collegio Romano de la Compagnia di Giesù, Roma.

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[a] *rep.*

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FR. BRÍCIO FERNANDES SJ, FLEET CHAPLAIN, TO AIRES DE SALDANHA, VICEROY, GOA

AMBON, MAY 1, 1602

I AUTHORS: GUERREIRO I 276-282; IARRICUS III/2 452-463; ARGENSOLA 278-286; JUVENCIUS V/II 682.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 33 I* ff. 127*v*-132*r*. Copy of the Portuguese original. The letter forms an appendix to an Annual of the Goa Province of December 2, 1603, which begins at f. 111*r* and is marked, on f. 132*v* otherwise blank, with

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[13] Little known Jesuits of the Roman or Naples Province, living — or at least supposed by Masonio to be living — in Rome at that time.

[14] Vincenzo BRUNO SJ, *Meditationi sopra i principali misteri della vita . . . di Cristo*, Venice 1585, and many later editions (SOMMERVOGEL II 266; Jos. de GUIBERT SJ, *La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Roma 1953, 262).

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the note « 1603. Annua da Provincia de Goa »; but the dating and autograph signature of Fr. Provincial Gaspar Fernandes are on f. 127*v*, just before Brício Fernades' letter. Its title is « Treslado de huma do Pe Brizio Fernandez pera o Viso-Rrey Ayres de Saldanha, feita em Amboino o primeiro de Mayo de 602 ». It is written in a clear and regular hand, the same that wrote the just preceding last paragraph of the annual letter. The copyist proves to be little familiar with Indonesian names: he spells « Jaoa » not even once without correcting it; he writes « Gurru » for « Buru », and at first does not recognize the name of « Banda » (See app. crit. at these names). From an « etc. » in no. 7 one suspects that the text was not copied always completely (the « etc. » of nos. 25 and 30 could be original).

III HISTORIOGRAPHIC NOTE: Our document seems to be, on the part of the Portuguese, and up to May 1602, the most extensive and detailed notice of the expedition of André Furtado de Mendonça in the Indonesian waters in 1601-1602. It was used, obviously in its original text, by GUERREIRO, and it is on him that the recounts of IARRICUS and ARGENSOLA are based. WESSELS, to our surprise, did not know this source; he mainly followed the three authors just mentioned. A letter of King Philip to Viceroy Aires de Saldanha of February 1603, reflecting what the latter had reported him in 1602, deals only with the voyage out (*Arquivo do Ultramar, 282* ff. 118*r*-124*r*). The report of António de Brito Fogaça, participant in the expedition and Furtado's messenger to the governor of Manila, of October 14, 1602, is rather succinct (COLIN-PASTELLS II 345 note 1). Both complete Fr. Brício Fernandes' account. So does Furtado's own letter to Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor, of May 10, 1602 (*Brit. Libr., Add. 28432* ff. 51*r*-53*v*, published by BOXER-FRAZÃO 117-122). The most circumstantial Dutch report is the *Journael ofte dagh-register vande voyagie ghedaen onder . . . Wolfhart Harmensen, 1601-1603*, published in *Begin ende Voortgangh* I no. 9. It was used and summarized by VALENTYN (I a 181-182). As a matter of fact, both TIELE (VI 188-189, 200-201) and the authors of *André Furtado de Mendonça*, C. R. BOXER and FRAZÃO DE VASCONCELOS (Lisbon 1955; especially chap. III « A armada do Sul, 1601-1603 », pp. 37-54), were unaware of this document, which is published here for the first time.

Text

1. *Writes about sailing* [*of the fleet of André Furtado de Mendonça*] *from Palembang untill the departure of the royal galleon* [*from Ambon*] *to Malacca.* — 2. *At Palembang the king first promised to give ten thousand soldiers, but finally he did not give even one.* — 3. *The general* [*Furtado*] *arrived at Sunda on Christmas eve and berthed two leagues off the town.* — 4. *First appearance and actions of two* [*Dutch*] *ships, which proved superior in rigging and speed.* — 5. *Furtado could not enter the port on account of the weather and the currents. The Dutch sent a vessel to the town.* — 6. *On Boxing day Furtado's galleons drew near the town within half a league, but two of them stayed behind.* — 7. *Five Dutch ships were sighted. Soon they entered the roads near the town.* — 8. *By the way they fired at Francisco da Silva's galleon.* — 9. *Furtado chased them away with his galleons.* — 10-12. *The Dutch ships sailed for the galleon of Tomé de Sousa. Mutual bombardment of Dutch and Portuguese. The*

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Dutch ships, being more agile, took shelter. — 13. Both parties repaired the losses suffered. — 14. The general rallied his fleet. — 15. The Dutch sailed for two Portuguese ships which did not assemble. The general took counsel with his steersmen. — 16. A command to move the galleons was obeyed too slowly. The steersmen reassured the general. — 17. The Dutch captured the galliot of Francisco da Sousa. — 18. They overpowered the galliot of André Rodrigues Palhota as well. — 19. The general, weighing the possibilities, resolved to sail to Ambon. — 20. He destroyed his smaller boats and tried, in vain, to warn a supply ship, following from Malacca, not to approach Sunda. — 21. He cleared for Ambon. — 22. What happened at Panarukan. — 23. Taking in of food supplies at Koreh and Bima. — 24. Arrival at Ambon. Joy of Catholics. Meeting the Jesuits. — 25. Ambon fortress was fortified. Preparations for the war against Hitu and other rebelling villages. — 26. The Fathers accompanied the captains both over land and on the ships. A military hospital was created, directed by a Jesuit. — 27. The fleet took up its station off Wakasihu. Many villages submited themselves to the general. Ceremony of submission. — 28. Three Dutch ships, sailing to Banda, passed by. António de Sousa arrived; what happened to him at Bima. — 29. Fr. Luís Fernandes arrived from Tidore. Three of the five Dutch ships of Sunda rode at anchor in Ternate. Francisco de Sousa was freed by the Dutch. — 30. The Dutch found a new way to Ternate, sailing between Borneo and Makasar. They conquered a lighter coming from Manila. — 31. The people of Nusatelo, instead of submitting, entrenched themselves on a hill. — 32. Two Dutch ships came sailing to Hitu, but they cleared off to Buru. The Nusatelo people surrendered, except their chief. — 33. Hitu village and the Dutch fortress there had been evacuated. People entrenched themselves on two steep hills: Nau and Bemnau. — 34. Description of these places. — 35. The general pitched his camp before Hitu. His messengers were rejected. — 36. First combats. The Portuguese took better positions. — 37. The general left the camp in order to personally conduct the attack. This was suddenly hastened by false rumours. — 38-39. Description of the attack. The Portuguese flag was hoisted on the enemy's trench. — 40. The second hill was taken as well. — 41. Nine villages came submitting themselves. Thanksgiving mass on Easter day. The chief of Nusatelo surrendered himself. — 42-43. Waranula taken and destroyed. Mamala submitted itself. — 44. Nine Dutch ships in the Maluku waters: threat for the fortresses of Tidore and Ambon. — 45. The Banda people, who ransomed Francisco de Sousa, preferred to take sides with the Portuguese. — 46. Agreement on treatment of prisoners. — 47. The general made arrangements for supplying his fleet. — 48. Some captains and monks returned to India. A Dominican Father sailed to Solor. — 49. Two ships sailed to Manila to draw food supplies. Fr. André Pereira had to accompany their captain. — 50. These arrangements being carried into effect, the general planned to conquer Ternate.

1. Porquanto, des que partio a armada[1] dessa barra[2] até chegar a

[1] The fleet consisted of six galleons, one galley, and eighteen galliots, manned with 1,200 Portuguese troops and about 2,000 natives, and it carried victuals for eight months (Lisbon, *Arq. Ultram. 282* f. 118*r*; Cf. D 145,2).

[2] Furtado set out from Goa in 1601, on May 10, which was rather late (COLIN-PASTELLS II 345).

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Palimbão [3], não ouve que escrever a V. Senhoria mais que infortunios da navegação [4], o não fis, e tambem porque outros o farião em particular. Nesta, de Palimbão até o tempo em que se partio este galeão pera Malaca [5], darey meudamente conta a V. Senhoria do successo da armada e nossa viagem.

2. Chegados a Palimbão tratou logo o general por pessoas sufficientes com o rey de Palimbão [6] acerca dos mantimentos que nos podia dar. E perguntando-lhe se se queria achar nesta empreza, respondeo depois de muitos vagares, como todos os demais negros costumão, que por indisposição não podião acompanhar o general, mas que daria dous mil homens de socorro. E já dessera de dez mil que dantes tinha prometidos, depois veo a 700 e por derradeiro não deu hum só [7].

3. Desenganado o general deste falso rey, que, persuadido a por antão lhe não dar o castigo que seu desavergonhamento merecia, se partio pera a Sunda [8] a 17 de Dezembro de 601, aonde chegamos vespora do Natal e surgimos defronte do boqueirão, duas legoas fora de duas barras que a cidade tem. E ao dia do Natal polla menhã veo hum chuveiro da banda do boqueirão, que antão erão ordinarios por ser já inverno.

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[3] Palembang in S Sumatra.

[4] « Me dais conta que ... indo a armada na altura do Cabo de Comorin lhe dera hum temporal com que arribarão todos os navios de remo a Ceillão, Manar e a Cochim, e que hum se perdera nos baixos de Chileao » [i.e., Adam's Bridge] (*Arq. Ultram. 282* f. 118*r*). Furtado had to reorganize his fleet at Malacca, which he left on September 23. This time it was composed of eight galleons, four galliots, one *patacho*, and seven smaller craft, and it numbered about 800 Portuguese and some native people (COLIN-PASTELLS II 345).

[5] Presumably the normal *galião da carreira* of every year; it carried this letter to India.

[6] The ruler of Banten (Sunda) considered the king of Palembang his vassal, but the latter did not want to recognize the former as his lord; there had been a war between them in 1596 in which the king of Banten died (ENI III 265; I 165).

[7] This clear statement puts an end to some doubts and discussions; see TIELE VI 188; WESSELS, *Amboina* 138 note 4. « O rei de Polimbão, que ajudava André Furtado, era o primeiro que estava consertado com o da Sunda » (D. Frei Aleixo de Meneses, archbishop of Goa, to King Philip III, April 6, 1603, in Lisbon, *Torre do Tombo, Col. S. Vic. XII* f. 117).

[8] The town and port of Banten (less correctly Bantam) in W Java, at present an insignificant village, at that time developing into an important mercantile port. On the history of Banten, see ENI I 165.

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4. E esclarecendo tivemos vista de duas naos [9] que vinhão entrando direitas a nós mas, como nos virão, se fizerão em outra volta muito apartada donde nós vinhamos. E encontrarão com sinco bantins [10] nossos dos que armou Malaca, e por muy [128r] ligeiros que erão, ellas o forão mais e, ora num bordo, ora noutro, os forão acalcanhando. E lhe ficou hum debaixo do goroupés, e lhe tomarão dez soldados que levavão e largarão o casco com os marinheiros, que dahi a alguns dias vierão ter connosco. Isto foi à nossa vista, mas tão longe que escassamente viamos as naos, mas bem se via o fumo das bombardadas. Os outros bantins que escaparão, se recolherão à armada e nos derão novas do talho das naos, e como trazião gavias e sobregavias e sobrecevadeiras, com que hião com vento e contravento, e bem o experimentamos nós depois [11].

5. O general tanto que vio estas duas, se meteo em huma manchua [12] e correo as nossas naos. E fallando com os capitães dellas, assentou despedir quatro das mais ligeiras que as seguissem, e já se aprestavão. Mas vendo a ligeireza e mareação dos olandezes ou ingrezes [13], ouve que perdião o tempo e o porto e não ganhava nada, e mandou que se não levassem. O tempo que entrava pello boqueirão era tão rijo e as correntes tão fortes, que não avia amarra que o sofresse, e muito menos as nossas que vinhão já gastadas de tantos estreitos contra monção, aonde cada hora surgiamos. E assy as sinco galeotas, dous navios, 6 bantins, hum pataxo, hum junco e huma lorcha [14], que armou hum china de Malaca afilhado do general, não podendo [a] sofrer o tempo, se forão no mesmo dia pôr detrás de huma ilha [15] a nosso gilavento. Num dos bordos que as naos ingrezas fizerão, tanto que nos virão se chegarão a terra da Sunda e despedirão huma embarcação pequena

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[9] A ship and a yacht commanded by Gerard le Roy, part of a fleet that had sailed from Zeeland on January 28, 1601 (TIELE VI 183, 184, 186-187).

[10] *Banting*, a brigantine, a two-masted small merchantman or cargo vessel of Aceh origin (DALGADO I 97; ENI V 110).

[11] Some particulars of this and the following paragraphs seem unknown from other sources.

[12] *Manchua*, see D 73 note 73.

[13] No English were involved in this encounter. So everywhere for *ingrezes* read *holandezes*.

[14] The *lorcha* was a type of *junco*, somewhat modified by the Portuguese (LEITÃO-LOPES 330).

[15] There are some islets scattered in Banten bay, the biggest is called Pulu Panjang (Pulo Pensano in the Dutch *Journael*), which in our document is likely to be intended by « a ilha ».

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pera a cidade; e mandando hum navio nosso de remo que ainda alli estava, lhe não pode chegar por ir muito a terra, e já sayrão quatro embarcações da barra em seu favor.

6. Passado o dia do Natal em magoas, por não podermos chegar aonde os olhos e a vontade nos levava, a primeira oitava[16] à tarde nos largou o vento e se levarão os nossos oito galeões, e chegarão bem a hum morro que estava na boca da barra, donde se via a cidade pouco mais de meia legoa[17]. O galeão de Thomé de Souza de Aronches[b][18] ficou de nós huma legoa, porque se levou mais tarde, e o de Francisco da Silva[19] ficaria quasi meia legoa; e não poderão chegar por lhe acalmar o vento. Os navios de remo ficarão muito longe na abriga da ilha. Só a galeota de Gonçalo Vaz de Castelbranco[20] estava connosco.

7. A segunda oitava bem cedo tiverão dous balões nossos vista de sinco naos ingrezas[21], que vinhão entrando dereitas às nossas duas que ficarão. E tanto que as descobrirão, os balões voltarão logo, e Francisco da Silva deu huma bombardada, que nos meteo em confusão por não sabermos ainda o que era. Certificado o general das naos, mandou levar a armada ettc. Em hum instante as naos apparecerão dentro na barra junto da cidade. Contamos perto de sincoenta embarcações de negros, que vinhão à vela pera nós, mas não sayrão da barra os ingrezes.

8. Perpassarão pello galeão de Francisco da Silva a tiro de mos-

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[16] That is, December 26, a Wednesday.

[17] Presumably this was Pulu Lima, which is about three km. from the town of Banten, or another small islet near it.

[18] Tomé de Sousa de Arronches was well acquainted with Maluku; see DD 80, 9 and 82, 12. He had come into prominence in the war in Ceylon (COUTO X/II *passim*). He was captain of Colombo and more than once chief captain of fleets (RIBEIRO no. 1872), and he was rewarded, in 1613, with the captainship of Goa (ibid. no. 1875), but in 1619 he was living blind and poor at Goa (*Brit. Libr.., Add. 28432* f. 96*v*). The *Journael* misspells Zuza de Reucha.

[19] Francisco da Silva de Meneses, having arrived in India in 1584, had been captain of Malacca, 1597-1598. (RIBEIRO no. 1018). — According to the *Journael*, the two galleons anchored at the W side of Pulu Panjang.

[20] Little is known of him; he is called a brother of Traiano Rodrigues de Castelbranco (here no. 12). He is not likely to be the same as the one mentioned in RIBEIRO for 1560 (no. 554).

[21] The letter of Brito Fogaça reports also of two distinct encounters, one with two, the other with five ships; the latter were commanded by Wolfert Harmensz and had set out from Texel (Netherlands) in April 1601 (TIELE VI 187).

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quete, e hum deu no peito[c] ao velho que estava ao pé do masto grande, que, se não tivera outro de prova o acabara, e outro lhe matou hum cafrinho que tinha junto de sy. E descarregarão na nao tantas bombardadas que, alem das perdidas, se acharão perto de 20 pelouros de ferro coado, mas sem damno algum, louvores a Deos[d].

9. Da nossa nao os condestabres não estavão ociosos, porque descarregarão nos imigos com muitas e mui furiosas peças, e huma varou a sua almirante pola popa e foi meter o pelouro no masto do traquete, como depois soubemos, e alguma liação avia de passar. Ficou tão afamada que dizião os ingrezes que se goardassem de la nave de los pendones colorados[22]. Não se detiverão mais, porque vinha [128*v*] o general com seis galeõis já levados e não se querião emcontrar com elle, nem despois o esperarão a tiro da peça porque lhe fazia muito damno.

10. Forão demandar a Thomé de Souza de Aronches, que ainda não tinha de todo levado as vellas; e fora bem escuzado levá-las, porque em breve, com as bombardadas e vento, por serem velhas, desaparecerão. Desaparelhada a nao, se occuparão todos em aparelhar a artelharia, a qual o capitão, por ser muito experimentado, entregou a soldados velhos que ajudassem e dessem animo aos condestabres, e repartio outros pollos castellos da proa e popa, dando capitães a cada terço: o de proa entregou a Luis de Melo, filho de Francisco de Mello Roncador, que o fez como quem era.

11. Os ingrezes por verem que vinha a nossa armada, e tiverão tempo pera todos juntos arremeterem a ella, e despedirão hum chuveiro de bombardadas, e tornarão a carregar e descarregar. Thomé de Souza trabalhava por empregar as suas bem, e taes despedio que se virão nas naos dos imigos pedaços de homens ao mar; e da nossa gavia, onde estavão os mosquetes grandes, lhe faziamos muito damno. E se ouvio dizer de sua parte: « Não forse, nossa terra molta gente tiene! »[23]. E indo-nos chegando com as nossas naos, os imigos se forão recolhendo, que erão 4. E a almirante ficava na sua estancia, e com ligeireza se fez junto da nossa nao em outra volta, que por estar sem vellas, parecia estar surta. E não a podendo tomar, pello mesmo bordo descarregou na nossa a artelharia, e nós tambem o servimos com a que poudemos.

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[22] Curious this citation in Spanish in a Portuguese report of what the Dutch, called English, were saying among themselves.

[23] Another curious quotation in a mixture of Portuguese and Italian. Its meaning is anything but clear.

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12. Matarão-nos sete lascares[24] marinheiros e ferirão alguns portuguezes levemente. Vinha o general morrendo por lhe chegar, e tres naos das nossas as mais ligeiras apertarão as bolinas e forão seguindo as quatro imigas que se hião acolhendo. E o general vendo que as não podião alcançar, fez sinal que arribassem sobre a almirante que fazia sortes com sua ligeireza, mas ou o não entenderão ou não pouderão, e assy nenhuma arribou. Só o galeão de Trajano Rodriguez[25] hia quasi emparelhando com a imiga e lhe chegou com algumas peças, e seu irmão Gonçalo Vaz lhe tirou da sua galeota ao leme com o camelete; mas a outra hia tão ligeira que desaparecia. E a nossa zavra[26] de Ormus, que tinhamos por passaro, parecia carro. Vendo o general isto deu sinal a recolher e surgir, porque hiamos perdendo o porto.

13. Lançamos ferro perto da nao de Thomé de Souza que ficava destroçada da briga, mas pezarosa de não abalroar por se aver o esforço dos soldados portuguezes. Os imigos se recolherão detrás da ilha raza[27] a enterrar os mortos e a refazer dalguma rotura que a nossa artelharia lhe tinha feito. E nós nos esquipamos de vellas e demos graças a Deos do pouco damno que nos fizerão. Ao lume d'agoa nenhum pelouro entrou, polas obras mortas muitos ativarão-nos à popa, ao leme e ao piloto. E assi nos matarão o socão[28] que estava ao leme, e ao piloto que estava na cadeira lhe levarão o cris que tinha detrás na sinta, que a não se abaixar naquelle comenos gritando que mareassem a nao, lhe davão nas costas. O qual não escapou aqui em Amboino de dous pelouros com que hum portuguez o matou, a quem elle tinha afrontado em Malaca.

14. Logo o general mandou recado aos navios de remo que se chegassem pera as naos, mas com as correntes e ventos não poderão chegar e ficarão mais de huma legoa de nós. Ao outro dia polla menhã amenhacerão os ingrezes na outra ponta da ilha, donde se tinha levado

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[24] *Lascar* means soldier. The term is of Persian origin (YULE 507; DALGADO I 514 (« marinheiro indígena »); BAUSANI, *Note* 16 no. 111).

[25] See D 144 note 6. In December 1605 he appears a man of some importance in Malacca (*Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* I 151).

[26] *Zavra*, a boat of the Arabs, used in the western part of the Indian Ocean (DALGADO II 441). — One is astonished to see that the Portuguese were time and again impressioned by the quickness and swiftness of several Dutch craft with which the unwieldiness of their own ships contrasted unfavourably.

[27] This flat island cannot be identified; perhaps again Pulu Panjang.

[28] *Socão*, from Persian *sukkani*, a steersman (DALGADO II 310; YULE 804: *Seacunny*; Cf. WILSON, *A Glossary* 493).

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a nossa armada de remo. Mandou logo o general recado aos navios que polla calada remassem por estarem muito perto dos imigos, e assy se veo logo o navio [129*r*] de André Guedes [29], a galeota de André Pessoa [30] e outros. A galeota de Francisco de Souza [31] se deixou ficar confiando-sse no seu catureiro [32].

15. Ex [33] que polla menhã os ingrezes se levavão no seguimento do pataxo de Tomé de Thorres e da galeota de Francisco de Souza. O general se veo logo acima e chamou os dous pilotos e o mestre, e lhes perguntou se aquellas naos, que hião muito a gilavento dos nossos dous navios, podião naquella volta ou na outra chegar a elles. Responderão que descansasse Sua Mercê, que de nenhum modo lhe podião chegar. Thomé de Torres com o seu pataxo se pôs em popa dereito com a terra a buscar fundo aonde não podessem os imigos chegar e, se despedissem lorcha, bem se entenderia com ella. Prouvera a Deos que fizera isto Francisco de Souza, mas quis forçar a galeota polla bolina, e como não levava de penão sordia muito pouco.

16. O general não descançava por mais que os pilotos o asseguravão. Mandou levar o seu galeão e deu sinal a se levarem todos, mas erão elles nisto pouco ligeiros, que se não quizerão levar sem verem ir o capitão-mor já à vella, o qual arreceava de se apartar dos nossos por se temer que dessem os imigos sobre os muito zorreiros e que lhe não podesse o general ser bom. Estando já a nossa capitania a pique, instarão os pilotos que se não levasse Sua Mercê, que os nossos navios estavão já seguros e levando-se perdião a barra de todo e não a poderião mais tomar.

17. Ex que a nao dianteira dos imigos emparelha com a galeota de Francisco de Souza e começou a esbombardear nella, e na outra volta lhe ganhou abalravento. Sentio tanto o general este engano dos

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[29] Further unknown. The *Journael* calls him André Guiedes de Cavalho (read Carvalho).

[30] An André Pessoa was rewarded with the office of a judge of the customs at Goa in 1607 (*Bol. da Filmoteca* V 857).

[31] Francisco de Sousa Teves (no. 44) or Teive (BOXER-FRAZÃO 118, 120) was the son of the paymaster general João de Teves in Lisbon (*Journael*; it calls him Zuza Toves). See *Grande Encicl. Port. Bras.*, vol. 31, 580: Teve, whereas the usual family name is Teive.

[32] *Catureiro* is the pilot or steersman of a *catur*, originally a light rowing vessel of Malabar (DALGADO 239 and 240; YULE 175).

[33] *Ex* for *eis*.

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pilotos, que não sei como os não pôs à espada [34]. Acodirão todos outra ves a levar a marra, mas como estavamos mais de meia legoa, não podemos chegar a tempo que os imigos não tivessem entrado a galeota. E com levar mais de 20 homens, não se pôs defensa que, por pouco que se defenderão, os socorreramos. Alguns se lançarão logo ao mar, outros matarão na entrada da galeota, e 10 ou 12 com o capitão recolherão à nao; e sem mais saco largarão a galeota por se não embaraçarem connosco.

18. André Rodriguez Palhota [35], que estava em paragem segura, não sei com que intento se levou, e o vento e correntes o forão meter no meio dos imigos, que com levar 16 moços consigo pelejou como esforçado cavaleiro e morreo com todos os seus. E só tres levarão vivos, e hum delles que era soldado esforçado levava 14 feridas, o qual depois estiverão pera degolar, porque por qualquer ocasião os desafiava que sahissem com elle tres ou quatro a terra e saberião quem erão os portuguezes. Chegados nós à galeota, recolhemos logo dous ou tres feridos que se tinhão pegado no leme; recolherão os marinheiros que andavão nadando. Entretanto tiverão os imigos tempo de saquear a 2ª galeota e recolher o camelete, e logo se acolherão a hum baixo junto da ilha, aonde os nossos galeõis lhe não podessem chegar. Foi este dia de tão grande vento pera as naos, que o não podião sofrer e hia caçando [36] pera a terra, e de pena e desconsolação pera todos nós.

19. Resoluto o general que o não avião os imigos de esperar, nem avia de vir com elles a batalha, nem os podia alcançar à vella, nem emsacar, nem tãopouco podia entrar na Sunda, por ter descorridas ambas as barras, e lhe ficar o tempo ponteiro, determinou de passar a Amboyno e Maluco, aonde arreceava que estivessem os nossos em aperto, como na verdade estavão, e tinha visto em Malaca nas cartas que de Tidore hião ao Viso-Rrey; e lho requeria rijamente o procurador de Amboino [37], que hia pera a India a buscar armada ou não tornar mais a estas partes, deixando nellas molher, filhos e fazenda, a quem eu vi

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[34] Justly TIELE (VI 189) points to the lack of agreement and of mutual confidence among the Portuguese.

[35] Further unknown. The *Journael* calls him an old man, having 32 years of service.

[36] Perhaps better «hião caçando». *Caçar*, in ancient nautical language, means 'break adrift' (LEITÃO-LOPES 120).

[37] We did not find a name or any other indication of this tender-hearted manager of Ambon affairs.

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por vezes chorar; e o general tinha trazido comsigo com esperanças de o socorrer [129*v*] e satisfazer a sua petição.

20. Assentando pois de fazer esta tão arriscada jornada, polla falta que nestas partes há de mantimentos pera tão grande armada e por tanto tempo, e vendo que os bantins não podião lá passar, os mandou desfazer e meter no fundo [38], provendo com os remeiros a falta que já tinha de marinheiros. E porque a naveta, que avia de vir de Malaca com o provimento e molheres dos capitães de Amboino e da viagem [39], não se viessem meter na Sunda, despachou o navio de André Guedes e o que lhe servia de manchua que, pello menos até Palimbão, ainda que contravento, tornassem a avizar a naveta que passasse de largo. Mas era o tempo tão rijo, que naquella noite estiverão os navios ambos perdidos; e tornarão a arribar polla menhã, e o que era manchua vinha tão aberto que escassamente o poderão descarregar e logo se foi ao fundo. E vendo o general que era negoceo de importancia avizar a embarcação dos provimentos, meteo na lorcha, que armou hum china, a Thomé de Torres que depois tambem se perdeo.

21. Emfim vendo que perdião o tempo e desgarravamos[g] muito, com oito naos e tres galeotas e hum navio se deliberou ir pera Amboino. Ex que a almirante dos ingrezes deu à vella e, polla bolina prepassando polla nossa armada a tiro de bombarda, algumas das nossas embarcações lhe fizerão dar volta pera as suas naos. Cuidou o general que querião elles vir a batalha, e tomara ver-se elle só com todas sinco naos pera verem quem erão os nossos soldados, mas os imigos se afastarão pera humas ilhas e nos fizerão o caminho franco. E nós com vento prospero nos fomos pera Amboyno, que parece queria Deos levar-nos a socorrer aquella fortaleza que em tanto risco estava.

22. Chegamos a Panaruca, que está no cabo da Jaoa[h] junto do boqueirão do Balle, por onde os ingrezes tambem passão. Mandou o general fazer agoada numas ribeiras perto, e mandou nos balões à cidade saber se estava alli a artelharia do nosso galeão [40]. Mas por hum navio nosso inconsideradamente dar cassa[i] a hum junco e o fazer varar

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[38] According to the *Journael*, this happened on December 30.

[39] The new captain of Tidore was Pedro Álvares de Abreu. It is worth noting that the *nau da carreira* of 1601 sailed to Maluku in Furtado's fleet, or at least at the same time as this one; and it is only reasonable that the new captain as well as the two missionaries, Fr. André Pereira and Br. Mateus de Brito, sailed in this galleon (Cf. DD 149, 2; 163, 11; 171, 4).

[40] That is, the galleon mentioned in D 144, 3.

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em terra, o rey lançou mão de huns homens que hião nos balões. Mandou logo o general a André Guedes, Gonçalo Vaz e Francisco de Maris [41], com recado a el-rey largasse os portuguezes; mas o tempo era tão rijo que não deu lugar aos balões a esperarem pollo recado.

23. Navegamos pera Corea [42], que está na Jaoa[j] Menor [43], aonde fazia alguma abrigada. Mandou logo o general se avia arrôs e mantimento, o que tudo negoceou André Pessoa muito bem, trazendo muitos porcos e grandes inhames, cabras, figos e outras fruitas. Arrôs avia muito em bate [44] nuns molhos que dizem vinhão da Bima [45], sete legoas avante. Despachou logo a nao de Francisco da Silva, que vinha mais descarregada, pera a Bima e nella Antonio de Souza, e dinheiro pera carregar de arrôs ou bate. Isto feito nos fizemos à vella com toda a armada via do Burru[k], que hé huma ilha grande 12 legoas de Amboyno.

24. Chegamos a Varanula defronte de Ito, aonde os olandezes tem seu forte, e descobrindo dentro não aver naos, fomos demandar a nossa bahia de Amboyno a 10 de Fevereiro [46] com grande espanto dos da fortaleza, que cuidavão eramos imigos. Mas tanto que lhe fez sinal a nossa capitania com duas peças grossas, entenderão que eramos portuguezes e ficarão tão alegres como se resuscitarão da morte, que por bem mortos se tinhão. Vierão logo os nossos Padres buscar-nos com muito amor, o Lourenço Mazonio e o P.[e] Gabriel da Cruz, que são os que sostentão estes christãos destas christandades, mas são santos e por taes tidos.

25. Entendeo logo o general na fortificação da fortaleza. Fez tirar pedra e fazer cal e fornos etc.; e mandou buscar gamute [47] pera fazer

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[41] Francisco de Mariz occurs also in the Dutch *Journael* as captain of one of the junks; see also no. 49. He had visited the Banda islands at the time of Diogo de Azambuja (BOXER-FRAZÃO 123).

[42] Koreh, in the region of Sanggar near Dompo Bay in the island of Sumbawa (ENI IV 9; TIELE V 161; DORNSEIFFEN, kaart 22).

[43] The island of Java proper was commonly called *Iava maior*; the term *Iava minor* was applied rather confusedly to many smaller islands, but even sometimes to Borneo and Sumatra. On LINSCHOTEN's map it is the name of Sumbawa.

[44] Rice in the husk, « arroz em casca ou em erva » (DALGADO I 102; YULE 72).

[45] Likewise in Sumbawa island, about 38 km. east of Koreh.

[46] Cf. D 145, 3.

[47] *Gamute* or *gomuti*, a black horsehair-like fibre growing on the areng palm; it is very strong and resistent, and therefore it is used for cables, thatch, and many other purposes (DALGADO I 415; YULE 385).

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amarras, de que vinhamos faltos. Deu ordem a Thomé de Souza de Aronches que corresse com certas obras, e neg[oci]ou quatro naos [130*r*] e 10 ou 12 caracolas, e se foy fazer guerra aos itos e mais lugares desta ilha que estavão alevantados contra a fortaleza. Mandou por terra José Pinto [48] com 200 portugueses e com esta gente sahimos da bahia.

26. O P.e Lourenço Mazonio hia com José Pinto por terra, o P.e Sebastião da Veiga e eu hiamos com o general na sua galeota. Mas achando-se o P.e Sebastião da Veiga muito de camaras, o deixou o general emcarregado do hospital da armada que aqui ordenou, que foi o ultimo remedio de muitos soldados enfermos, que sem isto perecerão, no que fez muito serviço a Deos emquanto podia e, quando não, lhe socedia o P.e André Pereira [49]. Emfim fui eu[l] com o general e os mais religiosos com seus capitães, os quaes estando em terra se agazalhão aqui em nossa casa [50].

27. Demos volta à ilha e metemo-nos numa enseada que se chama Bacacio [51], aonde estivemos hum mes [52]. E Estevão Teixeira, capitão que foi da fortaleza, hia diante com algumas caracolas tomar falla de alguns lugares dos alevantados, que tambem o são no sitio por habitarem em outeiros mui altos, a que[m] elles chamão gunus [53], aonde commummente tem fontes de agoa doce, e pollos gunus dessem ribeiras, e pella fralda delles agoa tão excelente que quer competir com a que desce da Serra da Estrella [54]. Todos estes lugares facilmente vierão dar obediencia e de cada hum vinhão 6 ou 7 pessoas dos mais nobres, e cada lugar trazia huma bandeira e tres sinos de metal, que são como bacias grandes [55]; valerá cada hum 50 cruzados. Trazião mais terra e huns ramos de cravo em sinal que lhe entregavão a terra e o principal fruito della; alguns trazirão tambem cabras e galinhas.

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[48] José Pinto was the captain of the *nau da carreira* mentioned in note 39. See D 171, 4. He had to cross Hitu from the large bay in the south to the northern coast. He had been captain of the Maluku galleon earlier, at least once, in 1595 (APO III/II 766-767 no. 277).

[49] See note 39.

[50] The two Jesuit chaplains had been appointed to Furtado's flagship; the other galleons had their own priests belonging to other orders; see nos. 39 and 48.

[51] Wakasihu.

[52] Understand: blockading the coast and the entries to Hitu and to Ambon bay.

[53] Malay *gunung*, mountain, hill.

[54] Mountain range in Central Portugal.

[55] The well-known gongs.

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28. Estando o general nesta enseada, ex que parecem tres nao sao mar. Mandou-as o general reconhecer por André Pessoa em huma caracola, o qual tornou dizendo que lhe parecião naos ingrezas que hião pera Banda. Juntamente chegou o junco de Francisco de Maris e deu por novas que Antonio de Souza na Bima, aonde era mandado pello general, deu em terra e fez fogir aquella infame canalha que vinhão em huns rossins com zergunchos por lanças e lhes queimou a cidade e, desenganado de poder fazer cousa alguma, se veo pera nós.

29. Neste tempo chegou huma caracola de Tidore em que vinha o P.e Luis Fernandes com cartas d'el-rey e dos moradores de Maluco [56], em que davão os parabens da vinda ao general, pedindo-lhe mui depressa os fosse socorrer, dando por novas que ficavão tres naos em Ternate das sinco que pelejarão connosco na Sunda [57], em que vinha Francisco de Souza Teves que elles deixarão ir pera Tidore, e falou com os Padres e lá esteve tres dias. Mandavão pedir os olandezes a sua nao e a artelharia que com engano os nossos lhe tinhão tomado [58], e que elles largarião 13 portuguezes que trazião tomados da Sunda, o que se lhe não concedeo.

30. Soubemos como estas tres naos tinhão descuberto huma viagem nova, em que se emcurta hum anno inteiro pera virem socorrer estas duas fortalezas, porque estes imigos partirão da Sunda dez dias depois de tomar o porto e fizerão sua derrota por entre Borneo e Macassa. A nossa fragata que vinha das Manilhas tomarão estes olandezes com todo o recheo e se meterão em Ternate. Vinha carregada de arrôs, carnes, vinho, louça, sedas ettc.; a gente toda numa barquinha se salvou. E soubemos como o Ternate, sabendo da nossa armada, não queria largar os ingrezes obrigando-o[s] a que o ajudassem, e só tomarão 60 bares de cravo que seus feitores lhe tinhão feito.

31. Tornando à guerra que o general hia fazendo, hum dos lugares dos alevantados que se chama Rossatelo [59], que hé hum gunu mui alto e bem fortalecido, com a vista das nossas caracolas e alguns bateis se puzerão em fogida e queimarão muito fato e cazas, recolhendo-se a outro gunu mais alto aonde já tinhão as molheres e meninos.

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[56] Lost letters, 143*a-b*.

[57] Wolfert Harmensz arrived with three ships at Ternate on February 17, but left it again, bound for Banda, on March 7 (TIELE VI 189-190).

[58] D 136, 1-2.

[59] Nusatelo, the present-day Asilulu, now on the coast, but then more inland on a hill.

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A este gunu se não pode sobir senão pegando numas rotas [60] que tem atadas de arvore a arvore.

32. Ex que tiverão os nossos [130*v*] vista de duas naos e hum pataxo [61] que entravão na barra de Ito. O general que ainda estava naquella enseada, com duas naos e galeotas pretendeo i-las demandar, mas o tempo era pollo olho e as galeotas por duas vezes arribarão. Os itos com as naos se emsoberbecerão mais e lançarão caracolas ao mar e lhe derão novas como os hiamos conquistando. Mas os olandezes não fizerão mais detença que meter hum leme novo e, levando anchora por mão, se fizerão à vella via do Burru, e nós ficamos magoados de lhe não podermos chegar. Dous dias depois por huma calada entramos aquelle gunu inacessivel[n] em que os rossatelos se tinhão recolhidos, mas sem briga porque elles nos vierão receber com bandeiras brancas, posto que a cabeça delles, que era hum Dom Belchior que antigamente veo a Goa [62], se tinha acolhido.

33. Já neste tempo estava Ito despejado e a fortaleza dos ingrezes por serem idos a Banda, e a gente toda se tinha recolhida em hum mais inexpugnavel gunu que há nesta terra, que se chama Não e Bemnão [63], que são dous oiteyros hum cavalgado sobre outro, como gavea sobre gavea, perto da praya, mas por rezão da volta, que será meia legoa[o], o Não hé por todas as partes talhado com ribeiras muy frescas que o cercão. Tem tres entradas ou sobidas mui ingremes, que gatos trepando lá sentirião difficuldade. Nestas entradas tinhão tres tranqueiras dobradas com terripleno no meio, com muitos berços e meios falcões que os defendião, e cada huma muita gente da goarda com bandeiras arvoradas e todo[p] genero de armas offensivas e defensivas, de que os olandezes tem bem provido este Sul. E sobretudo tinhão infinidade de penedos que a deixá-los cair fazem ir a tombos hum exercito. Aqui se tinha junto o poder de nossos imigos destas ilhas.

34. Neste primeiro oiteiro estava huma grande chã e nella situada huma povoação, tão grande como huma grande villa de Portugal, de casaria a seu modo muito boa. Estava tudo cheo de craveiros a modo

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[60] Long rattan stems; Malay *rotan*.

[61] The three of no. 29, on their way to Banda.

[62] This chief of Nusatelo is doubtless one of the two sons of D. Diogo, who with their father stayed in St. Paul's College at Goa about 1560 (DM I 607). He is mentioned as « Don Melchor renegado » in the letter of Brito Fogaça.

[63] The villages of Nau and Binau, no longer existing, were situated near the present-day Lima, a little inland on hilltops (VALENTYN II a 96, 105 [Nau and Binau], 187 [Nauw and Binauw]; *Adatrechtbundels* XXXVI 442).

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de oliveiras, mas mais copadas que ellas e mimozas; estavão entresachadas de muitas palmeiras mansas e por baixo de todo o genero de arvore de espinho, laranjas, limões, cidras, zamboas, com sinco ou seis bicas d'agoa, que cada huma lançava huma boa manilha. Emfim parecia o gunu huma quinta de prazeres que tão fresco estava. Sobre este gunu estava outro, que o hé o Bemnao, e cuido quer dizer [64] bem avantejado ao outro na povoação, nos craveiros e tudo o mais.

35. O general chegando Domingo de Ramos [65] à praia, mandou logo fazer huma grande tranqueira, e assentar o arraial com choupanas pera o sol e chuva, que de quando avia. Mandou logo por hum seu, que lhe tinhamos tomado, saber sua determinação. Hião com elles alguns dos nossos amboinos pera saberem o caminho. Mas elles que estavão tão altos, mais altos tinhão os pensamentos, nem fizerão conta do recado, dizendo que elles erão vassalos d'el-rey de Ternate e que a elle reconhecião; e que avião de contratar com os ingrezes e com as nações que lhe bem parecesse, e que tambem venderião o seu cravo aos portugueses, e que el-rey de Portugal tinha grande garganta. Parece que arreceavão que os ingulissem, e começarão a desparar sua espingardaria.

36. A 2ª-feira mandou o general hum capitão que reconhecesse o sitio, e hião-se já os nossos desmandando, chegando à sua tranqueira, e forão rebatidos com muitas espingardadas e pedradas, de que sahirão malferidos e aos tombos se recolherão pello gunu abaixo. Na noite seguinte mandou o general 200 homens que fossem no quarto d'ant'alva tomar o outeiro que estava defronte de sua tranqueira, e em esclarecendo derão suas surriadas e espingardaria, que fizerão muito dano nos imigos desapercebidos. Levarão dous berços os nossos com ordem de fazer huma tranqueira, com que desenquietarão os imigos grandemente, e a noite seguinte os mudarão mais adiante na quebrada do monte. Gonçalo Vaz de Castelbranco com trinta homens goardava este passo e de noite estiverão [131*r*] à falla com os imigos por espaço, certificando-os que no dia seguinte lhe tomarião o forte, como de feito, mas elles amanhecerão com huma tranqueira de novo feita mais acima.

37. A 4ª-feira de trevas polla menhã mandou o general tocar a

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[64] GUERREIRO, who transcribed our text almost literally (and admittedly from the original), has « . . . Bemnau que quere dizer filho de Nau e bem avantajado . . . » (I 280). This 'Hebrew' etymological explication was taken over by IARRICUS and ridiculed by VALENTYN (II a 105).

[65] In 1602 Palm Sunday fell on March 31.

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caxa pera elle em pessoa ir ao gunu onde os nossos estavão com toda a gente, deixando a Trajano Rodriguez de Castelbranco com 50 homens em guarda do nosso real, posto que não levava animo de aquelle dia cometer, senão de repartir a gente. Estando tomando conselho com os capitães, chegou Gonçalo Vaz com huma espingardada perigoza na barriga da perna com sinco buracos. O que os soldados da estancia vendo que seu capitão hia ferido, fizerão querena de dar Santiago [66] nos imigos. E cá onde o general estava soou que os imigos vinhão sobre as estancias e berços.

38. Deu logo o general o Santiago e arremeterão os soldados com tanta furia [que] se pozerão a trapar huns após outros. Com os atambores, charamellas retenião às orelhas, as espingardadas, roqueiradas[a] e pedradas dos imigos retenião às cabeças dos nossos polla ladeira abaixo. E pedra ouve que levou hum e dous e tres de tombos, até irem a parar em alguma arvore. E a hum capitão derão huma à mãotante que, se não tomara em huma rodela de asso, perdera a vida, e assi perdeo o acordo mas não o brio, e tornando em sy cavalgou na tranqueira.

39. O Santiago e gritos da gente abrião os valles, esforçavão os corações que derribados em terra tiravão com a mão os estrepes, de que tudo estava semeado. Os que ficavão em baixo em goarda do arraial estavão vendo a briga, e hum religioso de S. Domingos [67], que alli ficou com seu capitão, se pôs de giolhos e rezarão as ladainhas a que todos respondião. E não tinhão acabado quando as nossas bandeiras já estavão alevantadas na tranqueira e as dos imigos lançadas por terra. O mancebo esforçado, que levava a nossa primeira bandeira, atraveçarão com huma espingardada de que depois morreo; e lançando-lhe hum mouro de dentro mão da bandeira, acodio seu capitão e o libertou e ajudou, mas com tudo levou ainda hum pedaço da astia da bandeira que depois da briga acabada se achou.

40. Os imigos vendo as bandeiras tomadas e as tranqueiras entradas por muitas partes, se recolherão à tranqueira de cima deixando nella tres homens, que pelejarão esforçadamente até acabar como que forão os mores cavaleiros do mundo. Na de cima já não ouve resistencia, porque se acolherão os negros lançando-se por rochas abaixo; e, chegando os nossos, já estava a povoação despejada de gente, mas não

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[66] Here the copyist certainly was mistaken, writing what does not make sense, omitting and deforming some words. GUERREIRO (l.c.) has « fizerão demostração de querer dar Santiago ».

[67] See note 50.

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de todo o fato, que ainda se tomarão prezas de importancia, posto que a milhor tinhão elles queimado. O general mandou logo os feridos pera baixo a se curar, que serião perto de 20, não comtando os atraveçados dos estrepes que forão muitos. E a mim tambem me derão duas feridas na cabeça que chegarão ao casco [68], de que sarey graças a Deos.

41. Avida esta notavel vitoria dos mais esforçados cavaleiros destes negros, não ouve mais quem pelejasse nem alevantasse os olhos pera os portuguezes, que tão altos gunus sobirão, que não lhe faltava mais que sobir ao ceo. E assy o dia seguinte [69] se vierão a sogeitar nove lugares juntos. O general deceo abaixo com toda a gente e numa ramada se armou hum altar, em que dia da Pascoa [70] se disse huma missa e muitas in gratiarum actionem. Comungou muita gente com muita devação, dando tambem a Deos vassalagem e sogeição por tão assinalados beneficios. Aqui se veo tambem a sogeitar Dom Belchior, que de Rossatelo se tinha acolhido com hum grande cassis [71] que tinha consigo e muitos meninos, filhos de principaes a quem ensinava sua maldita seita. [131*v*]

42. Vendo o general que nesta costa de Amboino não avia que fazer, determinou de ir à costa de Varanulla [72], como fez com toda a armada. Chegamos a Varanulla, que assy se chama a cidade, humas das mores minas de cravos que há nestas partes. Está situada ao longo da praia numa rocha bem alta e talhada que parece muro. Avia humas cazarias de sobrado e baileos [73], e huma mesquita de tres naves muito bem lavrada com seu alcorão [74]. Estava dentro hum forte de pedra redondo e cuberto, que era dos ingrezes, em lugar bem defensavel [75], e avante huma fortaleza de pedra com muitos revezes e rebelins e guritas, que hé dos ternates que senhoreão esta ilha. Surgindo a armada

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[68] « Na batalha lhe derão aquella espingardada » and « Nesta paragem elle derramou seu sangue » (BOXER-FRAZÃO 121; Cf. GUERREIRO 283).

[69] April 4.

[70] April 7.

[71] An Islam teacher.

[72] The peninsula of Hoamoal, W Seram, and particularly the village of Luhu, seat of a Ternatan governor.

[73] See D 21 note 21.

[74] Here *alcorão* means a minaret (DALGADO I 22).

[75] This seems exaggerated; perhaps the Dutch had a trading post, fortified indeed, but without a garrison. According to VALENTYN (II b 19), the English had a « logie » there.

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vierão logo os varanulos dos principaes, dizendo que se querião entregar, mas que duvidavão os ternates e que^r lhes deixassem fazer bichara [76], e que ao outro dia virião com reposta.

43. Forão com elles dous amboinos honrados, e a reposta foy acolherem-se por não [se] atreverem esperar o impeto dos nossos. Derão huma bombardada, que era sinal da fogida. Certificado o general da fogida deu sinal de desembarcar com escala franca [77]. E posto que tinhão recolhido o grosso, todavia se tomarão mais de trinta mil cruzados de presas e muitos berços e sinos e louça da China, vidros dos ingrezes, cravo e reales. Alguns dos ternates yrião dar estas novas a el-rey de Ternate que não folgaria muito com ellas; os que aqui estavão erão do presidio. Pôs-se por terra o forte e a fogo a cidade. E dahi adiante huma povoação que se chama Mamala [78] deu logo obediencia.

44. Estando o general pera recolher com a armada pera Amboyno, veo ali ter Francisco de Souza Teves [79] com dez portuguezes de Banda, aonde as sinco naos que connosco pelejarão na Sunda se ajuntarão, e nos deu muy particulares novas dos ingrezes. Alem disso soubemos que aqui estavão duas numa ilha perto, porque as vimos passar ao mar e devem de estar em Ternate. Em outra ilha da Banda^s diz que estão outras duas, e são por todas nove [80]. Veja V. Senhoria se bastavão estas pera tomar a nossa fortaleza de Amboino e Tidore, e nos lançar de todo fora. Donde se vê a providencia divina que permittio não termos entrado na Sunda, pera virmos socorrer a estas fortalezas que estavão tão arriscadas.

45. O capitão-mor dos ingrezes fez muito agazalhado a Francisco de Souza, largando-o com armas e matalotagem pera o caminho. Os naturaes da Banda dizem que estão dispostos pera dar obediencia aos portuguezes, e não estão bem com os ingrezes ou olandezes que lhe dão somente armas e vidros, e os portuguezes trazem-lhe roupas que

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[76] Malay *bicara*, consult, discussion.

[77] That is, with freedom of looting.

[78] Mamala, however, is on Ambon island, on the N coast, somewhat NE of Hitulama.

[79] Who earlier had already been allowed to make a three days visit to Tidore for the sake of some negotiations; cf. no. 29.

[80] The two ships of Gerard le Roy (note 9) had also sailed to Ambon. Of other Dutch ships calling at Maluku at that time we have no knowledge. But Furtado himself writes of ten of them appearing near the islets of Nusatelo on March 10 (BOXER-FRAZÃO 120).

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cada hora lhe são necessarias. Francisco de Souza, com os mais portugueses que com elle vinhão, foi resgatado por hum gentio por preço de quinhentos cruzados que logo o general lhe mandou dar.

46. O capitão dos olandezes mandou huma carta ao general em que lhe pedia que tratasse bem os seus, como elle faria aos portugueses quando o encontrassem. O general lhe escreveo e mandou hum moço olandês que fora tomado em Ternate. Tanto que estes lugares alevantados se sogeitarão, lhe assinalou dia em que viessem jurar solenemente obediencia e vassalagem, e dalli escolherá alguns [81] que bem lhe parecer.

47. Entendeo logo o general em despachar André Pessoa por capitão do navio que foi de Francisco da Silva, com poderes de seu procurador e papeis pera lá [82] ser provedor da armada, e a Manoel Travaços Correa [83] emcarregando-lhe muito [132*r*] o provimento desta armada, e que viesse com a metade do so[co]rro que avia de vir da India por via de Borneo e Maluco, e a outra ametade por via da Jaoa[t] esperar o general a Amboyno.

48. Vão-se tres fidalgos pera a India, scilicet, Francisco da Silva, Antonio de Souza, Diogo de Melo e Antonio de Souza Teves, por não aver lugar por agora em que podesse servir como elle merece. Vão dous Padres de S. Augostinho e hum de S. Domingos; tem licença de seus prelados. E o Padre de S. Domingos vay a Solor pera ver se pode fazer vir aquella gente à obediencia e, quando não, o anno seguinte trazer o recado disso ao general.

49. Mandou o general a Manilha a Francisco de Maris no seu junco a fazer mantimentos, e huma fragata: por capitão Antonio de Brito Fogaça [84], com embaxada e presente ao Governador [85] e Audiencia real, pera que provejão esta armada de mantimentos. Vay o P.[e] André Pereira com elles por ordem da obediencia [86].

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[81] As hostages, no doubt.

[82] I.e., at Malacca, as results from the context.

[83] In March 1608 the office of a «juiz do peso da alfândega de Malaca» was bestowed upon him (*Bol. da Filmoteca* V 213).

[84] The same who wrote the short report often quoted by us; see introduction to this document, III. He was the captain of Furtado's flagship; his letter patent was dated May 1, 1602, for whose text, see COLIN-PASTELLS II 344. Is he to be identified with António Fogaça de Brito who in 1608 received a mercê (*Bol. da Filmoteca* V 215)?

[85] D. Pedro Bravo de Acuña, 1602-1606.

[86] See D 149, 8. This embassy of António de Brito Fogaça and Fr. André

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50. Isto tudo assy feito e estando as cousas em bons termos, determina o general de passar a Ternate com a mor parte d'armada [87], e a tornar aquelle rey e a fortaleza à obediencia do Estado. Queira Nosso Senhor ajudar-nos pera mandarmos o anno que vem milhores novas e mais copiosas deste Sul com a tomada de Ternate e Banda.

De Amboino, o primeiro de[u] Mayo de 602.

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[a] podemos *ms.* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* Aronhes ‖ [c] *del.* ao per ‖ [d] louvores a Deos *rep.* ‖ [e] *w. corr.* ‖ [f] no seguimento *corr. fr.* em seguinte ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* descarregavamos ‖ [h] *w. corr.* ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* caça ‖ [j] *w. corr.* ‖ [k] Gurru *ms.* ‖ [l] *interl.* ‖ [m] quem *ms.* ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* enasisivel *not del.* ‖ [o] *del.* onde hé ‖ [p] *del.* o ‖ [q] rouqueirandas *ms.* ‖ [r] *ins.* ‖ [s] Banda *corr. fr.* banda ‖ [t] *w. corr.* ‖ [u] *rep.*

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FR. LORENZO MASONIO, SUPERIOR OF AMBON, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 3, 1602

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 9.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 124, 139-140, 144; JACOBS, *Vicars* 285.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 83*r*-84*v*, originally 407-408, and no. XXVIII/b. Autograph original in Spanish intermixed with some Portuguese and Italian idioms. The letter fills three pages. On f. 83*r* an archivist's note « Malabarica. 3. Maij. 1602 »; on f. 84*v*, the address, a red wax seal, and an extensive abstract in Portuguese in seven numbered items whose corresponding numerals were added to the text. The abstract is preceded by the note « 1602. Amboino. P. Lorenço Masonio. 3 de Mayo ».

Text

1. *Tanks for letter received and for mediation in sending succour.* — 2. *Appear-*

Pereira set out from Ambon in early May, arrived at Manila in late August, and was on the verge of sailing back in mid-October (COLIN-PASTELLS II 344-346).

[87] Furtado came before the islands of Ternate and Tidore on August, 10 1602 (TIELE VI 202).

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ance of eight Dutch ships; their planned combined action against Ambon frustrated by Portuguese fleet. — 3. *Successful operation of this fleet in Ambon, Lease, and W Seram. Expectations for the time that Ternate will be taken.* — 4. *Asks for more missioners, for Maluku being visited by Fr. Provincial or Visitor, and paid much more attention by the Indian Jesuit headquarters.* — 5. *Furtado raised the ordinary payment of the Jesuits to one hundred and twenty-five cruzados a head yearly. This should be upheld by the king.* — 6. *Some privileges guaranteeing freedom from being controlled and visited by local bishops, given to Christians taken care of by religious in New Spain and the Philippines, should be given to Maluku Christianity as well.* — 7. *Asks for some relics.* — 8. *Thanks for sending an illustrated catechism. Conclusion.*

†

Muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Fue tan grande el consuelo y contentamiento que yo he recebido con la carta de V.P. deste año de 602, escritta nel año de 600[1], que no lo puedo encarecer a V.P., no solamente por entender que estava con salud y ver[a] el zelo grande que tiene de estas partes de Maluco, mas también porque con ella ha venido a estas partes el remedio y soccorro tanto tiempo y años deseado. N. Señor pague a V.P. la diligenza que hizo con sus cartas con el vejo y nuevo Rey para que llegasse este soccorro, que cierto ha llegado a buen tiempo, quando estávamos em peligro de se perder y accabar todo[b] lo que acá tenemos por causa de los holandeses que no nos dexan.

2. De los quales han passado este año ocho naves pera cá, tres dellas tomaron este puerto, tres lo de Ternate y duas lo de Banda, y todas se havían de juntar acá en el mes de Abril. Mas como la nuestra armada occupó primero el puerto, ellas no se juntaron, mas las tres de cá[c], luego que supieron della, se fueron dando las velas con mucha priessa, no pudiendo nuestra armada passar aonde ellas estavan por causa del viento contrario.

3. Lo que hizo esta armada acá fue em breve tiempo allegar al serviço de Su Magestad muchos puebles que primero eran nuestros inimigos, y particolarmente toda esta isla de Anboino, la de Oma y parte de la de Veranula. Tomó las ciudades de Ito, de Veranula y Lasside, Cabello[2], ciudades muy fuertes, y las abrasó todas tomando muchas

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[1] Lost letter, 127*b*.

[2] The towns of Lesidi and Kambelo were situated on the W coast of Hoamoal, W Seram.

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presas delas que en ellas havía, y cada día vienen otros puebles a la obediencia. Y mucho más [83*v*] han de venir después de tomada la ciudade y fuerte de Ternate, porque muchas islas[d] deste arzipiélago y muchos pueblos están debaxo de la obediencia del rey de Ternate. Como él estuvier sugetto todos sus[e] súditos y vassallos harán el mismo, y ansí el año venidero con graza del Signor tenramos una muy ancha puerta aberta al sagrado Evangelio, y desne luego al día de oye se pueden occupar más de vinti Padres en esta christiandad.

4. Por onde V.P. haga prestes muchos obrieros[f] para este Malucco y Anboino, y mande al Provincial o Visitador de la India que vengan a visitar esta christiandad, porque por falta de no ser visitada de superiores esta christiandad ha padecido e padece lo que padece, y no es favorecida como las otras y no va adelante. Se acá passar otro Valenhano que la favoreciesse, aun en tiempo de tantas guerras quantas tuvo, más estendida fuera de lo que es, y más stimada aun de los nuestros de lo que es, y no padeciera tanta necessidad en el temporal quanto padece. La qual por más que se rapresente en la India cada año a los superiores, no ha quien dee remedio a nuestra pobreza, mas antes nos mandan pagar corenta cruzados de finta en cada año[3], y[g] no so[4] de que cosa. La qual finta en tempo de tanta necessidad muy bien[h] se pudiera scusar; o a lo menos, de tantas limosnas que reparten los nuestros en la India que los devotos dexan o dan para repartir, bien pudieran aplicar algunas para nuestras necessidades pagando algunas deudas que tenemos, ansí como las reparten para otros menos necessidados.

5. El general André Furtado, considerando nuestra pobreza y necessidad, como tiene acá las vezes del virei de la India, nos acrecentó[i] la limosna ordinaria de sessenta cruzados a cada Padre de Anboino em cada año en ciento vinticinco cruzados, ansí como se paga a los frayles de Solor y Ende[5] que cultivan aquellas christiandades[6]. Se su provisión que nos dio se confirmar del virey y del Rey, quedaríamos

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[3] Forty cruzados amount to 14,400 réis; cf. D 56: sixty xerafins, which are 18,000 réis.

[4] Italian *so*, Spanish *sé*.

[5] The Dominican Fathers of Solor and Timor, and of the island of Flores, that was often called *ilha de Ende* by the Portuguese after a kampong, a bay, and an islet Ende at the S coast.

[6] According to the document from which D 76 was borrowed, the Solor Fathers received « cincoenta pardaos d'ouro por anno » each, whereas the *Despeza* printed in SÁ (V 259) assigned « dezoito mil reis a cada hum por ano », which equal fifty cruzados.

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algún tanto remediados. Se scrivió al Provincial y Visitador de la India nos ayudassen a mandala confirmar [7]. No so lo que harán. V.P. por amor di Dios nos ayude en lo que pudier de allá para que quede confirmada.

6. Los años passados se mandó a la India un sumario de algunos privilegios concedidos da diversos summos pontífices en favor de los christianos [84*r*] para que los bispos y vigarios no entiendan con ellos, tirados de una dottíssima carta del Padre Veracruz, Padre muy antiguo y de mucha esperienza en las christiandades de la Nueva Spanha y Manilla, escritta al arzobispo de Manilla em favor de sus frayles [8]. Los quales privilegios son muy necessarios en estas partes, onde los vigarios hazen lo que quieren, y castigan y depenan como quieren los pobres christianos con mucho detrimento de la christiandad. Cuido que el P. Provincial los mandaría a V.P. se tuvo lembranza desto. Los de acá pedimos mucho a V.P. nos haga charidad comunicárnolos, porque se usará dellos con toda prudentia y moderación religiosa.

7. Pido más a V.P. nos haga charidad de alguna insine reliquia, y particularmente de dua[s] cabeças de las onze mil Virgines, la una para esta casa de Anboino, la otra para la de Tidor, pues acá festejamos su fiesta con jubileo; y también un pedaciño del santo leño para mi devoción.

8. Do las grazas que devo y puedo a V.P. por la charidad me hizo mandarme las cartillas figuradas; aun asta agora no las he recebidas. El Procurador de las Indias em Portugal [9] me escrivió que las mandava [10]. Per ventura quedaron en la India, ansí como cada año quedan muchas cosas devotas que de allá me mandan el P.e Pietro Antonio Spinello y otros. No quiero ser más largo para no ser molesto a V.P., solamente le pido con toda reverencia y humildad devida su santa benedición.

Deste Amboino, oye a los 3 de Mayo 602.

De V.P. indigníssimo hijo i siervo en el Señor,

Lorenço Masonio.

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[7] See D 150, 28.

[8] Consult BURRUS, *The Writings of Alonso de la Vera Cruz* V, Spanish Writings II 62 (Reply of Vera Cruz to the Bishop of Manila, with an Account of Extraordinary Privileges, February 12, 1583; STREIT IV no. 1205), and 76 (Refers to *Compendio de privilegios pro Novo Orbe* by Vera Cruz and Alonso de Norueña; see also p. 342 and note 24 there).

[9] Fr. Baltasar Barreira, procurator at the royal court for the Jesuit provinces of Portugal, India, Japan, and Brasil, 1594–1601 (SCHÜTTE, *Cortes* 8).

[10] Lost letter, 127*c*.

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[*Address* 84*v*] † Al muy Reverendo en Christo Padre nuestro, el P.e Claudio Agoaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, Roma.

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[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* tudo ‖ [c] de cá *interl.* ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* ilhas ‖ [e] *interl.* ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* obreiros ‖ [g] *del.* nao ‖ [h] *interl.* ‖ [i] *del.* a

148

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 8, 1602

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 144.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 85*r*-86*v*, earlier 409 and no. XXIX. Autograph in Spanish. Folio 86*r* is blank, the *verso* contains the address, a fragment of a red seal, and a Roman secretary's note « 1602. Amboino. P. Luis Ferz. superior de Maluco », followed by a Portuguese summary in 4 items, the corresponding numerals having been added to the letter.

III NOTE: Some special attention was paid to this letter in Rome, as is revealed by one of the extracts made of various letters of 1602, running « Ambuino. Per cagione dell'armata del Re di Spagna andata nelle parti di Ambuino, si soggettarono all'obedienza della Chiesa più di 3000 persone con speranza di molte altre. Da una del P. Luigi Hernandez, pag. 409 » (*ARSI, Hist Soc.* 7 f. 4*v*).

Text

1. *Wrote every year without ever receiving an answer. Now letters addressed to the late Fr. Antonio Marta came into his hands.* — 2. *Thanks for Fr. General's mediation in procuring succour from the king. A strong fleet came and destroyed the enemies in the Ambon islands. Great rush toward the Church.* — 3. *The admiral prepares to seize Ternate. Expectations and need of more missioners.* — 4. *Requests some relics.* — 5. *The Maluku Jesuits are getting on very well. The Indian headquarters should send them more help.*

† Jesus Maria

Pax Christi.

1. Años ha que costumo escribir a V.P. sin hasta ahora ver respuesta de las mías. Bien cudo que lo causa la distancia tan grande desta

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tierra, que es el cabo del mundo, a Roma. Mas consólome con las de V.P. que he recebido que venían para el P.e Antonio Marta[1], que nuestro Señor tiene em su gloria, por las quales supe de la salud y vida de Vuestra Paternidad. Nuestro Señor la consierve como todos nos sus hijos lo avemos minister.

2. Doy muchas gracias a V.P. por lo paternal y solícito cudado que tiene de nos e deste Maluco, con de continuo con sus cartas solicitar a Su Magestad del Rey d'Espanha, y con su presencia no se olvidar de nos delante de Su Santidad, y con sus oraciones rogar por estas tierras a Dios, los quales pienso que serían oidos delante de Dios. Porque plugo a su divina Magestade socorrernos este año de 1602 con huna buena armada, que el virey de la India por orden de Su Magestade del Rey d'Espanha ha mandado a estas partes, la qual llegó a este Ambueno em Feverero el sobredicho anno, y le ha socedido aqui tão bien que tiene[a] destruido todos nuestros inimigos moros deste Ambueno, e los ha trahido a obediencia de Su Magestade y a lo gremio de la Yglesia catholica más de tres mil almas, afuera las muchas que cada día se tenem[2] de vir a la misma obediencia. Por lo qual V.P. se haga prestes para nos prover de copia de obreros, porque solo Ambueno tiene necessidade de más de viente Padres.

3. Mas porque las cosas de Ambueno piendem mucho del Maluco, está ahora el general desta armada hasiéndose prestes para partir daquí para el Maluco a busqar el comum inimigo, que es el rey de Ternate, moro, señor poderoso e inimigo nuestro. E se Dios es servido aiudarnos contra él, para que quede destruido como confiamos em su divina misericordia, luego Maluco y Ambueno quedará sugeto a Su Magestade del Rey, y las cosas de nuestra santa fee hirán adelante como speramos. Acerca desto para el año que viene scribiremos a V.P., y le mandaremos la resulución de los hobreros [85*v*] que nos serán necessarios. Entre tanto nos haga V.P. encomendar a N. Señor para que lleve el labor desta su viña adelante, y nos heche su santa bendición para que seamos tales hobreros en ella quales conviene que seamos.

4. Pido a V.P. nos mande dos cabeças de las 11 mil Virgines, una para Ambueno y otra para el Maluco, para que sean nuestras avogadas y intercessoras delante de Dios. Y con esto acabo pedindo sermos todos encomendados en las santas oraciones y missas de V.P. y de todos nuestros charissimos Padres y Ermanos.

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[1] Lost letters, 127*a*.

[2] Mixture of Spanish *tienen* and Portuguese *têm*.

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5. Nuestros Padres y Ermanos deste Maluco todos proceden como verdaderos hijos de la Compañía, y todas nuestras cosas nestas partes están bien y como V.P. las puede desear, gracias a nuestro Señor que las guia y conserva en su santo servicio. V.P. nos encomiende mucho al P.e Visitador y Provincial de la India, que nos socorran a nuestra pobreza y necessidades, porque afirmo a V.P. que padecen muchas estas casas y los Padres y Hermanos dellas.

De Ambueno, a 8 de Maio de 1602.

El P.e Luis Hernandes.

[*Address* 86*v*] † Al muy[b] Reverendo P.e N.ro Claudio Aquaviva, general de la Compañía de Jesús, em Roma. De Maluco.

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[a] *del.* que ‖ [b] *ins.*

149

FR. ANDRÉ PEREIRA TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

AMBON, MAY 9, 1602

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 193 Pereira no. 1.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 134–135, 141, 144.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 87*r*-88*v*, formerly 410–411 and no. XXX. Portuguese autograph in a very characteristic handwriting, often not easy to read. An archivist noted on f. 87*r* « Malabarica 9. Maij 1602 ». On f. 88*v*, where are the address and a red seal, a secretary noted « 1602. Amboino. P. Andre Pereira. 9 de Mayo », and he wrote an abstract in Portuguese.

IV NOTE: In the Roman extracts of some letters of 1602 (see D 148 III) it is said: « Ambuino. Essendosi partito del porto di Malaca l'anno 1600 il P. Andrea Pereira con tre altri dei nostri bisognati per la missione delle Moluche, fece naufragio il galeone; gli più con i nostri e 180 christiani si salvarono nel batello et andarono in un'isola chiamata Solor ove furono dei PP. Dominicani tratati con ogni sorte di cortesia e carità per il spatio di 4 mesi. Da una del detto P. pag. 410 » (*ARSI, Hist. Soc.* 7 f. 4*v*).

Text

1. *Did not receive answer to his letters.* — 2. *Sailed to Maluku from Malacca in 1601, was shipwrecked, ended up in Solor, returned to Malacca.* — 3. *Embarked*

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again, this time in a powerful fleet sent to drive away the Dutch. — 4. Arrived in Ambon, found the people well disposed towards Christianity, but the Fathers grown old and weak, and let down by their superiors in India. — 5. Ambon having been subjected, all Christians side with the Portuguese. Thirty Fathers would be needed; only two are available. — 6. Invites Fr. General to have mercy on the area cultivated by Francis Xavier, especially in case Ternate would likewise be reconquered. — 7. And to send a Visitor more often. — 8. Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, dispatches him to the governor of Manila. — 9. Will undertake this voyage at the request of André Furtado de Mendonça; it will last one year.

†

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso

Pax Christi.

1. Duas veses tenho escrito a V.P.[1] e de nenhuma tive reposta, mas confio em Deos que não seria por falta de V.P. me mandar responder, senão de[a] me achar a reposta de V.P. ausente de Goa, onde as cartas chegão primeiro que a outra parte da India.

2. Na que escrevy a V.P. o anno de seiscentos[2] lhe dey conta brevemente, como a sancta obediencia me tinha avisado[b] pera a ditosa missão das ilhas Maluquas. Pera onde partindo o anno de seiscentos e hum da cidade de Malaqua[3], fes naufragio o galião[4] em que vinhamos[c] quatro da Companhia[5]. Mas permitio Nosso Senhor que todos nos salvamos, cento[d] e oitenta pessoas cristãs que nelle vinhamos[e] em o batel do mesmo galião; e nos fomos acolher a humas ilhas chamadas Solor, onde os Padres de Sam Domingos tem suas cristandades e nos agasalharão com muita charidade quatro meses que ahy estivemos, até ser tempo pera podermos tornar pera Malaqua tomar o galião que todos os annos se manda a prover as fortalesas que nas ilhas Maluquas tem Sua Magestade[6].

3. Chegando a Malaqua achey que hera inviada huma poderosa armada da India a botar os olandeses que tinhão tomado e occupado o trato destas partes aos portugues[es]. E como a armada estava de caminho, não tive mais de descanso em Malaqua que des ou quinze dias,

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[1] Manifestly when still in India.
[2] Likewise from India, before he sailed to Maluku in April 1600.
[3] In January.
[4] On February 3, 1601 (D 154, 1).
[5] The four of the 27th sending.
[6] See D 146 note 39.

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avendo nove meses que andava em perdiçõis e naufragios. Todavia alegrei-me tanto com ver esta armada (que nos vem franquear e libertar nossas cristandades, as quais avia 25 ou 30 annos que não herão cultivadas por causa dos muitos imigos que nos cercavão com guerras continuas), que fasendo da [87*v*] fraquesa forças, me embarquey açás falto dellas [7].

4. E chegando a este Amboino [8] me esquecerão os trabalhos de perto de dous annos de navegaçõis bem trabalhosas, porque, quando me vy em huma cristandade que só por falta de obreiros não está mais avantejada nas cousas da fé, todavia hé tam pia e tam idonea pera receber o Evangelho, que me consola e me dá animo grande pera levar alegremente a cruz destas ilhas. E o que mais me esforça hé o bom exemplo dos pouquos e cansados cinquo Padres que quá achey [9], velhos e faltos de forças, e não sey se diga tambem faltos de favores dos superiores da India. Digo isto porque achey quá hum Padre que há 18 annos que por estas ilhas anda [10] e nunqua teve huma carta que o consolasse dos superiores da India; e em todos geralmente achey esta linguagem, até nos superiores. Perguntando-lhes eu per veses porque não impetravão dos superiores isto ou aquilo, cousas necessarias pera o bem temporal e spiritual, respondiam-me que muitas veses tinhão escrito à India e que nunqua lhe responderão a nada. Por onde julgue V.P. se animará este esquecimento aos que pera estas partes forem enviados, e mande prover com o remedio de pay, pois parece que basta estarmos neste degredo de toda a vida com tam pouquos favores de quem os deve dar muitos conforme aas muitas necesidades ainda corporais que por quá se padecem.

5. Chegando nós a Amboino com esta poderosa armada, logo sogeitou os que estavão rebellados contra a Igreja e lançados com nossos imigos, que os perseguião. E nós, polo pouquo poder que nestas partes tinhamos[1], não podiamos defender os nossos cristãos e por isso herão forçados a seguir suas partes. Mas oje, que tudo já em Amboino está conquistado, tudo está por nós e já não podemos acodir aos muitos cristãos que já estão connosco. E confio em Nosso Senhor hirão crescendo cada dia mais, e já oje pera os que temos nestas ilhas de Amboino, que são ametade das Maluquas, avemos mister polo menos 25 ou 30 obreiros, e não estão occupados nellas mais que dous bons obreiros

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[7] The fleet set out from Malacca on September 23.

[8] In February 1602.

[9] See D 150, 2.

[10] Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz.

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scilicet, o P.e Gabriel da Cruz, hespanhol, grande lingua destas partes, e o P.e Lourenço Masonio, italiano, superior desta casa de Amboyno.

6. Veja V.P. se podemos de quá com rezão dizer: Parvuli petierunt panem [11], etc[a]. Por onde peço a V.P. por amor de Deos queira pôr os olhos de pay nestes seus filhos e os mande prover com companheiros que possão ajudar a cultivar esta vinha, que Deos quá tam longe plantou em sua Igreja polo muy sancto nosso Mestre Francisco Xavier. E acuda-nos V.P. porque se Nosso Senhor nos dá o Ternate, temos necesidade pera aquelas ilhas, [88*r*] pisadas com os pés e regadas com as lagrimas deste bom Padre nosso, que nos deixou hum penhor tam grande e certeza de sua sanctidade, qual temos oje no collegio de Goa, que hé seu corpo inteiro [12]. Digo pois que, [se] Nosso Senhor nos torna a meter de posse desta vinha sua, serão necesarios pera aquelas partes outros 20 ou 30 homens bons trabalhadores polo menos; e agora não se occupão nellas senão tres Padres, dous delles cortados e cercados de muitas doenças que já quasy não são pera o trabalho.

7. Quero lembrar a V.P. que hé muito necessario serem visitadas estas partes de quá mais veses do que até agora forão, porque uterque homo [13] tem necessidade desta continuação de visitas, polo menos de 4 em 4 annos. E digo isto a V.P., porque se não, vá isto por quá fazendo mato agreste ainda in exterioribus, e tambem pera nos animarem aos muitos trabalhos temporais que quá padecemos.

8. Acabo esta pedindo a V.P. sua sancta bençăo pera poder levar esta pesada cruz de Maluquo, porque parece que se não satisfes Nosso Senhor dos trabalhos que nestes dous annos passey navegando por naufragios e tempestades, senão que depois da minha chegada a dous meses me avisou o P.e Luis Fernandez, nosso superior, pera chegar aas Manilhas [14] [a] interceder diante do governador dellas, pera que mande mantimentos a esta armada que, se de lá lhe não vem, não hé possivel outra cousa senão perder-se todo o cabedal de onze galiõis e algumas galiotas. E desfeita ou perdida esta armada, todas as igrejas e cristandades destas partes são perdidas. E esta foy a causa por onde se ouve de conceder ao general dela hum Padre que elle pedio com muita instancia.

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[11] Lam 4 4.
[12] Still at the present day conserved in the church *Bom Jesus* at Old-Goa.
[13] That is, soul and body, exterior and interior behaviour.
[14] See D 146 note 86.

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9. E como o bem nosso temporal e espiritual destas partes pende oje depois de Deos desta armada e deste fidalgo, que hé benemerito de nossa Companhia, chamado André Furtado de Mendonça, não se lhe pode negar. E asy me escolheo a obediencia pera esta jornada, que hé de hum anno, pera assy acabar o 3º anno de navegação. Queira Nosso[g] Senhor que seja pera seu serviço. V.P. lho peça assy e me bote sua sancta benção, a quem o Senhor guarde.

Deste desterro de Amboyno, oje 9 de Maio de 1602 annos.

De V.P. indigno filho em Christo,

André Pereira.

[*Address* 88*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo P.[e] nosso Claudio Aquaviva, praeposito geral da Companhia de Jesu, a quem Deos guarde. De Amboyno.

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[a] *interl.* || [b] *corr. fr.* avisada || [c] vinhemos *ms.* || [d] centos *ms.* || [e] vinhemos *ms.* || [f] tinhemos *ms.* || [g] nossor *ms.*

150

FR. LORENZO MASONIO TO FR. NICOLAU PIMENTA, VISITOR, GOA

Annual Letter of Ambon
AMBON, MAY 10, [1602]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: MILLIES 54; STREIT V 47 (and cf. p. 232); SOMMERVOGEL V 697 (no. 1); WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 10. (All say 1603).

II AUTHORS: GUERREIRO I 273-276; IARRICUS III/2 448-451; TIELE VI 201 note 1; WESSELS, *Amboina* 136-137, 143.

III TEXT:

A. *ARSI, IapSin 46* ff. 323*v*-325*v*, recently changed from 320*v*-321*v* and 319*r*-*v*. Copy in Portuguese, written in the same hand and following on the same paper as D 144, text A. The signature on f. 325*v* is evidently spurious; a note on this page runs « 1602. Annua da China e de Maluco ».

B. *British Library, MSS Department, Add. 9853* ff. 472*r*-474*v*, otherwise 14-16. Copy. Portuguese. Same handwriting as of D 144, text B, with counterfeit signature. Folio 474*v* is blank. In many places the ink corroded the paper and produced holes that render some words illegible. The text itself swarms with errors, and with corrections often made by a second hand, and suggests a poorly written original (Masonio had indeed a rather bad handwriting). Many

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attention marks (crosses) were drawn in the margin, and once, at no. 28, a catchword *ordinaria*.

C. A third, later, copy is extant in part in an Annua of 1604, which is our D 168, and will be dealt with under that number.

It is to be noted that rather often, where text B exhibits one or more illegible words, seemingly cancelled, or simply a hole, text A omits these parts, just jumping the gap to the next legible word. The explanation is that after the original letter (now lost) arrived in India, a first copyist transcribed it, not without pains (text B). Soon a Father went through it, correcting, adding, and cancelling at will. This corrected script was given to a second copyist who produced text A. As the correcting Fathers used a bad ink, nearly everywhere in the course of time the cancelled words or passages turned, wholly or partly, into holes. A few times the words crossed out can still be read. As the original text of D 144 apparently was written in a rather legible hand, its first copy did not need such a corrective intervention.

IV PRINTED: in Italian: *Lettera annua di Giappone del M.DC.III scritta dal P. Gabriel de Matos*, Roma 1605, 113-121; in Latin: *Litterae Societatis Iesu, anno MDCII et MDCIII e Sinis, Molucis, Iapone datae*, Moguntiaci 1607, 152-159; in French: A. MAGIN, *Histoire universelle des Indes Orientales*, Douai 1607, 71-72.

V OUR EDITION: On account of the bad state in which text B is kept we prefer to publish text A, referring several times if need be to the most saliant variants of the former. The case of the cancelled passages which are corroded by the ink are indicated in the critical apparatus by *hole B* after the next preceding word.

Text

1. *Writes Annual Letter of Ambon for the period April 1601 - April 1602.* — 2. *There were in Ambon, beyond the two ordinary Fathers heading two parishes, two newcomers who arrived after a shipwreck, and Fr. Superior Luís Fernandes, visiting Ambon from Tidore.* — 3. *The new ones sailed to Tidore in August, and so did Fr. Fernandes in May to encourage the kings of Tidore and Siau.* — 4. *Two Dutch ships, anchored in Hitu, inspired fear.* — 5. *Successful actions of the Portuguese.* — 6. *Mamala conquered by Portuguese and Ambonese.* — 7. *Other actions against the coast of Hitu.* — 8. *The town of Hitu was seized and destroyed.* — 9. *The [former] Dutch fortress of Hitu, then used as a store, was taken and looted.* — 10. *Victorious expedition of André Furtado de Mendonça celebrated in Ambon on Easter day. Future expectations.* — 11-12. *Shipwreck and rescue of a Father going to visit the Lease islands.* — 13. *Setting out for the second time the Father completed the visit of twenty Christian villages.* — 14. *Hardships endured in that voyage.* — 15. *Erecting of crosses in the villages.* — 16. *Pastoral works: baptizing more than one thousand people, reconciling apostates, catechizing.* — 17. *The other Father visited the eight Christian villages of Ambon island. Less hardships. Same pastoral work.* — 18. *Healing of a blind catechist.* — 19. *And of another sick.* — 20. *Instances of popular devotions.* — 21. *Many confessions, few communions, Christian doctrine for children, vows made in time of distress.* — 22-23. *Instances of courageous Christian girls refusing a Muslim marriage.* — 24. *A third*

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parish should be erected. Other prospects for the future. — 25. Fr. Provincial is invited to put many Fathers in readiness [for Maluku]. — 26. This country is not so bad as generally it is said to be. — 27. It is rich in good foodstuffs. — 28. André Furtado de Mendonça raised the pay to the Jesuits. This measure should be confirmed by the viceroy. — 29. For the expenses to be made no alms can be expected in Ambon. — 30. Conclusion.

Annua de Amboino

1. Posto que nestas partes, com as continuas guerras, não se possa colher o fruito que todos desejamos, e assi não se offerece[a] tanta materia pera emcher as annuas de cousas de edificação, como nas outras partes onde a Companhia se occupa em cultivar a vinha do Senhor, mas somente trabalhos e necessidades causadas das ditas guerras, comtudo pera cumprir com a obediencia e costume da Companhia, brevemente escreverei o que se offereceo este anno, desde Abril de 1601 por todo o Abril de 602, nesta residencia e casa de Amboino, assi de edificação como dos trabalhos que os Padres padecerão[b] que aqui residirão o anno passado.

2. Estiverão nesta casa[c] a mor parte deste anno sinco Padres, scilicet, os dous Padres ordinarios, hum que tem cuidado de huma frequezia, outro que tem cuidado da casa e doutra freguezia[1]; dous que vierão na galeota[d] d'armada e[e] socorro que trouxe Trayano Rodriguez de Castelbranco, que vinha por capitão-mor[f][2], que forão os Padres Jorge da Fonseca e Bertholameu [324r] Daniel que escaparão no batel da nao que se perdeo na Java, donde se embarcarão nas galeotas que acharão na barra[3]. E o P. André Pereira com o Irmão Matheus de Brito não podendo tomar as galeotas forão pera Solor[g]. E o P. Luis Fernandes, superior destas partes, que cada anno vay e vem de Tidore[h] visitando com sua charidade estas cazas.

3. Os dous Padres, Jorge da Fonseca com o P. Daniel, forão no mes de Agosto pera Tidore em hum navio que daqui foi de socorro pera lá, tendo-o assi[i] ordenado o P.[e] Luis Fernandes, que se foi no mes de Mayo em huma caracora pera consolar o rey de Tidore e mais portuguezes, do socorro d'armada que pera lá não foi, pera que não desconfiassem, e tambem pera acodir às necessidades d'el-rey de Siao que estava em Tidore esperando por elle. E aqui ficamos (como está dito) os dous Padres ordinarios, sempre de saude, louvores a Deos.

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[1] Respectively Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz and Lorenzo Masonio himself.

[2] See D 144 note 6.

[3] According to D 154, 3, they met the galliots only after having touched at the port of Koreh in Sumbawa.

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4. Cuidavamos este anno termos grandissimo aperto dos inimigos com o favor que tinhão contra nós dos olandezes, que ficavão com duas naos no porto de Ito, sendo já partida a nao com as duas galeotas de socorro que aqui vierão. O qual socorro, se aqui ficara por dous mezes mais ou menos como se lhe pedio e requereo[j], ficaramos mais seguros[k]; mas como não quis senão ir-se[4], ficamos com muito arreceo.

5. Porem, como Nosso Senhor ajuda sempre nas maiores necessidades e maior aperto, deu tanto animo ao capitão[5], portuguezes e naturaes que não somente não recebeo[l] damno notavel[m] esta fortaleza dos olandezes[n], mas forão o que[o] elles[6] receberão[p] da nossa gente, porque, alem de lhes matarem e cativarem mais de cem pessoas, e entre elles muita gente honrada em diversas guerras[q][7] e siladas que lhes fizerão, tambem lhes destroirão e abrasarão muitos lugares, nos quaes lhe matarão muita gente e lhes tomarão muito fato de prezas.

6. Hum destes lugares se chamava Mamala, lugar certissimo dos inimigos, o qual nunca até agora foi entrado dos portuguezes, por muito que trabalhassem os capitães passados de o tomarem. Foi entrado à força d'armas com corenta portuguezes e alguns quatrocentos amboinos, o qual foi todo saqueado e queimado aos 10 de Agosto com morte[r] de muitos imigos, e dos nossos nem hum[s] só ferido polla graça de Deos[8]. Com cuja tomada ficarão os inimigos mui abatidos e os nossos christãos muito animados pera empresas maiores, como fizerão depois em Ito duas vezes.

7. A primeira ves, indo o capitão desta fortaleza pera a ilha de Oliacer[t][9] com tres caracoras e dous parós mais pequenos, tomou o caminho de Ito, onde chegando pouco antes de jantar, aos 9 de Outubro mandou dezembarcar os amboinos e com elles alguns poucos portuguezes. Os quais arremetendo com muito animo e esforso com[u] os inimigos, que lhes impedião o desembarcar, lhe matarão algumas dez pessoas e lhes queimarão depois de saqueada toda a costa da praia[v]; tambem[w] quabrando-lhe as embarcações que ali acharão.

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[4] Perhaps Traiano Rodrigues was instructed to join Furtado's fleet at Malacca.

[5] Estevão Teixeira de Macedo.

[6] Read « forão elles que o receberão »; cf. crit. app.

[7] Masonio wrote *garos* (i.e., raids); the copyist, not knowing this Malay term, changed it into *guerras*; see crit. app.

[8] Eight months later it came submitting itself to Furtado (D 146, 43).

[9] Saparua.

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8. A segunda ves foi aos 3 de Novembro, quando com maior poder foi o dito capitão sobre a mesma cidade de Ito e levou consigo hum Padre nosso[10]. O qual o dia antes, que era[z] dia dos finados, se occupou em huma praia quasi todo o dia confessando os portuguezes e amboinos, por que com as almas limpas tomassem os soldados maior esforço que os imigos. Como fizerão arremetendo como leões polla menhãzinha[y] em saindo o sol, parte delles em hum forte com huma grande povoação que[z] tinhão os itos em hum monte meya legoa da praia, parte delles arremetendo na cidade da praia, saqueando e abrazando tudo, assi o de ssima como o de baixo.

9. E porque ficava hum lugarzinho[a] muy forte em hum teso perto da praia à ilharga do forte que fizerão os olandezes[11], depois de jantar mandou o capitão dezembarcar outra ves a gente, pera entrar o forte[b] e ver se dali se podia entrar o forte dos ingrezes. Foi o Padre com tres portuguezes e alguns amboinos diante dando Santiago. E entrando o forte, onde, como estava muito fatto junto dos imigos, se occuparão os homens em saquear e roubar. E como não sobio toda a gente d'armada, forão os poucos que sobirão, que seria a quarta parte d'armada, forçados retirar-se[c] pera a praia, por causa dos imigos lhes sayrem e arremeterem com elles. E assi inda que se tomasse a mor parte do fato que avia, não ouve tempo pera queimarem o forte[d].

10. Estas forão as tres emprezas[e] que pellos nossos christãos e portuguezes se começarão[f] em Ito, aparelho da festa solemne que dia da Pascoa se celebrou pellos mesmos[g], depois da vitoria que Nosso Senhor deu a André Furtado de Mendonça[h] este anno[12] quarta-feira de trevas, com a qual atrouxe à obediencia de Sua Magestade não somentes [324v] os itos todos, mas tambem muitos outros lugares de inimigos assi desta ilha de Amboino[i], que serão alguns trinta lugares, mas tambem das ilhas conjuntivas[j][13] mais de quinze. E muitos[k] mais hão-de vir pello tempo[l] em diante, particularmente depois de tomado Ternate, onde yrá a armada daqui a hum mes e meio. Porque, como a mor parte deste arcipelago dependa totalmente[m] do rey de Ternate, que hé senhor delle, e como elle estiver sogeito, todos os mais hão-de obedecer.

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[10] Masonio himself.

[11] The Dutch *Kasteel van Verre* was situated near Hila and Kaitetu, which are now on the flat coast, but were formerly on the near hills. To be noted that the fort had been abandoned by the Dutch small garrison and served merely as a store house.

[12] Here Masonio suddenly jumps from 1601 to 1602.

[13] See crit. app. The term *convicinos* (*convizinhos*) of text B certainly is more appropriate to the sense.

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O socesso[n] desta armada[o] o P.[e] Brisio Fernandes tomou a seu cargo com seu bom estillo escrevê-lo[p] a V.R.[q][14], pello que eu o escuso e somente apontarei algumas cousas de edificação.

11. Dos dous Padres que aqui estamos, pera conformarmo-nos com a obediencia e acodirmos como podemos aos christãos dos lugares desta ilha e das outras de Oma, Liacer e Rosselao, hum[15] acommeteo a yda pera as ilhas de fora em huma caracora que pera lá hia, mas no caminho lhe deu tal temporal que a embarcação ficou com o casco todo debaixo d'agoa e ainda as[r] cangalhas[16], sostentando-se somente com suas poucas de obras mortas do baileo[17] em cima d'agoa[s]. E os remeiros vendo o perigo em que estavão, logo desempararão a caracora lançando-se a nado, buscando terra pera salvar suas vidas[t]. O mesmo fizerão muitos portuguezes que nella hião em companhia do Padre, tirando quatro que com elle ficarão.

12. Os quais animados do mesmo Padre, passarão toda noite entregues ao mar e com muito perigo[u] de darem consigo nas praias dos inimigos, pois hião pera onde o vento e os mares os levavão. Mas tantas forão as lagrimas e orações com que toda a noite se encomendarão a Deos, que pola menhã se acharão na praia de nossos amigos, inda que despidos[v] ficando somente com os calções[w]. Onde forão logo os ditos amigos e os tirarão com embarcações do perigo em que estavão, e os trouxerão pera a fortaleza com grandissima consolação de todos, pois erão chorados por mortos e afogados.

13. Tornou dahi a poucos dias o Padre a cometer a mesma viagem e a levou ao cabo, chegando a salvamento à ilha de Oma, dali à do Liacer e dahi à de Rosselao, nas quaes ilhas averão 20 lugares de christãos, scilicet, quatro na ilha de Oma, nove na do Liacer e sete na de Rosselao[18]. Foi o Padre em todos estes lugares muito bem recebido e

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[14] This reveals that Fr. Brício Fernandes did not only write to the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha (D 146), but to Fr. Visitor as well. Lost letter, 150*c*. The contents supposedly were not very different from the former.

[15] In view of this circumstantial report (nos. 11-16) we guess that this Father was Masonio himself.

[16] With this word the Portuguese termed the outriggers of the korakora, and the seats of the rowers on them (Cf. *Treatise* 369).

[17] Here, elevated cabin on board of korakora.

[18] As in DM I 172, also here the names of the villages are lacking. The four of Oma (Haruku) were on the S coast: Aboro, Wasu, Oma, and Samet; the only Christian villages of Saparua then known were Ulat, Tuhaha, and (part of) Sirisori; Nusalaut scarcely numbered six or seven villages, so it must have been entirely Christian.

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agazalhado de todos, acompanhando-os os christãos do[z] lugar [19], que era assi por mar como por terra com muito amor e caridade.

14. E como o tempo era do inverno [20], os caminhos mui asperos e montuosos, e os lugares postos nos mais altos montes que achão por estarem assi mais seguros dos imigos, e os caminhos taes que às vezes se não podem andar senão descalço e de gatinha, reptans manibus et pedibus como outro Jonatas [21], não lhe faltou grandissima occasião de merecer muito com Deus, achando-sse às vezes com os pés[y] descalabrados [22] e cheos de espinhos, com o lodo às vezes até os joelhos. E como avia continua chuva, hia sempre molhado.

15. Plantou em muitos destes lugares cruzes, que forão sete. Em[z] hum destes lugares[a] deixou o Padre de plantar a cruz por certo respeito[b]. Os honrados delle forão à fortaleza a pedir ao P.[e] Luis Fernandez mandasse ao Padre lhe alevantasse a cruz no seu lugar. Aos quaes o Padre acodindo à sua devação, escreveo hum chito [23] ao Padre pera que à torna-viagem lhe arvorasse a cruz. Outro lugar, deixando tambem sem cruz, com esperança de lha pôr em tornando da ilha de Rosselao, e como depois à torna-viagem não tomasse aquele lugar, forão os do lugar em busca do Padre em outro quatro legoas[c] em tempo de muita chuva; e assi foi forçado tornar pera os não deixar desconsolados.

16. Bautizou em todos estes lugares mais de mil almas entre grandes e pequenos; reconciliou muitos christãos antigos, que erão tornados das terras dos mouros pera os christãos; cathequizou todos quantos pode, grandes e pequenos, do melhor modo que a brevidade do tempo prometia, de maneira que todos folgarão muito com a sua visita e ensino, e assi os deixou todos muy consolados e desejosos de doutrina dos Padres.

17. Outro[d] Padre [24] foi visitando os lugares desta ilha [25], os quaes como se visitão ao menos huma ves cada anno e não são mais que oito [26], não padeceo tantos trabalhos; mas como os lugares sejão todos

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[19] Text B has « de lugar em lugar »; this version is to be preferred; see crit. app.

[20] That is, the rainy season, from May to September (HOËVELL 13; ENI II 349 XVI-XVII).

[21] 1 Sam 14 13.

[22] A Spanish rather than Portuguese term, meaning wounded.

[23] *Chito*, a letter or note (DALGADO I 277; YULE 203: *chit*, *chitty*).

[24] Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz (see note 15).

[25] The island of Ambon.

[26] Once the Christian villages of Ambon were thirty (DM I 172, 353-354).

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de caminhos asperos[e] e montuosos como os outros, não lhe faltou tambem seu quinhão, andando-os todos descalço[f] por ser a mor parte do caminho tal que não consente çapatos[27]. Bautizarão-se nelles algumas cem almas e se lhes refrescou a memoria da doutrina e catechismos, do que estavão algum tanto esquecidos.

18. Aconteceo de achar assi hum cego, que os annos passados ensinava nos lugares a doutrina aos meninos, que estava doente sem fala tres dias havia, sem ter comido nada. Neste tempo acodio-lhe o Padre. Mandou sair a gente fora, começou a falar-lhe de Deos e da confissão[g], que era necessaria fazer, do arependimento de seus peccados. Com esta pratica[h] começou a falar e se confessou, e dahi a poucos dias ficou são.

19. Na fortaleza soccedeo a[i] outro homem, de huma sua doença acostumada [325r] de quebradura, não podendo mandar as tripas pera dentro, pedir confissão. Foi hum nosso Padre a confessá-lo, dependurando-lhe hum relicario ao pescoço. Acabado de se confessar, dahi a pouco tornarão as tripas pera o seu lugar, e nunca mais depois (como elle diz) padeceo sua acostumada doença, padecendo antes muito a meudo.

20. Muitos destes christãos, como são mui devotos, se prometem[j] em suas necessidades acender candeas à cruz e levar azeite pera a igreja, alcanção muitas graças e mercês de Deos. E assy cada dia às ave-marias[28] estão as cruzes arrodeadas de muitas candeas acezas, e os sabbados[k] muito mais que nunca, no qual tempo acodem tambem à Salve onde se canta.

21. Correm com suas obrigações arrezoadamente. Muitos se confessão em todos os jubileos que aqui temos alguns, inda que poucos commungão. Os meninos acodem à doutrina cada dia, disputão a cartilha que deixou ordenado o P.[e] Visitador mediocremente. No tempo de algumas necessidades graves, como de guerra, acodem os christãos à igreja a pedir socorro a Deos, fazer seus votos prometendo alguma esmola à igreja. Muitas vezes repartem algum quinhão das presas que fazem com a igreja, dizendo que, pois Deos Nosso Senhor os ajudou, hé bem que tenha seu quinhão. No qual, inda que se não estendão[l] muito, contudo[m] basta reconhecerem com[n] o pouco[o], receberem[p] todo o bem das mãos de Deos Nosso Senhor.

22. Bautizarão-se neste tempo algumas 50 pessoas, que dos mouros

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[27] « Per esser la terra molto aspra et tanto che scarpi non giovano » (Afonso de Castro, May 13, 1555, in DM I 172).

[28] At angelus.

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trouxerão pera esta fortaleza; e algumas secẹnta, depois de cathequizados e instroidos, forão reconciliados com a Igreja, e os[q] que estavão pera cazarem forão recebidos in facie Ecclesiae. Entre elles[r] ouve huma moça, a qual avia dous annos a levara fogida hum seu parente pera os mouros, a qual sendo cometida de hum mouro honrado pera cazar com ella, nunca quis consentir. Mas lhe disse que, se elle a levasse pera a fortaleza, ahi se cazaria com elle fazendo-se christão. O mancebo consentio e assi a trouxe pera esta fortaleza, trazendo consigo huma sua irmã com duas filhas. Aqui se bautizarão e cazarão.

23. Outra moça cazada foi levada forçosamente de seu marido pera os mouros. Acertou de morrer seu marido[s]. Ella ficando veuva, foi acometida tambem pera[t] cazar com hum[u] mouro[v] e pera[w] se[x] fazer moura[y]. Mas[z] nunca quis consentir, antes buscou occasião pera fogir, como fez depois trazendo consigo outras quatro pessoas molheres e meninos.

24. Ao presente, com a occasião desta armada que N. Senhor trouxe pera cá, temos nas mãos[a 29] muita gente pera se catechizar. E já podemos fazer outra freguezia nesta fortaleza da gente que aqui se ajunta, que serão pouco menos de tres mil almas. E muitos outros[b] se podião fazer pollos lugares desta ilha e das ilhas conjuntivas[c 30], com a quietação que esperamos nos deixará esta armada. Porque todos os christãos antigos, que atee agora por causa das guerras se não poderão cultivar, daqui por diante esperamos em Deos se poderão cultivar, os quaes não são tão poucos que ao menos não occuparão alguns dez Padres, alem de[d] muitos christãos arrenegados, mouros e gentios, que com a total quietação destas partes se espera se converterão. Porque como esta gente se vê[e] sogeita aos portuguezes no temporal, não hé muito trabalho sogeitá-los no spiritual, porque hé gente mais meneavel que a da India, e os mouros não são tão emperrados[f] como os do Malavar e outros que na India[g] há.

25. Por onde V.R. aparelhe e faça prestes muitos obreiros e comesse[h] a mandá-los a estas partes, porque lhes não faltará ocasião de trabalharem nesta nova vinha que se vay cavando. Já, Padre meu, flores apparuerunt in terra nostra, ficus protulit grossos suos [31]. Comecem logo a vir os meus charissimos Padres desejosos de mandar almas

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[29] See crit. app. The reading *naos* appears more original and is to be preferred.

[30] Cf. crit. app. and note 13.

[31] Cant 2 12.

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pera o ceo, porque acharão os figos já maduros e as flores já com fruito, querendo Deos N. Senhor.

26. Não se desmaye ninguem com ouvirem dizer que esta terra hé má[i], e que hé terra de desterrados, porque, inda que isto não seja poderoso e bastante pera afastar os animos fervorosos de[j] meus charissimos Padres, tão desejos[os] de buscar sempre trabalhos e lugares difficultosos pera buscar e levar a ovelha perdida ao Senhor, comtudo não hé tão má como ajuntão os amigos de si mesmos e de suas commodidades. Mas muito melhor do que cuidão, pois hé terra muito sadia e muy fresca, de muito boas agoas e frescas ribeiras, de boa gente e muito meneavel, e disposta pera tudo o que se quizer fazer com ella, habil pera aprender e entender as cousas de nossa santa fee.

27. E ainda que não tenha pão e vaca da India, não lhe falta porem o sagu fresco e bom peixe, mais gostoso que o da India. Tanto mais que se vão já criando muitas vacas, e daqui a poucos annos averá tanta fartura dellas como na India, alem das muitas vacas e boas fruitas que tem. E ainda que pello passado foi algum tanto trabalhosa e cara, por respeito das guerras que nella [325*v*] sempre ouve, as quaes não deixavão ir os homens seguramente buscar de comer nem por mar nem por terra; agora que com a graça do Senhor[k] se va quietando, cessará[l] tudo isto, porque yrão os homens tratando[m] [32] de huma parte pera outra buscando suas vidas, e averá comercio de muitas partes com que a terra ficará mais farta e nobre.

28. Nem a Companhia vive nestas partes com as necessidades que até agora teve, assi polla fartura da terra que com a quietação esperamos, como tambem por huma esmola grande que nos fez o general André Furtado de Mendonça, acrecentando-nos o ordenado que aqui tinhamos[n] de secenta cruzados cada Padre por cada anno, e a cem cruzados cada Padre[o] vem cento e vinte cruzados por cada hum[33]. O qual acrecentamento, trabalhando V.R. como hé rezão de se confirmar pollo senhor viso-rrey e por Sua Magestade, bastará pera suprir as necessidades passadas; ajudando[p]-nos tambem V.R. neste principio com algumas boas esmollas pera comprar calices, missaes, sinos, ornamentos e outras cousas necessarias pera as novas freguezias que se hão-de fazer. Porque sem[q] ajuda de V.R. aqui não podemos fazer nada, pois aqui não há quem faça esmolas, mas a quem se fação si.

29. E se[r] este anno que aqui vierão tantas naos e gente, estando esta

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[32] One more case in which an earlier version (*traficando*) is preferable; consult the crit. app.

[33] D 117, 5.

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caza com muita necessidade[s], tendo[t] às costas sete Padres d'armada [34] e quatro dos nossos mais de ordinario [35], em todo este tempo de sinco mezes que aqui esteve a armada não ouve pessoa que nos offerecesse[u] esmola pera ajuda de tantos gastos que se fizerão, que esmola podiamos esperar em[v] outros tempos, quando aqui não há mais que pedintes? Por onde V.R. com a sua caridade nos ajude.

30. Isto hé o que se offerece pera escrever este anno desta pequena vinha do Senhor. Pello anno esperamos em Deos Nosso Senhor averá materia mais copiosa e alegre com o principio que se dará, querendo Deos, a dilatar-se a santa fee catholica neste arcipelago. V.R. com os mais carissimos Padres e Irmãos não deixem de encomendar muito a Deos Nosso Senhor esta christandade, pera que com suas orações e sacrificios fique Deos aplacado com estas suas novas plantas, que tanto tempo por sua culpa carecerão d'agoa de sua santa graça. E eu indigno filho da Companhia peço humilmente sua santa benção.

Deste Amboino, aos 10 de Mayo.

Lourenço Masonio[w].

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[a] offereça *corr. fr.* offereção *B* ‖ [b] *add. m. B* ‖ [c] *del.* de Amboino ‖ [d] nas galiotas *B* ‖ [e] de *B* ‖ [f] *add.* della *B* ‖ [g] Soler *B* ‖ [h] *hole B* ‖ [i] *hole B* ‖ [j] *hole B* ‖ [k] mais seguros *om. B* ‖ [l] *corr. fr.* receberão ‖ [m] *del.* esta fortaleza ‖ [n] dos olandezes *interl. B* ‖ [o] forão o que] forão... que o *interl. B* ‖ [p] *del.* muito damno *B* ‖ [q] garos *w. corr. B* ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* mortes *B* ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* huma *B* ‖ [t] do liacer *B* ‖ [u] *corr. fr.* que *B* ‖ [v] praia *del.* que era [?] muita e dos mais esforçados que entre elles avia que erão... [Rossa?]nives ferindo *B* ‖ [w] *del.* muitos delles *B* ‖ [x] *del.* 9; que era *interl. B* ‖ [y] manhecinha *B* ‖ [z] *interl. B*

[a] lugarinho *B* ‖ [b] *del.* dos ingrezes. Foi a Padre com tres portuguezes e alguns amboinos diante ‖ [c] retirar-se *add. later B* ‖ [d] o forte *add. interl. B* ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* penas *B* ‖ [f] *hole B* ‖ [g] *hole B* ‖ [h] *hole B* ‖ [i] *hole B* ‖ [j] convicinas *B*, *hole B* ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* muito ‖ [l] *add. interl. B* ‖ [m] totalmente do] tal *B* ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* socorro ‖ [o] *hole B* ‖ [p] escrevê-lo *del.* escusou o trabalho *and hole B* ‖ [q] *del.* de... com palavras... escritas e... venho logo a algumas cousas particulares de edificação das poucas que aqui... *B* ‖ [r] os *ms.* ‖ [s] *add., del., and add. again* os remeiros *B* ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* almas *AB* ‖ [u] *hole B* ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* despedidos *B* ‖ [w] *corr. fr.* casiões *B* ‖ [x] do... era] de lugar em lugar *B* ‖ [y] pés] p[es] *AB* ‖ [z] *ins.*

[a] *hole B* ‖ [b] *hole B* ‖ [c] *del. illeg. word B* ‖ [d] *corr. fr.* outros *B* ‖ [e] caminho aspero *B* ‖ [f] descalços *ms.* ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* conceição *B* ‖ [h] *del.* se ‖ [i] soccedeo a] socieo *B* ‖ [j] se prometem] depois meterem *B* ‖ [k] o sabado *B* ‖ [l] estand... *hole B* ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* com todos *B* ‖ [n] *del.* receberem ‖ [o] *del.* todo ‖ [p] *interl. B* ‖ [q] *interl.* ‖ [r] *del.* avia ‖ [s] *del.* d... dos Christãos *hole B* ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* se *B* ‖ [u] *add. interl. B* ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* mouros *B* ‖ [w] de *B* ‖ [x] *add. interl. B* ‖ [y] *del.* ella *B* ‖ [z] *add. m. B*

[a] *corr. fr.* naos *A*, naos *B* ‖ [b] muitas outras *B* ‖ [c] convicinas *B* ‖ [d] dos *B* ‖ [e] *corr. fr.* dee ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* emparados *B* ‖ [g] *del.* são ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* comece ‖ [i] maa terra *B* ‖ [j] dos *B* ‖ [k] do Senhor *interl.* ‖ [l] cassara *B* ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* traficando *B* ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* tinha *B* ‖ [o] Padre de Maluco *B* ‖ [p] ajundando *ms.* ‖ [q] *add.* alguma *B* ‖ [r] E se *corr. fr.* esse *B* ‖ [s] *hole B* ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* tendos ‖ [u] feresesse *B* ‖ [v] *add. interl.* os *B* ‖ [w] Mansonio *B*

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[34] The non-Jesuits of D 146 note 50.

[35] The two fleet chaplains and the two of nos. 2-3, Fonseca and Daniel.

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Lost Letters

150*a*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon, to Fr. Nuno Rodrigues, Provincial, Goa; May 1602.*

D 147, 5: « Se scrivió al Provincial y Visitador de la India . . . » He should move the viceroy to approve and confirm the rise of allowance to the Fathers made by Furtado de Mendonça.

150*b*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio to Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor, India; May 1602.*

D 147, 5: same contents.

150*c*. — *Fr. Brício Fernandes to Fr. Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor, India; May 1602.*

D 150, 10: « O socesso desta armada o Padre Brisio Fernandes tomou a seu cargo com seu bom estillo escrevê-lo a V.R. ». Cf. D 163, 11-19.

150*d*. — *Fr. Sebastião da Veiga to Fr. Pimenta, India; May 1602.*

GUERREIRO I 276: « Conforme a fiel relação que de tudo deram em suas cartas os Padres Brísio Fernandes e Sebastião da Veiga »; like Fernandes in 150*c* he wrote to Pimenta by whom he had been sent.

150*e*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon, to Fr. Ludovico Maselli, Assistant for Italy, Rome; May 1602.*

D 145, 1: « Maselli . . . al qual procurirò di responder ».

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FR. ANDRÉ PEREIRA TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, SEPTEMBER 27, 1602
Via New Spain

TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 10* ff. 95*r*-96*v*, earlier 412-413, and — in leadpencil — no. 42. Autograph in Portuguese. Archivists' notes: on f. 95*r* « Malabarica 27 septem. 1602 », and « Pereira 2 », on f. 96*v*, besides the last lines of the letter and the address, « 602. Manilla. P. Andre Pereira. 27 de Setembro », followed by a résumé in five items in Portuguese.

Text

1. *Wrote earlier from Ambon, where he arrived in a powerful fleet. This fleet was sent for a different purpose, but Our Lord made it sail to Malucu.* — 2. *Ambon was reconquered and the renegades returned to the faith.* — 3. *Lacking provisions, the*

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commander sent a messenger to Manila. — 4. At the request of the commander and by order of Fr. Luís Fernandes, he himself had to accompany the messenger. — 5. Success of this embassy; praise of Manila Jesuits. — 6. Heard that non-Jesuit missionaries had sailed to Japan, against the orders of both pope and king. — 7. Father Rector of Manila ought to possess copies of recent papal and royal prohibitions. — 8. If those who went there cannot be recalled, at least one could impede others to go there, if this is God's will. — 9. Trusting that the whole of Maluku has already been reconquered, pleads with Fr. General for sending « another Valignano » there. — 10. Calling at Siau by the way, learnt that people wanted to send for a Spanish Father since a Portuguese was not available. — 11. Never ought a Jesuit to live alone.

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso

Pax Christi.

1. Posto que há pouquos meses escrevy a V.P. de Amboyno [1] e dey larga relação de como o anno atrás fizera naufragio o galião em que hiamos 4 da Companhia pera Maluquo, e juntamente de como logo me torney a embarcar em huma grossa armada que achey em Malaca, a qual passou a Maluquo mais por permissão divina que por industria humana, ...[2] Digo isto, porque se fes pera outro fim. Mas Nosso Senhor, que via as grandes necessidades e risquo de perdyção em que estas ilhas estavão, polos muitos imigos assy mouros como hereges, que[a] pretendião entrar nellas pera total destruição daquelas almas, acudio com sua misericordia quando[b] nós mais oprimidos estavamos. E ordenou as cousas de maneira, que esta armada não pudesse effeituar o pera que de Goa veo, e fosse forçada a passar às partes de Maluquo [3].

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[1] D 149.

[2] The sentence remains incomplete.

[3] Pereira shows no tendency to extol Furtado's achievements, but he echoes the common interpretation of the Portuguese that his sudden decision to leave Banten and to sail to Ambon was due to a providential inspiration. For the real aims of Furtado's expedition, consult DD 139, 1; 141, 4; 149, 3, and GUERREIRO I 276: chase away the Dutch from all the southern seas and ports, chastise the ruler of Sunda (Banten), erect new fortresses in some important key-positions (namely in Aceh, Banten, and Ternate, reconquering the former Portuguese fortress). In fact, none of these ends was attained. The Dutch reports represent Furtado's sailing away from Banten bay, without having achieved anything against the ruler there and against the much smaller Dutch fleet, as an incredible and unpardonable shortcoming, causing surprise and disapproval. But still in 1972, the *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura* VERBO claimed for Furtado « Entre 1601 e 1603 comandou a armada do Sul, tendo de fazer frente aos inva-

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2. E porque Amboyno está antes de chegar a Maluquo setenta ou oitenta legoas, e as ilhas vesinhas não somente se tinhão rebellado mas ainda fazião crua guerra aos christãos, todavia com a chegada desta armada todas forão em breve conquistadas[4] e as almas que tinhão recebido o sancto bautismo e por força que os imigos lhe fazião retrocederão na fé, todas estão já reduzidas à Igreja catholica e sogeitas a quem as doutrina de novo.

3. Depois de avidas estas victorias de tanto proveito spiritual e temporal, achou-se o capitão geral desta armada tam falto de mantimentos e em partes tam remotas da India, que totalmente via que, se se não buscava remedio, perecerião melhoria de tres mil almas, e toda a armada se desfaria e nossos imigos tornarião de novo a proseguir sua rebellião. Todavia fiquava-lhe hum só remedio pera que tudo se não acabasse, e hera mandar huma embarcação com hum homem de credito nella aas ilhas Felipinas a pedir mantimentos. Mas fazia-lhe duvida ver que ninguem o conhecia nas Manilhas e muito menos ao homem que elle mandava. [95*v*]

4. Detreminou então consiguo pedir ao P.e Luis Fernandes, superior das partes de Maluquo, que lhe desse hum Padre de nossa Companhia pera que em companhia deste homem viese, não pera outra cousa mais que pera acreditar este negocio, porque avia elle que o credito que este homem não tivesse, se daria a hum religioso. Vendo pois o P.e Luis Fernandes quam importante hera esta armada conservar-se e passar avante a tirar-nos do cativeiro em que os ternates nos tem posto, e que só nesta armada estava o unico remedio da christandade de Maluquo, fes consulta e, de parecer de todos, se lhe ouve de conceder ao capitão geral o que pedia. E posto que eu avia somente dous meses tinha chegado, de muitos meses de perdição bem debilitado in utroque homine, avisou-me a obediencia pera esta navegação açás enfadonha, porque o mesmo general me pedio nomeadamente ao Superior, parece que por os demais serem tam faltos de forças e cansados dos muitos annos de Maluquo que lhe pareceo lhe negarião o que pedia.

5. Emfim foy de tanto efeyto esta vinda de hum da Companhia quá, posto que não trazia o negocio a cargo, que chegou a dizer hum

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sores holandezes, que sacudiu de Amboína e Sunda » (XIII 317). In the Maluku waters Furtado did not once give battle with the Dutch.

[4] This is an overstatement: when Pereira left Ambon for Manila Furtado sailed to Saparua to subdue Ihamahu, in which undertaking, however, he did not succeed. (VALENTYN II b 11; COLIN-PASTELLS II 344-345; BOXER-FRAZÃO 49-50).

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dos ouvidores da Audiencia real que, se o Padre não viera[c] nem se pudera crer ter vindo a Maluquo tam grossa armada, nem se lhe mandara o que pedia em tanta abundancia [5]. Chegando pois a esta Vice-Provincia fuy recebido dos da nossa Companhia com muita charidade, e posso dizer a V.P. com rezão que torno pera Maluquo outro do que vim, polo muito exemplo que de todos universalmente receby assy no zello das almas, como no proprio aproveitamento.

6. Aquy soube como de todas as Ordens tinhão passado a Jappão tres religiosos [6]. E perguntando se tiverão pera isso alguma licença de novo, soube como não tiverão mais motivo, que dizerem huns jappõis que aquy vierão, que os reis gentios, a cujos reinos os da nossa Companhia não tinhão chegado, mandavão pedir religiosos de todas as Ordens pera pregarem em seus reinos. Quis o P.[e] Vice-Provincial [7] acodir a esta hida, pois hera contra o Breve de Sua Sanctidade [8] e intenção d'El-Rey [9]. Respondeo-lhe o governador que, se tinha Sua Reverencia alguma cousa en contrario mais que o Breve antiguo, e como a não avia não lhes pode ou não quis impedir a hyda. Permita Nosso Senhor que seja pera[d] quietação daquela sua Igreja e não pera perturbação, como se arrecea.

7. Quanto a mim, se neste collegio da Manilha estivera na mão

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[5] The Philippine help for Furtado consisted of the ship *Santa Potenciana* and some smaller craft with two hundred troops and many provisions, under the command of Juan Suárez Gallinato (COLIN-PASTELLS II 345-348).

[6] In July 1602 eight Franciscans, five Dominicans, and three Augustinians arrived in Japan from Manila (SCHÜTTE, *Introductio* 668).

[7] Fr. Diego García SJ.

[8] Pope Gregory XIII, January 28, 1585, Brief *Ex pastorali officio*: Going to Japan for missionary work is strictly reserved to members of the Society of Jesus, all other secular and regular clergy are barred (DELPLACE, *Synopsis* 139 no. 288; TOBAR, *Bulario* I 453).

[9] King Philip's intention is revealed by a decree of Viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses, April 12, 1586, published by order of the king and after due consulting of the Holy See: « Não fossem por ora a Japão clérigos seculares nem outros religiosos de nenhuma ordem » (Cf. COLIN-PASTELLS II 683-684). This interdiction was closely bound up with the royal policy of a strict separation of the two Crowns; any commerce and navigation between the Oriental and Occidental Indies were prohibited (APO V/3 1117 no. 904: parallel decree of Meneses of April 26, 1586; see also o.c. 1370 no. 1006; GONÇALVES PEREIRA, *Hist. Admin. Just.* I 480). The mendicant orders claimed to enter Japan *via* Manila, which belonged to the Spanish Indies, whereas Japan itself was considered part of the Portuguese *India Oriental*.

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do P.e Reitor delle o Breve ratificado por Clemente 8º [10] e juntamente huma provisão real, em que se mandasse aos governadores destes estados não consentissem semelhantes passagens, tiveramos este sobroço fora e nenhum passara [96r] por quá. Digo que estes papeis e prohibiçõis devem estar na mão do P.e Reitor deste collegio, porque pode acontecer que o P.e Vice-Provincial ande visitando e não se ache a esta conjunção na terra, e em sua ausencia pode acodir o P.e Reitor.

8. E se caso for que Sua Sanctidade não tome bem esta hida, mas como já lá estão, não será possivel fazê-llos tornar, offereceo-se-me quá este remedio: que todavia procuremos ter neste collegio o Breve ratificado e huma provisão de Sua Magestade, pera que ao diante não passem mais religiosos a Jappão. E se se não continuarem as missõis, facilmente fiquaremos pondo remedio ao futuro, e este se porá se Nosso Senhor não hé servido desta entrada; que se o for não nós a podemos nem devemos impedir, pois hé vontade divina [11]. Isto quis escrever a V.P. polo que aquy de presente vy polo olho da facilidade com que se pode dar remedio a tudo.

9. Tornando todavia às cousas de Maluquo, pera onde agora já estou de caminho [12], parece-me, ou de feito assy hé, que será grande serviço de Nosso Senhor fazer V.P. muito caso das cousas de Maluquo. E porque confio na divina misericordia que oje estará já tudo por nós e com principios de quietação, creo será necesario mandar V.P. que a Maluquo passe hum homem que ponha as cousas em ordem. Não porque ellas não tenha[m] quá quem as ordene com muito zello e exemplo, senão porque, como tudo até agora forão guerras, não se pode ter a ordem que os negocios requerião, quanto mais que[e] me pa-

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[10] Brief *Onerosa pastoralis officii* of December 12, 1600: members of other orders may go to Japan to do apostolic work, but only when sailing from Lisbon and *via* Goa, i.e., under the Portuguese *padroado*. Further it is said particularly: « Que ningun religioso de qualquier estado, grados, orden y condición que sea pueda passar de las Yslas Philipinas, ni de otra parte que pertenesca o sea tenida por de las Yndias Occidentales a las Yslas, Provincias o Reynos de el Japón » (TOBAR, *Bulario* I 526-527). For the whole of this question, see SCHÜTTE, *Die Wirksamkeit der Päpste für Japan*.

[11] Obviously Pereira is inspired here by the judgment of Gamaliel (Acts 5 38-39).

[12] Fr. Pereira returned with Gallinato (« Andres Pereira y capitán Antonio de Brito Fogassa . . . vinieron por el socorro y an de bolver con él », COLIN-PASTELLS II 346) after mid-October 1602, sailed from Panay on January 20, 1603, and arrived at Tidore on February 16 (BOXER-FRAZÃO 47-48).

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rece que, se a Jappão não fora e viera tantas veses o P.[e] Alexandre Valignano, nunqua com tanta efficacia e detreminação se pusera remedio às cousas de Jappão. Asy digo quá, que se V.P. não ordenar que passe aas partes de Maluquo hum 2[o] Alixandre, não sey se cudaremos sempre que estamos nos tempos calamitosos, e asy se não ponha tanta efficacia nestas cousas quanta hé necessario aja de novo, pois os tempos são pola bondade de Nosso Senhor novos em melhoria.

10. E certo que se em Jappão se pôs e meteo muito cabedal, que nas ilhas Maluquas se não devia meter menos, antes mais e tanto mais, quanto estas almas estão mais remotas da fé. E porque V.P. com hum exemplo entenda as necesidades e sede de algumas destas almas, digo que passando eu agora vindo pera a Manilha pola ilha de Siaos, que hé toda christã e há 4 ou 5 annos que não tem Padre[13], me disse hum christão que, se el-rey estivera perto, que se ouvera de vir comigo às Felipinas a pedir ao governador que lhe mandasse lá hum Padre castelhano, pois os portugueses lho não davão. Daquy colligirá V.P. asy a sede da salvação que todavia tem alguns reinos, como a falta de obreiros que em Maluquo há, que somente por falta não está hum Padre naquele reyno.

11. E tambem avirto a V.P. que não hé bem que esteja hum Padre soo, porque aconteceo já estar hum cinquo ou seis annos sem se confessar[14]. E pera que tudo isto se ponha em feição e ordem, creo será proveitosa cousa virem novos olhos [96*v*] a Maluquo, pera que de novo vejão as cousas e de novo seja V.P. informado pera que a tudo acuda com cudado paternal. Na benção e sanctos sacrificios me encommendo.

De V.P. indigno filho em Christo,

André Pereira.

De Manilha, oje 27 de Setembro de 602.

[*Address*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre nosso Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesu.

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[a] *rep.* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* quandos ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* vies.. ‖ [d] *interl.* ‖ [e] *del.* se

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[13] The suggestion that about 1597-1598 a Father was stationed on Siau island conflicts with D 135, 10.

[14] One could not imagine who this Father was.

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FR. ANDRÉ PEREIRA SJ
TO FR. JOÃO ÁLVARES, ASSISTANT, ROME

MANILA, SEPTEMBER 28, 1602
Via New Spain

TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 10* ff. 97*r*-98*v*, earlier no. 43 (in leadpencil). Autograph. Portuguese. The addressee noted on f. 97*r* « Pereira 2 », and « 4 a Maluco » in the margin at the second paragraph; he underlined some passages and, on f. 98*r*, wrote a kind of summary « Manilha 7bro 602. O Pe André Pereira foy a Manilha pera acreditar e falicitar [*read* facilitar] o despacho de mantimentos que André Furtado de Mendonça mandou pedir pera a armada com que ficava sobre Tarnate, por lhe não poderem vir da India. E como tem feito muito na restituição daquellas ilhas, igrejas e fortalezas ».

Text

1. *Earlier correspondence.* — 2. *Voyage, reduction of Ambon, want of more Fathers.* — 3. *For lack of provisions the general* [*Furtado*] *sent for them to the Philippines and asked for a Father to accompany the messenger.* — 4. *Though tired with thirteen months of navigation and shipwrecks, he himself was chosen for this task. The coming of a Jesuit increased the credit of the messenger.* — 5. *At the request of Fr. Vice-provincial he preached to the people and announced Furtado's victories.* — 6. *His letters go* via *New Spain; hopes Fr. General will reply by the same way.* — 7. *Friars went to Japan. Conclusion.*

† Jesus Maria

Pax Christi.

1. Parece-me que o anno de 60[0] escrevy a V.R., quando da India foy o P.e Alberto Laercio eleito pola Congregação[1] a Roma, e então hera eu procurador da Provincia, e por esse respeito toquey a V.R. em algumas cousas particulares e gerais. E como no anno de 601 foy Nosso Senhor servido de me esquolher pera a ditosa missão de Maluquo, não tive até agora reposta de V.R. nem de Nosso Padre, porque as cartas chegão a estas partes muito devagar.

[1] The fifth Provincial Congregation, Goa, October 30 to November 10, 1599, elected Frs. Alberto Laerzio and Francisco Vieira as procurators; they sailed to Rome in 1600 and returned to Goa in 1602 (See D 133; *ARSI, Congr. 49* f. 469*v*; WICKI, *Liste* nos. 430*a* and 450*a*).

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2. Partindo pois de Malaca pera Maluquo quatro que vinhemos da Companhia, nos perdemos 400 legoas do porto [2]. E tornando com muitos trabalhos atrás[a], achamos em Malaca huma poderosa armada que por divina providencia passou a Maluquo e tem feyto grandes cousas na restauração daquelas ilhas e igrejas que nellas avia, como largamente digo em huma que escrevo a nosso P.e Geral [3]. Por onde será necesario ter V.R. particular lembrança de que se mande gente a Maluquo, porque esperamos em Nosso Senhor fazer-se-lhe nestas ilhas muito serviço na conversão daquelas almas, polas quais o nosso P.e Francisco [4] fes tanto.

3. E como esta armada hera cousa que a Companhia tantos annos desejou passasse a Maluquo, pola certeza que avia que só com hum grande poder se restaurarião aquelas igrejas, vendo o P.e Luis Fernandes, superior das partes de Maluquo, a extrema necessidade em que esta armada estava de mantimentos, afastada da India mil e duzentas legoas, não teve o general della outro remedio senão mandar pedir soccorro de mantimentos às ilhas Felipinas, que distão de Maluquo 300 ou 400 legoas. [97*v*] E como nem elle, nem o homem que elle mandava [5] herão conhecidos nas Felipinas, pedio ao P.e Luis Fernandes que lhe desse hum Padre. E nomeou-me a mym logo, pera que, vindo a esta terra, o acreditasse e desse a conhecer com o governador [6] e ouvidores, e lhes dissesse a grande necessidade em que estava de mantimentos. Ouve o Padre de lhe conceder ao general o que pedia, pois hera a necessidade tam grande e desta armada pendia totalmente, depois de Deos, o remedio de Maluquo.

4. Emfim estando eu ainda bem cansado de doze ou treze meses de navegação e de naufragios, fuy avisado pera vir em companhia de hum capitão que o general mandou, não tomando eu cargo de nada mais que de representar a estes senhores o grande serviço que fazião a Deos e a El-Rey acodindo a esta armada [7]. E pera isto ajudando-me

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[2] Cf. D 154, 1. The sailing distance from Malacca to the easternmost point of Java, following the coastlines, is about 2,000 km.

[3] Does he refer to D 149? Neither this nor D 151 can be called an extensive report on the restoring of Ambon to Portuguese rule and to Christianity. Or did he still write another letter?

[4] Xavier.

[5] That is, neither André Furtado de Mendonça nor António de Brito Fogaça.

[6] D. Pedro Bravo de Acuña.

[7] In the Spanish documents (COLIN-PASTELLS II 345-347) André Pereira

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dos superiores da Companhia que nesta terra estão se deu muito bom remedio aas necessidades da armada portuguesa. E não foy de tam pouquo efeito a vinda de hum da Companhia quá, que não dissesse hum dos principais ouvidores da Audiencia real, que fora grande conselho mandarem hum Padre a ajudar a pedir estes mantimentos, porque só a elle vir se dava credito aver em Maluquo tam grossa armada em tempos que menos se esperava. E juntamente fora motivo grande pera se aver de mandar destes estados mantimentos a esta armada bastantes pera hum anno [8], que hé o que se avia mister.

5. Graças a Nosso Senhor que tal credito e autoridade tem dado à nossa Companhia, porque, chegando estas novas desta armada diante a estas ilhas, avião os homens que hera tam grande o bem que o não crião até verem o Padre portugues que lhes dissesse a verdade. E pera lhes aver de dar as novas ordenou o P.[e] Vice-Provincial destas ilhas que pregasse alguns dias[b] depois da minha chegada. Fis o que me mandou e no cabo dey as novas das vitorias que esta armada tinha já avidas e do muito que se esperava fazer.

6. Agora estou já de caminho pera Maluquo e antes que me fosse quis deixar estas duas cartas, huma pera o Nosso Padre [9] e outra pera V.R., pera por via de Nova Hespanha lhe serem mandadas, e creo chegarão lá muito primeiro que por via da India. E asy todos os de Maluquo nos consolaremos muito com que o nosso P.[e] Geral nos escreva por esta via, porque em hum anno e meo teremos as cartas, e por via da India hé necessario 4 annos e às vezes cinquo pera termos cartas de Roma. V.R. nos console [98*r*] escrevendo-nos por esta via.

7. Aqui achey novas como forão este anno de 602 de todas as religiõis frades a Jappão. Na de Nosso Padre trato esta hyda mais largamente. Portanto não quero enfadar a V.R., mais que pedir-lhe sua santa benção e que se lembre dos que estamos em Maluquo, en cujos santos sacrificios me encommendo.

De Manilha, e de Setembro 28 de 1602.

De V.R. indigno filho em Christo,

André Pereira.

[*Address* 98*v*] † Ao P.[e] João Alvarez, da Companhia de Jesu, assistente em Roma, a quem Deos guarde.

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[a] *corr. fr.* aças ‖ [b] *interl.*

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is always mentioned before António de Brito; presumably the Father was a better speaker and negotiator than the captain-messenger.

[8] A particularizing list of munition, provisions, and troops: o.c. 347.

[9] D 151.

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153

FR. NICOLAU PIMENTA, VISITOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

GOA, DECEMBER 21, 1602

I TEXT: Three Latin originals are available in the ARSI, each one written in a different hand, but in all of them the script is very regular, beautiful and of a foolproof legibility; all are written on the same large 4° paper, showing the same watermark, and they are signed in Fr. Pimenta's own hand. For the rest, they are not distinguished from each other unless by some notes added later. In all three there is a numbering of quires, of four folios each, so on the first, fifth, ninth, etc. folio, in the left upper corner. The text is divided into a large number of paragraphs in an always satisfying way, corresponding with the contents, and without intermediate headings.

A. *Goa 33 I* ff. 41*r*-72*v*, formerly no. XIII. Some portions of the text have been crossed out; f. 72*r*-*v* is blank. Our parts are on ff. 67*r*-*v* and 69*v*.

B. *Goa 33* ff. 83*r*-110*v*, earlier no. XIII. On top of f. 83*r* other hands noted « P. Assistens lusit. » and « aliud exemplar »; at the bottom « 602 Goa Pimenta ». Folio 109*v* is blank; likewise 110 but for « Goa 602 » in *r* and « 1602 » in *v*. The passages on Maluku and Furtado: ff. 104*v*-105*r* and 106*v*-107*r*.

C. *Goa 48* ff. 36*r*-63*v*, originally 48-74 and no. VIII (*corr. fr.* VII). A later note on top of f. 36*r* runs « Goana 1601 ». Our text is on ff. 58*v*-59*r* and 61*r*.

II PALEOGRAPHIC NOTE: The main part of this letter, which is a Visitor's report and a survey of the whole of the Indian Province covering the events of the year 1600, was written first in Portuguese and dated December 1, 1600 (see our D 131). Why it was sent again in a Latin version, increased by the report of some later events, and under a new date, is explained in the document itself: « Hoc foelici exitu [i.e., the death of Fr. Henrique Henriques] epistolam concludere merito possem, nisi in ea nonnullarum rerum mentio fuisset facta, quarum successum V.P.em et Fratres nostros charissimos avere scire non dubito, quasque a me non absurde hoc loco posse commemorari perspicuum erit. Cum enim hae literae ea tantum comprehenderent quae ad annum sexcentesimum supra millesimum pertinerent, causa fuerunt occupationes assiduae ut eas fine anni sexcentesimi secundi in Europam mitteremus, non iam lusitanas sed latinas, ut nostris Fratribus et amicis, tum in Italia, tum in partibus transalpinis communicarentur » (A f. 69*r*; B f. 106*v*; C f. 60*v*).

III PRINTED: The printed Latin text referred to at D 131, is quite different in wording from the present one; the former was made in Europe after the Italian version of the Portuguese text; the latter was made in Goa directly from the Portuguese.

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Text

1. *Jesuits were twice sent to Maluku. First Frs. Cristóbal de la Vega, Visitor, and Vasco da Cunha.* — 2. *Well provided with all the necessities they left Malacca on August 20* [*1598*] *and sailed* via *Brunei.* — 3. *They arrived at Tidore on November 20. On the death of Frs. Marta and Rebelo and of Br. António da Costa.* — 4. *Fr. Visitor fell ill. Fr. Berwouts/Corrado came from Labuha to see him; Fr. Cunha stayed back in Tidore, the Visitor left it on March 2* [*1599*]. — 5. *Though not wholly recovered, he performed the visitation of Ambon and drew up a report on it.* — 6. *He sailed from Ambon on May 15, made the visitation of Malacca, and sailing to Goa died at sea near Ceylon.* — 7. *The second sending: three Fathers and a Brother.* — 8. *The latest news from Furtado's fleet: good work of the Jesuits, Sunda and the Dutch were beaten.*

[...]

1. Bis ad insulas Malucas a nostris Patribus itum est. Primum eo missus P. Christophorus Veiga, socio Patre Vascho de Cunia, ut nostrae Societatis Patres et Fratres inviseret, atque una christianos, quorum illi curam gerunt. Ii sane maxima omnium rerum ad victum et cultum necessariarum inopia laborant, ac multa a mahometanis hostibus indigna patiuntur [1].

2. Pater itaque Malacae, quo in oppido collegii nostri rector atque omnibus civibus apprime charus fuit, ad XIII kalendas Septembris navem conscendit rostratam, cuius praefectus et vectores, ut ei unius anni laborem de itinere demerent (tantus[a] erat omnium in ipsum amor et studium), per Burnaeas insulas via inusitata navigarunt. Viaticum eidem tam abundanter et munifice suppeditarunt, ut etiam in reditum satis esset, neque nostris, qui[b] in Moluccis extremam egestatem tolerant, opus esset quicquam in obsoniorum sumptus erogare.

3. Ad Tidorem appulerunt XII kalendas Decembris. Ibi cognoverunt P. Antonium Martham e[c] vita discessisse; Patrem vero Ioannem Rebelum offenderunt adeo infirmum, ut post triduum animam efflaverit. Itaque domus illa ad unum Fratrem Ioannem Paulum adiutorem redacta et devoluta est. Magnum ea iactura tum rei christianae, tum Provinciae universae detrimentum attulit. Erant enim ii duo Patres vitae morumque exemplo, et animorum procurandorum peritia conspicui. Paulo ante fatis concesserat Frater Antonius Costa, qui postquam militis et ducis munia strenue obierat, in Societatem admissus, optimi coadiutoris officium functus est.

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[1] For the notes to nos. 1-7, see D 131.

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4. Pater autem Visitator simul atque Tidorem attigit, in morbum incidit adeo grave, ut vix mortem evaserit. Ad hunc visendum venit P. Rogerius Conradus, qui in Laboa commoratur, quod iter securus ab hostibus facere potuit, regis Bachianensis praesidio tutus; is enim arci nostrae suppetias laturus cum classe profectus est. Pater ubi melius se habuit, visitatis ecclesiis et Patre Vascho a Cunha ibi interea loci relicto, ad VI nonas Martias Amboinum contendit.

5. Ibi Molluccarum superiorem et reliquos Patres incolumes reperit. Ipse, licet adhuc parum [67*v*] firmus, suo munere tamen non indiligenter est functus. Ter et vicies [2] de rebus ad rei christianae cultum spectantibus cum Patribus consultavit. De ipsis Patribus vix erat, quod deliberaret, quos nempe reperit, ut aurum igne, ita adversis rebus egregie probatos. Et tanquam si divinaret sibi vitae exitum instare, nec se Goae de visitatione rationem redditurum, consulta omnia in commentarios retulit.

6. Ab Amboino solvit pridie idus Martias [3], Malacam pridie idus Iunias appulit. Eo collegio visitato, ad Goam cum P. Sebastiano Sexio reditum adornavit, adeo infirma valetudine, ut sacrum infirmorum oleum secum ferendum putaret, ne si quid in itinere durius accideret, sine hoc sancto sacramento decederet. Cum igitur navis prope ab Ceilano insula cursum teneret, ipse animam Deo reddidit, ingemiscentibus omnibus et miro illius desiderio collachrymantibus. Vectores enim et turba nautica omnis, non mediocri illius doctrinae et concionum suavitate tenebantur. Nec minus in India universa mors eius plangebatur. Omnes enim eum noverant et propter eximias dotes mire observabant et venerabantur.

7. Superiore Aprili subsidiarios ad Moluccas misimus Patres Georgium Fonsecam, Andream Pererium, Bartholomeum Danielem et Fratrem Matheum Britum. Faxit Deus ut salvi perveniant et binas illas Moluccarum Amboinique arces, incolumi statu fruentes inveniant. Ingruebat enim terror belli et non leve omnibus periculum.
[... 69*v*]

8. Per idem tempus prorex classem instrui ornarique iussit, eique praefuit[d] [4] Andream Furtadum Mendonsium, ut in Somatram, Malacam, Sundam et Malucas excurrens, holandorum comprimeret audaciam, et portus quos illi petebant praesidiis occuparet. E nostris in praetoria

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[2] In D 131, 4 « trinta e tres consultas ».
[3] A lapse for *Maias*.
[4] Read *praefecit*; consult crit. app.

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tres[5] cum praefecto conscenderunt. [. . .] De classe Andreae Furtadi et ab ipso et a nostris Patribus allatae sunt literae[6], quae nos certiores fecerunt de fructu quem in suis ministeriis nostri colligunt. Ex literis e Malaca datis[7] cognovimus Sundam iam a praefecto in potestatem redactam, et ex quatuor holandorum navibus duas ab eodem captas, reliquis ob celeritatem in fugam subductis.
[. . . 71*v*]

Goae, ad XII kalendas Ianuarii, hoc est ut in superiore epistola die sacro S. Thomae apostolo Indiae patrono, anno a partu Virginis 1602.

[*Autograph*] V. P. filius in Domino,

Nicolaus Pimenta.

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[a] natus *B* ‖ [b] *ins. AB* ‖ [c] a *C* ‖ [d] praefecit *corr. fr.* praefuit *B*; praefecit *C*

Lost Letters

153*a*. — *Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Alessandro Valignano, Visitor of the Vice-Province of Japan; January 13, 1603.*

D 180, 1: Proposes to establish a Vice-Province comprising only Macao (with the residencies in China), Malacca, and Maluku.

153*b*. — *Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General, Rome, to Fr. Alberto Laerzio, Vice-Provincial of Malabar; January 1603.*

D 166, 1: Proposes a common superior [vice-provincial] for Malacca, Maluku, Macao and the residences in China. For the date, cf. D 180, 1.

154

FR. JERÓNIMO GOMES, COMMISSIONED BY FR. VICE-PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL

Annual Letter of the Malabar Province
COCHIN, JANUARY 14, 1603
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY (nos. 1-4): STREIT V 37; WESSELS, *Amboina* 193 Fonseca no. 1.

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[5] The three mentioned in D 139, 1.

[6] According to the scheduled sailing times, the letters which are our DD 144-150, and Furtado's letter to Fr. Pimenta of May 10, 1602 (text in BOXER-FRAZÃO 117-122) could not yet have arrived in Goa. Earlier letters of Furtado and of the two Jesuit chaplains did not come to out knowledge.

[7] D 143.

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II AUTHORS: GUERREIRO I 268-270; IARRICUS III/2 441-445; WESSELS, *Amboina* 134-135.

III TEXT:

A. *ARSI, Goa 55* ff. 53*r*-66*v*, formerly 391-403, and no. X. Original in Portuguese, and in a steady and clear handwriting. Only the conclusion and signature, on f. 65*r*, are in the autograph of Fr. Gomes, who was charged by the vice-provincial to write this letter. Roman hands noted on f. 53*r* « Hae sunt primae literae ab institutione illius provintiae » and « 1602 [*corr. fr.* 1603] Malabarica ». The folios 65*v* and 66*r* are blank; the latter's *verso* contains the address, likewise autograph of Fr. Gomes, to which a later secretary's hand added « 603 Cochim ». The letter is divided into chapters, each with its own heading. According to the address this is a second *via*. The chapter on Maluku is on ff. 63*r*-64*r*.

B. *British Library, MSS Department, Add. 9853* ff. 461*r*-470*v* (also 22-31). Copy in Portuguese in which, however, the conclusion and signature mentioned under A are lacking. Same division and titles. On the first page at the top a second hand noted « Anua do Sul de 602 [*corr. fr.* 603] »; f. 470*v* is blank containing only a note « Pera se ler em Chaul, Tana, Baçaym e Damão, e torne à secretaría de Goa », and an archivistic place number « Gav. n. 42 », referring no doubt to the Jesuit Provincial Archives of Goa. Our part is on ff. 468*v*-469*r*.

IV NOTE: Our part of the annual letter consists mainly of the contents of two letters coming from Maluku, the first of Fr. Jorge da Fonseca (nos. 1-4), the other an annual letter from Tidore (nos. 7-10), which makes one think of D 135, whereas no. 5 is likely to be borrowed from a third letter, possibly of Fr. André Pereira. We do not know how far the text is a literal rendering of those letters. The arrival of Furtado's fleet and of Fr. Pereira and Br. Brito at Ambon is not yet known to their authors. Consequently the letters were written in 1601. That there were still more letters is clear from no. 6.

To be noted that this is the first annual letter produced by the new Vice-Province of Malabar. See introduction to D 141, III. It is the proof that its separation from Goa had become effective.

V AUTHOR: Fr. Jerónimo Gomes was a Portuguese, born at Cano (Alentejo) in 1562, he became a Jesuit in 1577 and sailed to India in 1586 where he was ordained a priest in 1590. Still in 1608 he appears to be the secretary of Fr. Provincial of Cochin (*Goa 24* ff. 173*v*, 229*r*; *Goa 33 I* f. 245*r*; WICKI, *Liste* no. 283).

Text

1. *The Maluku galleon was shipwrecked on February 3, 1601. The four Jesuits sailing in it were saved in the boat.* — 2. *Quoting a letter of Fr. Jorge da Fonseca: The fifty men in the boat suffered heavy tempests.* — 3. *After eight days they put in at Koreh. In the gulf of Ambon* [*Banda Sea*] *they met two galliots; two of the four Jesuits stepped over, each one on a galliot.* — 4. *They reached Ambon and were welcomed by their fellow-Jesuits. So far Fonseca.* — 5. *The boat, with the other two, sailed to Solor; they were well received by the Dominicans.* — 6. *All letters coming from Maluku com-*

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plain of the lamentable situation. He will now quote the last annual letter. — 7. The miserable state of Maluku is caused by both lack of succour from India and the regular appearance of Dutch fleets. The Dutch erect agencies and provide the natives with all kinds of arms. — 8. The Dutch way of dealing with the natives: honouring them, not trying to convert them to Christianity, not minding religious differences, won them their friendship, the more so as the Portuguese prove unable to maintain themselves. — 9. There are six Jesuits, who are only waiting for the end. — 10. They can only work among the Portuguese and for a few Christians of Labuha.

Residencia de Malluquo e Amboino

1. Tivemos este anno novas como o[a] gallião d'El-Rei [1], que hia pera as partes de Malluquo, se perdeo aos tres de Fevereiro de 1601 [2] nos baixos que se chamão da Pressada[b] [3], allem de Mallaqua, no quoal galliam hião 4 da Companhia, tres Padres e hum[c] Irmão. Premetio Deos que a maior parte da gente se salvase, porque o capitão [4] fes meter no batel aos portuguezes e mais christãos, e ordenou que os mouros marinheiros fizessem huma jangada em que pudessem chegar à terra, que não distava mais que 3 ou 4 legoas.

2. Indo no batel como sento e simqoenta pessoas (vou rellatando parte de huma carta do[d] P.[e] Jorge da Fonsequa [5], superior dos nosos que alli hião), vimos hum dia depois da perdição huma galliota de duas que tinha mandado Goterres de Monrroio com huma nao, as quoais galleotas avia dias que tinhão desaparesido, e esta vinha com os mastros rendidos de hum grande temporal que tinha passado. E no mesmo dia bem tarde nos deu outro tão grande que perdemos a galleota, com tais chuivas e ondas que nos vimos allagados no batel, e não ouve quem

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[1] Cf. D 144, 3. Since it sailed from Goa in April 1600 (D 131, 6), it must have made a long stop at Malacca.

[2] GUERREIRO, and after him IARRICUS, assert less correctly that this was the date of their departure from Malacca.

[3] Shoals of this name could not be identified on any maps (Vaz Dourado, Linschoten, Godinho de Heredia, a.o.). They were at about 400 leagues (good 2,000 km) from Malacca (D 152, 2), and only three or four off the coast of Java, not far from Panarukan (no. 1; DD 145, 22 and 149, 2). Van Noort, sailing from Jaratan bound for Strait Bali, saw the galleon aground « near Pasaruan » (TIELE VI 162). WESSELS identified the *baixos* with the « Meindertsdroogte » near the NE point of Java (*Amboina* 134). VALENTYN locates a « Muydens Klip » in that place (IV a 50 map, and 52).

[4] Fernão Pereira de Sande.

[5] Cf. D 135 B.

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não emtendese ser aquela sua hora deradeira. E dado que na nao confessamos a todos, alli se tornarão a comfesar, padesendo já o trago da morte que vião diante dos olhos.

3. Durou esta tromenta hum dia e duas noites. A cabo de oito dias tomamos hum porto que chamão Corea [6], onde nos refizemos de mantimentos e agoa, porque todos estes oito dias não pasavamos mais que com[e] cantidade de huma consoada de hum relligiozo[f] mui austinente, ee isto de vinte qoatro[g] em 24 oras huma ves com huma pouqua d'aguoa. Indo desta maneira segindo a derrota de Solor, tornamos achar a galliota e[h] no gollfão[i] de Amboino [7] aparesseo tãobem a[j] outra que tinha desaparesido. Aqui nos repartimos polas tres embarquaçõis: o P.[e] André Pereira e o Irmão fiquarão no batel, o P.[e] Daniel e eu nos metemos cada hum em sua galleota, onde trabalhamos em pôr os soldados e os capitães em paz, que[k] com os capitães vinhão mui desavidos, e os fizemos comfesar a todos.

4. E porque o tinhamos prometido nas tempestades[l] passadas, sahimos em Amboino descalsos em prosisão, na qual eu levava huma imagem da Nosa Senhora, [63v] e disse missa in gratiarum actionem com huma breve pratiqua pera contar as mercês que do[m] Senhor tinhamos recebido, e no cabo da misma comungarão todos. Chegados à caza da Companhia que temos em Amboino, fomos recebidos com tanta caridade que se nos reprezentou ver a primeira caridade da Companhia em pratiqua: huma summa pobreza do temporal mas do spirito mui riqua[n], com que serto fomos summamente edifiqados. E agora me parese[o] estes santos obreiros levarem a mais pezada crus que se padese na Companhia toda, com tanta pasiencia e tãoto[p] sillencio[q], que se não tem por lá[r] noticia da desima parte dos trabalhos que padecem no ministerio[s] das allmas, falltas grandissimas do temporal, pasando muitas vezes com tão pouquo a vida, e esse tão inferior ao que lá[t] na India e Europa se toma por grande penitencia, que parese comcorre Deos particularmente com elles a não acabarem mais depressa a vida. Até qui da carta do P.[e] Jorge da Fonsequa.

5. Ho[u] batel, em que hia o P.[e] André Pereira e o Irmão Mateus de Brito, foi aportar a Sollor[v], aonde os relligiosos de Sam Domingos tem huma boa e grande christandade. Delles forão agazalhados os nosos com mostras de mui grande amor e charidade. Alli exercitou o Padre, pera não estar aquele pouquo de tempo[w] osiozo, os ministerios da Com-

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[6] Koreh in Sumbawa.
[7] The Banda Sea.

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panhia: comfessar e pregar com tanta edifiquação e proveito das almas que, posto que não tenho cassos particullares que rellatar, todos asim relligiozos como seculares [x] que de lá vierão, apregoão o muito que lá fes em serviço de Deos e onrra da Companhia.

6. Quanto às couzas de Malluquo e Amboino, todas as cartas asim particullares como geraes não fazem outra couza, senão chorar [y] ho lastimozo estado daquelas ilhas Malluquas, e asim treslladarei parte da annua que de llá este anno nos veio, que diz asim [8].

7. Avemdo de fazer este anno carta annua de Malluquo como hé costume, pareseo que, visto o tempo tão mizeravel em que estamos, era escuzado fazer-se mais que em geral reprezentar o mizeravel estado a [z] que chegou aquele tão desejado e nomeado Malluquo, asim por lhe não vir aquele socorro de gente tantos annos há pedido, como tãobem [a 9] e muito mais principalmente por causa dos novos navegantes que desde Ollanda e Gellandia [b], e outras partes occidemtaes, vem a descobrir estas ilhas da especiaria [c], tão afamadas por rezão della [d], e juntamente empedir o trato e commercio tão antigo que os portuguezes nellas [e] tem. E isto com tanta determinação, que não [f] comtentes de virem de quando em quando, como já [g] fizerão os ingrezes [10], mas estes vem todos os annos a eito, deixando de cada ves novas feitorias e feitores nas terras donde chegão, como já tem feito em Banda, em Ternate e agora novamente em Amboino com muita fazenda, da [h] que estes maluquos com tanto cuidado busquão; que sam armas de toda a sorte, comvem a saber, espingardas, mosquetes, pollvora e chumbo em muita cantidade, artelharia muito boa, e panos de Portugal de todas as cores e allguns velludos.

8. E como não pertendão fazerem forças nem agravos à gente da terra aonde chegão, antes muitas onrras, nem tãopouquo tratem de fazer [i] christãos, nem de diferença que há das leis e seitas, com que os naturais se hão por satisfeito delles e comtentes, estãodo já emfadados

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[8] That all these letters are expatiating on the miserable state of Maluku is a proof that they were written before D 144, and that consequently they belonged to the mail of 1601. This mail will have contained more letters than just our DD 135, 137, 138. So we have again some lost letters, but without specification of their number, authors, and addressees, cf. 135*b*. Some passages of our document remind of D 137, other do not. See D 135 A.

[9] Consult crit. app.

[10] The Indonesian waters were visited by Francis Drake in 1579, by Thomas Cavendish in 1586, and by James Lancaster in 1592. On this issue and on the difference of English and Dutch navigation to the East Indies, see ENI I 672.

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dos portuguezes e de seu modo de tratar tam differente, se affeiçoão de boa vontade ao moderno dos[j] ollamdezes novos comtratantes. E como tenhão bem emtendido que não vem da India couza que impida esta nova navegação, vem-se de todo a comfirmar na fallsa opinião que tem, que os portuguezes não são poderozos pera defenderem [64r] a seus vassallos e amigos, nem tampouquo pera poderem empedir que não venhão outras nasões a Malluquo busqar especiaria[k].

9. Polo que tratar nas couzas de Malluquo, nem de[l] christandade delle, hé escuzado. E asim não direi nesta mais, senão que aqui estamos seis da Companhia, 5 Padres e hum Irmão, esperando não quando chegará o esperado socorro, pois delle estamos bem desemganados, mas quando virá nosa ora pera acabarmos esta tão larga peregrinação e desterro, em que por amor de Deos e pola obediemcia estamos mui allegres e comtentes, dando muitas grasas ao Senhor por este beneficio tão singullar de nos dar ocazião de padecer por[m] seu amor e por sua Igreja.

10. Occupamo-nos em os acustumados ministerios da Companhia, que hé pregar e comfessar aos portuguezes desta fortalleza[11] e em culltivar na ilha da Labua huns pouquos de christãos naturais della pera que não falltem de todo na[n] fee. Temos tãobem grande magoa e pezar de ver o muito que se perde e a christandade tão grande que[o] poderia aver se isto[p] se comsertase e viesse o socorro a tempo. Deos Noso Senhor, cuja hé esta vinha que nestas ultimas partes do mundo[q] culltivamos, acuda com sua misericordia pera que não acabe tudo, ne[r] dicant gentes, ubi est Deus eorum?[12] A elle pertence, sua hé, elle ordene o que for mais seu santo serviço.

[.. 65r]

[*Autograph*] De Cochim, aos 14 de Janeiro de 1603.

Por commissão do P. Vice-Provincial[13].

De V.P. filho indigno em o Senhor,

Jeronymo Gomez.

[*Address* 66v] Annua pera R.P. Geral, da Vice-Provincia da India Oriental. Pera se ler. 2ª via.

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[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *w. corr.*, Persada *B* ‖ [c] *om. B* ‖ [d] que o *B* ‖ [e] *add.* a *B* ‖ [f] hum rellogiozo] huma religião *B* ‖ [g] *del.* ora ‖ [h] *rep. after corr.* ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* golfo, golfo *B* ‖ [j]

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[11] Of Tidore.

[12] Jud 7 21.

[13] In 1602 Fr. Manuel da Veiga was succeeded by Fr. Alberto Laerzio.

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om. B ‖ [k] *del.* si ‖ [l] tempemtades *ms.* A ‖ [m] de nosso B ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* riqo; rico B ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* paresem ‖ [p] *corr. fr.* tãotos ‖ [q] tantos silencios B ‖ [r] por lá] polla B ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* ministerios ‖ [t] *om.* B ‖ [u] o *corr. fr.* no B ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* Sallor; Solor B ‖ [w] *del.* alh [x] *corr. fr.* sigollares ‖ [y] *del.* pollos ‖ [z] *interl.*

[a] *add.* por faltar mantimentos B ‖ [b] Olanda, Gelanda B ‖ [c] das espesserias, *corr. fr.* especirias B ‖ [d] dellas B ‖ [e] nella B ‖ [f] *interl.* ‖ [g] lá B ‖ [h] *interl.* ‖ [i] fazerem B ‖ [j] ao . . dos] aos modernados B ‖ [k] especerias B ‖ [l] da B ‖ [m] pello B ‖ [n] todo na toda nossa B ‖ [o] *add.* se B ‖ [p] isso B ‖ [q] *del.* o ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* nec, nem B

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KING D. PHILIP II OF PORTUGAL TO VICEROY AIRES DE SALDANHA, GOA

LISBON, FEBRUARY 2, 1603

TEXT: Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, cod. 282* f. 109*r*. Registered file copy in Portuguese. This is no. 21 of a collection of 52 numbered letters, titled « Copia das cartas que Sua Magestade mandou escrever à India este ano de 603 a Aires de Saldanha, Visso-Rey, em reposta das que lhe emviou o ano de 602; e asy das mais que para lá se escrevem este ano » (ff. 104*r*-116*r*). Fluent, bold, and mostly well readable handwriting. On f. 104*r* two short notes: in left upper corner « Imdia »; at centre top « 1603 Anos ».

NOTE: The letter contained in Goa, *Historical Archives, Livros das Monções do Reino* 7 ff. 136-147, seems to have the same or similar contents, but it is dated February 15, at least according to *Bol. da Filmoteca* I 541 no. 46.

Text

The viceroy ought to pay out duly to the Jesuits of Maluku and of other parts.

[. . .]

Folgei de saber que favoreceis e ajudais em tudo aos religiosos da Companhia, asi por vo-lo ter mandado como por eles se vanteyarem na administração da cristamdade. E que aos que residem em Maluco, China e Japão, Costa de Travancor e Ceilão mamdareis pagar o que se lhes devia. E que à igreja de Coulão e religiossos dela mamdareis pagar tãobem mil cruzados que se lhes devião de seus ordenados atrazados. E porque sempre averei por meu serviço que sejão bem pagos os religiossos que residem nessas partes e se ocupão na comverssão delas, vos emcomendo e mando que tenhais [109*v*] muyto particular

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cuidado de seus pagamentos, porque me averei nisso por bem servido de vos.
[. . . 116*r*]
Escrita em Lisboa, a 15 de Fevereiro 1603.

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KING D. PHILIP II OF PORTUGAL TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GOA

LISBON, FEBRUARY 18, 1603

I TEXT: Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, *cod. 282* f. 160*r*. Registered file copy in Portuguese, in a regular and clear hand; second of a collection of unnumbered letters to the archbishop, being answers to his letter of December 22, 1601 (ff. 160*r*-162*v*). A collective title is lacking.
II ADDRESSEE: The then archbishop of Goa was D. Aleixo de Meneses OESA, 1595-1611.

Text

Recommended Fr. Provincial of the Dominicans to send more Friars to Solor and Timor. Hopes that Christians of Ambon and Maluku will be relieved by André Furtado de Mendonça.

[. . .]

E asi me dizeis que por falta de menistros não hia por diante a christandade das ilhas de Solor e Timor, que os relegiosos de São Domingos tinhão a sua comta, de que tive descomtentamento. Ao seu Provemcial mandei emcomendar que emviasse a essas parttes relegiossos de sogeitto que pudesem comtinuar na comverssão daquelas ilhas. E assi o tive tãobem de saber que a christamdade de Amboino e Maluco se hia perdemdo asi pellos cristãos serem molestados de outros povos imfieis, como pelo comercio que os olamdezes tinhão naquelas partes, e que se emtemdia que com se lamçarem fora delas poderia ter isto remedio. E asi espero que o tenha por meio da armada com que foi àquelas parttes André Furtado de Mendonça.
[. . . 162*v*]
Escrita em Lixboa, a 18 de Fevereiro de 1603.

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KING D. PHILIP II OF PORTUGAL TO THE VICEROY OF INDIA, GOA

LISBON, MARCH 15, 1603

TEXT: A. Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, cod. 282* f. 176*r*. File copy in Portuguese, titled « Copia do despacho que o Marques assynou, que foi com as vias ao Vissorey », to which another hand added « e asi alguns que fizerão em Valhadolid ». Note in left upper corner « E aqui está a copia de hua carta feita em Valhadoli[d] sobre se emviarem reales àquelas partes ou não ». The letter consists of three numbered paragraphs; our document is the second.

B. Goa, *Historical Archives, Livros das Monções do Reino* 7 f. 166. This text is referred to in *Bol. da Filmoteca* I 546 no. 50 (incorrectly listed as of May 15; in 1603 the eastward-bound ships sailed from Lisbon on April 9).

Text

Fr. Provincial reported that the Maluku Jesuits were exposed to great distress. The viceroy shall see that they receive their sustenance at the customs of Malacca or from elsewhere.

[. . .]

O Provemcial da Companhia dessas partes[1] me escreveo[2] que os relegiossos della que amdavão na premulgação do santo Evamgelho nas partes do Maluco e Amboino padesião muitas necessidades. E porque hé rezão e mui justo que aos obreiros que amdão ocupados nesse menisterio da christamdade lhe não falte o necessario para sua sostemtação, vos emcomendo deis ordem como seião providos na alfamdega de Malaca[3] ou em qualquer outra parte e em que milhor o possão ser.

[. . .]

Escrita em Lisboa, a 15 de Março de 1603.

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[1] Fr. Nuno Rodrigues.
[2] Lost letter, 140*b*.
[3] Cf. DM I 493–494.

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KING D. PHILIP II OF PORTUGAL TO FR. NUNO RODRIGUES, PROVINCIAL, GOA

LISBON, MARCH 15, 1603

TEXT: Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, cod. 282* ff. 181*v*-182*r*. Registered file copy in Portuguese. The heading runs « Cartta para o Padre Nuno Rodriguez », and the letter contains three paragraphs, of which our text, on f. 182*r*, is the third. This is an answer to Fr. Rodrigues' letter to the king of December 20, 1601, as is said in the first lines.

Text

Entrusted the viceroy with supporting life of the Maluku Jesuits, and recommends the Christians of Ethiopia.

[. . .]

Ao V. Rei Aires de Saldanha mando escrever proveja os religiosos da Companhia que residem nas fortalezas de Maluco e Amboino, e folguei de saber que mandaveis dous ao Preste para acodirem às necessidades esperitu[a]is daqueles cristãos. E ao Viso-Rei emcomendo particularmente favoreça aquela christamdade e aos relegiossos que se nella ocupão e lhe dê toda ajuda e favor que ouver luguar, como comfio que faça.

Escritta em Lixboa, a 15 de Março de 1603.

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FR. ANTÓNIO PEREIRA SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MALUKU [TIDORE], MAY 14, 1603
First *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 189 Pereira no. 6.
II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 139*r*-140*v*, and no. XLV. Autograph original

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in Spanish, filling three pages. On the address side, where also a black wax seal is, a secretary noted « 14 de Mayo 1603. Maluco. P. Antº Pereira », followed by a six items abstract in Portuguese, corresponding to numerals added in the margin of the letter. At the inner margin a piece of the paper was cut away, consequently some words of no. 4 had to be completed by the editor.

Text

1. *The mighty fleet [of Furtado Mendonça] suddenly raised the siege of Ternate fortress. Will not judge the captains nor the general.* — 2. *Protests against Italian Jesuits being prohibited to join the Indian Province.* — 3. *Gives strictures on scholastics being ordained too early, on superiors being appointed and Fathers being admitted to profession too young.* — 4. *Only his love of the Society makes him speak like that.* — 5. *Maluku is the most forgotten mission of the Society, scarcely ever visited: by Fr. Marta long ago, by Fr. Vega in a hurry and hampered by his illness. Now, under the Vice-Province of Cochin things will go worse.* — 6. *Maluku stands in bad repute in India. Suggests meeting of a Maluku Father with the Vice-Provincial at Malacca.* — 7. *Proposes that temporary missions be introduced.* — 8. *Want of recent books on the Society. Letters of Fr. General hardly ever arrived.* — 9. *Requests some works on the Society.* — 10. *Only qualified Jesuits should be sent to Maluku: robust, virtuous, and well instructed.* — 11. *Strictures on three Jesuits recently sent to Maluku.*

† Jesus

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Por las que de Amboino los nuestros Padres escrevieron a V.P. el año passado de 602[1] teraa sabido de la poderosa armada que de la India llegó para concerto del[a] Maluco. Empero por quanto esta armada llegó y se bolvió otra vez, después de estar neste Maluco oito mezes[2] e puestos bastiones sobre la fortaleza de Ternate; y al tiempo que se esperava los cercados se entregassen, ou quedassen rendidos y vencidos, se levantó el cerco apressadamente e, con ser fim de monción, se bolvió la dicha armada para Amboino. No tratarei por hora en esto, por quanto los capitães tienen sus ordenanças y ellos[b] sabem lo que conviene e será mijor. Y quanto a mim no deve ser tenido por leviano ni inconstante el general, por ser una persona tão calificada como es[c] y de tanta experiencia[d], que, sin se hazer agravio a nadie, es la 2ª persona de la India, si no es la primera. E assim no trato en ello. Solamente trataré en esta a V.P. de algunas cosas, que sé V.P. deseará de ser advertido aserca de lo que conviene a esta Provincia.

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[1] DD 145-150.

[2] Furtado reached Tidore from Ambon on August 10, 1602, and raised the siege of Ternate on March 27, 1603 (BOXER-FRAZÃO 48, 52).

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2. La primera cousa es, que por una carta que a mis manos vino supe ser prohibido, o a lo menos empedido, el viage de los nuestros de Italia a la India, y esto en Portugal. Declárome, he leído que se prohibió los italianos no veniessen a la India[3]. V.P. me perdone, mas en verdad que quien trató essa materia o procuró tal, que se es de nuestra Compañía, que tiene poco amor a la Provincia de la India y que no desea vaya adelante, porque si algunos obreros ha que aquá nos ajudão, assim en el trabajo como con el[e] exemplo de virtud, son[f] los italianos[4] y estrangeros. Y esto toda la persona quitada de paxión lo está vendo de contino, y se este fuere adelante la Provincia lo sintirá. Por lo que se devría tratar de propósito con Su Magestad real y con quien fuere menester para que no se impida tanto bien a esta Provincia, porque dudo no vaya cabiscaindo.

3. La 2ª cosa es, e dina de gran consideración, que como la India tenga tal clima que las personas que a ella vienen, loego le influe no sé que de altifez, por no dizer outra coza, en el Señor nuestro me parece que totalmente es necessario, para la conservación de la Compañía nestas partes en el su primer spíritu e virtud, que se guarde lo que en el tiempo del P.e Antonio de Quadros[5] y otros estava ordenado que a ningún Hermano se ordenava de ordens sacras sino después de muchos años no solo de edad mas tãobien de religión; y que ninguno era superior de alguna casa grande, como reitor de Goa ou de Cochim etc., que no fuesse viejo no solamente en la virtud mas aun en los años; y que quando alguno hazía profissión passava de vinte e tantos años de la Compañía, e con esto avía personas tão calificadas em la Compañía, e ella era tenida[g] en mui gran reputatión.

4. Y como esto vaya faltando, quando algún Hermano devría procurar de se fundar en la virtud, como llega a tener tiempo loego espera sea sacerdote y reitor de collegio y professo[h], y loego queren enseñar a todos, devendo ellos de aprender. Y aunque los superiores

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[3] At times the Portuguese authorities, frightened by a certain amount of foreigners among the Jesuits sailing to India, opposed such by some discriminating measures. E.g., Fr. Laerzio wrote to Fr. General of the « impedimento che l'anno passato se haveva posto in Portogallo per mezzo del capelano maggiore alli nostri italiani » to sail to India (Cochin, January 13, 1603, in *Goa 15* f. 135*v*). Consult WICKI, *Liste* pp. 253-254.

[4] An instance: for the period covered by this volume outstanding Italian Jesuits in Maluku were Frs. Ferrari, Marta, Cruz (Poliasca), Masonio. Also Br. Manfrida was an Italian.

[5] Provincial of India, 1559-1571.

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con santo zelo, ou por la necessidad que tienen, falten en esto, [139v] V.P. los devría de avisar que antes falten padres y reitores y professos, que no aver en la Compañía lo que digo que no dexa de ser notado. Yo estoy en este Maluco ha quinze años y confío en el Señor estaré todos los días de mi vida, y no pienso ver con los ojos lo que en la India passa, empero como hijo de la Compañía y que se duele della trato estas cosas. Si mal he hablado, V.P. como padre me perdone y me dé la penitencia que jusgare meresco[t] por ello. Verdad sea que solo el amor que tengo a mi santa m[adre][j] la Compañía me ha hecho tratar estas cosas, y porque tengo entendido [que][k] V.P. desea que la Compañía se conserve en su spíritu como es razón, lo qu[al][l] em la India no será possible si no se acudiere a esto.

5. La 3ª cosa es, que sendo Maluco lo en que la Compañía tiene poesto sus ojos, por quanto los hijos della que aquá estão son los que sustinent pondus diei et aestus[6], es la más olvidada cosa, se assim se poede dizir, de quantas otras missiones tiene la Compañía. Por lo qual es impossible que de quando en quando no aja algunos desgostos en algunos. Y todo esto es por nunca hasta oi ser vista de superior[7], más que averá 16 años que el P.e Provincial Alexandre Valignano embió al P.e Antonio Marta le visitasse e embiasse la visita[8]. E ha quatro ou sinco años que vino el P.e Christovão de Vega por orden del P.e Visitador Nicolao Pimenta, e bolviendo morió[m] en el camino[9]. Y[n] como veniesse tan de corrida y no viesse las cozas de por aquá más que la enformación que algunos[o] lle deron por su enfermedad[p], no se podia acudir como se deve[q] acudir, ni se remedean las necessidades corporales como se deven remediar. Y[r] aun ahora se acresentó quedar Maluco debaixo de la Viceprovincia, y si el Viceprovincial ha de residir en Cochim, quando el galión no tomare Cochim veniendo de la India, alguna falta podrá aver[s].

6. Demás desto tiene Maluco en la India un nombre, que es venir al Maluco como venir a morir, e se allan mui poquitos que deseen venir aquá[10]. Y se algunos se embían algunas vezes, es con tener mucho trabajo el superior de aquá en los pedir y el de la India en buscar quien

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[6] Mt 20 12.

[7] That is, by a higher superior, a Provincial, or Visitor directly appointed by Fr. General.

[8] D 55, 1.

[9] D 131.

[10] See D 110 note 5.

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lo desee. Para esto se me offercían dos remedios. Para quanto a la primera cosa, me parecía que, pues el Viceprovincial viene de quando em quando visitar Malaca [11], avise dos años antes para que en Maluco se escoja uno que vaya a Malaca a tratar con él las cosas de por aquá, e se poderán tratar y remediar desta maneira milhor y con más facilidade.

7. E para el segundo inconveniente se me offerecía que, em quanto Maluco estaa sen christiandad, entre en la coenta de las demás missiones, de quando en quando llamándosse o embiándosse de Maluco alguno, e otros entraren de noevo [12], pera que viendo los de la India que datur regressus, no teman tanto como temen esta messión. Y assim para el uno como para el otro hazesse o podesse hazer sin costa, porque los capitanes de viagens huelgan mucho de llevar consigo hun Padre y de traherlo.

8. Demás desto lembro a V.P. será bien avisar al P.e Provincial que se algunos livros venieren de las cosas de nuestra Compañía nos hagan parti-[140r][ci]pantes dellos, porque ni las bullas tenemos todas más que las antigas solamente, y nesto ha tanto olvido que después que estoy en el Maluco solamente o dos o tres cartas llegaron aquá de V.P., las demás paresse que hizieron naofragio en el archivo o del procurador de Provincia o del sacratario. Porque yo tengo por impossivel V.P. no responda a estes sus indinos hijos, y que no comen el pan ocioso[s] [13], si lo comen. De mim sei dizir que asta oi no tuve ninguna, com el P.e Assistente me escrivir que V.P. me escrevía [14].

9. Suplico a V.P. que se allá obiere algunos livros de los Padres de nuestra Compañía, como es la historia de la Compañía o de las vidas de nuestros Padres, que V.P. se acuerde de partir con Maluco, já que tan olvidado es de los demás. Quanto de mim suplico a V.P. no se olvide en sus oraciones y santos sacreficios, pedindo a Dios me dé gracia para que sea verdadero hijo de la Compañía.

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[11] A letter of the first Vice-Provincial, Manuel da Veiga, to Fr. General of December 10, 1601, reveals that he was ordered to visit personally Malacca and Bengal at the outset of his term of office (*Goa 15* f. 60*v*).

[12] He repeats herewith what he wrote already in 1593 (D 94, 21). This was likely one of the items of the new consult Fr. Luís Fernandes held with the Fathers in April-May 1603 (D 160, 11).

[13] Prov 31 27.

[14] Cf. DD 114, 1 and 135, 1. Presumably in this he refers to the last mail that had arrived in Maluku. Lost letters, 133*a-b*.

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10. Olvidávasseme de escrivir a V.P. avisasse al P.e Viceprovincial que Maluco estaa mui allongado de los superiores, y que es necessario que las personas que embiare sean tales que tengan las partes que se requeren en tan grande alongamento: fuerças corporales para los trabajos, spirituales para trataren y hazeren sus officios sin mácula, nemini dantes offensionem ne vituperetur ministerium nostrum[15]. Y de letras, poes aquá ni ha livros ni que[m] no-los dé, que en la India los que ha para si se los quieren y aun tienen necessidad de más. Y aquá, que trabajemos hasta morir, e quando se ouver de determinar hun caso que se no estubiere en Navarro[16] o Sylvestre[17], o no se enferir de los que estos dichos trahen, que un poquito de tiempo que queda, y aun quando queda, que esse gaste el hombre en revolver Navarro y Sylvestre; y aun quando obiere quien los lea.

11. Digo esto por el anno passado embiar el P.e Visitador dende la India a hun Padre que sempre está enfermo[18], e a hun Hermano que no sirve de más que de estar assentado, e harto haze con correr con el prover la-cozina y dar el aviamento al cozinero, y viejio u[19]; y a outro Padre que ni razar sabe, ni como ha de administrar los sacramentos, y más enfermo y que no pode estar un rato en su aposento, ou ha de razar ou andar trabajando en cosas que no le pertenecen, como es hazerse v ortelano o en falar con seglares[20]. Y desta maneira en el cabo del mundo, aonde unas vezes solos, outras vezes con un solo compañero, jusgue V.P. que se podrá hazer y que fruto se sacará. La bendición pido humilmente a V.P.

De Maluco, oje 14 de Mayo de 603.

De V.P. indigno hijo en Christo,

Antonio Pereira.

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[15] 2 Cor 6 3.

[16] The *Manuale seu enchiridion confessariorum et poenitentium* by the famous canonist and moralist Martin Azpilcueta, called Navarro († 1586).

[17] The *Summa summarum quae Silvestrina dicitur*, a work of practical moral theology by Silvestro Prierias OP; first edition Lyons 1519 (*Lex. Theol. u. Kirche* VIII 735).

[18] Fr. Jorge da Fonseca; see D 169.

[19] This cannot be but Br. Mateus de Brito.

[20] Since Fr. André Pereira repeatedly proves an energetic and competent missionary, we suppose that it is Fr. Bartolomeo Daniel who was intended here. Fr. António Pereira's uncharitable judgment of his fellow-Jesuits does not seem free from exaggeration and complacency.

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[*Address* 140*v*] † Al P.e Claudio Aquaviva, general de la Compañía de Jesús, em Roma. 1 vía. Del Maluco.

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[a] *corr. fr.* de ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* el, . . los *ins.* ‖ [c] *interl.* ‖ [d] emperiencia *ms.* ‖ [e] *rep. and del.* el ‖ [f] *corr. fr.* são ‖ [g] tenidad *ms.* ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* professote ‖ [i] meresço *ms., corr. fr.* mereço ‖ [j] *paper cut away* ‖ [k] *peper cut away* ‖ [l] *paper cut away* ‖ [m] *w. corr.* ‖ [n] *del.* assi ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* alguns ‖ [p] por su enfermedad *interl.* ‖ [q] *interl.* ‖ [r] *del.* a ‖ [s] *del. two words* [. . . nadie?] ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* mal ‖ [u] y viejio *interl.* ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* fazerse

160

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MALUKU, MAY 17, 1603
Second *via*

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBOSA MACHADO III 91-92; WESSELS, *Amboina* 190 Fernandez no. 8.

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 144.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 141*r*-142*v*, and no. XLVI/b. Autograph original in Spanish, filling three pages. An archivist's note on f. 141*r*: « Malabarica 17 Maij 1603 »; on f. 142*v*, the address, a red wax seal, and « 1603 ». A hole at the inner margins takes away a few characters, which, however, could easily be completed; see no. 6.

IV PLACE: Most probably Ambon. Cf. D 137 IV.

Text

1. *Thanks for letter received.* — 2. *Two mighty fleets, a Portuguese and a Spanish, came sailing to Maluku to destroy the king of Ternate.* — 3. *Because of diseases and of shortage of munition they did not manage to take the Ternate fortress.* — 4. *All hopes of restoring the Christian community, founded after God in a strong armada, are completely dashed.* — 5. *Apparently it is not God's will that his Church be planted in Maluku.* — 6. *For likewise former armadas, sent from both the Philippines and India, did not achieve anything.* — 7. *Sees no other explanation than that the Portuguese are punished for killing the king of Ternate.* — 8. *How the king's murdering took place.* — 9. *War waged by Ternate against the Portuguese; loss of the fortress.* — 10. *God's justice is not yet satisfied; the sensuality of the Maluku people makes them shut the door upon the faith.* — 11. *Therefore, held a consultation with the Fathers: stay or leave?* — 12. *Sends the report of this consultation.* — 13. *People criticize the Fathers in their enforced idleness being still sustained by royal alms. At an eventual loss of the fortress*

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[of Tidore] it is of course the Jesuits who will be reproached with it, as happened on a former occasion.

† Jesus
Muy Reverendo em Christo Padre nuestro

1. Mucha consolación he recebido com la de V.P. que este año me fue dada en este Maluco, de 20 de Dezembre de 601[1], por saber de su vida y salud, y por ella he bien entendido el grande cudado paternal que tiene destos hijos y servos suios. N. Señor pague a V.P. tanto cudado y amor.

2. Las nuevas que deste Maluco pensé mandar este año a V.P. eran bien differentes de las que en esta le daré por mis pecados. Este año de 603 se aiuntaron en este Maluco dos armadas, huna de portugezes que mandó el Virey de la India a estas partes, la maior y mejor que aquel Estado pudo negocear para effeto de concluir las cosas del Maluco; la otra fue de castellanos que el Governador de Felipinas nos embió de soccorro con 200 soldados y hun grande capitán viejo con ellos, con muchos mantinimientos[2] pera nos aiudar a destruir este inimigo nuestro, el rey de Ternate, el qual nos tiene tomado la fortaleza nuestra de Ternate habrá 27 años, y con esto tiene hecho retroceder la cristandad deste Maluco y de otras islas adjacientes a él, y se tiene echo señor de quasi todo este arcypélago.

3. Estas dos armadas continuaron la guerra con el enemigo por spacio de ocho mezes o más[3], y al cabo permitió N. Señor por sus secretos juizios y pecados nuestros que no pudiessem los nuestros tomarle la fortaleza al enemigo, parte por nos adolecer y morir mucha gente así soldados como gente de serbicio, parte por nos faltarem las municiones para podermos continuar la guerra, por seren gastadas en el tiempo que la nuestra armada gastó, después que partió de la India para esta jornada, que fueron dos años, aviendo tenido em todo este tiempo mucha guerra así por mar, como por tierra con naves de holandezes luteranos y con moros ambuenos y ternates. Assí que por esta

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[1] Lost letter, 140*a*.

[2] See D 151 note 5. As Gallinato was not yet fifty years of age (MORGA 542), the term *viejo* rather means 'experienced'.

[3] This applies to Furtado, but in no way to Gallinato who arrived before Ternate on February 16, 1603. (BOXER-FRAZÃO 48). For the conduct of the war, see COLIN-PASTELLS II 347-354.

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causa, en el tiempo que ovieron de concluir con el enemigo, en esse mismo le faltó la pólvora y más municiones a los nuestros. Y por estas dos causas los nuestros capitanes llevantaran el cerco que tenían puesto al enemigo y se bolvieron, los portuguezes con su armada a la India y los castellanos con la suia a Felepinas, con grande parte de la gente muerta por causa de las muchas dolencias y hambre que han passado, quedándosse el enemigo mucho más sobervio de lo que antes estava por ver que tuvo fuerças y poder con aiuda de los holandezes para resistir a estas dos armadas, ahunque fue con mucha pérdida y daño suio.

4. Lo que daquí se ha seguido, quãoto a lo que toca a lo nuestro y a lo que tenemos obligación de avisar y dar cuenta a V.P., es que de todo se nos ha fechado la puerta a la cristiandad del Maluco y a las speranças que teniamos de la poder recuperar y augmentarla, las quales nos sustentavan de 27 años a esta parte, y las quales nos obligavan a sustentar Padres en este Maluco. Porque todas nuestras speranças estribavan, después de Dios, en una buena armada que el Virey de la India mandasse a estas partes para destruir el enemigo del Ternate, [141*v*] y oy havemos visto en este Maluco la mejor armada que deste Estado se podía sperar, y con hun capitán general el más esforçado y prudente que avía em toda la India (porque no fue solamente embiado para las cosas del Maluco, mas también para se encontrar com toda cosa de holandezes y ingleses que hallasse por estas partes del Mar del Sul); y alende desta la otra de castellanos que he dicho, y con todo esto no pudimos prevalecer contra el enemigo.

5. Pues daquí vea V.P. que podemos sperar. Donde, a mi ver y conforme a la experiencia que tengo de la India y de las cosas della y de las del Maluco, ado estó ha 16 años [4] por orden de la obediencia, se conclude que podemos perder las speranças de la cristiandad del Maluco, y pensarmos que no es servido Dios nuestros Señor, por los pecados nuestros y destos malucos, de plantar en él su santa fee y llevarla adelante.

6. Y cierto que veo esto más claramente quãodo considero quantas armadas han venido a esta empreza del Maluco, así por la vía de Felipinas como por la India, sin ninguna dellas effetuar nada ni poder acabar con ella. Porque de Felipinas, alende deste socorro que agora vino, han venido otras dos armadas [5], y en huna dellas venía el mismo

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[4] He arrived in 1588 (D 87, 2).

[5] Juan de Morón in 1585 (D 49 note 32); Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in 1593 (D 100, 4).

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Governador de Felipinas con mucha y muy luzida gente, y ninguna desta[s][a] armadas pudo ter effeto. De la India, alende desta armada, partiran ia otras do[s][b] y, mandándole los Vireis que passassem a este Maluco, en el camino se le ha estorbado de modo que no passaron acá[6]. Y agora ha venido esta, la qual partió de la India con mil e duzentos soldados, y arribando otra ves a la India parte de la armada, em que fueron 400 soldados, passó el general della a este Maluco con 800 soldados y muy buenas galeotas y navíos de alto bordo y todo lo más necessario. Y con todo esto no se ha podido concluir con el enemigo con la aiuda que los castellanos nos han dado por orden de Su Magestade del Rey Felipe.

7. Qué es esto? Yo no puedo pensar otra cosa, sino que nuestro Señor nos quiere castigar por hun grande pecado que antre otros hyzieron los portuguezes antigamente en Ternate. El qual fue que estando ellos em Ternate, y siendo lo rey de Ternate nuestro amigo, por ciertas sospechas, que tuvo el nuestro capitán de la fortaleza de Ternate del mismo rey, determinó de matarlo. Y veniendo esto a noticia del rey, se ausentó con el temor que tenía que el capitán le matasse. Y viendo el capitán que el rey se ausentava dél, porque le importava que el rey[c] veniesse a la fortaleza nuestra, le embió muchos recaudos que S.A. no se recelasse dél en nada, que le afirmava que tudo era mentira quãoto le tenían dicho dél, que bien podía venir a la fortaleza seguro sobre su palabra.

8. El rey vino a la fortaleza y se assentaron las pazes y amizade antre el rey y el capitán y portugezes. Y estando assí hechas las pazes, pedió el rey al capitán que para más segurança de su persona le jurasse em hun missal de la yglesia que no las quebraría, y que él también juraría en su moçafe[7], como moro que era, de su parte no se quebrantaren. Estando estos juramientos hechos y corriendo el rey de Ternate y los suios con el capitán y portugezes con mucha familiaridad, veniendo hun día el rey a nuestra fortaleza a holgar como solía dantes, el capitán le mandó matar contra la verdad que tenía prometido y

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[6] This applies fully to Lourenço de Brito who, in 1597, was dispatched with two galleons, three galleys, and ten foists, to chase away the Dutch; he was beaten by the Javanese before Sunda (Banten) (D 116 note 4). A second equally ill-fated relief fleet is not known to us. Did Fernandes have in mind the ships sent by Guterre de Monroy in 1600 (D 144 note 6; Couto XII 433, 506)? But they were not intended to deal with Ternate, nor were they arrested or deviated on the way.

[7] The Koran (Dalgado II 58).

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jurado a las puertas de la fortaleza publicamente en hun missal, que se puzo alí en una meza delante de quãotos hydalgos y portugezes y ternates allí estavan [8].

9. Y de aquí han começado los castigos que nuestro Señor ha dado a los portugezes en este Maluco. Porque daquí se ha seguido que los hijos deste rey muerto [9], viendo que los portugezes le avían muerto su padre con tanta falsedad y poca verdad, se alevantaran contra la fortaleza y nos hyzieron guerra cruda por spacio de cinco años, desd'el [142*r*] año de 1570 hasta[d] el de 1575 [10], en que nos tomaron la fortaleza entregándosela los portugezes, por se estaren muriendo en ella a pura hambre y no tenierem ia que comer. Y permitió N. Señor que em todos estos cinco años que duró esta guerra, las más de las naves que venían de la[e] India en socorro de la fortaleza se perdían en la mar, por la qual causa vinieron los portugezes a tal hambre, que entregaron a los ternates la fortaleza a partido de las vidas.

10. Y daquí viengo a persuadirme que ahun no está la justicia de Dios satisfecha por este pecado tan público e tan escandalozo, y por otros. Y pienso que esto de ninguna de las armadas que he contado averen conseguido el efeto que se pertendía, nace desta causa. Ajunto a esto los pecados de los mismos malucos que, como son moros, la experiencia larga que dellos tenemos, es que es muy deficultozo hazer cristiandad entre ellos; y antre estos ahun más porque, como son tan carnales y sensuales, no abren sus orejas a cosas spirituales y de Dios, antes del todo sarran las puertas de su coraçón y alma a cosas semejantes. Lo qual todo pido a V.P. encarecidamente considere para poder determinar en este negoceo lo que fuere más servicio de Dios.

11. Por lo que, viendo yo como quedavan las cosas deste Maluco y destas partes, con la tornada destas armadas para la India y Felipinas, me pareció hazer una consulta con todos los Padres destas partes, sobre qual sería más servicio de N. Señor y bien de nuestra Compañía: si

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[8] For how Captain Diogo Lopes de Mesquita, by means of his nephew Martim Afonso Pimentel, killed King Hairun of Ternate, see D 5, 6; DM I Index 726. Fernandes' report has a special value, it being more circumstantial than the former ones in DM, and unhesitatingly charging the captain with the murder.

[9] Principally Baab Ullah (Babu), not the eldest son to be sure, but the one who succeeded his father.

[10] Fr. Fernandes is well informed contrasting favourably with other sources: the murder took place in February 1570, and the fortress surrendered to Babu in December 1575.

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conservar Padres ahun más tiempo en Maluco, o si con esta ocasión, de quedarmos agora desenganhados que no ha sperança de aver cristandad adelante en Maluco, largaremos esto del Maluco y nos passaremos a otra parte, adonde se spere más servicio de Dios y bien de las almas.

12. La repuesta de los Padres a esta consulta mando a V.P.[11] para que la vea y ordene lo que le pareciere más servicio de Dios, porque esso nos parecerá a todos bien.

13. Apunto más a V.P. que, demás de no hazermos aquí fruto deste modo, estamos haziendo gastos a el Rey de balde con nos sustentar, en lo qual ya los hombres reparan[f] y hablan. Y demás desto, está expuesta la Compañía a huna infamia, que es, se esta fortaleza se pierde, como hoy em día está en mucho peligro desto, han de bottar esto a las cuestas de la Compañía sin razón, como ya lo hyzieron en la pérdida da fortaleza de Ternate[12], diziendo que los nuestros fueron causa de se perder, siendo esto falsedad. Y con esto acabo pedindo encarecidamente a V.P. nos haga encomendar a N. Señor a todos para que acabemos en esta su vinha como verdaderos hijos de la Compañía.

De Maluco, y de Maio a 17 de 603.

O P.e Luis Fernandez.

[*Address* 142*v*] † Al muy Reverendo em Christo Padre nuestro, el P.e Claudio Aquaviva, general de la Compañía de Jesús, em Roma. 2ª vía. De Maluco.

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[a] *paper damaged* ‖ [b] *paper damaged* ‖ [c] capitan *ms.*, *obviously a mistake* ‖ [d] haste *ms.* ‖ [e] *rep.* ‖ [f] reparon *ms.*

Lost Letter

160*a*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Maluku, to Fr. Provincial, Goa, and via him to Fr. General, Rome; about May 17, 1603.*

D 160, 12; 162, 5: Report on a « consulta » of all the Fathers on the question: retain the mission or leave it? Fr. Provincial should forward it to Fr. General. D 162, 9: On one serious drawback of belonging to the new Vice-Province of Cochin.

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[11] Lost document, 160*a*. He sent i Fr. Provincial to be forwarded to Fr. General (D 162, 5). Maybe it was not forwarded.

[12] Cf. D 1, 2.

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FR. JUAN DE RIBERA SJ, COMMISSIONED BY FR. VICE-PROVINCIAL, TO FR. GENERAL

Annual Letter of the Philippine Vice-Province
MANILA, JUNE 11, 1603

I TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 5* ff. 125*r*-146*v*. Original in Spanish, written in black ink on rice paper; very well preserved. Our part is on f. 127*v*.

II AUTHOR: Fr. Juan de Ribera was a Spaniard; he had sailed to the Philippines in 1595, was a rector of the Manila college, taught moral theology, and in October 1599 acted as secretary to the new Visitor, Fr. Diego García, and accompanied him on his journeys (See COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, Index 695). Apparently he continued in this office after García had become Vice-Provincial.

Text

1. *Fr. André Pereira came to Manila from Maluku in order to receive succour for the armada of André Furtado de Mendonça; in this he succeeded very well.* — 2. *Of what this succour consisted. Pereira proved grateful to the governor and the Manila Jesuits for it.*

Carta annua de la Vice-Provincia de las islas Philipinas desde el mes de Junio de 1602 hasta el Junio de 1603

[. . . 127*r*]

Collegio de Manila

[. . . 127*v*]

1. De las islas del Maluco vino el P.e Antonio[a] [1] Pereyra de nuestra Compañía para llevar socorro de gente y bastimentos a una armada y exército, que el Rey nuestro señor envió por vía de la Yndia con Antonio [2] Hurtado de Mendoça, general de la armada, a cuya instancia vino el P.e Pereyra a esta ciudad. El qual con su buena gracia y con la ayuda que de este collegio se le dió, alcansó todo quanto quiso en tiempo de las mayores calamidades de esta República y mayor apretura de enemigos que por todas partes la combatían.

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[1] A mistake for Andrés.

[2] Read Andrés.

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2. Llevó más de duzientos hombres de infantería, munición, bastimentos y otros pertrechos de guerra, con que fue muy edificado assí del Governador [3] destas yslas que tan liberal se mostró, como también de los Nuestros que le [b] ayudaron todo lo que les fue possible: pareziéndoles que, si las yslas Malucas [c] se ganan (como tienen esperança cierta), vendrán estas yslas nuestras a crezer mucho y la santa fee cathólica a grande aumento.
[... 146*v*]

Deste collegio de Manila, 11 de Junio, día de S. Bernavé, de 1603 años.

Por comissión del P.[e] Viceprovincial [4],

Joan de Ribera.

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[a] *del.* de || [b] *corr. fr.* los || [c] Malucos *ms.*

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FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MALUKU [TIDORE], JULY 17, 1603
Via Manila and New Spain

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 190 Fernandez no. 9.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 143*r*-144*v*, and no. XLVI/a. Autograph original in Spanish. An archivist noted at the top of f. 143*r* « Malabarica. 17 Julij 1603 »; some ink blots at the bottom do not prevent one from reading the text; f. 144*r* is blank; on its *verso* the address and a note saying « 603. P. Luis Frz. Maluco ».

Text

1. *Wrote* via *Portuguese India; writes this letter* via *the Spanish Indies.* — 2. *Arrival of a Portuguese and a Spanish fleet at Maluku.* — 3. *They made war against the king of Ternate; then for disease and lack of gunpowder they dissolved their encampement and made for home.* — 4. *So they are now exposed to war, hunger, and illness. Frs. António and André Pereira are at death's door. Another armada cannot be*

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[3] D. Pedro Bravo de Acuña.
[4] Fr. Diego García.

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expected. Dutch and English backed Ternate. — 5. Held a consultation with the Fathers of Tidore and Ambon; sends the report of it. — 6. Furtado de Mendonça intimated that the king should no longer sustain the Maluku Jesuits as there is no Christian community nor hope of it. — 7. And he will write to the king that henceforth the presence of Jesuits in Maluku does not serve a useful purpose. — 8. Maluku can better be conquered from the Philippines than from India. — 9. Disadvantage of belonging to the Vice-Province of Cochin.

† Jesus Maria

Pax Christi.

1. En el mes de Maio deste presente escrebí otra a V.P. por vía de la India de Portugal[1]. Esta hago ahora por vía de las Indias de Castilla para que V.P. sea echo sabedor de las nuevas del Maluco, las quales son estas.

2. A este Maluco ha venido el año passado una buena armada, que el virey de la India Oriental ha embiado a estas partes, con muy buena gente e hun general, el mejor capitán que en la India avía, por nombre André Furtado de Mendonça; y el governador de Felipinas, por nombre Dom Pedro de Acunha, a petición del general de la India, nos embió aquí a Maluco en este tiempo muy buen socorro de arrós, carnes y vino, e perto de dozentos soldados mosqueteros y arcabuzeros con su muy buen capitán.

3. Travósse la guerra antre los nuestros y este enemigo moro, el rey de Ternate. Y despu[é]s de estaren los nuestros muchos días sobre la fortaleza de Ternate y la bateren con mucha fuerça los portugezes y castelhanos, vino a faltar la pólvora y la nuestra gente y los castellanos a caer enfermos muchos. De modo que huvo el general por consejo de sus capitanes de llevantar sus arraiales, visto da manera que estavan no poderen conquistar al enemigo, ni tenerem donde se poder valer y suplir la falta de la pólvora y gente que tenían. Y asim se fueron el general con la gente que le quedó con su flota para la India, y los castellanos para Felipinas. De modo que no nos socedió esta jornada como pensávamos, y de aquí se seguió quedar ahora este inimigo más soberbio y arrogante, y azernos cruel guerra a los que quedamos en este Maluco.

4. Y ansí ahora quedamos con guerra cruda, hambre y enfermedades muy grandes, de las quales queda[n] el P.e Antonio Perera y

[1] D 160.

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el P.e Andrés Pereira mucho mal y a peligro de morirem [2]. Dios por su misericordia nos socorra, porque nunca el Maluco estuvo em más peligro que ahora, y la India de Portugal no sé quãodo poderá tornar a embiar acá otra armada como esta por causa de las guerras que allá tiene. Y este mal nos hizieron los ereges holandezes e ingleses que por cá andãoa con sus naves, porque la aiuda que el [143v] Ternate tuvo destos herejes le dió fuerças para se poder defender de nuestro poder. Esto cudo que son pecados nuestros que Dios ha tantos años castiga en nos y ahun no se tiene satisfecha la justicia de Dios, como más largamente escribo a V.P. em la otra que por la India Oriental le embío.

5. Viendo yo como quedavan las cosas de Maluco y como se nos cerró por aquí la puerta de las speranças, que teníamos de poder reduzir la cristiandad perdida destas partes y hazer otra mucha de nuevo, quize hazer una consulta con todos los Padres que aquí y en Ambueno [3] residimos, cuio argumento es: Qual será más servicio de N. Señor, si tener V.P. y la Compañía Padres en el Maluco, o si largarmos Maluco, visto como está? La consulta embío dirigida al P.e Provincial para que la vea y embíe a Roma a V.P. y se haga en esto lo que pareciere mejor y más servicio de Dios [4].

6. Más esto diré a V.P., que el general Andrés Furtado de Mendonça me dixo que avía de escrebir a Su Magestade del Rey Felipe, que nob avía para que Su Magestade hazer gastos y tener Padres de nuestra Compañía en Maluco, pues no teníamos aquí cristiandad ny speranças de la tener. Y es verdad que no temos aquí otra cristiandad más que desta fortaleza a vinte legoas [5], y esta no avrá en ella más que duzentas almas y estos muy malos cristianos, porque con la vizindad de los moros y seren más poderosos que nos en lo temporal, se destruen cada día en vicios y malos costumbres que dellos se les apegan.

7. Contudo nuestra estada y perseverança aquí con tantos trabajos

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[2] Gallinato, writing to Acuña on May 24, 1603, mentioned *berevere* (beriberi) as prevailing among the soldiers (COLIN-PASTELLS II 350). Supposedly it was current among civilians as well.

[3] « Aquí y en Ambueno », these words prove that Fernandes this time was writing in Tidore where he must have sailed after May 17 when he wrote D 160 in Ambon. It is not clear how Fernandes, before that date and after the siege of Ternate was raised on March 27 (o.c. 352), consulted with all the Fathers. Her certainly could not call them all together.

[4] See D 160 note 11.

[5] The mission post of Labuha.

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y guerras era por las speranças que teníamos por medio de una buena armada nuestra poderemos destruir este[s] inimigos, y ansí reduzirmos estas ánimas al gremio de la Yglezia cathólica. Mas como este capitán vio y experimentó con sus manos quão trabajoso ha de ser vencer este inimigo por vía de la India Oriental, daquí le viene a dizir que a de escrebir a Su Magestade del Rey que no ha para que estarmos en Maluco más por ora. Mas que se Su Magestade mandare otra armada a estas partes que baste para las conquistar, que en tal caso presto podemos bolver a Maluco a nuestra cristiandad.

8. Y quãoto a lo que veio, se el Rey quiere conquistar estas partes, cudo que mejor y más facilmente lo puede hazer por vía de Felipinas que por acá por nuestra India, mas en esto no me meto porque a otros conviene más jusgar esto.

9. V.P. tiene repartido que Maluco pertenesca a la Viceprovincia de Cochim, y porque esto tiene huno muy grande inconveniente afuera otros, me pareció escribirlo a V.P. Y es que de ordinario no podrá venirme repuesta de una carta que escribo al P.e Viceprovincial a Cochim o a otro qualquiera d'aquel colegio, en menos de tres años y de Goa viene en dos annos, porque, por las naves que van del Maluco, de ordinario o a la ida o a la venida no tomarem el porto de Cochim, se pierde hun anno. Esto más claramente tiengo escrito al P.e Provincial [6], al qual V.P. puede escribir provea en esto como le pareciere. V.P. nos haga encomendar a N. Señor, en cuia benção, santos sacrificios e devotas oraciones todos mucho nos encomendamos.

De Maluco[c], [e de][d] Julho a 17 de 603.

De V.P. hijo indigno [en Christo][e],

Luis Fernandez.

[*Address* 144*v*] † Al P.e Claudio Aquaviva, general de la Compañía de Jesús, em Roma, Padre nuestro. De Maluco.

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[a] anadão *ms.* || [b] *del. and rep. interl.* || [c] De Maluco *rep. m.* || [d] *ink blot* || [e] *ink blot*

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[6] Lost letter, 160*a*.

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163

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, VICE-PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter
[COCHIN], JANUARY 13, 1604

I TEXT:

A. *ARSI, Goa 48* ff. 105*r*-117*v*, and no. XII [*corr. fr.* XIV]. Original in Latin, fourth *via*, written in at least three different hands and divided into chapters, each with its own heading, indicating the Jesuit houses of the newly erected Vice-Province of Malabar. At the top of f. 105*r* several notes: « A », « Anno 1604 », « 1604 », and « 1604 Malabar »; at the bottom « Malabar 4 » Up to f. 115 the folios have been numbered in leadpencil 1-11 in the right lower corner. On f. 116*v*, autograph signature of Fr. Laerzio; f. 117*r* is blank; the *verso* contains the address and an additional Roman note « Hae litterae sunt excudendae, cum adiunctis Patris Campori, quae in aliis desiderantur ». The part on Maluku is on ff. 115*r*-116*v*.

B. *ARSI, Goa 48* ff. 118*r*-131*v*, also no. XIV [*del.*]. Original in Latin, written in one regular and clear hand. No *via* is indicated. Autograph signature of Fr. Laerzio; f. 131*v* is blank. Our part is on ff. 129*r*-131*r*. A considerable amount of corrections, made seemingly by the copyist himself, show that he was not well familiar with the Latin language or did not always understand it (*ipse* for *spe*, *per* for *P*[*atr*]*es*, *strenue devenit* for *strenuus decurio*, etc.).

C. *ARSI, Goa 55* ff. 67*r*-83*v*, formerly 1-14. Original first *via* in Latin. The folios 67 and 83 are a kind of wrapper and have not been written upon. On f. 67*r*, only a title in bold characters « Annua Malabaricae 1603 » to which the hand of Fr. João Álvares added « Já »; 67*v* is blank. The signature on f. 82*v* is autograph of Fr. Laerzio; f. 83*r* is blank, the *verso* contains the address in the same wording as of text A, only « 1ª via » instead of « 4ª via ». The chapters on Maluku and Ambon are on ff. 81*r*-82*v*.

II AUTHOR: On Fr. Alberto Laerzio, see DI XI 26*. He had the experience of twenty years of Indian mission life. In 1602 he returned from Rome, and « ex praescripto Paternitatis Vestrae huic australi Indiae praeesse sum iussus » (outset of this letter). He was an outstanding man, practically the first Vice-Provincial, and afterwards the first Provincial of the Malabar Province until 1611. One year earlier he wrote a report from hearsay, now he visited at least the mission stations of India and could report more completely, but for Maluku, of course, he had to rely on letters.

III NOTE: Our part of the letter is composed of three earlier letters: of

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D 144 (nos. 2-5), D 150 (nos. 6-10), and D 146, or perhaps 150c (nos. 11-19). The contents are sometimes shortened and the sequence is in places reversed. What relation there is of this document to D 168, see at the latter. It speaks volumes for the situation that in January 1604 the Jesuits in Cochin are still completely unaware of the failure of Furtado's expedition against Ternate and of the precarious condition of the Maluku confreres.

IV PRINTED: In spite of « Hae litterae sunt excudendae » (text A), we never found the letter printed. The Latin versions of DD 144 and 150, made in Europe, are completely different from the present text.

V OUR EDITION: We publish the fourth *via*, text A. We do not put all the many corrections of text B, as being of no importance, in the critical apparatus. For footnotes, see the relevant earlier documents.

Text

1. *Did not visit personally Maluku; refers from letters written by the Fathers residing there.*

[*Fr. Luís Fernandes on Tidore*]

2. *Six Jesuits in Maluku. State of health and of spiritual life.* — 3. *War in Tidore; discouragement after galleon's shipwreck; confessions restored courage; the Dutch were repelled.* — 4. *The king of Siau came soliciting help, his son was baptized, a Father could not go there.* — 5. *Pastoral ministries of the Fathers.*

[*Fr. Lorenzo Masonio on Ambon*]

6. *Two permanent Fathers there; others lived there temporarily.* — 7. *Christian villages. A Father shipwrecked in visiting the Lease islands.* — 8. *Erecting of crosses, return of apostates, conversions, over a thousand baptisms.* — 9-10. *Ministries and conversions in Ambon island. Great expectations.*

[*Fr. Brício Fernandes on Furtado Mendonça*]

11. *Arrival of the armada at Ambon.* — 12. *Two parishes near the fortress. Troubles in visiting the Christians living outwards.* — 13. *Furtado subdued the villages; the population came submitting themselves.* — 14. *The Hitu people retired to two impregnable mountain tops.* — 15. *A messenger was sent but rebuked; first endeavour to take the fortified place.* — 16. *How the final attack started.* — 17. *Both mountain tops were conquered.* — 18. *Care of the wounded, Hitu destroyed, Francisco de Sousa liberated.* — 19. *Triumphal return to Ambon town. Fr. André Pereira was sent as a messenger to Manila.*

20. *A ship from Manila brought notice that a fleet bringing succour was sent to Maluku. Hopes.*

[...]

Insulae Malucae, Ambonius et reliquae residentiae

1. Quae de nostrorum statu, qui in plagis australibus, Maluco, Amboino, Tidore reliquisque ultra Malacam insulis commorantur, dici poterant, quoniam praesens ea loca non inspexi, referam tantum quae

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illinc a nostris Patribus per literas transmissa sunt, nec ea quidem omnia, sed quasi digito fontes ostendam unde in earum rerum pleniorem notitiam perveniatur. Atque ex Mal[illegible]dem haec a Patre Aluisio Fernando eorum Patrum superiore acceptum [illegible]

2. Sumus hic a Societate sex, Frater [illegible] reliqui Patres. Omnes mediocri usi sumus valetudine, praeter [illegible]rium Conradum et Bartholomeum Danielem, qui in Labua[illegible], [illegible]christianorum cultura egregie dessudabant, sunt morbo tentati, [illegible]ctione caeli fere iam convaluerunt. Omnes ita in [b] proximorum sal[illegible] proficiendo occupantur, ut non obliviscantur suae. Petierunt etiam atque [illegible]citari Exercitationibus Spiritualibus B. P. Nostri Ignatii, uti mos [illegible] singulis annis, sed inter armorum strepitus et morbos ingruentes, vix ulla invenitur quietis intercapedo ad vacandum sibi Deoque.

3. Rediens Amboino, quo me contuleram ad invisendos Patres in Malucas, inveni omnia ardere bello. Olandenses ac ternatenses cum satis magna classe decreverant nostram arcem Tidorensem intrare; itaque altero die post Pentecosten vi tormentorum maxima aggrediuntur. Nostri, quamvis antea, quod nihil eo anno venerat ab Indi[illegible]vel ut verius dicam, quia navis inde missa vi tempestatis quassata fu[illegible]rat fluctibus hausta, desponderant animos, tamen ubi per confessione[illegible]sacramentoque synaxim cum Deo redierunt in gratiam, hortante uno e nostris ad depugnandum fortiter, fortissime ac felicissime restituuntur, nam olandensium tormentis quattuor horarum spatium globos ferreos, catenas ac lapides grandinis instar vomentibus, nemo nostrorum occisus aut vulneratus est. Contra vero olandensium [c] naves nostris tormentis perforatae [d], eorum plurimi globis allisi, reliqui inglorii refugere in Ternaten. Lusitani indigenaeque tantum tamque praesens beneficium Deo, qui pro nobis contra communes hostes pugnaverat, acceptum retulere.

4. Huc rex Sionius se contulit hoc anno petitum auxilium contra Ternatensem. Illius filius quinquennis cum aliis octo novemve e nobilibus regni baptisma suscepit. Auxilium mitti non potuit, quare cum spe demissus auxilii mox mittendi. Iturus erat cum rege Pater unus e nostris, sed casu quodam ire non potuit; speramus eum ad sioneos brevi transmissurum.

5. Nec hos inter tumultus nostra ministeria refrixere: auditi confitentes frequentes, compositi dissidentes; civitas in factiones divisa, conglutinatis mutua benevolentia animis, discordia explosa est omnis; tradita pueris christiana doctrina; viro nobili pellicem ut acciperet in coniugem christiano ritu persuasum. Feriis maioris ebdomadae exhibitum est agmen se sponte verberantium, insolens apud hos [115v]

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mauros ethnicosque, ac propterea mirable spectaculum pietatis. Haec Pater Aluisius; nunc Patrem Laurentium Massonium de rebus amboinensibus audiamus.

Amboinus

6. Duo hic sumus perpetui, ego videlicet et Pater Gabriel a Cruce. Appulerunt praeterea alii duo Patres Georgius Foncequa et Bartholomeus Danielius [e], qui hinc in Tidoram abierunt. Hoc anno tenuit hunc portum Pater Andreas Pererius et Frater Matheus a Brito; demum Pater Brisius [f] Fernandius et Sebastianus a Veiga, qui cum Andrea Furtado classe vehuntur, huc advenerunt.

7. Sunt in hac insula curiae christianorum decem: duae adiacent [t] arci, reliquae in insula reliqua. Praeter eas paraesias [g] christianorum qui [i] in hac insula commorantur, aliae sunt in aliis insulis adiacentibus, videlicet in Oma curiae quattuor, in Liacero novem, septem in Roçalano [h]. Haec loca, ut inviseret, unus e nostris vi tempestatis agitatus, hausto navigio fluctibus, in tabulatis cum aliis quatuor lusitanis resedit: fiunt ludribrium ventis ac mari. Demum Deus Patris lacrimis exoratus eos ad nostrum littus altero die incolumes fluctibus impellentibus evexit. Pater resumptis viribus iterum credit se mari ac ventis, in insulasque pervenit incolumis, in quibus perlustrandis non defuit materies benemerendi.

8. Sunt enim ea loca saxa, non insulae, per quarum saltus ac dumeta pedibus manibusque reptando eundem est, sed uberi fructu [i] laboris mitigatur acerbitas. Erectae sunt variis in locis cruces septem. Cuiusdam loci incolae, quoniam Pater inibi [j] crucem figere noluerat in poenam cuiusdam criminis, se in Amboinum contulerunt ut crucem impetrarent. Alii longo itinere venerunt ad Patrem, ut eum ad erigendam crucem in suo pago deferrent. Adiuncti sunt ad Christum in hac excursione et baptismo abluti [k] amplius mille, multi praeterea rediere ad fidem quam deseruerant, alii exculti christiana doctrina.

9. Nec Pater alter mansit otiosus domi. Amboini paraesias [l] octo asperrimo itinere atque impeditissimo discalceatus visit. In ea excursione baptizati sunt adulti supra centum, revoca[ta] in memoriam doctrina christiana. Nec in arce res christiana minus bene gesta est: aggregati sunt ad Christi greges [m] ex mauris quinquaginta, alii sexaginta qui Christi caulas deseruerant ad easdem rediere. Mulierem christianam a consanguineo deductam ad mauros ex iis quidam dives ac nobilis in coniugem flagitabat. Annuit illa ea conditione, ut maurus christiana sacra susciperet, in arcemque transmigraret. Tandem victus vel amore

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vel precibus, cum sorore et duabus eius filiabus in arcem ad Christum venit, post baptismum ad optatas nuptias admittitur. Eandem gloriam aemulata est alia abducta ad mauros a marito, quo mortuo repudiatis maurorum nuptiis, cum quatuor capitibus ad suos reversa est.

10. Nunc numerus petentium ascribi in caetum christianorum tria millia supergreditur [n], ut iam necesse sit aliam curiam constituere. Ubi vero insula stabili pace fruetur, scribi non potest quantus sit numerus christianorum futurus. Quamobrem [o] plurimos ac selectissimos quosque piscatores ad sagenam hanc [p] ad littus atrahendam destina, nos enim tanto labori satis nequaquam sumus. Haec Massonius.

11. Ad ea, quae ex Patribus accepi, visum est apponere fragmentum literarum Patris Brisii[q] Fernandi[r], qui ad Amboinum classe Andreae Furtadi[s] cum socio delatus est. Pervenimus, inquit, tandem post varios ancipitesque concursus cum hostibus belgis atque cum fluctibus, incolumes in Amboinum quarto idus februarii, quo etiam tempore pervenerat Pater Andreas Pererius cum altero Fratre. Tantae eis fuit laetitiae adventus noster, ut si fuerint ab inferis ad vitam excitati. Invenimus hic duos e nostris Patres, Laurentium Masonium et Gabrielem a Cruce. Magna hic horum Patrum santimoniae viget opinio, et re vera tales [116r] videntur, quales habentur.

12. Adiacent arci duae paraeciae christianorum, una unius, altera alterius Patrum curae commissae. Sunt praeterea in tota insula et in aliis insulis adiacentibus disseminatae quam plurimae curiae christianorum, quarum Pater alias semel, alias saepius singulis annis invisit. Sed eo tempore deficientibus a lusitanis amboinensibus atque in nostros arma moventibus, tam lusitani quam Patres qui erant in arce vix audeant proferre pedem extra vallum.

13. Itaque dux classis Andraeas Furtadus, terra marique vexat amboinenses, ut resipiscant et iugum quod excusserant, iterum subeant. Et amboinenses quidem facili negocio rediere, et singulis pagis seni septenive honestissimi quique cum vexillo non sine timpanis (haec sunt aereae pelves) oblongi piperis fruticem manu praeferentes, ut ostenderent se eam terram lusitanis subiicere, cuius ille praecipuus ac nobilissimus fructus esset. Rosatelenses, metu an pertinacia, incertum est, visa classe, igne tectis iniecto, in altissimum ac superatu difficillimum montem confugiunt. Sed deinde, ubi animadverterunt nostris iugi superandi stetisse consilium, ultro descenderunt, seque victori crediderunt [t].

14. In Itto fuit omnium acerrima ac difficillima dimicatio, nam ittenses, metu nostrorum incenso pago qui erat ad littus, receperant se

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in altissimum montem non procul a littore. Hic mons natura munitissimus, in summo vertice amaenum ac satis latum arboribusque consitum sese aperiebat in campum divisum aquarum divortiis; in quo medio pagus non exiguae magnitudinis visebatur, sed undequaque rupibus tam altis tamque horrendis cingebatur, ut spem omnem eriperet ascensuris. Ad eum pagum tribus tantum itineribus patebat accessus, iisque adeo angustis atque acclivibus per tot anfractus ascensus et descensus, ut nonnisi reptando non sine maximo labore ac periculo casus ascendas. Ex hoc monte esurgit alter, et in ascensu et in amaenitate ac munitione huic non absimilis. Locum natura munitissimum munierant adhuc hostes in tribus illis faucibus duplici vallo, atque aggeribus, in quibus disposuerant tormenta variae magnitudinis accepta ab olandensibus, et lapides praegrandes, ut in nos ascensuros emitterent.

15. Andraeas Furtadus die dominica palmarum ad radicem montis castra locat, vallum et casulas contra iniurias caeli construit, mittit ad hostem legatos quosdam amboinenses, ut malit[u] pacem quam bellum. Legatis superbe responsum est. Se nimirum, respondit[v], esse sub potestate ternatensis; illo excepto nullum praeterea regem agnoscere; quo[d][w] ad comercium attinet, se illud habiturum non solum cum olandensibus, sed cum omnibus gentibus quibus sibi expedire videretur, nec se aspernaturum lusitanos. Altero die cum iussu ducis quidam e nostris lustraret montem, atque ascensus scrutaretur, alii sex septemve lusitani in hostium munitionem impetum faciunt, sed lapidibus et tormentis acriter adeo reiecti sunt, ut praecipites multis acceptis vulneribus ad castra redierint.

16. Proxima nocte nostri tumulum quendam capiunt, in quo summo [116*v*] erigunt vallum et altera nocte submisit tormenta Furtadus, quibus hostes, qui erant in munitionibus, multis afficiebat incommodis. Demum die Mercurii ad vallum se contulit, ut inde alios aditus ad hostes reperiret. Dum in hac consultatione immoratur, affertur Gonsalus Vasius, strenuus decurio, qui, cum tormentum in hostes disploderet, ab iisdem fuerat graviter vulneratus. Huius decurionis milites irruerant in hostes, sed ad ducem falsus est rumor allatus, hostes eruptione facta in nostros irruisse. Itaque dux illico omnem belli impetum in hostes ferri iubet.

17. Tantus nostrorum ardor fuit ut per illud quod scripsimus iter, iaculantibus contra hostibus saxorum ac pilarum ferrearum imbrem, ad vallum tandem irrepserint, quod intrantibus nostris, hostes se ad aliud superius receperunt, tribus exceptis, qui fugientibus caeteris maluerunt fortiter mori quam vitam vel a fuga vel a victoribus impetrare. Aliud vallum facile expugnatum est, fugientibus hostibus vel se e rupibus praecipitantibus ne in victoris manus devenirent. Deinde intravimu

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pagum. Non defuit praeda, ad triginta fere aureorum millia summa pervenit, quanvis hostes pretiosiora combusserint.

18. Dux vulneratis, quorum erat magnus numerus, medicamenta quaesivit, inter quos ego etiam capite duo[x] vulnera acceperam, quae si paulo magis descendissent, haec minime scriberem. Descendimus inde in ittensem pagum, quem hostes incenderant, sed adhuc praeda non deerat. Dux munitionem, quae inibi ab olandensibus extructa erat, solo aequavit. Tum lustravit insulam aliaque loca et insulas adiacentes, in quibus metus evacuaverat habitatoribus urbes, in iis omnibus hostium castella disiecit, indigenas in fidem recepit. Dum in Amboinum reditum parat, Franciscus Sosius cum decem lusitanis, qui in Sunda fuerant ab olandensibus capti, et ab eiis honorifice dimissi, adest a Banda; hic de numero navium hostilium eorumque consiliis dux factus est certior. Remisso[y] ad ducem olandensium nobili adolescente, quem nostri quadam in navi ceperant, cum literis, gratias agit quod bene accepisset lusitanos ultroque remisisset.

19. Ipse vocatis principibus earum insularum ad confirmandum faedus, in Amboinum se cum classe recepit, quo die Christus Dominus victor de immanissimis inferorum hostibus redivit ex inferis. Furtadus exceptus est ab amboinensibus magna laetitia et quadam veluti specie triumphi. Postea Andraeas Furtadus, rebus amboinensibus compositis, deficientibus in Amboino commeatibus, in Maniliam ad hispanos P. Andraeam Pererium cum aliis lusitanis commeatus aliasque res belli necessarias petitum transmisit. Ipse propter eandem rem, praeter omnium opinionem, classe in Malucas contendit. Haec Britius.

20. Postea ex navigio quod ex Manilia in Indiam pervenit, intellectum est praefectum maniliensem optimas Furtado suppeties remisisse. Hoc anno speramus optatissimos eius belli nuntios allatum iri.

Haec habui, quae de rebus indicis, prout ad nostrum Institutum pertinent, quam brevissime fidelissimeque colligerem. Reliquum est ut pro India universa ac pro nobis filiis tuis perpetuas, uti soles, ad Deum preces effundere non desistas[z]. Vale.

Idibus Ianuariis 1604.

[*Autograph*] P.V. inutilis filius,

Albertus Laertius.

[*Address* 117*v*] † Annuae litterae Viceprovinciae Malabariae Indiae Orientalis anni 1603. 4[a] via.

Admodum Reverendo P.N. Claudio Aquavivae, praeposito generali Societatis Iesu. Romae.

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[a] *corr. fr.* Gabua; Gabua *B* ‖ [b] ita in] item *ms.*; ita in *B* ‖ [c] holandensium *B* ‖ [d] *w. corr. illeg.*, perforatae *B* ‖ [e] Danielis *C* ‖ [f] Britius *B* ‖ [g] paraecias *B* ‖ [h] Roselano *B* ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* fructus ‖ [j] inibit *ms.*; inibi *B* ‖ [k] *interl.* ‖ [l] paraecias *B* ‖ [m] gregem *B* ‖ [n] supregreditur *ms.* ‖ [o] *del. illeg. words* ‖ [p] *om. B* ‖ [q] Britii *B* ‖ [r] Fernandii *B* ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* Furtado ‖ [t] seque.. crediderunt *interl. B* ‖ [u] *corr. to* malint *B*; *del.* ut *B* ‖ [v] *corr. fr.* responderunt *B* ‖ [w] quod *C* ‖ [x] dua *ms.* ‖ [y] remissoque *B* ‖ [z] *add.* et nobis tuam benedictionem impertiri *C*

164

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, VICE-PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 15, 1604
First *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 201*r*-202*v*, earlier 104, and no. LXVIII/f. Original letter in Portuguese in a very regular, beautiful, and clear handwriting, easy to read, and excellently preserved. The signature is autographic. At the top of f. 201*r* an archivist's note «Malabarica 1604»; f. 202*r* is blank; on the *verso* is the address, a seal in relief with the legend of the new Vice-Province, and a three items abstract, preceded by the note «Malabar. 1604. Cochim. P.e Alberto Laertio V.P. 15 de Janeiro».

II NOTE: Codex *Goa 15*, on ff. 201-218, contains a series of letters of the same date, all written by Laerzio, who gave them a successive numbering. We publish letters 3 (the present document), 10 (D 165), and 13 (D 166).

Text

1. *After the Maluku Fathers suffered many evils of war, the General André Furtado de Mendonça subdued Ambon island and brought peace.* — 2. *The Fathers breathed more freely and resumed work. Hope of another victory of Furtado. Need of more manpower for the mission.* — 3. *The Goa Province, well provided with men, should yield some Fathers the Vice-Province needs in its difficult start.*

†

Pax Christy.

1. Nas residencias de Maluco e Amboyno padecerão os nossos Padres os annos passados muito[s] trabalhos com as guerras, alevantamentos e perseguições dos mouros, com grande perda de toda aquella

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christandade que têm a seu cargo. Mas já a divina misericordia começou a dar o remedio como se desejava. Porque o Viso-Rrey faz agora dous annos mandou pera lá huma armada dos portuguezes, onde hia por geral della André Furtado de Mendonça, o qual chegando com a sua gente à ylha de Amboino acometeo valorosamente os mouros imigos poderosos que na dita ilha molestavão aos nossos. E tomando-lhe huma principal fortaleza, que estava em huma serra tam ingreme que parecia não podesse lá chegar poder humano, de tal maneira sogeitou a todos os imigos, que fica toda aquella terra em grande paz e quietação.

2. E os Padres ficarão respirando dos trabalhos passados e vão continuando com a conversão e ajuntando as muitas ovelhas desgarradas e convertendo outras de novo. Depois que a nossa armada aquietou as cousas de Amboino e teve naquella ilha grandes vitorias, se passou às ylhas de Maluco onde, conforme a boa ordem que levava, boa gente e aparelhos pera a guerra, esperamos de certo lhe dará Nosso Senhor as mesmas vitorias, e que as naos que de lá hão-de vir em Abril [1], nos trarão as novas dos bons sucessos que desejamos. E como naquellas ilhas ouve muito grande christandade, botando-se agora os mouros fora dellas e sogeitando-as, se há outra vez de tornar a juntar toda e fazer-se outra de novo por ser a gente de sy muito facil e bem inclinada. Mas como os nossos Padres são muito poucos e não estão lá outros religiosos, será necessario mandar-lhe de cá alguns obreyros que os ajudem a levar tam grande peso. E já este anno passado os Padres de Amboino pedirão lhe mandasemos alguns companheiros de socorro, por ser já a impresa grande e alguns delles muito cansados e enfermos [2].

3. Esta Vice-Provincia ategora tem pouca gente pera tam grande messe. Hé forçado V.P. ordene ao Provincial de Goa, pois lhe ficou o mor numero dos Padres e Irmãos da missão dos sessenta do anno passado [3] e vão fazendo outros de novo, porque têm em Goa vinte e 4

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[1] It is surprising that Laerzio gives April as the scheduled or expected time of arrival at Cochin of the ships from Malacca. Generally they were supposed and said to sail from Malacca in late November or early December, and to put in at Cochin in the second half of January, often being able to meet still at least one of the ships sailing to Lisbon from there. See EX I 61*; SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* I/I 130; DM I 9*. We note that the scheduling of shipping opportunities seems rather elastic; that perhaps in later years the ships became less dependent on the monsoons, and that maybe Laerzio relied on a too limited experience.

[2] E.g., D 150, 25.

[3] Laerzio had brought with him 58 Jesuits from Europe in 1602 (WICKI, *Liste* nos. 430a-488).

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theologos que estudão, nos dê os que forem necessarios pera socorrermos nestes principios as necessidades daquellas partes, e ajudarmos e consolarmos aquelles bons Padres.
[... 201*v*]
Cochim, 15 de Janeiro de 1604.

Alberto Laertio.

[*Address* 202*v*] † A nosso Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesú. 1ª via. Roma. Carta 3.

165

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, VICE-PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 15, 1604

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 216*r*-218*v*, and no. LXVIII/g. Original in Latin, written in a tiny, neat, and clear script. Folio 218*v* contains the address, a seal, and Fr. Assistant's notes « De promovendis Provinciae Malabaricae », explaining the character of this tenth letter, i.e., proposing some Fathers and Brothers to be admitted to the final vows, « 604 », and « Já ». Our part is on f. 217*v*.

II NOTE: When Fr. Laerzio signed this document, he was still ignorant of Fr. Daniel's death in February 1603 (D 181, 1).

Text

In eleven points a picture is drawn of Fr. Bartholomaeus Daniel in order to recommend him for his final vows.

[...]

Patres promovendi in coadiutores spirituales

[...]

1. Bartolomeus Daniel, ex oppido Vlessighi in Belgica regione [1], annorum 30, integris viribus.

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[1] Vlissingen (Flushing) in Walcheren island, Zeeland, Netherlands.

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2. Goae admissus anno Domini 1594.

3. In virtutibus, sui contemptu, obedientia, fraterna charitate etct. bene, amat Institutum, nec in vocatione vacillavit.

4. Didicit casus conscientiae per annum.

5. Tertium probationis annum non peregit, sed eius loco missus est ad insulas Malucas[2] et didicit linguam illius regionis.

6.

7. In conversione occupatur iam quarto anno[3].

8. Nullam administrationem obivit.

9. Non sequitur extraordinarias opiniones, nec est proprii iudicii amator, in affectibus bene mortificatus.

10. Est devotus, orationi deditus, salutis animarum zelator, in negotiis promovendis strenuus.

11. Munus regendi aut dignitatem aut professionem non ambivit.

Istius etiam Patris non habemus tam exactam notitiam propter locorum distantiam: illum tamen bene se in omnibus habere scribunt[4]. [... 218*r*]

Cocini, 15 die Ianuarii anno 1604.

Albertus Laertius.

[*Address* 218*v*] † A Nosso Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesú. Roma. Carta X.

166

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, VICE-PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 15, 1604

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 207*r*-208*v*, originally 97-98, and no. LXVIII/c.

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[2] Very interesting that going to Maluku was considered a substitution for the tertianship.

[3] In fact less, only three, as he had arrived in Ambon in February 1601.

[4] This in spite of D 159, 11. But it had not yet been delivered at Cochin. The official judgment, certainly coming from Fr. Superior Luís Fernandes, was favourable. As D 144, 2 is too little personal, presumably he wrote a still more confidential letter to Laerzio.

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Original in Portuguese. Same handwriting as of D 164, with autograph signature. The text fills three pages, the fourth containing the address, a seal, and a Roman secretary's note « 1604. Cochin. P. Alberto Laertio V.P. 15 de Janeiro » with a short abstract. On f. 207*r*, at the top, the usual « Malabarica 1604 ». This is letter 13.

Text

1. *Fr. General proposed a Superior [Vice-Provincial] in Malacca, controling Maluku, Macao, and China. This is completely unwanted.* — 2. *First reason : Macao should remain with Japan of which it is the training centre.* — 3. *Second reason : Macao is both refuge in persecution and centre of material support for the Jesuits in Japan.* — 4. *Third reason : A Superior at Malacca cannot take care of the needs of China on account of the monsoons.* — 5. *Besides, visiting Macao and Maluku would cause him the greatest inconveniences. Therefore all should remain as it was.* — 6. *Malacca, with only a few Jesuits and a poorly founded college, cannot be a Vice-Provincial's post. The Portuguese are not able to succour Maluku, nor can the number of Fathers there be increased. Will this year send a Visitor to both these places.* — 7. *Malacca and Maluku ought not to be added to the Goa Province.*

†

Pax Christy.

1. Consultey o que V.P. encomenda em huma sua[1], acerca se será bem pôr hum superior[2] en Malaca que visite Maluco e o collegio de Machao e as residencias que estão polla China dentro. E a todos pareceo que por nenhum modo convinha por agora separar o collegio de Machao da Vice-Provincia de Japão[3].

2. 1º Porque aquelle collegio hé o principal seminario de Japão, aonde os que vem de Europa e vão da India cada anno todos ao menos hum anno estão esperando polla monção e tempo de navegar, e outros ficão ahy estudando mais annos conforme ao que aprendem. E tambem de Japão manda o Vice-Provincial os Irmãos japões pera aprenderem assy as esciencias, como o espirito e o nosso modo da Companhia, e tambem manda de ordinario outros Irmãos de Japão pera ahy estudarem.

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[1] Lost letter, 153*b*.

[2] In no. 6 Laerzio calls him a Vice-Provincial.

[3] In a letter of the same date to Fr. João Álvares, Assistant, Laerzio wrote « Quanto à divisão da V. Provincia de Maluco, Machao, China e Malaca escrevo larga enformação que se me offreceo em huma pera nosso Padre; della V.R. saberá tudo, e hé couza que não pode ser por nenhum modo, nem se compadece com as monções » (*Goa 15* f. 205*v*).

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3. 2º Porque aquelle collegio hé o unico refugio que os Padres de Japão têm no tempo dos trabalhos e perseguições, onde os nossos se vem recolher com segurança, como temos visto estes annos atraz. E tambem porque delle depende o temporal e a sustentação de Japão em grande parte [4], e separado este collegio da obediencia do Vice-Provincial de Japão, fica aquella Vice-Provincia sem remedio nenhum. E estas forão as principaes cousas que moverão ao Padre Alexandre Valignano fazer aquelle collegio.

4. 3º Porque pondo superior em Malaca não se acode à necessidade da China, pois tanto tempo se há mester pera esperar reposta de Malaca como de Japão, porque aquelle mar não se navega senão cada anno huma vez, indo de Malaca a Machao e de Machao a Japão nos mesmos mezes de Julho e Agosto com o sul, e vindo de Japão pera Machao e de Machao pera Malaca em outros mezes de Novembro, Dezembro e Janeiro com o norte. De modo que tanto tempo se há mester pera terem reposta de huma parte como de outra, tirando quando com fortuna se perde alguma nao, como foy estes annos atraz na viagem de Japão.

5. Afora isto o superior que estiver em Malaca por nenhum modo pode ser superior de Machao e Maluco pera effeito de poder visitar aquellas partes, porque de Malaca pera Maluco tambem hé necessario hum anno [5] e as mais das vezes dous annos pera ir e tornar. E quando o superior estiver em Maluco hão-de passar dous annos pera [207*v*] responder às cartas que lhe escreverem de Machao, com quem Maluco não tem communicação nenhuma, e de Machao pera Japão há continuo commercio dos mercadores. De modo que não será expediente nem pode ser tal governo. Mas por agora, emquanto a China não se faz Provincia por sy, hé muito milhor ficar como estava sobordenada a Japão. E o Reytor de Machao, sendo superior universal das residencias que estão polla China dentro, tenha cuidado de as prover do necessario e de as mandar visitar por algum Padre como já fizerão o anno passado.

6. Quanto toca a Maluco e Malaca tãopouco estão agora aquellas casas em estado pera terem superior ou vice-provincial por sy, porque são os nossos muy poucos e o collegio de Malaca tem muito pouca fundação, nem pode sostentar tantos quantos tem. Maluco, como está

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[4] Consult VALIGNANO, *Historia* (ed. Wicki) 443-444.

[5] Normal scheduled time: sailing from Malacca on August 15, arrival at Tidore in late October or early November; sailing from Ambon on May 15, arrival at Malacca in late June or early July.

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tam remoto da India, mal poderá ser socorrido do Viso-Rrey, posto que agora com a yda lá do Geral André Furtado de Mendonça se quiete. Comtudo como estão aquellas ylhas arodeadas de outras de mouros tam poderosos, hé quasi certo que tornando-sse André Furtado pera Malaca, onde ao prezente deve já de estar [6], não poderá ir a conquista de Maluco muito adiante e não farão pouco os portuguezes em se conservarem como os deixar [7]. E pollo conseguinte nem os nossos Padres poderão crescer muito, ao menos não tanto que possão fazer grandes collegios e seminario de estudos ettc., que se possa fazer tam cedo vice-provincia separada. Pollo qual nos parece deve ficar com o mesmo governo como agora está, e que o Vice-Provincial deste Malavar mande algum Padre visitar o collegio de Malaca e consolar os Padres de Maluco, como este anno farey com o favor divino [8].

7. Nem hé expediente separar Malaca e Maluco da obediencia do Vice-Provincial do Malavar e sobordená-los ao Provincial de Goa [9], porque de cá tem muito mais commercio e podem ser milhor socorridos em suas necessidades, por aver mais commercio e estar mais perto; e irem as naos pera Malaca não só de Cochym mas tambem de São Thomé e de Bengala, de donde o Vice-Provincial do Malavar escreve aos nossos e os provê do necessario, como fiz este anno por via de São Thomé e Bengala, o que não pode fazer o Provincial de Goa, aonde não todos os annos chegão as naos que vem de Maluco e Malaca, que, por virem tarde, sem passar a Goa ficão em Cochim onde, descarregando a carrega e tomando outra, se tornão logo pera lá [10].

[... 208*r*]

Cochim, 15 de Janeiro de 1604.

Alberto Laertio.

[*Address* 208*v*] † A Nosso Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesu, Roma. 1ª via. Carta 13.

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[6] Already in July 1603 Furtado was back in Malacca (BOXER-FRAZÃO 54).

[7] A rather realistic view of the situation.

[8] Fr. Laerzio did not provide Maluku with fresh Jesuits before January 1605, but they got held up in Malacca (D 174).

[9] Maybe this idea was suggested by the Maluku Fathers themselves; see DD 159, 5 and 162, 9.

[10] This is the very opposite of what Fr. Luís Fernandes wrote in the latter of the preceding references.

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CATALOGUE OF THE MALABAR VICE-PROVINCE

COCHIN, JANUARY 15, 1604
First *via*

I TEXT: Three identical original texts are at our disposal, the first and the fourth *via*, and one without an indication of a *via*, presumably the second or the third.

A. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 326*r-v* and 329*r-v*. Original in Latin, first *via*. Clear and regular handwriting, two columns. Several houses divided from each other by horizontal lines. On f. 329*v*, which is blank, only a note « Catalogo da V. Provincia do Malavar. 1ª via ».

B. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 327*r*-328*v*. Original in Latin, fourth *via*, similar to text A. The last page is blank but for the note « Catalogo da V. Provincia do Malavar, 4ª via ».

C. *ARSI, Goa 29* ff. 1*r*-2*v*. Third similar original in Latin; no *via* indicated. On the blank f. 2*v* an archivist's note » 1604 [*del.*], Malabar ».

II NOTE: On the doubtful value of this catalogue, see Gen. Introd. III 4 no. 63 (Fonseca), and III 2 b) (Siau).

Text

List of the Maluku Jesuits: four in Tidore, four in Ambon, and two in Sulawesi.

Catalogus Patrum Fratrumque nostrorum ex Viceprovincia Cocinensi Indiae Orientalis 15 die Ianuarii anno 1604

[... 329*r*]

In Malucanae domui annexis residentiis

In domo Malucana [1]

P. Ludovicus Ferdinandus, superior, praedicator et confessor.
P. Antonius Pereira, praedicator et confessor.
P. Rogerius Conradus, confessor [2].

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[1] That is, in Tidore.

[2] The listing of Fr. Berwouts/Corrado here reveals that he, not present in Maluku at the events of 1605, had not yet arrived in Cochin in January 1604. He must have left Maluku in May 1604. Consult D 169, 1.

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F. Ioannes Paulus, subminister.

In residentia Ambonensi

P. Laurentius Mazonius, praedicator et confessor.
P. Andreas Pererius, praedicator et confessor.
P. Gabriel da Cruz, confessor.
F. Matheus de Brito, subminister.

In residentia Celebensi [3]

P. Georgius da Fonceca, praedicator et confessor
P. Bartholomeus Daniel, confessor.

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FR. MANUEL RODRIGUES TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

Annua of the Malabar Vice-Province
COCHIN, JANUARY 15, 1604

TEXT:

A. *ARSI, Goa 55* ff. 84*r*-113*v*, formerly 65-94, and no. XIII; the first four units, of six folios each, have been numbered 1-4. Original year-letter in Portuguese, titled « Annua da India: da Vice-Provincia do Malavar ». On f. 84*r* a secretary noted « 604 »; f. 107*v* is blank. The handwriting is generally regular, clear, and readable. The letter is divided into chapters, each beneath its own heading; the chapters on Maluku are in ff. 111*r*-113*v*.

B. *British Library, MSS Department, Add. 9853* ff. 475*r*-500*v*, also numbered 36-61. Original file copy intended for the Goa Province, written in two hands, both easily legible, but with an orthography pretty much deviating from that of text A. The title, on f. 475(36)*r*, runs « Annua da V. Provincia do Malavar da India oriental », to which another hand added « de 603 » and « pera se ler na provincia de Goa ». The date and signature at the end are autograph of Fr. Rodrigues. Folio 500(61)*v* is blank, but for two archivistic notes « Annua da Provincia do Malavar de 1603 » and « Gav. N. 42 ». The text has several un-

[3] That as so often *Celebes* stands here for Siau seems little probable because that island had remained deprived of a permanent Jesuit for about fourteen years (D 181, 5, in spite of D 144, 7). Not before 1605 will a Father appear to be stationed there (D 177). We suppose that this *Celebes* is an error for Labuha.

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derlinings, corrections, and crossings. The part on Maluku is on ff. 498(59)*r*-500(61)*r*.

II AUTHOR and ADDRESSEE: Fr. Manuel Rodrigues, born 1561 at Vila Viçosa (Portugal), joined the Jesuits in 1578, sailed as a priest to India in 1597, stayed for one year in St. Paul's College, Goa, and having been stationed on the Travancore Coast, he became the secretary and official cousellor of Fr. Laerzio (*Goa 24 II* ff. 292*r*, 313*r*, 326*r*; WICKI, *Liste* no. 368). There is no address, but the first line of the letter betrays the addressee « Já o anno passado se mandou a V.P. huma annua desta Viceprovincia »; the provincial year-letters were due to be sent to Fr. General.

III CHARACTER: The part on Maluku is composed of three earlier letters; of a probably lost one (nos. 1-6), of D 144 (nos. 7-14), and of D 150 (nos. 15-27 and 29-35). The author in places shortened, omitted, added, or bettered some passage at will.

IV NOTE: Comparing this document with D 163 we conclude that Laerzio, though having commissioned Rodrigues with writing a year-letter and though not disposing, at least for Maluku, of more or better sources than the latter, could not help writing another one himself in his beautiful Latin, i.e., a more personal account of his experiences and his closer acquaintance with the Vice-Province.

V OUR EDITION: As the first five nos. are apparently taken from a lost letter, as no. 28 is new, as the text of the rest is in places shortened, changed, or bettered, we print the whole of it (text A). The borrowings dispense us from making many footnotes.

Text

1. *Fathers suffered from war and hunger; work of conversion was stopped and even undone; people lost esteem of the Portuguese.* — 2. *God's mercy sent the armada of André Furtado de Mendonça.* — 3. *He brought the Ambon islands to obedience.* — 4. *The situation is quiet; Fathers have hope again and make new plans.* — 5. *The chief commander sailed to Maluku* [*Tidore*] *and requested succour from Manila.* — 6. *In the whole of Maluku eight Fathers and two Brothers are stationed; their ministries; desire of making the Spiritual Exercises.* — 7. *In Tidore, four Fathers and one Brother; they encouraged and gave spiritual aid to the Portuguese when Dutch ships came assailing Tidore fortress.* — 8. *A four hour shelling by the Dutch did not even kill one single Portuguese.* — 9. *The king of Siau came soliciting help against Ternate. It could not be given him. His young son and some Siauese were baptized.* — 10. *Sending a Father to Siau failed to come off; he will go at the first occasion.* — 11. *Jubilees were celebrated. The Fathers reconciled parties that among the Portuguese attempted each other's life.* — 12. *The dissolute chief of Labuha put his marriage in order.* — 13. *Christian instruction in Malay of Labuha youth; their devotion.* — 14. *Procession of flagellants edifies many.* — 15. *In Ambon, four Fathers and one Brother; they similarly take care of the Lease islands.* — 16. *Shipwreck and rescue of a Father visiting the Lease islands.* — 17. *Setting out once more the Father completed the visit of twenty villages.* — 18. *Hardships endured on the way.* — 19. *Crosses erected in the villages.* — 20. *Over a thousand*

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baptized, apostates reconciled, people catechized. — 21. *The other Father visited the eight Christian villages of Ambon island. Less hardships, same ministries.* — 22. *Healing of a blind catechist.* — 23. *And of another sick person.* — 24. *Instances of popular devotion; many confessions.* — 25. *Christian doctrine for children. Fifty baptisms; sixty apostates reconciled.* — 26-27. *Courageous Christian girls refuse Muslim marriage.* — 28. *Fathers can move freely now that the situation is calm. Will quote a letter of Fr. Masonio.* — 29. *A third parish should be erected.* — 30. *Prospects for the future. Many Fathers should be kept in readiness for Maluku.* — 31. *This country is not so bad as generally it is said to be.* — 32. *It is rich in good foodstuffs.* — 33. *Furtado raised the pay to the Jesuits. This measure should be confirmed by the viceroy.* — 34. *For the expenses to be made no alms can be expected in Ambon.* — 35. *Conclusion.*

[. . .]

Residencias de Maluco e Amboino

1. Pollo que o anno passado se escreveo a V.P.[1] destas rezidencias, se emtenderia que ficavão os Padres metidos em huma fragoa de trabalhos continos[a] de gerras e fomes com grande perda daquella cristandade, por andarem estas partes alevantadas e inficionadas com muitos mouros tão grandes enemigos do nome cristão. Por onde não somente faltavão novas conquistas das almas, mas tambem as já conquistadas com muita lastima e sentimento desgarravão, de modo que, faltando o secorro da India necessario e recrecendo o atrevimento dos olandezes[b] em vir a estas ilhas cada anno a buscar especearia, perdia a gente da terra o conceito que tinha dos portugezes, avendo que não erão poderozos pera deffenderem a seus vassalos e amigos, e pera impedirem que não viesse gente estrangeira a tirar-lhe os[c] seus interesses. E com isto os não querião já reconhecer, perdendo todo o temor[d] e respeito que noutro tempo tiverão ao[e] nome portugês.

2. Estando as couzas neste estado, acodio Nosso Senhor com sua misericordia e comesou-nos já de dar tudo o que desejavamos. Porque veo ter às ilhas de Amboino huma nossa armada, que de preposito tinha vindo a estas partes do Sul contra os ingrezes e olandezes, onde vinha por capitão-mor[f] André Furtado de Mendonça, capitão afamado nestas partes da India pellos muitos e bons successos e tantas victorias que tem[g] alcansado, que somente o seu nome atemoriza todo[h] este Oriente.

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[1] The letter from which the following paragraphs 1-6 are borrowed was written in May 1602, together with DD 144-150. That the wording is different from any of them, could possibly point to a lost letter. The letter of « o anno passado » is D 137.

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3. Este bem-afurtunado capitão entrando com sua gente pollas terras de Amboino de tal maneira em tempo brevissimo as reduzio à nossa obediencia que meteo espanto a todos. Porque tendo os mouros e gente rebelde daquella terra feito huma fortaleza em hum monte altissimo, onde estribavão suas forças, de tal maneira a combaterão os nossos subindo por aquella serra tão ingreme que ficarão senhores de tudo, vindo-sse logo todos os povos a sogeitar à nossa obediencia.

4. E estão as cousas de Amboino ao prezente em tal quietação e segurança pera bem[f] da cristandade e do mais que se podia dezejar, que se os nossos Padres davão por acabadas as esperanças que podião ter de se poder cobrar o fruito tantos annos cultivado, já agora não somente o possuem, mas se empregão em outras novas sementeiras que darão bem que fazer a muitos obreiros se lá os tivessem. Argumento muito grande pera nos persuadirmos todos que a obra da conversão das almas hé toda de Deos e nós somos somente seus fracos instrumentos, intimando-nos isso o mesmo Senhor a cada passo, acodindo por sua obra quoando as esperanças humanas vão mais enfraquecendo.

5. Depois de reduzidas à nossa obediencia as terras de Amboino, se foi o general às ilhas de Maluco, mandando juntamente às Manilhas pedir socorro de mantimentos pera se reforçar, e ateegora não sabemos o que lá lhe socedeo.

6. Em Maluco e suas rezidencias estão ao prezente 8 Padres e 2 Irmãos[2]. Occuparão-sse todos nos[f] menisterios da Companhia com edeficassão do proximo, e com grande instancia pedirão ao Superior fazer os Exercicios da Companhia e recolheren-ce, mas parte por causa da gerra e parte por doença, se diletarão por então, esperando pera tempo mais oportuno pera não perderem o bom custume que tem de o fazerem quasi todos os annos[3].

Residencia de Maluco

7. Há nesta residencia 4 Padres e hum Irmão, e sempre todos ajudarão ao proximo conforme ao estillo da Companhia, ainda nos tempos mais perigosos de gerras e rrevoltas que ouve nestas terras, dando animo com suas exhortações aos portugezes pera que se não esquecessem do seu valor e esforço antigo. O que não montou pouco, porque vindo duas naos olandezas de Ternatte a pellejar com a nossa fortaleza de Ti-

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[2] See D 167.

[3] The last sentence is already part of D 144, 2, but what is said there of the Jesuits of Tidore, here is generalized to all of them of those parts.

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dore, e juntamente el-rei de Ternate da parte dos olandezes com muitas caracoras[k], que são sertas embarcações; e avendo da[l] dos portugezes poucas[m] forças [111v] e os animos quebrados, por lhe faltar aquelle anno o socorro da India, e se ter perdido o galeão da carreira e ter arribado a Malaca outras embarcações que podião dar alguma ajuda, contudo de tal maneira os Padres com seu zello e fervor animarão aos portugezes, que, confessando-sse todos, ganharão o jubileu dia do Espirito Santo em nossa caza, e com estas armas, tomando novas forças e vigor, brigarão valerosamente o dia seginte com as ditas naos.

8. Na quoal briga se repartirão os nossos em 2 partes para ajudarem aos que pellejavão. E durando a bataria da artelharia das naos olandezas 4 horas de relogio, foi Nosso Senhor servido de livrar aos nossos dos seus pellouros, de modo que nem huma soo pessoa nos matarão, matando-lhe os nossos muita gente principal sua e quebrando-lhe suas naos, que forão forçados por se não perderem a cortar as amarras e deixarem 2 ancoras, com as quoais surgirão pera a briga defronte da nossa fortaleza. Com o que forão assi os olandezes como os ternates mui envergonhados, agradecendo muito assi o capitão como os moradores a ajuda que dos nossos tiverão.

9. El-rei de Syao[n] veo de sua terra a Tidore a pedir ao capitão secorro contra os ternates seus enemigos. E porque era grande a perseguição das naos olandezas[o] e poucas as forças dos nossos, não lho pode o capitão dar, o que ouvera de ser em[p] cauza de muito trabalho e desgosto se os nossos não forão, que com seu conselho e fatto acabarão com el-rei de Siao que se tornasse pera sua terra contente. E lhe baptizarão hum filho seu menino de 5 annos que elle troux[e]ra consigo de Syao, e outros 8 ou 9 syões que vinhão com elle e pedirão ser baptizados. O quoal baptismo, por entrar nelle o filho do rei, se fes solenemente e com[q] bons vestidos.

10. Vendo esta conjunção o P.[e] Luis Fernandez, superior daquellas partes, determinou de mandar hum Padre a Syao. E tendo já o fatto e matalotajem embarcada em hum junco que el-rei de Tidore mandava pera Syao, socedeo que o junco se desamarrou do porto antes que o Padre se embarcasse. E indo o Padre em huma embarcação após elle não pode alcançar, o que foi cauza de não passar o Padre aquelle anno a Siao como desejavamos, mas quererá Nosso Senhor dar muito sedo boa oportunidade pera isso.

11. Os 4 jubileus se celebrão em nossa caza com muito concursso de confições e comunhões, tanto que os Padres que lá vão de novo se edeficão e consolão muito ver no cabo do mundo tanta frequencia de

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confissões e comunhões. Tanbem[r] se[s] exercitarão os nossos em compor inimizades. Em Tidore ouve dous bandos entre dous homens principais, ajuntando-sse muita gente de huma parte e doutra pera se matarem huns aos outros, sem aver remedio nem o capitão lho poder dar. Ficando com estes bandos a fortaleza a rrisco de se perder, o capitão se valeo dos nossos pera que se metessem no meo e composesem estas pessoas, e por meo delles, ajudando o capitão, se composerão e consertarão.

12. O senhor da cristandade da Labua, que hé senhor de vassallos e responde entre nós a conde ou duque, avia muitos annos que vevia em peccado com huma mulher moura, por rezão de lhe ser morta a sua propria mulher. Foi Nosso Senhor servido que, sendo pellos nossos amoestado, cazasse com a mesma amiga, de quem já tinha huma filha, e d'então pera cá commummente sempre viveo bem com sua mulher. E acodem ambos muito bem às suas missas de obrigação, asestindo a ellas com devação e às praticas que o Padre fas, e confeção-sse com edeficação. E com este bom exemplo foi Nosso Senhor servido, que muitos de seus vassalos que vevião em paccado mortal[t], se tirarão[u] delle e se cazarão e agora correm bem com as couzas de sua obrigação.

13. Continuou-sse nesta cristandade o ensino dos meninos, que aprendem a doutrina christã em lingoa malaia, e a cantão na igreja com a Salve em portugês todos os sabados. E cantão os meninos e meninas estas couzas con suas candeas acezas todos nas mãos, o que cauza muita devação, porque tambem offerecem à igreja suas candeas da terra que pera isto servem, e alem disso outras cousas en sinal de sua devação.

14. Quinta-feira de Endoenças se fes a procissão dos desciplinantes com muita devação pello terreiro do lugar com seus altares, indo nella obra de 40 desciplinantes e levando o mesmo Sangage[v] o crucifixo, indo o Padre cantando as ladainhas. Couza que admirava a grande multidão de mouros e mouras que se ajuntarão a ver a nossa procissão, e ficarão edificados assi de ver os desciplinantes, como tambem de saber como o Padre os mandava dipois curar[4]. [112*r*]

Residencia de Amboino

15. Há nesta residencia de Amboyno 4 Padres e hum Irmão, os quoais não somente acodem aos christãos dos lugares desta ilha, mas

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[4] This paragraph corresponds to D 144, 12, but the last two lines must have been taken from another letter, or added arbitrarily.

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tambem das outras, que são Oma, Liacer e Rosselao, não lhes faltando nunqua materia de muito merecimento [5].

16. Hum Padre indo pera as ilhas de fora em huma caracora que pera lá hia, no caminho lhe deu hum temporal tão rijo que a embarcação ficou quasi toda debaixo da agoa. Os remeiros, vendo o perigo em que estavão, logo desempararão a embarcação lançando-sse a nado, buscando terra pera salvar suas vidas, e o mesmo fizerão muitos portugezes que nella hião em companhia do Padre, tirando 4 que com elle ficarão. Os quoais, animados do mesmo Padre, passarão toda a noite entreges à furia do mar, e com muito perigo de, amanhecendo, darem consigo nas praias dos enemigos, pois hião pera onde os ventos e os mares os levava[m]. Mas tantas forão as lagrimas e orações com que pedirão socorro à divina misericordia que polla menhãa se acharão na praya dos nossos amigos, ainda que despidos. E logo da terra lhe mandarão embarcações e os tirarão do perigo em que estavão, e os trouxerão pera a nossa fortaleza com grandissima consolação de todos, porque já os tinhão por mortos e afogados.

17. Dahy a poucos dias tornou o Padre a cometer a mesma viagem, e a levou ao cabo chegando a salvamento à ilha Oma, e dali a Liacer e dali a Rosalao. Nas quoais ilhas averá 20 lugares de christãos, scilicet, quatro na ilha de Oma; 9 na de Aliacer e 7 na de Rossalao. Foi o Padre em todos estes lugares muito bem recebido e agazalhado de todos, acompanhando-o os christãos de lugar em lugar assi por mar como por terra com muito amor e caridade.

18. E como o tempo era de inverno e os caminhos muito asperos e muntuosos, e os lugares postos nos mais altos montes que achão por estarem assi mais seguros dos imigos, e pello conseginte as sobidas tão ingremes, não se podendo muitas vezes andar senão sem sapatos e de gatinhas, repens [w] manibus et pedibus, como outro Jonatas, não lhe faltou grandissima occasião de padecer muito por amor de Deos, achando-sse às vezes com os pees [x] escalavrados e cheos de espinhos, e com o lodo outras vezes atee os jiolhos, e como avia continua chuva hia sempre molhado.

19. Plantou em muitos destes lugares novas cruzes e, deixando a hum delles sem cruz por serto respeito, vierão os honrrados delle à fortaleza a pedir ao Superior mandasse ao Padre lhe alevantasse a cruz no seu lugar. Condecendeo o Superior com sua devação e screveo ao Padre que à torna viagem lhe arvorasse a cruz. Deixando tambem sem

[5] With this paragraph starts the borrowing from D 150.

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cruz a outro lugar, com esperança de lha pôr en tornando da ilha de Rossalao, e como despois à torna viagem não tornasse àquelle lugar, forão os do lugar em busca do Padre em distancia de 4 legoas em tempo de muita chu[v]a, e assi foi forçado tornar pera os não deixar desconsolados.

20. Baptizou em todos estes lugares mais de mil almas entre grandes e piquenos, mostrando geralmente todos grande contentamento com a visita e ensino do Padre, e dando mostras de muitos dezejos de gozarem muitas vezes deste pasto esperitual.

21. Outro Padre foi vezitando os lugares desta ilha, os quoais como se vesitão ao menos huma ves cada anno e não são mais que 8, não padeceo tantos trabalhos, mas como os lugares sejão todos ʸ de caminho aspero e montuozo como os ᶻ outros, não lhe faltarão occasiões de muito merecimento, caminhando sempre descalso por não ser posivel doutra maneira. Nestes lugares se baptizarão algumas sem almas, tornando todos com o ensino do Padre a renovar a memoria da doutrina christã e catequismo, do que estavão algum tanto esquecidos.

22. Encontrou o Padre alli hum sego que os annos [112*v*] passados emsinava nos lugares a doctrina aos meninos, o quoal estava doente sem falla avia 3 dias, sem ter comido nada neste tempo. Acodio-lhe o Padre, mandou sair a gente fora e começou a fallar-lhe de Deos e da confissão, que era necessario fazer com arrependimento dos peccados. Com esta pratica comesou a fallar e se confessou e dahy a poucos dias ficou são.

23. Na fortaleza adoeceo outro homem de huma doença antiga que tinha. Pedio a confissão, ao que acodio logo hum nosso Padre e, pendurando ᵃ-lhe hum reliquario ao pescosso acabando de sse confessar, dahi a pouco se achou são e nunqua mais depois, como elle dis, foi molestado de sua custumada doença, que sendo assi que dantes lhe vinha muitas vezes.

24. Muitos destes christãos, como são mui devottos e acostumados de prometterem, em suas necessidades, offerecer à igreja azeite e candeas à cruz, alcanção muitos favores de Nosso Senhor. E assi cada dia às Ave-Marias estão as cruzes rodeadas de muitas candeas acezas, e no sabbado muito mais que nunqua, no quoal tempo acodem tambem à Salve onde se canta. E geralmente falando correm muito bem estes christãos com suas obrigações, confessando-sse muitos em todos os jubileus.

25. Os meninos acodem cada dia à doutrina, disputando da cartilha com muita destreza. Tem esta gente grande recurso a Deos em seus

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trabalhos e necessidades graves, como de gerras etc. Baptizarão-sse algumas 50 pessoas que dos mouros vierão pera esta fortaleza, e algumas 60 depois de boa instrucção se reconciliarão com a Igreja, e os que estavão pera cazarem forão recebidos in facie Eclesiae.

26. Entre elles ouve huma moça, a quoal avia 2 annos a levara hum seu parente pera os mouros. E sendo sollicitada de hum mancebo honrado pera cazar com ella, nunqua consentio por elle ser mouro. Mas a rreposta que lhe deu, foy que, se elle a levasse pera a fortaleza, ali se cazaria com elle fazendo-sse christão. O mancebo seguio seu conselho e assi a trouxe à nossa fortaleza, e junctamente huma sua irmã[b] com 2 filhas e se baptizarão e cazarão.

27. Outra moça cazada foi levada forsosamente de seu marido pera os mouros. Assertou de morrer o marido e, ficando ella viuva, foy tambem solecitada pera cazar com hum mouro e pera se fazer moura. Ella nunqua quis consentir, antes buscou occasião pera fugir, como fes depois trazendo consigo outras 4 pessoas, mulheres e meninos.

28. Esta hé a noticia[6] que ao presente temos da cristandade de Maluco e Amboino, podendo já os Padres andar livremente por aquellas terras de Amboino rendidas à obediencia d'El-Rei de Portugal, acodindo todos com muita facelidade a buscar o rremedio de suas almas. E depois da tempestade se segio grande serenidade, e o mesmo esperamos na[c] misericordia divina que socedesse nas ilhas de Maluco. E pera que se veja a grande consolação e alegria que daqui resultou pera todos os da Companhia que residem em Amboino, porei aqui parte de huma que o P.[e] Lourenço Masonio[d] de lá escreveo aos 10 de Mayo de 1602 ao P.[e] Nicolao[e] Pimenta[7] sendo ainda visitador destas partes orientais[8]. Dis logo assi.

29. Ao prezente, com a occassião desta armada que Nosso Senhor quá trouxe, temos nas mãos muita gente pera se catequizar, e já podemos fazer outra freguesia nesta [113r] fortaleza da gente que aqui se vai ajuntando, que serão pouco menos de 3000 almas; e muytas outras se puderão fazer pellos lugares desta ilha e das ilhas vezinhas, com a quietação em[f] que esperamos nos deixará esta armada. Porque todos os christãos antigos que ateegora por cauza das gerras se não poderão

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[6] In this paragraph Fr. Manuel Rodrigues himself is speaking.

[7] This is exactly D 150, from which, however, already nos. 15-27 were taken.

[8] Fr. Pimenta stopped being a Visitor in 1602 (RODRIGUES, *A Companhia de Jesus* 24).

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cultivar, daqui por diente esperamos em Deos se poderão cultivar, os quoais não são tam poucos, que ao menos não occupem 10 Padres.

30. E alem dos muitos christãos arrenegados, mouros e gentios que com a total quietação destas partes se espera se converterão, porque, como esta gente se vê sogeita aos portugezes no temporal, não hé muito trabalho sogeitá-los no espiritual, porque hé gente mais meneavel que a da India, e os mouros não são tão emperrados como os do Malavar e outros[g] que na India há. Por onde V.R. aparelhe e faça prestes muitos obreiros e comesse a mandá-llos a estas partes, porque lhes não faltará occasião de trabalharem nesta nova vinha que se vai cavando.

31. Já, meu Padre, flores apparuerunt[h] in terra nostra, ficus protulit grossos suos. Comecem já a vir os meus carissimos Padres dezejossos de mandar almas ao ceo[i], porque acharão os figos já[j] maduros e as flores já com fruito, querendo Deos Nosso Senhor. Não desmaye ningem se ouvir dizer que esta terra hé má terra e que hé terra de desterrados, porque, ainda que isto não seja poderozo e bastante pera atracar[k] os animos fervorosos dos meus carissimos Padres, tão dezejosos de trabalhos e lugares deficultozos pera buscar e levar a ovelha perdida ao Senhor, contudo não hé tão má como a pintão os amigos de si m[es]-mos e de suas comodidades, mas muito milhor do que cuidam, pois hé terra muito sadia e mui fresca, de muitas boas agoas e frescas ribeiras, de boa gente e muito meneavel, e disposta pera tudo o que se quizer fazer com ella, habil pera aprender e entender as couzas de nossa sancta fee.

32. E ainda que não tenha o pão e vaca da India, não lhe falta porem o sagu fresco e bom peixe, mais gostozo que o da India. Quoanto mais que se vão já criando muitas vacas, que daqui a poucos[l] annos averá tanta fartura dellas, como na India; alem das muitas e varias e boas frutas que tem: ainda que pello passado foy algum tanto trabalhosa e cara, por respeito das gerras que nella sempre ouve, as quoais não deixavão hir os homens seguramente buscar de comer nem por mar nem por terra. Agora que com a graça do Senhor se vay acquietando, cessará tudo isto, porque hirão os homes buscar seu remedio de huma parte pera outra, averá comercio de muitas partes, com que a terra ficará mais farta e nobre.

33. Nem a Companhia vivirá nestas partes com as necessidades que ateegora padeceo, assi polla fartura da terra que com a quietação esperamos, como tambem por huma esmolla grande que nos fes o general André Furtado de Mendonça, acrecentando-nos o ordenado que aqui tinha cada Padre de secenta cruzados por anno e de sem cru-

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zados cada Padre de Maluco, em cento e vinta sinco cruzados pera cada hum. O quoal acrecentamento, trabalhando V.R. como hé rezão de se confirmar [m] pello Senhor Viso-Rei e por Sua Magestade, bastará pera suprir as necessidades passadas, ajudando-nos tambem V.R. neste principio com algumas boas esmollas pera comprar calices, missaes, sinos, ornamentos e outras cousas necessarias pera as novas fregesias que se ão-de fazer, porque sem alguma ajuda de V.R. aqui nam podemos [113*v*] fazer nada, pois não há quem aqui faça esmollas; mas a quem se farão, ssi.

34. E se este anno que aqui vierão tantas naos e gente, estando esta caza com muita necessidade e carga, tendo às costas 7 Padres da armada e 4 dos nossos mais do ordinario, em todo este tempo de 5 mezes que aqui esteve a armada, não ouve pessoa que nos fizesse esmolla pera ajuda de tantos gastos que se fizerão, que esmolla poderemos esperar em os outros tempos, quoando aqui não há mais que pedintes? Por onde V.R. com sua caridade nos ajude.

35. Isto hé o que se offerece pera escrever este anno desta piquena vinha do Senhor. Pello tempo en diente esperamos em Deos Nosso Senhor averá materia mais copiosa e alegre, com o principio que se dará [n], querendo Deos, a dilatar-sse a fee catolica nestas partes. V.R. com os mais carissimos Padres e Irmãos não deixem de encomendar [o] muito a Deos Nosso Senhor esta cristandade, pera que com suas orações e sacrificios fique [p] Deos applacado com estas suas novas plantas, que tanto tempo por sua culpa carecerão da agoa de sua santa graça. E eu indigno filho da Companhia pesso humilmente a sua santa benção. Atee qui o P.e Lourenço Masonio na que escreveo ao P.e Visitador. [...]

De Cochim, 15 de Janeiro de 1604.

Manoel Rodriguez.

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[a] *om.* *B* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* Orlandesses *B* (*so nearly always*) ‖ [c] *om.* *B* ‖ [d] todo . . temor *corr. fr.* o credito *B* ‖ [e] do *B* ‖ [f] mor *om.* *B* ‖ [g] que tem] tinha *B* ‖ [h] a todo *B* ‖ [i] o bem *B* ‖ [j] em os *B* ‖ [k] cararacoças *ms.*, caracossas *B* ‖ [l] da parte *B* ‖ [m] *add. m.* ‖ [n] Syão *B* (*so always*) ‖ [o] Orlandessas *B* ‖ [p] *om.* *B* ‖ [q] *add.* muito *B* ‖ [r] *del.* que os Padres ‖ [s] Tanbem se *corr. fr.* tanto que os Padres *B* ‖ [t] M. *AB* ‖ [u] *corr. fr.* tornarão ‖ [v] Sãogagem *B* ‖ [w] replens *AB* ‖ [x] *corr.* (*fr.* paos?) ‖ [y] *om.* *B* ‖ [z] *rep.*

[a] *corr. fr.* pendurou ‖ [b] irmão *ms.* ‖ [c] com a *B* ‖ [d] *incorrectly corr. to* Marsonio *ms.*, de Marçonio *B* ‖ [e] Nacullao *B* ‖ [f] *om.* *B* ‖ [g] e outros *rep.* ‖ [h] apparaverunt *AB* ‖ [i] aos ceos *B* ‖ [j] *om.* *B* ‖ [k] *d.r.*, afracar *B* (D 150,26 afastar!) ‖ [l] mui poucos *B* ‖ [m] de se confirmar como hé rezão *B* ‖ [n] verá *B* ‖ [o] emcomendarem *B* ‖ [p] fico *ms.*

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FR. JORGE DA FONSECA TO FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, VICE-PROVINCIAL, COCHIN

AMBON, MAY 17, 1604

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 193 Fonseca no. 2.

II AUTHORS: TIELE VI 199; VISSER 262.

III TEXT: The original text has not been conserved. Available are only a copy in Portuguese in an Annual Letter, a Latin translation in another Annual, and a printed text in Portuguese:

A. *British Library, MSS Department, Add. 9853* f. 522*r*. Inserted into an extensive letter from which our D 181 is borrowed. Fonseca's letter is scarcely legible, but from a laborious comparison it appears not to be different from text C, only in one place containing a few words more, neither completely readable. It is dated from Ambon. Consult D 181.

B. *ARSI, Goa 55* f. 125*v*. Latin translation, dated Ambon, and mistakenly « decimo quinto kalendas iunias », which is May 18. It is inserted into an Annual of 1605, our D 183.

C. Printed in GUERREIRO (II 131) in Portuguese, supposedly close to the original letter, it is dated May 17, 1604, and « de Maluco ».

IV ADDRESSEE: He is known from D 183, 5.

V OUR EDITION: Text A being nearly completely illegible, and text B being only a translation, we print text C, which proves (as it was said *supra*) to be identical with text A, and therefore may be presumed to render faithfully the original.

Text

1. *His indispositions are not that serious to prevent him from doing his work; does not ask for a change.* — 2. *Is pretty satisfied with his life in Maluku, like the other Jesuits are with theirs.* — 3. *Being sent there by obedience, like soldiers and knights they are ready to die in the service of the Lord.*

1. Dando a Vossa Reverencia conta de mim em particular, posto que a saude não é muita[1], é todavia bastante para levar a carga; que nunca, pela bondade de Deus, minhas indisposições são tais que de todo me privem de remar meu remo. E porque os Padres que vieram com a

[1] Cf. D 159, 11.

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armada[2], medindo minhas enfermidades por outra medida, lhes pareceu me faziam graça de tratar com os superiores da mudança, dado que lhes pedi que se não metessem nisso, se porventura isto não bastou, baste para com Vossa Reverencia saber de mim que se engana quem cuida que por minhas indisposições hei mister mudança. Pois, como digo, não são tais que me impidam trabalhar, e muito menos requerem outros ares ou outro posto, como requere o Irmão Brito que Vossa Reverencia manda ir[3], e o Padre Rogeiro[4], e em particular o Padre Luis Fernandes, cujos males realmente se não compadecem nem com os ares e posto, nem com os comeres destas terras.

2. De mim, pois, digo só que não há para que Vossa Reverencia faça caso de coisa que alguem lhe disser ou escrever de minhas indisposições. Porque, para que diga alguma coisa dos afectos de meu animo, pela misericordia do Senhor nunca vida tive mais alegre nem de mor contentamento, que a que tenho passado e passo entre as incomodidades deste Maluco. E se o papel o permitira, vira Vossa Reverencia quão liberal é o Senhor onde os homens não abrangem, e onde de continuo faltam todas as comodidades humanas. E como estes poucos servos do Senhor que por cá andam, tenham dele tais mimos e prendas, não teem por menos crime a mudança, quando alguma coisa levasse de culpa, que a tornada dos filhos de Israel para o Egito, com saudades de cebolas e alhos, depois de terem gostado do maná do céu.

3. E pois o Senhor nos pôs neste lugar de suas batalhas por meio da santa obediencia, como soldados e cavaleiros seus, não é muito que todos desejemos morrer na demanda de tão ardua empresa, por sair desta vida miseravel e aparecer diante de nosso Rei e Senhor com mais gloriosas vitorias. Messis multa e operarii pauci[5], e por isso rogamos a Vossa Reverencia nos mande obreiros dignos que, participando de nossos trabalhos, alcancem gloriosas coroas, para que mais nos animemos e consolemos todos em o Senhor.

De Maluco, 17 de Maio 1604.

Filho em o Senhor de Vossa Reverencia,

Jorge da Fonseca.

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[2] Frs. Brício Fernandes and Sebastião da Veiga.

[3] The inference is that Br. Mateus de Brito either had bad health or did not give satisfaction. See D 159, 11. He must have sailed to India in the ship of May 1604.

[4] So Fr. Berwouts/Corrado resided in Maluku at least until this May 1604; see D 167 note 2.

[5] Mt 9 37.

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FR. LUÍS FERNANDES, SUPERIOR, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MALUKU [AMBON], MAY 27, 1604

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 48* ff. 132*r*-133*v*, and no. XIV. Autograph original in Spanish. One page written upon, no. 3 having been added at the foot of the page after the date, and no. 4 in a vertical direction from top to foot in the left margin. In the left lower corner Fernandes noted, as was his custom, the addressee « P. General »; a Roman secretary wrote at the top « 1604 » and in the margin « 1 » and « 2 ». Folios 132*v* and 133*r* are blank. The fourth page contains the autograph address and part of a red wax seal.

II PLACE: What does « Maluco » mean here: Tidore or Ambon? Since the time of dating is that of the departure of the ships from Ambon, since Fernandes had sailed to Ambon from Tidore in early 1604 (D 171, 2) and was not in this latter place in July 1604 (D 173, 1), we have to infer that he wrote this letter in Ambon.

Text

1. *The fleet [of André Furtado de Mendonça] having sailed away without being able to take Ternate, the Portuguese feared that they would be cornered by the enemy. But God assisted them, while the Dutch ships stayed away that year.* — 2. *They suffered from an epidemic and from hunger. The Jesuits knew great distress, but are doing reasonably well.* — 3. *Thanks for a Life of Christ; it arrived at Malacca, not yet in Maluku.* — 4. *Things in Ambon proceed a little better, those of Maluku [Tidore] are the same as past year.*

† Jesus Maria

1. Por que no quedasse V.P. sin tener nuebas particulares deste Maluco, quise hazer estas breves reglas para se las dar.

Quãoto al estado de la tierra, así temporal como spiritual, quedan las cosas así como escrebí el año passado [1], con guerra continua con los ternates, en la qual no nos ha faborecido Dios N.S. poco. Porque, como este inimigo quedó tan sobervio, con ver que nuestra armada se tornava para la India sin le podermos tomar la fortaleza de Ternate,

[1] DD 160 and 162.

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quedamos arreceosos que este año nos pusiesse en mucho aprieto. Mas plugo a Dios nuestro Señor aiudarnos contra este inimigo, de modo que pudimos defendernos dél y offenderlo, para lo qual no nos aiudó poco faltaren en este Maluco este año naves holandezas, las quales se ocuparon en hazer gravíssimos robos en nuestras naves nel mar de Malaca y Seilán y China, como saberá V.P. por las cartas de la India [2].

2. Ha avido en estas partes de Maluco y Ambueno este año gravíssimas dolencias, de que murió mucha gente, y en Maluco mucha hambre por causa de las guerras. Mas fue N. Señor servido librar a los nuestros, de modo que, ainda que passamos per ignem et aquam [3], todavía no ha falecido ninguno, y al presente quedamos con mediocre saude, ahunque tristes y desconsolados por vernos los estorvos tan grandes que el demonio pone al Evangelio y predicación dél, por medio assí destos moros como destes herejes olandezes e ingleses que traen la mar coajada de sus naves. Dénos Dios su gracia para que en medio de tantas tribulaciones y tantos enemigos le sirvamos en nuestra vocación. Y V.P. nos haga encomendar muy particularmente a N. Señor, para que con este fuego nos apuremos e busquemos con maiores veras la perfeción con que hasta al fim le sirvamos. Y con esto acabo pediendo la santa bendición de V.P., en cuias devotas oraciones y santos sacrificios mucho todos nos encomendamos.

De Maluco, y de Maio a 27 de 604.

3. El libro que V.P. nos ha embiado de la vida de Christo temos nuebas ser ia llegado a Malaca donde se nos embiará. Doy muchas gracias a V.P. por él, ahunque no le he visto, mas escríbenme que es peça de estima. Dios se lo page a V.P.

4. Las cosas de la cristiandad de Ambueno dan muestras de hir mejor daqui adelante. N. Señor por su misericordia favoresca este rincón de su Iglesia con su gracia para que en ella sea servido e su santa fee exalçada. Las del Maluco están como dantes.

Luis Hernández.

[*Address* 133*v*] † Al P.e Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, em Roma. De Maluco.

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[2] It appears that the ship *De Zon*, dispatched to Ternate by the Dutch chief-commander Wybrant Warwyck from the Karimata islands in February 1604, had not arrived yet when Fernandes wrote this. The letter Warwyck directed to the sultan of Ternate at that occasion braggingly reports of the Dutch « robberies » (JACOBS, *Warwyck*).

[3] Ps 66(65) 12.

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TOMÉ GONÇALVES, ROYAL AGENT AND CASTELLAN: CERTIFICATE ON BEHALF OF THE JESUITS OF TIDORE

TIDORE FORTRESS, MAY 30, 1604
(Authentication, August 10, 1604)

I AUTHORS: JACOBS, *Vicars* 285-286.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 48* ff. 134*r*-135*v*, earlier 109-110 and no. XV. Autograph original in Portuguese. After the signature, an original presumably autograph authentication by a notary, the same as of D 172. Beautiful and generally clear handwriting. The readableness has suffered a little on account of the borders of the paper having been damaged all around, especially at the bottom (see last words of f. 134*r-v*). On f. 134*r* an archivist's note « Malabarica 1604 »; on f. 135*r* the notary's authentication and his official sign, being a delineation in ink; the *verso* is blank but for the year « 1604 » written by a later secretary.

III OUR EDITION: The document is in the professional style of a government official, therefore written in prolix sentences consisting of a concatenation of subordinate clauses and present participles, hardly giving the principale verb. For the sake of an easier reading we often divide such tedious propositions into smaller units, taking participles for indicatives, even though this results in clauses grammatically imperfect.

Text

1. *Serious discord between the captain of the fortress and the captains of some galleons lying in the harbour. The captain's hatred and revengefulness against the Jesuits trying a reconciliation.* — 2. *The captain's public reproaches in indecent terms of abuse against the Fathers, especially against Fr. André Pereira.* — 3. *By intervention of the Fathers only a few were killed in an open clash, and the captain ran less risk.* — 4. *The captain's dislike of Fr. Pereira dated from their voyage to Maluku in the same galleon.* — 5. *Knowing that the captain planned to assault his enemies in the church on a Sunday during Holy Mass, Fr. Pereira closed the churches for some days. The captain became only the more obdurate and offensive.* — 6. *Night attack at the galleons engineered by the captain.* — 7. *Fr. Pereira's public reproof of the captain served no purpose.* — 8. *Gives evidence that, if the Fathers had not been there, the scandals and disservices would have been much more numerous.* — 9. *Notary's authentication.*

1. Certefico eu Thomé Gonçalvez[1], feytor e alcayde-mor por Sua

[1] Likewise mentioned as *feitor* of Tidore fortress in a document of November 15, 1603 (BOXER-FRAZÃO 128).

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Magestade nesta fortaleza Reys Magos[2] de Malluquo, que sucedendo aver nella muitas dezavenssas antre Pedr'Allvares d'Abreu[3], capitão da dita fortaleza, e os capitães dos galliões da carreyra que neste porto estão, e não bastando as muitas perssuações que os Padres da Companhia, que aqui residem, scilicet o Padre Luis Fernandez e o Padre Amdré Pereira, e outras muitas peçoas fizerão ao dito capitão, pera se lhe desarreiguar a payxão e odio que tem conssebido em seu animo contra os ditos capitães dos galleões, pollas ditas desavenssas e motins que ouve antre huns e outros, mas antes se hir obstinãodo mais em desejos de vingança. Os ditos Padres, como pessoas relegiosas e conforme a sua obriguação, vendo o pouquo fruito que tinhão tirado do trabalho que tomavão en os apazigoar e unir en amizade, e que de hirem en cressimento os imssulltos que se esperavão e jaa avia na terra, se seguiria muy grande desserviço de Deos, mortes e risquos a esta fortaleza, espicialmente neste tempo en que estamos de guerra con o Ternate e olandezes que tem en seus portos, alem das muitas lembranças que sobre isso lhes era feito a todos, comessarão a amoestá-llos nas ygrejas honde ouvião missas, e pedir-lhes em seus sermões que, como christãos e vassallos de Sua Magestade, se aquietassem e não puzessem a fortaleza d'El Rey nosso senhor en tamanho risquo, e se retirassem dos inssulltos e motins que nella avia.

2. Por ser tãobem o dito Pedr'Allvarez d'Abreu huma das partes, que con mor riguor e contumasia sustentava seu partido, de que se elle tomou e con ira e paixão sobeja (e pellos ditos Padres deixarem entrar na sua ygreja aos capitães dos galliões e gente sua a ouvir missa os dominguos e sanctos), comessou loguo, pubricamente e auzencia, a tratar mal aos ditos Padres. Dizendo que elles pregavão soo contra elle dito capitão e não contra os outros, chamando-os de alevantados e favorecedores seus. E que tinhão posta a terra no estado en que estava. E que Sua Magestade ou divia de os tirar daquy, ou fazê-llos capitães de Malluquo; com outras pallavras indecentes ao abitto que professão. Sendo como hé verdade por sua p[arte] delles feito a todos igoaes amoestações, assi em pullputos, como per pallavras nas cazas de todos. De que o certefico pello saber de certa certeza e de vista allgumas. E fiquãodo aos ouvintes das pallavras ditas contra os ditos Padres muy grande escamdallo, pollas dizer muitas vezes cheo de ira e paixão e pubricamente. Mormente, depois de partido o P.e Luis Fernandez pera Am-

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[2] Cf. D 7 note 7.

[3] Pedro Álvares de Abreu was functioning as Captain of Maluku in Tidore from February 1602 to May 19, 1605.

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boino [4], contra o P.e Amdré Pereira [5], pello amoestar e pedir-lhe con mui[ta] instancia a paaz, quietação e união con os seus proximos que tinha por inmiguos. E por reprender pubricamente aos criados do dito capitão, que con espinguardas, mosquetes e outras armas sahião contra os outros alborotando o povo e fazendo tocar a arma e repiquar o sino da see [6]. E por passarem os limites que o dito P.e Amdré Pereira lhes tinha pedido pera se não encontrarem e matarem-sse, como tãobem o fes aos capitãe[s] dos ditos galliões e gente sua que se desmandava.

3. Sendo o dito capitão Pedr'Allvares muita parte destes escamdalos, por querer con sua muita payxão e condição terribel oprimir os homens e agravá-llos sob color de justiça, como hé notorio e foi o principio da[s] desavenças que oje há. E os ditos Padres muita parte de se atalharen grandes dannos, acudindo con suas peçoas a todos os rebates e motins que ouve, con muito risquo seu e pasiencia en cazos tão atrozes como ouve. Entanto que no primeiro[a] motim que ouve [134*v*] sendo a gente dos ditos galliões en mor cantidade que a do dito capitão, pellos ditos Padres, doentes como estavão, sayrem de sua caza [7] e lhes não consentir a passagem, tendo mão nos capitães dos galliões e gente sua, foi muita parte de naquelle dia aver menos mortes do que ouve, e do dito capitão não fiquar mais arrisquado do que es-

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[4] On or about February 15, 1604.

[5] After Fernandes left, André Pereira appears at the moment the only Jesuit Father in Tidore; Fr. Fonseca was taking care of the Christians of Labuha, and Fr. António Pereira resided in Siau (DD 173, 1; 177, 6).

[6] That is, the main church, the church of the fortress, where regularly a vicar was officially appointed as a parish priest for the Portuguese. This in opposition to the Jesuit church. But at that time the vicar had left Tidore and the Jesuits served both churches (no. 5).

[7] These words suggest that the Jesuit residence was situated in the Portuguese town near the fortress. This had not always been the same. Captain Julião de Noronha wrote on July 9, 1597, « Os mays dos cazados desta fortaleza vivem muy afastados dela, e o mesmo os pasageiros. E como ela ten senpre pouqua gente, hé muy ynportante tê-la junta por ser muy frequentada dos naturaes. E porque, se ouver algum rebate, se á mister muito tempo pera se ayuntaren. Pelo que conven ao servyço de V.M.e que todos vyvão juntos a ela, e que as cazas que esteveren feitas dos Padres da Conpanhia pera a banda de Tidore se desfação, e o mesmo as que esteveren das de Gravyel de Figueiredo pera a banda da ponta. Dai resprito pera que en nenhum tempo se posão tornar a fazer » (Seville, *AGI, Filip. 35* ramo 3 no. 28 f. 2*r*). It is these former dwellings that are described in D 73, 65.

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teve, sen deste beneficio tirarem dele mais fruito que o que tenho dito atrás, e con mor ira e payxão os escandalisar con palavras.

4. Nacendo este pejo do dito capitão contra o dito P.e Amdré Pereira desd'a Sumda, por lhe hir à mão con suas amoestações no gallião de José Pimto en que todos vinhamos [8], que não pronosticasse mal o efeito a que hia a armada do geral [9]. De que se o dito capitão escandalisou e sempre veo con a mesma queixa, e largando allgumas pallavras contra o dito Padre perante min e outras pessoas que vinhamos na dita jornada; e por tãobem vir jaa encontrado con o dito geral, cuja empreza o dito Padre favorecia em seus sermões animando aos solldados a ella, e por lhe estranhar a dita quebra en tal tempo.

5. E sabendo mais o dito P.e Amdré Pereira, que nesta fortaleza ficou en luguar do Padre Luis Fernandez, que o dito capitão Pedr'Allvarez tinha ordenado secretamente muitos homens armados con espingardas, mosquetes e outras armas ofemssivas pera num dominguo, estãodo os ditos capitães de galleões e gente sua na ygreja dos ditos Padres ouvindo missa [10], dar nelles. E conssiderando o grande danno, mortes dos mesmos e dos homens, molheres e meninos do povo que na dita igreja estivessem que averia do tal motim. E que loguo dahi a pouquos dias os criados do dito capitão sayndo huma noite da fortaleza, honde estavão fechados, en companhia doutros solldados da sua sevadeira, cheguarão até à igreja dos ditos Padres tirando mosquetadas e espingardadas contra os dos galliões, e se presumir de certa sabedoria que o fizerão con consentimento do dito Pedr'Allvarez, polla pouqua reprenção e castigo que lhes deu. E entendendo o dito Padre que na terra não avia nenhum remedio pera se aquietarem, e o grande risquo em que punhão esta fortaleza tão remota e fallta de gente pera sua defenção, matando-sse a pouqua que aqui há pera a da dita fortaleza e galliões, se socorreo às armas da Igreja mandando-as [11] fechar por allguns dias,

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[8] Cf. D 146 notes 39 and 48.

[9] André Furtado de Mendonça. The author alludes to the miscarriage of Furtado's war against Ternate.

[10] The inference is that the faction of the captains of the galleons worshipped in the Jesuit church, whereas the supporters of Álvares de Abreu attended service in the « sé » (no. 2). It is clear that the Jesuits, though trying to be evenhanded, were in fact against the passionate captain. On February 26, 1605, the king of Portugal wrote to the viceroy in Goa « Na fortaleza de Tydore ficava Pedr'Alvares de Abreu, de quem tinha informação que não era pera aquelle logar » (*Documentos remettidos* I 7).

[11] « As », viz. the churches.

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pera que, vemdo-sse todos con tantas perdas espirituaes, se decerem de seus maos prepositos e aquietassem a terra, que padece notavel escandallo por não poderem allguns do povo viver seguros en suas cazas, sendo combatidos dos pillouros dos mosquetes quando há as asuadas e motins. Que não aproveitou pera mais que pera endurecer mais ao dito capitão Pedr'Allvarez contra o dito Padre con as pallavras acostumadas, como hé notorio; fazendo-sse os ditos Padres capelães desta see por se hir pera Mallaqua o vigario della, e comprindo con as obrigações do dito carguo muy inteiramente.

6. E não bastando todas as desenquietações passadas e motins que ouve, em vinte e dous deste presente mes ordenou o dito capitão de noite duas embarcações con gente d'armas. E vindo sinquo ou seis solldados e officiaes de vigiar o gallião de Fernão Pereira de Sande [12], hum dos ditos capitães, como acostumavão, e sendo jaa menhã clara os mandou premder. E na revollta matarão hum portuguez de huma chussada, que logo morreo, e ferirão outro de huma espingardada, por hu[m] dos ditos solldados do gallião, que vinhão num ballão [13], lhes atirar huma arcabuzada, por ver que hião nas ditas duas embarcações os criados do dito Pedr'Allvarez que tinhão por inmiguos, posto que hia con elles o meirinho [b] da terra. E por ser este feito no mar, não pode o dito Padre cheguar a tempo que jaa o mao recado não fosse feito e os que escaparão prezos.

7. Pello que vendo tamanha deshumanidade e que de se os delitos recresserem ficava [falltando gen]^{c}te pera segurança da fortaleza e galliões, entrando na dita [135*r*] fortaleza disse ao dito capitão em voz allta e perante todo o povo, que elle tomava o ceo por testemunha que era a cauza de semelhantes mortes e dannos, este tal o seria de se perder a fortaleza e galliões [14]. Pois Sua Magestade queria a dita gente pera os defender e não pera lha matarem daquella maneira. Con outras amoestações que té oje, en que faço esta, tem pouquo fruito, sendo ellas merecedoras de en animos muy obstinados fazer diferente ymprenssão.

8. E certifico outrosy que, a não estarem aqui os ditos Padres da Companhia, afirmo que ouvera muito mores escamdallos e desserviços

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[12] Apparently he had sailed again to Maluku in a galleon after the shipwreck of February 1601 (D 154, 1).

[13] « Pequena embarcação de remos, ligeira, cujo fundo é feito duma única peça de madeira, usada na India e Malásia » (LEITÃO-LOPES, ed. 2ª, 77).

[14] Fr. André Pereira proves a true prophet: exactly one year later Álvares de Abreu lost the fortress and galleons to the Dutch.

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de Deos e de Sua Magestade. Porque con sua doctrina e exempllo e amoestações se edefiquão os homens, e vivem con mor cautella e arreceo de cometerem o desserviço de Nosso Senhor, pello cuidado con que acodem a atalhar todas as solturas quando as há na terra, como hé pubrico e notorio e patente a todos os homens desapaixonados.

Feita nesta fortaleza de Malluquo, aos 30 de Mayo de 604.

Thomé Gonçalvez.

9. [*Other Hand*] Sertifico eu Manoel Velozo, tabalião publico das notas e do judecial nesta fortaleza de Maluquo por Sua Magestade, em como hé verdade que ho sinal que está ao pé da certidão asyma, que diz Thomé Gonçalvez, hé do dito Thomé Gonçalvez, feitor e alcaide-mor nesta dita fortaleza. E a pedimento dos Padres da Companhia de Jhesus desta dita fortaleza apasei a prezente justificação na verdade, na qual me asynei aqui de meu sinal publico, que tal hé como se segue.

Oje, aos dez dias do mez de Agosto de mil e seiscentos e coatro anos.

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[a] *d.r.* ‖ [b] mr[o] *ms.* ‖ [c] *d.r., but quite plausible and well founded, paper damaged*

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BALTASAR JORGE DA SILVEIRA, MAGISTRATE: CERTIFICATE ON BEHALF OF THE JESUITS OF TIDORE

TIDORE, JUNE 11, 1604
(Authentication, August 10, 1604)

I AUTHORS: JACOBS, *Vicars* 286.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 226*r*-227*v*, formerly 111-112, and no. LXXIV. Authenticated copy in Portuguese, written in the hand of Fr. André Pereira, and filling nearly three pages. Authentication in the same hand as that of D 171, and followed by the same notary's sign drawn in ink. A Roman secretary noted « 1604 » on f. 227*v*.

Text

1. *The hostility of Captain Pedro Álvares de Abreu against the Jesuits and the*

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benevolence of the latter towards the captain oblige him to write this certificate. — 2. Álvares de Abreu's impudence against Fr. André Pereira. — 3. The Fathers were falsely accused to be thieves. — 4. Fr. Pereira was ridiculed, called a forger, and reproached to favour the captain's enemies. — 5. Why the captain hated Fr. Luís Fernandes and called him names. — 6. Since the Fathers admitted the captains of the ships into their church, they were termed rebels; none the less they obliged the captain by going to say mass in the main church deserted by the vicar. — 7. Fr. Pereira said mass one Sunday in the garrison's church, the other in the Jesuit church. — 8. And seeing the rows growing, he shut the churches and stopped saying mass in public. The captain's hatred only increased by it. — 9-10. Pereira's efforts and the captain's unwillingness to make peace between the factions. — 11. Fr. Pereira's intention to go to work with ecclesiastical censures proved unpractical. — 12. One more instance of the unreasonable hatred of the captain against the Fathers. — 13. Hatred of the captain and accommodating spirit of the Fathers attested on oath. — 14. Notary's authentication.

1. Ten-se tam declarado Pero Alvarez d'Abreu, capitão desta fortaleza de Maluquo, por imigo[a] dos Padres da Companhia de Jesu que nella residem, especialmente contra o P.e Luis Fernandez, superior destas partes, e contra o P.e André Pereira; e pelo contrario têm feito os ditos Padres tanto por comprazer e aqui[e]tar ao dito Pero Alvarez d'Abreu, que isso me obrigou a passar a presente certidão.

2. Na qual certifico eu Baltezar Jorge da Sylveira, ouvidor de Sua Magestade nesta fortaleza de Maluquo, ouvir dizer ao dito capitão que, avendo de se confessar com o dito P.e André Pereira, a primeira cousa que lhe avia de dizer, hera esta: Padre, digo que vos quero mal de coração, porque sempre me fostes à mão e em vossas pregaçõis me reprendestes o que eu dizia contra André Furtado e sua armada. E se me confessar a qualquer dos autros Padres e me quiserem obrigar a que me reconcilie com meus imigos, mandando-lhes recado de reconciliação, hey-de responder: Padre meu, ficai-vos embora, que Caetano não falla comigo[1] que sou capitão.

3. Assy mais me disse, querendo desfazer nos mesmos Padres, que tiravão o fato da mão aos homens per invençõis e ardis, pedindo-lhes emprestimos, os quais não tornavão a quem lhos fazia, e que herão huns ladrõis publicos. O que tudo eu tenho por falsidade, porquanto há annos que estou em Maluquo e nunqua tal ouvi, antes sou informado

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[1] Allusion to a famous manual for confessors, the *Summula peccatorum*, composed by Card. Thomas de Vio, commonly known as Cajetanus († 1534), which knew many editions in the 16th century (HURTER, *Nomenclator* IV 1019; LThK 2 876).

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acodirem os ditos Padres com sua pobreza a muitas necessidades por ser a terra muito pobre.

4. Tambem per vezes lhe ouvy dizer, gabando-sse, que os outros capitãis beijavão os pés aos ditos Padres, e que a elle os mesmos Padres lhos beijavão sem delle alcançarem nada do que lhe rogavão. Devia entender isto do P.e André Pereira, que dia de Endoenças[2] do anno de 1604 lhe pedio de joelhos, prostado a seus pés, aceitasse hum recado de reconciliação que seus contrarios lhe mandavão, avido e levado polo mesmo Padre. E, fallando commigo, me disse que não me [b] fiasse do dito P.e André Pereira, porque hera hum velhaquo falsario, não dando outra causa de seu odio senão a que tenho dito, e que favorecia os alevantados deixando-os entrar em sua igreja a ouvir missa, e que a elle fechara as igrejas. Sendo assy que as fechou a todos por hum motim que os criados e soldados delle capitão fizerão, e depois que soube que elle capitão lhe avia de entrar a igreja com panellas de polv[o]ra e espingardas e lanças estando à missa pera se vingar de seus imigos.

5. E a causa que dava do odio que tinha ao P.e Luis Fernandez (a quem tambem pôs nomes afrontosos de vilão roim, torto, filho de hum tal e qual, usando de nomes baixos) hera, que pregando fallara delle e com elle que hera capitão, donde se collige o odio que aos Padres tem.

6. E pelo contrario de tal modo se ouverão os ditos Padres com o dito capitão, que bem mostrarão sua virtude religiosa. Porque tendo noticia que elle capitão lhes chamava publicamente alevantados, porque deixavão vir a sua igreja os capitãis dos galiõis, com quem elle estava quebrado e a quem chama alevantados, contudo não deixavão os ditos Padres de lhe hir a casa e fazer a vontade no que podião. O que bem mostrarão hindo-lhe dizer missa aa see desta fortaleza, faltando o vigario della que se foi pera Malaca, fazendo-se seus capelãis sem a isso terem obrigação nem elle lho merecer. E procurarão tanto favorecer ao dito capitão que, avendo nesta terra humas brigas ó [226v] bandos, vendo o dito P.e Luis Fernandez quam mal feito fora tratarem nellas mal ao capitão da fortaleza del Rey nosso senhor, fechou logo a igreja de sua casa e não quis por certo espaço de tempo dizer nella missa nem deixar entrar nella aos contrarios do dito capitão, ao qual todo este tempo hião dizer missa todos os dias de obrigação e de guarda à see.

7. E tanto o favorecerão que, hindo-se o P.e Luis Fernandez vi-

[2] Maundy Thursday, April 15.

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sitar seus religiosos e christãos de Amboino, deixou ordem ao P.e André Pereira que assi doente como estava avia muitos meses, fosse dizer missa ao dito capitão hum domingo ou santo à see e outro a dissesse na sua igreja. E fes-lhe tanto a vontade o dito P.e André Pereira, que caindo per ordem dia de Pascoa [3] dizer missa na sua igreja, todavia significando-lhe eu que o dito capitão desejava se festejasse a Pascoa na see, o dito P.e André Pereira me respondeo que, já que nisso dava gosto ao capitão, não somente diria missa na see, mas que tambem pregaria e faria procissão, e levaria, como levou, as charamelas de sua casa pera festejar a Pascoa onde elle capitão queria. O que tudo fes e continuou com dizer missa ao dito capitão, até que huma noite muito tarde saio da fortaleza huma copia de gente armada a espingardear os contrarios delle dito capitão que se estavão recreando na rua.

8. E porque os motins e asuadas forão crescendo, até que ouve mortes e feridas mortais, o dito P.e André Pereira fechou as igrejas e não disse missa em publiquo, por que dentro nellas se não matassem huns aos outros, donde naceo acender-se o dito capitão mais em odio contra o dito P.e André Pereira. E nem isto foy parte pera que o dito Padre deixasse de buscar remedio ao dito capitão, pera que se aquietasse e deixasse os odios em que elle e os seus andavão. O que fes hindo per veses pedir ao dito capitão que se quisese aquietar e pôr em estado que elle e os seus se pudessem confessar. Ao que elle [c] dito capitão respondeo que estava metido no inferno, feito hum demonio e hum mouro Mafamede, mas não fanado nem sem fé.

9. Por fim de tudo vendo [d] o dito Padre que no tocante aas consciencias não podia acabar nada, buscou remedio como se não perdesse o que Sua Magestade tem em Maluquo, matando-se huns aos outros os homens que lhe hão-de defender a sua fortaleza e galiõis. Pois já nestas discordias são mortos tres e hum está pera isso, e os odios mais acesos por nossos pecados. O remedio que o dito P.e André Pereira tomou foy este. Pedio ao dito capitão muito encarecidamente quisesse mandar aos seus não andassem em motins, e que elle alcançaria da parte contraria outro tanto, e que disso lhe fizesse charidade de hum chito seu pera mor segurança. O qual elle capitão depois de muitos rogos lhe prometeo, mas dilatou-lho por pequena ocasião, até que huma noite, como dito tenho, sairão seus criados e soldados a espingardear os da parte contraria, do que ficarão muy asanhados. O que sabendo o dito capitão e que por isso o P.e André Pereira fechara as igrejas,

[3] Easter in 1604 was on April 18.

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lhe mandou o chito, com o qual o dito Padre ainda neste tempo folgou muito, e diante de mym que lho trouxe deu muitas graças a Deos, porque por aly detreminava aquietar a todos e trazê-los à confissão.

10. Mas durou tam pouquo a palavra e promessa que o dito capitão nelle fazia a Deos, a el Rey [227*r*] e aa Igreja, que logo ao dia seguinte prendeo hum carpinteiro de hum dos galiõis, com cujo capitão são as brigas e odios, o que hera causa bastante pera aver outras discordias de novo, pois as primeiras se atearam de muito menor causa. O que vendo o dito P.e André Pereira e que tam pouquo durava o com que elle pretendia apazigoar ambas as partes, tornou-me a mandar o chito que eu lhe tinha levado, dizendo que não queria ser causa de que se matassem homens à falsa fé.

11. E como o dito P.e André Pereira não descansasse de buscar remedio a tantas mortes, detreminou pôr huma monitoria (porque faltando vigario podia elle fazê-llo se quisesse) [4], pola qual mandava a cada huma das partes não andasse em motins nem asuadas, limitando-lhes certas ruas das quais não pasassem. Todavia considerando o dito Padre que o capitão o avia de tomar mal e poderia fazer ou mandar fazer [e] algum desconcerto, ou polo menos lhe não obedeceria aas censuras, por mais que eu e o feitor del Rey [5] lhe pedimos que a pusesse, pois não avia outro remedio, elle dito Padre nos respondeo que a Companhia se não obrigara com tanto risco seu a servir a este povo de Maluquo em ausencia do vigario, e que polo menos areceava que elle dito capitão se infernasse mais soltando-sse em palavras mais do que se tinha solto.

12. E com isso e sem isso elle capitão se tem hoje tam solto que não podem as orelhas castas ouvir os nomes torpes que ao dito Padre tem chamado, afora os que tenho referido, e hé tal o odio que contra [f] os Padres tem concebido, que em tudo procura empecer-lhes. O que bem mostrou mandando-lhe prender hum moço seu, por arecadar certa divida sua propria de hum mouro polo modo que se costuma na terra. E dizendo-lhe eu que el Rey nas suas ordenaçõis dava lugar ao que o moço fes, me respondeo que tinha culpas do moço. E as culpas herão ser dos Padres que lhe tinhão fechadas as igrejas com tanta rezão, porque ao meu meirinho disse elle capitão que não avia de soltar o moço

[4] As Fr. Pereira was not due to say mass in the garrison church (no. 6), he is sure not to have had the full powers of a vicar appointed by the bishop of Malacca. This was also what the Jesuits preferred. See, e.g., D 70, 3.

[5] Tomé Gonçalves, the author of D 171.

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dos Padres até que não ouvesse missa na see. E em fim dahy a certos dias o soltou sem que ouvesse missa.

13. Polo que tenho declarado, e juro aos santos evangelhos passar na verdade tudo, se pode ver quam grande odio o dito capitão Pero Alvares d'Abreu concebeo contra os ditos Padres e quanto elles em tudo o que puderão trabalharão polo não desagradarem; e juntamente se vê o grande serviço que o[s] ditos Padres fazem nesta terra a Deos e a Sua Magestade.

Feita em Tidore, aos 11 de Junho de 604 annos.

Baltezar Jorge da Sillveira.

14. Sertifico eu Manoel Veloso, tabalião publico das notas e do judicial nesta fortaleza de Maluquo por Sua Magestade, em como hé verdade que ho sinal que está ao pé da certidão [227*v*] atrás, que diz Baltezar Jorge da Silveira, hé do dito Baltezar Jorge da Silveira que hora serve o carguo de ouvidor e juiz dos orfãos pelo dito Senhor nesta dita fortaleza. E [g] a pedimento dos Padres da Companhia de Jesu desta dita fortaleza apasei a prezente justificação na verdade, na qual me asinei aqui de meu sinal publico, que tal hé como se segue.

Oje, aos dez dias do mez de Agosto de mil e seiscentos e coatro anos.

[*Address*] Pera o nosso Padre Geral ver. Dos Padres de Maluquo.

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[a] *corr. fr.* imigos ‖ [b] *interl.* ‖ [c] *add. m. and. del.* vendo o ‖ [d] *add. m.* ‖ [e] *interl.* ‖ *corr. fr.* com ‖ [g] *d.r.*

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FR. ANDRÉ PEREIRA TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

TIDORE, JULY 15, 1604
Via Manila

I AUTHORS: JACOBS, *Vicars* 286.

II TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 228*r*-229*v*, formerly 113-114 and no. LXXIV. Autograph in Portuguese. Folio 229*v* is blank but for the address and a Roman secretary's note « 1604. Maluco ». An archivist marked f. 228*r* at the top with « Malabarica 1604 ».

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Text

1. *Staying alone in Tidore writes* via *Manila.* — 2. *Will deal with two items; the first: for shortage of Fathers they often cannot go to confession for a year or longer; every Father should have a companion.* — 3. *Need of companions for the Fathers who visit Labuha, Siau, and the Lease islands.* — 4. *The second: sends two certificates* [DD 171-172] *showing that they have either to supply the vicar who deserted his flock or to let the whole place perish.* — 5. *They resisted an extravagant captain engineering civil war; his reply was railing at the Fathers and at the Society of Jesus.* — 6. *Instances of excesses of former captains.* — 7. *Also for justifying themselves the Fathers need companions. Two proposals.* — 8. *The first: leave Maluku. The other: the king should forbid the captains to quarrel with the religious.* — 9. *It would be useful to inform the king of these events and to show him the certificates.* — 10. *The captain is reported to write personally to the king against the Jesuits* via *Manila. Fr. General should defend the innocence of the Fathers with the king.*

†

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso

Pax Christi.

1. Porquanto sou novo[1] em Maluquo e estou ao presente só nesta casa de Tidore[2], não sei se acerto ou erro escrevendo a V.P. pola via das Manilhas, porque pola via da nossa India de Portugal não partirá esta senão daqui a hum anno e meo, e pola via das Manilhas pode partir, se não for este anno, será daquy a hum anno e podemos esperar reposta mais cedo de V.P., com que mais ameude nos consolemos os que por partes tam remotas andamos espalhados.

2. Esta faço brevemente pera representar a V.P. duas cousas que me parecerão ter remedio somente dado por V.P. mesmo. A primeira hé que os que andamos por estas partes vivemos desconsolados, por estarmos às veses hum anno inteiro e às veses mais sem nos confessarmos, por não podermos ter companheiros por falta de sogeitos que nestas partes de Maluquo há[3]. Alcancei a causa desta falta ouvindo dizer ao Superior destas partes[4], que, emquanto se não tomava Ter-

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[1] He had arrived in February 1602 (D 144, 2), but from c. May 1602 until early 1603 he was in the Philippines (D 146, 49).

[2] Cf. D 171 note 5.

[3] Note that the Jesuits were not allowed to make their confession to a secular priest. Consult D 54, 3.

[4] Fr. Luís Fernandes.

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nate, não se atrevia a pedir gente à India por não ter com que a sostentar. Mas (posto que por hora não seja necessaria muita gente), todavia parece rezão que eses poucos, que necessariamente quá avemos de estar, estejamos com companheiros e não sós [5].

3. E pera isto será a meu ver proveitoso estarem sempre quá dous de sobrecelente pera companheiros dos que andão nas missõis da Labua [6] e de Siao [7], que são as duas christandades que fora de Tidore temos; e nas de Amboino, que são o Leacer, onde há muitos christãos, mas pouquo ou nada christãos pola pouca cultura [8] que tem. Porque os de Siao a não tiverão desd'a era de 89 [9], e quando eu por ahy passey de Amboino pera a Manilha [10] (donde escrevy a V.P.) nem o sinal da cruz sabião já fazer os mais ladinos. Quanto o não se poderem sostentar, sobmeto-me aos de mais experiencia, mas todavia com muito pouquo se sostentão os homens nesta terra, [228*v*] e el Rey nosso senhor ajuda com cem cruzados cada anno pera cada hum dos nossos, que creo bastará pobremente pera viver hum homem.

4. A 2ª causa porque escrevo esta, hé pera mostrar a V.P. o que fazemos e o que padecemos em Maluquo, sem outro fruto mais que o que V.P. pode ver por duas certidõis que lhe com esta lhe envio, huma do feitor e alcaide-mor desta fortaleza e outra do ouvidor de Sua Magestade [11]. Por ellas verá V.P. que não servimos mais aqui que de substitutos do vigairo (que, como se vê mal pago ou mal obedecido, se vai logo e deixa suas ovelhas e igreja, como fes este anno de 603 passado), e nós ou avemos de acodir ao que elle ouvera, ou avemos de ver perecer a terra, como este anno perecera se da nossa parte se não acodira com os remedios que convinha por se não matarem os christãos huns aos outros, como V.P. pode ver claramente pola certidão do ouvidor del Rey.

5. O de que mais aqui servimos, hé de barreira dos capitãis que, como quá se vêm, dizem são pessoas reais e que ninguem lhes pode hir à mão aos desmanchos publicos que fazem. E se lhes vão à mão, como

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[5] An old problem; to it cf. D 30, 15.

[6] Fr. Jorge da Fonseca was stationed there (D 177, 5).

[7] It is Fr. António Pereira who had to go there as is manifest from his letter: D 177. GUERREIRO (II 130) gives notices on the Siau mission that are not to be found in our MS sources, especially that it was visited « de ano em ano ».

[8] Here in the meaning of cure of souls and of Christian instruction.

[9] See D 94, 52.

[10] D 151, 10.

[11] The two preceding documents.

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foy necessario hir-se à mão ao que agora aqui está, por andar com exercito de mosqueteiros e arcabuzeiros pera matar os vasalos del Rey, ouviremos o que eu e o P.e Luis Fernandez, superior destas partes, ouvimos. E o que pior hé, que pasou de nossas pessoas particulares e terminou sua ira no commum da Companhia, como peço a V.P. veja mandando ler as certidõis juradas aos sanctos evangelhos, que pera mostrar aos superiores tirey. O tempo que aqui estive, sempre doente e sempre acodindo, muitas vezes com febres e à mea noite aos que se andavão arcabuzeando [12]. E o fruto que colhy foy dos honrosos appellidos [13] que nas certidõis vão.

6. E não cude V.P. ser somente isto e aver estes desmanchos só neste capitão, porque em outros muitos ouve já pior que isto. Aconteceo aver capitão que entrando as portas de nossa casa buscando hum homiziado, impurrou o Irmão [14] de tal modo que deu com elle d'aveso. E outro, tendo o P.e Luis Fernandez mão em hum pobre christão da terra a quem o capitão queria prender, lho arrebatou da mão com violencia e o levou. E o que antes deste [a], que agora aquy está, foy capitão [15], depois de mandar matar hum clerigo que tinha sido vigario, foy escommungado ou, pera milhor dizer, declarado polo outro vigario que socedeo. E porque lhe pareceo que o P.e Superior desta casa dera seu conselho que o declarassem, chegou a pôr a boca no Padre, que hé vir probatae virtutis, e disse delle que cubiculum illius favebat mulierculas, licet postea palinodiam [b] decantaverit.

7. Por aquy verá V.P. o que por quá padecemos e com tam pouquo fruto, que hé o que mais sentimos todos. Por onde digo que nos hé necessario [229r] termos todos companheiros, ainda que não fora mais que pera, como testemunhas de nossas vidas, desfazerem [c] as falsidades a que andamos expostos, posto que este negocio me parece há-de vir a ter hum de dous remedios, cada qual bem difficil de pôr.

8. O primeiro hé largar isto, pois tanto sem fruito se arrisca a fama e vidas de religiosos, que em outras partes podião fazer muitos serviços a Nosso Senhor, maxime ficando as cousas de Maluquo agora tanto sem esperanças de remedio, pois duas armadas tam poderosas

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[12] The sentence is incomplete.

[13] Did Pereira say this ironically, or did he intend to write *deshonrosos*, or *dos deshonrosos?*

[14] Presumably Giampaolo Manfrida.

[15] The predecessor of Pedro Álvares de Abreu was Rui Gonçalves de Sequeira, in office 1598–1602. Since André Pereira could scarcerly have known him in Tidore, he reports this story, and the preceding ones as well, on hearsay.

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lho não poderão pôr. O outro remedio tambem difficil hé que, sendo Sua Magestade tam bem informado destas verdades, mande com rigor aos capitãis destas partes se não descomponhão com os religiosos tam soltamente. Mas creo que tudo será baldado, porque, como digo, como estes homens se vem por quá longe do princepe que os pode castigar, fazem o que querem e tudo hão que hé bem feito.

9. Com tudo, ainda que não fosse mais que pera que [d] Sua Magestade soubesse o que a Companhia fas e padece por serviço de Deos e bem das almas, não me parece seria cousa baldada faser-se sabedor a el Rey de alguns casos dos que aponto, e ainda apresentar-lhe as certidõis de seus proprios officiais pera que veja o que passa na verdade, porque de crer hé que o sinta e lhe ponha algum remedio. E alem disto verão os que por quá andão tam faltos de todas as consolaçõis da terra que os superiores sentem seus trabalhos e infamias, e que lhes buscão o remedio que podem. E porque esta não hé pera mais, na sancta benção de V.P. me encommendo.

De Tidore, em 15 de Julho de 1604.

10. Depois de ter esta escrita, soube por pesoa de credito que este capitão, que agora hé e nos tem tam infamados a todos, se não contenta com o que tem dito contra nós por quá publicamente, mas que ainda escreve a Sua Magestade contra nós por via das Manilhas. E como são cartas de capitão e enviadas por vias extraordinarias, e dizem no sobrescrito: « A el Rey nosso senhor, em suas reais mãos », hé de crer que el Rey as veja [16]. E como vão cheas de peçonha contra nós, julgue V.P. se será necessario aver quem por nós tenha informado Sua Magestade pera que seja sabedor de nossa innocencia e do que padecemos por serviço de Deos e seu.

Indigno filho em Christo,

André Pereira.

[*Address* 229*v*] † Ao muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso, Claudio Aquaviva, praeposito geral da Companhia de Jesu, em Roma. Maluquo.

[a] *corr. fr.* destes ‖ [b] *w. corr.* ‖ [c] desfizarem *ms.*, *corr. fr.* desfizeram ‖ [d] *interl.*

Lost Letters

173*a*. — *Captain Pedro Álvares de Abreu, Tidore, to King Philip ; July 1604.*

D 173, 10: Letter of accusations against the Jesuits; it was sent *via* Manila.

173*b*. — *Fr. Pierantonio Spinelli, Rome, to Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon ; December 14, 1604.*

D 145 introduction: « Respondi ».

[16] Lost letter, 173*a*.

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174

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, VICE-PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 12, 1605
Second *via*

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 232*r*-233*v*, originally 272-273 and no. LXXVII. Beautifully written original in Portuguese, filling three pages, the fourth containing the address, a seal, and a note of a Roman secretary « 12 de Janeiro 1605. Cochim. P. Alberto Laertio V.Pl. de Malavar », followed by a summary in five items in Portuguese. The letter is signed in Laerzio's autograph. Our part is on f 232*v*.

Text

Ordered Fr. João Baptista, thus far rector of Malacca, to go and visit in his name Maluku and to take with him Fr. Manuel Carvalho.

[. . .]

A residencia tambem e casa de Maluco está em muito aperto, nem sabemos como socederá. Escrevy[1] ao Padre João Baptista[2], que acabou de ser Reitor de Malaca, que antes de se vir pera cá fosse visitar assy a casa de Maluco em Tidore, como a de Amboyno, e os Padres todos que por lá andão[3], já que eu em pessoa o não podia fazer como desejava. Por seu companheyro foy o Padre Manoel Carvalho[4]. [. . . 233*r*]

Cochym, 12 de Janeiro de 1605.

Alberto Laercio.

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[1] Lost letter, 174*a*.

[2] On Fr. João Baptista, see D 48, 50. He was rector in Malacca for three years.

[3] This planned visitation did not come off. Not until 1610 could Fr. João Baptista undertake it under quite different circumstances (WESSELS, *Molukken* 41-42).

[4] Fr. Manuel Carvalho was born in Portugal in 1559 or 1560, joined the

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[*Address* 233*v*] A nosso Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesu. Roma. 2ª via.

Lost Letter

174*a*. — *Fr. Alberto Laerzio, Vice-Provincial, Cochin, to João Baptista, Malacca; early January 1605.*

D 174: Appoints him a Visitor of the Maluku Jesuits.

175

KING D. PHILIP II OF PORTUGAL TO VICEROY D. MARTIM AFONSO DE CASTRO

LISBON, FEBRUARY 28, 1605
Second *via*

I TEXT: Lisbon, *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Livros das Monções do Reino* I ff. 11-16. Original of the 2nd *via*, in Portuguese.

II NOTE: The series *Livros das Monções* (62 vols.) in the Lisbon *Torre do Tombo* contains in original the royal orders and dispatches from Lisbon together with the copies of the answers from the viceroy in Goa. Once it belonged to the Goa archives whence it was brought to Lisbon in 1777. However, a much larger number of volumes remained in Goa under that same title of *Livros das Monções*. Consult *Documentos remettidos* I pp. V-VII; *Roteiro dos Arquivos da Índia Portuguesa*, Introdução (by S. S. Pissurlencar) pp. XIV-XV.

III ADDRESSEE: D. Martim Afonso de Castro was viceroy of India from 1605 to 1607.

IV PRINTED: In *Documentos remettidos da Índia* I 16-23, the part on Maluku on p. 19.

Text

Falling off of Christianity in Maluku is due to lack of communication on account of the Dutch fleets. Hope based on measures taken. The viceroy should send religious [*Jesuits*] *there and see to their sustenance.*

Jesuits in 1577, excelled in his studies, and already a priest was sent to India in 1592. Like Fr. Baptista, he was stationed in Malacca at this time (*Goa 24 I* f. 233*v*; *II* ff. 290*v*, 335*v*, 356*r*; WICKI, *Liste* no. 324). He should not be confused with his namesake (WICKI, *Liste* no. 227, and DI XIII 611-612).

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[...]

E assi fui avisado que na christandade de Amboino e das ilhas de Maluco havia muita diminuição, pela pouca communicação que estes annos houve com aquellas partes, pelo impedimento das armadas dos hollandezes rebeldes [1]. Espero, com ajuda de Nosso Senhor, que isto se remediará com as prevenções que ora mando fazer [2]. E tendo ellas o successo que se deseja, vos emcommendo que logo procureis como a dita christandade se restaure, ordenando vão os religiosos necessarios, a cujo cargo está [3], e se lhe dê o provimento que lhes tenho ordenado.

[...]

Escripta em Lisboa, a 28 de Fevereiro de 1605.

[...]

Rei.

Fernão Tellez.

[*Address*] Por El-Rey. A Dom Martim Affonso de Castro do seu conselho e viso-rey da India. 2ª via.

Lost Letters

175*a*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Tidore, to Frs. Masonio and Rengifo/ da Cruz, Ambon; March 1605.*

D 177, 4: They should leave Ambon and sail to Malacca, but they might decide for themselves.

175*b*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Ambon, to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, Rome; before March 16, 1605.*

D 176, 1: « Por via de las Indias Orientales » he reported on the fall of Ambon; the letter was entrusted to the Portuguese who left the island on March 16. (ibid. 3 and note 7). Also D 182, 1.

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[1] One may note that this summary statement reflects the Maluku condition of about 1601. But it had, of course, not much bettered since.

[2] The measures the Portuguese Crown wanted to take against Dutch seapower were not touched upon in this letter dealing only with ecclesiastical affairs, but they were in other royal letters of the same mail, viz. in the one of March 5, 1605: the viceroy in person shall take the command of a fleet bound for Malacca, combine there with a fleet that had got on ahead, sailing southward chastise the Dutch, punish the king of Sunda and other potentates who favoured him, leave behind two guard squadrons in those seas, throw the Dutch from their eventual fortresses, erect a fortress in Sunda, reconquer the one of Ternate, stay on at Malacca until the Dutch are definitively expelled from the area, induce the king of Aceh to cede a territory for a fortress (*Bol. da Filmoteca* I 503).

[3] The Jesuits.

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175*c*. — *Fr. Luís Fernandes, Superior, Tidore, to Fr. Jorge da Fonseca, Labuha; prior to May 19, 1605.*

D 177, 5: He should sail to Siau with the Portuguese.

175*d*. — *The people of Siau to D. Pedro de Acuña, Governor, Manila; early June 1605.*

D 177, 6: Encouraged by Fr. António Pereira they write that they are Christians; they offer their alliance and ask for help against Ternate.

176

FR. LORENZO MASONIO [TO FR. GENERAL, ROME]

CEBU, JUNE 20, 1605

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT V no. 66: WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 11.

II AUTHORS: GUERREIRO II 127-128, a nearly complete rendering of the text with many sentences litterally translated into Portuguese; this shows that he had the letter before his eyes; WESSELS, *Amboina* 148-150, 157.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 236*r*-237*v*, earlier 275-276 and no. LXXX. Autograph letter in Spanish. On f. 236*r* « Malabarica 1605 »; on f. 237*v* « 1605. 20 Jun. Malab. ». There is no address; perhaps a third folio has gone lost.

IV ADDRESSEE: That he was Fr. General is known both by the « V.P. » and by the demand for intervention with the king (nos. 6-7).

Text

1. *Wrote already on the fall of Ambon* via *India, reports once more* via *Manila.* — 2. *On February 22* [*1605*] *a Dutch fleet appeared before Ambon; within two days the Portuguese captain surrendered.* — 3. *The Dutch general and some captains were Catholics. They prevented the Christians from being molested, made the people swear fidelity, allowed the Portuguese to depart if they wanted to. Five Dutch ships sailed to Tidore, the general to Banda.* — 4. *On May 9, unexpectedly and in spite of the general's written promise, all the Portuguese and the Jesuits were ordered to leave within six days; meanwhile the Fathers were imprisoned.* — 5. *They sailed, two hundred and fifty persons, in a small and poorly rigged boat, and arrived in forty days at Cebu. While the Fathers were in prison, their house and church were looted.* — 6. *The bishop and the mayor of Cebu right away send him on to Manila. The Dutch navy is a menace to all the fortresses of India.* — 7. *The Dutch blockaded Goa and allied with Asian rulers, who already sent ambassadors to Holland. The general told him of more Dutch ships coming to take Malacca.* — 8. *Menace to Portuguese navigation. Rumours about D. Manuel.* — 9. *Has no notice of the Fathers of Tidore: Fernandes and Fonseca. António Pereira and Giampaolo* [*Manfrida*] *are in Siau. Did not manage to touch at that island by the way.*

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Ihs.

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Por vía de las Indias Orientales escriví a V.P. el successo de Amboino, como fue tomado da olandeses y como nos quedávamos allá [1]. Agora que somos echados del todo, me pareció avisarle el mismo. Mas como por ventura la carta por vía de Goa no llegará tan cedo como por vía de las Manillas, quis precatarme en scrivir brevemente todo el successo.

2. A 22 de Hebreiro deste año parecieron seis naos, duas navettas, cinco pataxos y una galiotta de olandeses en el puerto de Amboino, mandados de prepósito para conquistar el fuerte ansí de Amboino como de Malucco. Y em dos días ganó Amboino sin tirarse un sol tiro, por emtrega que se le hizo dél dal capitán y portugueses, por no poderlo defender, como dizían [2]. El que aunque fuesse ansí, por estar el fuerte muy disapercebido de munición, mantinimientos y tiros gruessos, y estando las naos olandesas muy bien aparcebidas de tudo lo necessario y gente, con tudo se podía pelear algunos días y provar la mano con ellos, como yo y los naturales christianos bradávamos por

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[1] Lost letter, 175*b*. He wrote it in Ambon and sent it along with the Portuguese sailing in the two vessels (no. 3) to Malacca.

[2] In these sober words Masonio, being the matter-of-fact man he was, always objective and to-the-point, reports this far-reaching event. The Dutch fleet was commanded by Steven van der Haghen (called here «el general»); when touching at Banten on December 31, 1604, he met three sons of Ambon chiefs inviting him to sail to their island and free them from Portuguese control. On the way Van der Haghen captured a Portuguese vessel, and in it the newly provided captain of Tidore as successor of Pedro Álvares de Abreu, D. Manuel de Melo (RIBEIRO nos. 1327 and 1864). The captain of Ambon fortress who surrendered to the Dutch was Gaspar de Melo, nephew of this D. Manuel (*Doc. Ultram. Port.* I 145, after MS 28461 of the British Library; cf. *Doc. Ultram. Port.* II 254, same text after MS 3015 of the Bibl. Nac., Madrid). Tragical coincidence: at the same time Gaspar de Melo surrendered so ignominiously to Van der Haghen, King Philip wrote to his viceroy «Na fortaleza de Amboino . . . está por capitão Gaspar de Melo, de quem teve informação por carta de André Furtado que cumpria com sua obrigação, que lhe deveis agradecer» (February 26, 1605, in *Documentos remettidos* I 7). He is probably the same person as «Gaspar de Mello, fidalgo cavaleiro, filho natural de Francisco de Mello», who in 1591 sailed to India (*Título dos capitães* f. 285). Consul TIELE VI 224–232; WESSELS, *Amboina* 147–155.

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las calles[3]. Con tudo esto hyzieron lo que quisieron, cuidando ser assí mejor y alcansar mejor partido dellos.

3. Plugo a Dios haver entre ellos algunos [236*v*] capitanes cathólicos, y lo general que también lo era[4], los quales no permittieron se hiziesse mal ningún a los hombres, ni en sus personas ny en haziendas, como deseavan los soldados y moros. Y tendo dado seguro y perdón[5] a todos los naturales y portugueses, los hizo jurar todos fidelidad[6]. Después dio licenza a todos los portugueses que se[a] quisiessen ir, que se fuessen en hora buena, e les dio dos navíos, que eran las dos navettas que ellos tomaron a los portugueses en el camin[o][7], en las quales se fueron muchos casados. Después se partió la misma flota con cinco naos para Malucco[8], y el general con otras duas naos fueron a Banda

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[3] Also later in Manila Masonio reported the same « que pudieran hacer alguna demostración de resistencia como él les aconsejaba » (COLIN-PASTELLS I 213 note 4). Evidently, besides all other valid reasons he had to detest Dutch rule, he did not want to incur the risk of being charged with the surrender, as had happened earlier to his confrere Prancudo at Ternate (D 1).

[4] On Admiral Steven van der Haghen consult *Begin ende Voortgangh* II 12; COLIN-PASTELLS II 515-516; TIELE, *Documenten* 258-324 (especially VI « Cort Verhael van 't geene bij den Admirael Steven vander Haghen tot Ambonen met de Portugesen ende Jesuyten gehandelt is », 281-292); MEILINK-ROELOFSZ, *Steven van der Haghen (1563-1624)*. Originally a Catholic, he appears hesitating in later years and he was buried in the Protestant Jacobi-church at Amersfoort. In Ambon he had some conversations with the Jesuits, notably with Masonio (no. 7), a fact for which he was later attacked and had to write a self-defence (*Verweerschrift* in Utrechtsche Volksalmanak 1867, 170-181). The supposition of MEILINK-ROELOFSZ that the Jesuits were induced to see in Van der Haghen a Catholic because they had to answer to their superiors for abandoning the Ambon Christians to the heretics (o.c. 36), appears to me a too far-fetched attempt at explication. They abandoned their flock only by force; this could not be taken ill by their superiors; and they were expelled, not by Van der Haghen but by Houtman.

[5] Also the *Cort Verhael* mentions this written promise and garantee of religious freedom (285). See also D 178A, 2.

[6] Text of this oath, in Spanish and Dutch, in TIELE, *Documenten* 337-338. On the treaty concluded with the Ambon villages, see HEERES, *Corpus Diplomaticum* I 31.

[7] One of the two seized near Mozambique (no. 6), and the one in which D. Manuel de Melo was captured. They left Ambon on March 16 (*Cort Verhael* 289).

[8] Under Vice-Admiral Cornelis Bastiaensz.

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para carregar noz y massa. Lo que se ha hecho en el Malucco no sabemos asta agora [9].

4. Cuidando nos, los que allí quedamos em Amboino, estar em sossiego y quietud cultivando nuestros christianos como d'antes haziamos, conforme al papel que passou el general [10], acconteció que un día de repente, nueve de Mayo, el governador [11] que quedó en el fuerte mandó llamar algunos portugueses principales [12] y a mi con mi compañero [13] que fuéssemos allá. Indo nos sin sabermos nada, nos mandó que dentro de seis días nos fuéssemos todos quantos havía: portugueses y mestiços y Padres, y a los que fu[i]mos allá luego echó en el tronco hasta embarcármenos.

5. Y ansí si dieron priessa todos negociando el navío con alguna agoa y mantinimiento, y dentro de tres días nos embarcamos todos en un navío muy pequenhuelo hasta ducientos cincoenta personas, sin pilotto y con poco aparelho de velas y otras cosas necessarias. Y tomamos el camin[o] de Manilla, no teniendo otra guia que el Spirito Santo, que contra moción y tiempo nos truxo en 40 días em Sibú, primera tierra de Manilla. Em tanto que nos estávamos en el tronco, nos saquiaran las casas, particolarmente la nuestra, onde allaron más despojo. Yo no pudo hazer más que emcomendar a un portugués quemasse los ornamentos de la iglesia y mettesse en recado alguna cosa de sustancia. Basta que tudo se perdió, tirando la plata.

6. Em llegando nos [237*r*] con estas tristes nuevas em Sibú, pareció al Señor Obispo [14] y al alcaide mayor que se mandassen luego estas nuevas en Manilla y pediron fuesse un Padre con ella[s], y ansí a los Padres pareció que yo fuesse allá. Y ansí a la tarde me embarco [15]; y onte[m] lleguei aquí. Parecióme bien que V.P. fuesse avisado del todo por ajudar con Su Maestad a dar algún rimedio a esto. Porque no se tratta de la pérdita de solo Amboyno, mas de toda la India Orien-

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[9] The fall of Tidore on May 19 could not yet be known in Cebu.

[10] Van der Haghen's written promise.

[11] Van der Haghen had left behind Frederik de Houtman as governor of Ambon.

[12] Two of them are known by name: Diogo Barbudo and João de Moura (Juan de More); cf. *Cort Verhael* 291; COLIN-PASTELLS II 516.

[13] Fr. Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz (see D 178).

[14] Bishop Fray Pedro de Agurto, an Augustinian, author of D 179.

[15] Masonio embarked for Manila on the day he wrote this letter, June 20, and he arrived at Cavite (Manila) on July 3 (COLIN-PASTELLS II 516).

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tal, porque esta flotta de olandeses, que eran doze naos, por orden del Príncipe Mauritio corrió toda la India y sus fuertes, começando desde Mosambique, onde tomó duas navettas carregadas de marfín, hasta Malucco, excetto Malaca onde no pudo ir por falta de viento.

7. Estuvo más de quinse días en la barra de Goa esperando las naos del reino sim salirles nada de Goa. Hizo esta flota muchas presas en el camin[o], y habló con todos nuestros inimigos confederándose con ellos contra los portugueses, particolarmente con el rey de Calecut [16] pera tomar Cochín, con el arrenegado de Cheilán [17]. Y ya han ido embaixadores de Calecut, de Cheilán, de Achen, de Jor y de otras partes a Olanda, pera unírense todos a echar con ellos los portugueses de la India. Y quando nos partimos de Amboyno ouve nuevas que era llegada una flotta de vinti naos en la Sunda, las quales havían de ir sobre Malaca, y que se estavan haziendo prestes otras quarenta sobre Goa, como el mismo general, más vezes hablando con él [18], me dixo. Y si es ansí, hágase cuenta que se perderán también Manilla y las más islas della. Por esto hé necessario V.P. haga lo possible con Su Maestad para que dé algun corte a tanto mal, o con pazes allá o con soccorro acá.

8. Quanto a la India Oriental, haga cuenta que está perdida, porque no pueden navegar estando la mar quajada de sus naos desde Cambaia hasta Malucco y China. Háblase de baixo de lengua que quieren hazer rey de las Indias a D. Manoel, hyjo de D. Antonio, el qual está casado con una hermana del Príncipe Mauricio [19], y por isto no queren

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[16] The Hindu ruler of Calicut (Kozhikode), titled Samudri (Samorim with the Portuguese), meaning king of the sea.

[17] He is called by Couto « o tirano D. João, intitulado rey de Candea » (*Décadas* 11 and 12); being a convert and an ally of the Portuguese, he afterwards rebelled and apostatized.

[18] The *Cort Verhael* (283-291) shows that conversations between Van der Haghen and Fr. Masonio took place on February 24, 25, 26, and on March 1, 13, and 28, while on March 18 Van der Haghen viewing the town showed admiration for the well built church near which Masonio had his residence; this could suggest a meeting on that occasion. To be noted that the Dutch admiral spoke Italian (and Spanish) well, and obviously preferred to contact with an educated person, much experienced in Ambon affairs. Cf. TIELE, *Documenten* 331: The Jesuits told Admiral van der Haghen that more than sixteen thousand people had been converted and baptized.

[19] On this D. Manuel, son of the Prior of Crato, D. António, pretender to the throne against King Philip, see TIELE VI 217; WESSELS, *Amboina* 148. Rumours of the sort long went round in SE Asia.

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mattar los portugueses. Otros, que es más provavel, dizen que ellos quieren ser señores dellas por la grandíssima gananza que tienen em todas las drogas y tráficos. Por onde em todo modo [237*v*] conviene se le dee alguno remedio.

9. Quanto a los Padres de Malucco[20], no sé [b] nada. Allá está el P.[e] Luis Fernandez y el P. Fonseca, ambos enfermos. El P.[e] Antonio Pereira con el Hermano João Paulo están em Siao, aonde yo deseava quedarme con él, mas no fue possivel tomar la isla, estando nos muy perto della y trabajando siete días con el navío al redor della y nunca se pudo tomar. Lodado sia Jesu Christo. No quiero ser más largo. Accabo pidindo humilmente su santa benedictión.

De Sibu, 20 de Junho de 605.

De V.P. hyjo y siervo en el Señor,

Lorenço Massonio.

[a] *interl.* || [b] so *ms.*

177

FR. ANTÓNIO PEREIRA TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

SIAU, JUNE 21, 1605

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 189 Pereira no. 7 (Cf. STREIT V no. 92, 7).

II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Noord-Celebes* 395-396.

III TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 15* ff. 238*r*-239*v*, formerly 277 and no. LXXXI. Original and autograph letter in Spanish. Regular writing, not difficult to read. On f. 238*r* the note « Malabarica 1605 »; on f. 239*v* the address, a small trace of a red seal, the annotation « Pe António Pereira de Siam 21 de Junho de 605 », followed by a short abstract in Portuguese. — That the document is an autograph is inferred from a collation with D 159 written in Tidore.

Text

1. *Former letters showed that the Maluku fortresses were in great danger, that*

[20] Tidore.

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Christianity was nearly lost and no succour was forthcoming. — 2. For some temporal affairs Fathers were sent to Portugal from India; to do the same for the Maluku Church would have been much more important. — 3. Now both fortresses, of Ambon and Tidore, were lost, and the same applies to the Christian community. The Fathers feel that they have done their duty. — 4. Masonio and Cruz kept on residing in Ambon. Fernandes had ordered them to sail to Malacca, but had left the decision to themselves. What in fact they decided is unknown. — 5. The Dutch made all the Portuguese leave Tidore and Labuha. Fr. Fonseca, ordered to sail to Siau, was not permitted to leave by the chief of Labuha and the king of Bacan. — 6. Stays in Siau since a year; all people are Christians; had eight hundred baptisms. Many Maluku Christians fled to Siau. Loyalty of Siau king. — 7. Four Jesuits still in Maluku; only Fr. Fernandes sails to India via the Philippines to have an interview with the viceroy. — 8. Mutual communication will be impossible, but they will not abandon their flock.

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Bien creo estaraa V. Paternidad assez informado de las cartas que todos estes años atraz los Padres que neste Maluco estamos avemos escrito, y lo poco fruito que se hazía y el peligro grande en que estas dos fortalezas de Maluco y Amboino estavan, por razón de tanto se dilatar el socorro que de trinta años ha se esparava, y conseguientemente la destruición de toda la cristiandad deste arcipélago, se no se acodía como se devría acodir con toda presteza, antes que estes olandezes herejes continuassen con sus navegaciones.

2. Y de como también escrevimos a los superiores de la India, de quanta importancia era que en todas maneras hun Padre, de los que sabían el Maluco, fuesse a Portugal a dar enformación a Su Magestad [1] de todos los negocios deste arcepélago, y tratar con él del remedio que se devría dar para con tiempo se acudir a cousa tan grande y que tanto a él le importava, no nos fuesse en ningún tiempo dado en culpa per no lo aver hecho. E para esto anadiendo que, pues a los superiores de la India pareció ser sufficiente razón el bien temporal de la casa de probación de Goa, para embiaren un año un Padre a Portugal sobre elle, y outro año otro[a] sobre ciertas casas que se hazían pegadas a la misma casa [2], que no de menos importancia eran las cosas del Maluco assí el peligro en que estavan estas dos fortalezas, como el bien desta desaventurada christiandad que tantos años ha padece naufragio por la dilación desto. Y quanto dependía su destruición o conservación de la conservación o perdición destas dos fortalezas, que tanto al cabo estavan

[1] Already proposed by António Pereira in June 1594 (D 102, 14).
[2] D 138, 8.

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por faltarlhes el socorro tantos años avía, e particularmente por razón de los olandezes continuaren tan de veras con las navegaciones para el Maluco.

3. Agora por las cartas de la India y Felipinas y por las noevas que podrá dar una nave ingressa, que ha quá este año haportado [3], saberá V.P. e juntamente Su Magestad de como son perdidas antrambas dos fortalezas, assí la de Amboino como la del Maluco, y el estado en que podrá estar la cristiandad destas partes con se perderen como se perdieron. Por lo qual ni tengo já que escrivir más sobre esto, ni que dizir, sino que de noestra parte bien se ha visto quanto se hizo de nuestra parte, e de como hemos hecho todo noestro dever, y en cosa alguna han faltado los de la Compañía que aquá están, assí para con el spiritual de las ánimas desta cristiandad, como para con el temporal de todo Maluco [4], lo que nos ha causado no pequeña consolación para nuestras ánimas en el medio de todos estes infortunios y trabajos.

4. El P.e Lorenço Masonio y el P.e Gabriel da Cruz después da fortaleza perdida quedaron en Amboino [5], porque, aunque el P.e Luis Fernandez les escrevió [6] se embarcassen e foessen para Malaca, visto estar já aquela fortaleza en poder de los olandeses y no aver allá que hazer por agora, ni se le [238*v*] poder embiar lo necessario para su sustento y para poderen dizir missa en ninguna maneira. Juntamente le escrevió que sobre esto él [7] hiziesse lo que mejor jusgasse convenir hazer, y se le parecesse mejor quedarse se quedassen, por quanto él estaba al piee de la obra y por ser persona de quien se podía esto fiar. Después desto no sabemos lo que assentó alá el P.e Lorenço con su compañero. Yo tiengo por más provavel quedaren los dos hasta ver orden del P.e. Viceprovincial, aunque no sabemos la serteza dello.

[3] The English Admiral Henry Middleton came with two ships before Mamale (Hitu, Ambon) on February 20, 1605; he dispatched one to Banda and arrived in person in the other at Ternate and Tidore in April (THEILE VI 233-235). See *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606*, Ed. Sir William Foster, 1943 [The Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. LXXXVIII].

[4] As a matter of fact, the fortress scarcely having been surrendered to the Dutch, rumours began circulating about the question who was to blame for it. This reflection of Fr. Pereira perhaps alludes to some accusations put forward against the Jesuits. In this context, see APO I 2ª 167 (unfortunately an incomplete text allowing no definite conclusions).

[5] Pereira was not yet informed of their forced departure from Ambon.

[6] Lost letter, 175*a*.

[7] Obviously Fr. Masonio.

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5. Tambi[én] [b] el P.e Luis Fernandez (por quanto el Olandez obrigou a que todos se saliessen assí del Maluco como de la Labua) escrevió al P.e Fonseca, que na Labua estava, se foesse en comp[añía][c] dos portugueses que allá estavan para Siao. Todavía el P.e Fonseca [d], conforme a la enf[or]mación [e] que nos dio un christiano que vino a este Siao, no fue possible salir[se] [f] de la Labua, por quanto el Sangage con su gente toda, que son christianos, e juntamente el rey de Bachão, hizieron juntamente de noevo de no dexaren los Padres ni a los portugueses, sino de morir juntamente con ellos y por ellos, y para esto deixaron el lugar en que estavan y se recogerão a outro que tenían mui forte por natureza [8].

6. Yo también me quedo neste Siao aonde fui embiado el año passado por orden del P.e Luis Fernandez, por quanto todos são christianos, y este año bautizei passante de 800 ánimas. Y juntamente, porque los portugueses y más christianos que salieron del Maluco, por assí lo mandaren los olandeses, y el P.e Luis Fernandez sacó [9], no quedassen en poder de los moros, no se hiziessen moros, aportaron a este Siao y en él se quedão muchos delos, pareció al mismo Padre ser [g] necessario quedarme yo aquí. Como también porque, índome, estava a risco esta gente toda de nos deixar a todos; y con yo quedar con ellos se confirmão más en nuestra amistad, y tomaron ánimo para escrevir al governador de las Felipinas [10], que ellos son christianos y que primero tienen de dar las vidas que deixar de lo ser, ni de dexar la amistad de los portugueses y castelhanos. Y que se el governador veniesse este año, que él [11] iría en su compañía sobre el Maluco a recuperar lo perdido, y se este año no podesse ir nem mandar el governador gente al Maluco, embiasse gente y bastimentos para se poder defender de sus inimigos, por quanto demás de los antigos, tenía otros de noevo por razão de las fortalezas de Amboino e de Tidore seren perdidas.

7. Y assí quedamos los quatro neste Maluco, los dos en Anboino, y el P.e Fonseca na Labua, y yo aquí, esperando la orden de V. Paternidad y del P.e Viceprovincial. Solamente el P.e Luis Fernandez vai

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[8] WESSELS, *Batjan* 148.

[9] After the fall of Tidore Fr. Luís Fernandes sailed to Siau with four hundred people, and two weeks later to the Philippines (D 179, 10; COLIN-PASTELLS I 209 note 3).

[10] Lost letter, 175*d*.

[11] Presumably the king of Siau, D. Jerónimo II Winsulangi.

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a la India [12] a dar razón de las cosas deste arcipélago al P.[e] Viceprovincial y a tratar con el señor virrei sobre el recuperarse [h] con toda presteza antes que los olandeses tengan en él más pie. Y passa por Felipinas, por no tener otro camino, a tratar con el governador dellas sobre lo mismo: y juntamente vai por quanto es mui enfermo e cansado, y con su ida da alento a todos estes nuestros amigos a no perderen las esperanças de que venga el remedio que se espera.

8. Lo que resta es suplicar a V.P. en sus santos sacreficios y oraciones se no olvide de nos, y nos haga encomendar a Dios, poes harta necessidad tenemos y quedamos tan afastados unos de otros, que no será possible podérmonos comonicar ni por presencia ni por cartas. Quedando con estas ovejas deste modo en este tiempo, no paresca que deixamos nuestras ovejas por temor algún que aja de la moerte, lo que [239*r*] Dios no permitta por su misericordia. Y el que nos dio la voluntad [i] para esto, él nos dé su gracia y auxilio para continuar con todo hasta que se llegue nuestra hora o venga el remedio que esperamos. En la bendición de V.P. muito me encomendo.

Deste Siao, a 21 de Junio de 605.

Antonio Pereira.

[*Address* 239*v*] † Al P.[e] Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma. De Siao, en el Maluco.

[a] *interl.* ‖ [b] *paper cut away* ‖ [c] *paper cut away* ‖ [d] *interl.* ‖ [e] *paper cut away* ‖ [f] *paper cut away* ‖ [g] *interl.* ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* soccor . . [?] ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* vontad

178

FR. GABRIEL RENGIFO/DA CRUZ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

CEBU, JUNE 22, 1605

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Cruz no. 2.
II AUTHORS: WESSELS *Amboina* 149.
III TEXT: *ARSI*, *Goa 15* ff. 240*r*-241*v*, formerly 278. Original, apparently

[12] He did not go to India, but returned to Maluku in the fleet of D. Pedro de Acuña.

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autograph, in Spanish, in a regular and clear hand. Folio 241*r* is blank, the *verso* contains the address and a trace of a seal. Archivist's notes: « Malabarica 1605 » on the first, and « 605. Maluco » on the last page. A later Roman hand underlined some passages and, at the end of no. 2, noted in the margin « 20 mil almas ».

IV NOTE: With this letter Fr. Cruz intended mainly to induce Fr. General to organize succour by writing to King Philip of Spain (cf. no. 4), whereas his very report of what had happened in Ambon is D 178 A.

Text

1. *A mighty Dutch navy laid siege to Ambon and stated an ultimatum.* — 2. *The captain and some married Portuguese determined to surrender; fortress and Christian community were lost.* — 3. *The ships sailed on to capture Tidore as well; thinks that it will likewise surrender. He and Masonio were expelled to the Philippines.* — 4. *Fr. General should write to King Philip how the Dutch threaten to capture the whole of Portuguese India and are said to operate with D. Manuel, son of D. António.* — 5. *Conclusion.*

Pax Christi, etc.

1. Este año de 605, 2ª feria antes del miércoles de ceniça [1], vino a esta fortaleza de Ambueno en el Maluco una armada de olandeses de ocho navíos grandes como los de Portugal y maiores, y pusieron cerco a esta fortaleza. Vendrían por todos cerca de dos mill hombres. Y puestos a tiro de cañón, respondieron a un rrecado que o capitam portugués les embió, scilicet, que si no se entregavan dentro de vintiquatro horas que avía de destruir toda la fortaleza e matar a todos.

2. Viendo el capitam e algunos casados [2] su poder y determinacyón [a], entró en consejo y, considerando que no eran mais de cinqüenta soldados de guerra portugueses que pudiesen pelear, sin pólvora (porque la poca que avía estava mojada [b]) y sin mantenimientos, desperados de poder resistir, se entregaron por salvar las vidas y alguna hacienda. De manera que esta fortaleza se perdió e toda su christiandad, que eran mais de vinte mill almas, y está em poder del Príncipe de Oranje.

3. Pasó esta armada adelante a tomar la fortaleza de Tidore. Pienso

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[1] In 1605 Ash Wednesday fell on February 23. Portuguese *segunda-feira*; Spanish *lunes*.

[2] This confirms the opinion that it is principally the « casados », the married Portuguese, who from self-interested motives drove the surrender through. See TIELE VI 227.

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que por lo menos, si no la arrasaren, vendrá a concierto como en Ambueno, echando de allí los portugueses y haciéndose señor de la tierra y clavo [3]. Tidore es menos fuerte y menos gente que Ambueno. Desta manera se vinieron [c] a perder estas dos fortalezas, y con ellas toda la christiandad de estas partes. Y nos, o P.e Lorenço Masonio y yo, fuimos lançados en huna fragata con docientos [d] y setenta christianos para Manilla [4], adonde estamos agora.

4. Escribo este aviso a V. Paternidad para que escriba a Su Magestad como se van los olandeses apoderando de la India de Portugal, e amenaçan que an de tomar a Malaca, Cochim, Goa con todo lo demás, para lo qual se hace agora una gruesa armada en Olanda. Y dicen que an de traer a Don Manuel, filho de Don Antonio (al qual elhos llaman Rey de Portugal [e], y está casado con una hermana del Príncipe de Oranje) [5] a fin de conquistar la India y, haciéndose senhores della, re-[240*v*]cojer toda la especería para sí y levantarle por Rey.

5. V. Paternidad mande encomendar este negocio a Deos. No me alargo más, porque o P. Lorenço Masonio escribe largo deste sucesso a V.P. En los santos sacrificios e oraciones de V. Paternidad mucho me encomiendo.

De Sebu, y de Junio 22 de 605.

De V. Paternidad siervo inutil,

Gabriel de la † [Cruz].

[*Address* 241*v*] † A nuestro P.e Claudio Aquaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús, en Roma.

[a] *corr. fr.* determinacã . . ‖ [b] *parenthesis not closed in ms.* ‖ [c] *corr. fr.* vino ‖ [d] docientas *ms.* ‖ [e] *first and undue close of parenthesis in ms.*

178A

FRS. LORENZO MASONIO AND GABRIEL RENGIFO/DA CRUZ: REPORT ON THE FALL OF AMBON

CEBU, *c.* JUNE 20, 1605

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: SOMMERVOGEL II 1709, V 697; STREIT V no. 64; WESSELS, *Amboina* 187 Cruz no. 3.

[3] He did not know yet what had happened at Tidore; his presentiment was right.

[4] Understand: the Philippines.

[5] D 176 note 19.

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II AUTHORS: IARRICUS III/2 468-470; TIELE VI 231; WESSELS, *Amboina* 149-150.

III TEXT: No surviving MS copy of the original could be traced. A Spanish text is available in print, its Italian version in MS, a Latin translation both in MS and in print.

A. COLIN, *Labor evangélica*, ed. Madrid 1663, 549-550; COLIN-PASTELLS III 17-19. This Spanish text is not warranted not to have been polished and embellished by Colín according to his own style.

B. *ARSI, Philip. 18 II* ff. 202*r*-203*r*. A literal Italian translation of text A.

C. *ARSI, Philip. 5* ff. 222*r*-223*r*. Part of the Latin Annual Letter of the Philippine Jesuit Mission written by Fr. Provincial Gregorio López, Manila, May 15, 1606. The translation agrees with the Spanish text only in the main lines of the story and is quite different in the wording.

D. *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu anni M.DC.V.* (Duaci 1618) 469-473. Printed Latin version, identical with text C.

IV AUTHOR: Colín introduced this report stating that «los [Padres] de Ambueno eran . . . Lorenzo Masonio y Gabriel de la Cruz, que aportaron a . . . Zebu, donde hizieron *relación por escrito* de la pérdida de Ambueno . . ». The inference is that both Masonio and Cruz contributed to this report. In its presentation, however, in the Latin version, it is ascribed to Cruz only. D 176, 6 shows that Masonio stayed in Cebu hardly two days and that sailing to Manila he left Cruz behind in Cebu. The latter had plenty of leisure to write and he surely did so in Spanish (see D 178). Quite plausibly Masonio helped in drawing up the items for the report in concert with Cruz who worked them out after the former had left.

V TIME: The two Fathers arrived at Cebu on June 19, and Masonio embarked again the next day (D 176, 6). The writing of this document in its final form cannot have been long postponed.

VI OUR EDITION: As there is no original MS text, and as no other text available is guaranteed to be a true rendering of the original, this report is published here under an A number only. The text of Colín was chosen as being presumably nearest the original.

Text

1. Arrival of a Dutch fleet before Ambon. The Portuguese captain twice sent messengers to the Dutch. — 2. Terms for surrender stated by the Dutch, including freedom of exercising the Catholic religion as before. Surrender of the fortress. — 3. The Dutch violated the treaty by committing actions of injustice against the Christians and the Fathers. — 4. In May, all the Portuguese were summoned and commanded to leave the island. The captain and his people sailed for Malacca in two vessels. — 5. For three days the Fathers were kept in prison; they had to embark on a worthless small boat, together with the native Christians who did not want to stay. Bound for Cebu they had a hazardous watering at Sangi island. — 6. Finally, after a voyage of thirty-nine days they arrived at Cebu where they were cordially welcomed by the authorities.

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1. A primero de Febrero de mil y seiscientos y cinco, dos días antes de Ceniza[1], se vieron cerca de Ambueno diez grandes naos de olandeses, con quatro pataches, y veinte embarcaciones de los moros de la tierra. Dieron fondo junto a la fortaleza. El capitán mayor[2] llamó a consejo, en el qual se acordó resistir quanto les fuesse possible, y que para certificarse mejor de las fuerças enemigas, se nombrassen personas que fuessen a reconocer la armada, y preguntar al cabo della[3] lo que buscava. Respondió con arrogancia, que venía a hazerles guerra como enemigos suyos, y que por tanto le entregassen luego la fortaleza, ó los passaría todos a cuchillo. Bolvieron los embaxadores amedrentados con la respuesta, y [18] más con la gran fuerça de armas y gente que reconocieron traía el enemigo. Con esto se hizo nuevo consejo. Propuso el capitán mayor la falta de municiones y gente con que se hallava, y de todo lo demás necessario para la defensa, como todos sabían faltava todo, sino es el valor y ánimo para dar la vida antes que rendirse, si assí pareciesse a los presentes. Tuvieron ellos por impossible la resistencia, y acordaron nueva embaxada para tratar de paz.

2. Oyóla el herege[4] mejor que la primera, y ofreció condiciones tolerables, visto él el estado en que se hallavan. Que no tocaría en las personas, ni haziendas, con tal que del clavo se hiziessen dos partes, una para él, y otra para los portugueses; y que esta fuessen obligados a vendérsela luego por el justo valor. Que no se haría novedad en la religión, permitiendo a los christianos portugueses y naturales vivir como tales, acudiendo a las iglesias y celebrando los oficios al modo cathólico. Que se contentarían con entregarse del castillo y fortaleza, y dexarían la población libre para habitación de los vezinos portugueses y naturales, que se podrían governar aparte, como hasta allí. Y que si algunos dellos se querían ir a Malaca ó otra parte, lo pudiessen hazer libremente, y que para ello les darían embarcación si fuesse necessario. Con estas condiciones el capitán entregó luego las fuerças.

3. Pero los que no guardan fé a Dios, como la guardarán a los hombres? Apenas havían saltado los hereges en tierra, quando començaron a hazer todo lo contrario de lo que se avía pactado: derribar

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[1] *Primero* is a mistake for *vigésimo primero*; the Latin version has *vigesimo primo die*; in 1605, Ash Wednesday fell on February 23.

[2] Gaspar de Melo.

[3] Steven van der Haghen.

[4] In the view of Spaniards and Portuguese every Dutchman sailing the Asian seas could only be qualified as a heretic and as a corsair and pirate.

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las iglesias[5], romper las cruzes[6], ultrajar las imagenes, robar las campanas, y no dexar persona aun sagrada que no injuriassen. Pusieron las manos sacrílegas en uno de los nuestros, hasta romperle la sotana. Y tras todo esto se mostravan agraviados, y davan a grandes vozes quexas de que no se cumplía lo prometido, fundándose en que los naturales de la isla no les hazían la cortesía que a los portugueses, ni les acudían con el sustento necessario como a ellos. Y la verdad es que los indios, como reconocían en los olandeses un modo de proceder tan vil y diferente del de nuestra nación, hazían poca estima dellos.

4. Por esto el general olandés[7] a mediado el mes de Mayo[8] nos mandó juntar a todos eclesiásticos y seglares; y aviendo dado sus quexas, concluyó que el sitio era estrecho y el lugar pequeño para tanta gente, y que nos determinássemos de irnos de allí y dexarlos solos. Assí lo mandó pregonar a usança de guerra, señalando plazo para la salida[9]. El capitán con sus soldados y vezinos portugueses se embarcó el día señalado en dos navíos que le dieron, y partió la vía de Malaca[10]. El uno dellos fue acometido y tomado en el camino de otros olandeses que les encontraron.

5. A nosotros nos tuvieron tres días en prisión, y al cabo nos dieron una pequeña y mala embarcación, con calidad, que nos viniéssemos junto con los christianos de aquella nación, que nos quisiessen seguir a esta isla de Zebu. Navegamos con harto peligro de mares y cosarios. Fuenos forçoso hazer agua en Sanguil Basar[11]. Es la entrada del puer-

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[5] Van der Haghen, before leaving for Banda on April 1, ordered two of the three churches of Ambon town (not counting the Misericordia chapel) to be demolished as being too close, and therefore dangerous, to the fortress (*Cort Verhael* 286-287).

[6] The picture of Portuguese Ambon in *India Orientalis*, Pars VIII (Francofurti 1607), plate XVI, shows four crosses erected in public squares of the town. (N.B. This picture was borrowed by some later authors and reproduced in mirror image, as can be seen, e.g., in VISSER 208).

[7] Frederik de Houtman.

[8] On May 9 (D 176, 4).

[9] Within six days (ibid.). Actually they sailed after three days, on May 12 or 13 (ibid. 5).

[10] According to Masonio (D 176, 3-4) the Portuguese had already sailed to Malacca before Van der Haghen left Ambon, i.e., before April 1.

[11] Sangi island, also called Great-Sangi (Malay *besar* = great). How WESSELS (*Amboina* 157) could identify it with an islet north of Great-Sangi remains incomprehensible.

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to [12] de poco fondo, y muchos baxios. Proveyónos nuestro Señor de remedio por unos pescadores, que amigablemente nos metieron a la sirga por el canal [13], y entramos en el puerto. Allí hallamos otra dificultad mayor, porque los sanguiles, como enemigos antiguos de la nación portuguesa, nos armaron emboscada para cogernos a todos en saltando en tierra. Librónos también misericordiosamente Dios deste segundo peligro, que era el mayor, poniendo en el coraçón de uno dellos, que nos avisasse de antemano de la em-[19]boscada, con que torcimos el camino, y echa la aguada apriessa nos salimos del puerto y hizimos al mar, aunque sin piloto ni persona plática del viage.

6. Navegamos algunos días a ciegas arando el mar sin saber adonde ibamos, quando fue nuestro Señor servido que encontrássemos con una embarcación que nos socorrió de bastimento, y guió en el viaje, mediante lo qual a los treinta y nueve días [14] de nuestra salida de Ambueno llegamos a esta isla, y fuimos recibidos en esta ciudad del obispo [15], clero y ciudadanos, con la nobleza y christiandad que todos saben y nosotros no acabamos de agradecer [16].

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FRAY PEDRO DE AGURTO, BISHOP OF CEBU, TO KING D. PHILIP III OF SPAIN

CEBU, JUNE 30, 1605

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: PASTELLS, *Catálogo* V no. 6850.

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[12] It appears impossible to establish which port of the island was meant. The coasts of Sangi for the most part are bordered by coral reefs and sand-banks (ENI VIII 1482).

[13] At the mouth of the rivers the reefs are cut by channels.

[14] From May 12 or 13 to June 19.

[15] Agurto; see D 179.

[16] The subsequent words of Colín's text « A nuestros dos Padres, Lorenço Masonio y Gabriel de la Cruz, hospedó nuestro colegio con las muestras de caridad y amor que usa nuestra Compañía con ventajas en el agassajo, por la particular razón de ser de otra Provincia y venir desterrados por la fé », are most likely to be his own and not to belong to Cruz's report.

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II TEXT: Seville, *AGI, Filip. 76* ramo 1 no. 34. A loose quire of four folios, not numbered. The text is on ff. 2*r*-3*v*; f. 4*v* contains some later notes. Seems to be the original letter; the « Señor » at the top and the signature at the end are in a different hand, presumably autograph of the bishop. Clear and flowing calligraphy. There is no address, but the « V[estra] M[agestad] » reveals the addressee.

III The AUTHOR: Fray Pedro de Agurto OSA was appointed first bishop of Cebu in August 1595, arrived in the Philippines on May 23, 1598, and died on October 14, 1608. (COSTA 127, 166; COLIN-PASTELLS III 162-163).

Text

1. *Will write what he learned from the people and two Jesuits who came from Ambon.* — 2. *At Shrovetide 1605 a Dutch fleet anchored before Ambon; its several units.* — 3. *They carried about nine hundred men, whereas the poorly provided fortress counted only fifty soldiers.* — 4. *The ultimatum and the surrender without any resistance.* — 5. *Part of the Portuguese sailed to Malacca, part remained trusting the given word, among them the Fathers. After a month the word was broken and all had to leave.* — 6. *In this way the Ambon islands were lost.* — 7. *The Dutch reported that Holland was preparing men-of-war to conquer India and to make D. Manuel king of it.* — 8. *Five ships sailed to Ternate with a view of capturing the fortress of Tidore. Then the Dutch will have all the clove and erect agencies in Ternate and Tidore.* — 9. *Dutch tactics: not kill the Portuguese but honour them and prepare in that way the reign of the son of D. António.* — 10. *In order to control India the Dutch made confederations with Portugal's enemies, many of whom sent ambassadors to Prince Maurice. Dutch ships reconnoitred all the coasts from Mozambique to Sunda.* — 11. *The admiral reconnoitred Ambon port and fortress five years earlier, and now he returned and seized it: a threat not only for India, but for China and the Philippines as well.* — 12. *The best remedy: to capture the fortress of Ternate. The Dutch plan to take it, but they won't be able to. The king of Ternate is disappointed because the Dutch did not give him the Ambon fortress.* — 13. *The Ternatans claim all the Maluku and Ambon islands for their king and they won't permit either Portuguese, or Dutch, or Spaniards to erect forts in them. The Dutch ought to retire to the ships and only trade in passing.* — 14. *When the Dutch return with greater power, the hope of reconquering Maluku will be idle.* — 15. *Prayerful conclusion.*

†

Señor

1. Por ser las nuevas tan ciertas y que V. Magestad desseará y gustará saber, aunque trabajosas y adversas del estado de las cosas de la Yndia y Maluco, por tener el rremedio fácil con la prevención y diligencia, que con la dilación y tardança promete cura dificultosa, costosa y aun de poco effecto, me pareció no cumplía con mi obligación y officio si no diera a V. Magestad cuenta por menudo de lo que e ssido informado, de la gente que llegó aquí del puerto y fortaleza de

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Anbueno, en una fragata con dos religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús [1] que allí administravan doctrina [2], que parese les encaminó su soberana Magestad a esta ciudad de su sanctíssimo Nombre [3].

2. Son pues las nuevas, que este año de 605, lunes de carnes tolendas, entraron por la barra de la fortaleza de Anbueno seys navíos de alto bordo, mayores los dos dellos que las naos que vienen de Portugal, con otros sinco patajes y una naveta de Don Manuel de Melo, que iva a su fortaleza de Maluco, y en el camino robaron y captivaron los olandeces que venían en los dichos galeones; y más otra nao que tomaron en Mosambique a los portugueses, aviendo quemado y rrobado otra nuestra en el mesmo puerto que, aunque la fortaleza la procuró defender, el olandez la ganó con perdida de hasta diez personas. Traýan más una fusta que robaron en el Malabar, y mataron todos los que venían en ella.

3. Estando toda esta harmada surta en el puerto de Anbueno a tiro de cañón de nuestra fortaleza, se le juntaron otras dos naos olandesas que vinieron de Varanula [4]. Y llegaría la gente de los enemigos hasta novecientas personas entre marineros y jente de guerra, que en semejantes açaltos hazen a dos manos, y no son los marineros los que menos ayudan. Y en nuestra fortaleza abría asta 50 soldados sin bastimentos, munición ni pólvora, que un poco que avía estaba mojada. Y dieron tan de rrepente en este paraje que no dieron lugar a la prevención.

4. Y como el enemigo sintió flaqueça, se fue acercando; levó y acercóse hasta dar fondo a tiro de moxquete. Y con unos portugueses que avían salido a rreconoscerlos por orden del alcaide, embió a dezir que dentro de 5 oras [5] se determinasen de entregar las llaves o perder todos las vidas, quedando enterrados entre las murallas que pensava arraçar. Visto el grande peligro en que estavan, el capitán y algunos otros portugueses [2*v*] trataron de entregarse a buena guerra. Y dieronles livertad para irse o quedar en la tierra en poscessión de sus aciendas. Entregaron la fortaleza sin más rrecistencia.

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[1] Frs. Lorenzo Masonio and Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz.

[2] In Latin-America Spanish idiom *doctrina* meant both Christian instruction and, as a result of it, a converted Christian village.

[3] This was the official name of the Spanish town of Cebu; the latter name however remained current beside it.

[4] We could not identify these two ships, of which Masonio and Cruz do not speak, but neither does TIELE mention them.

[5] Twenty-four hours in D 178, 1.

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5. Y parte de los portugueses se fueron con sus haziendas y familias en dos navetas a Malaca, y parte dellos se quedaron a gosar de la palabra que se les avía dado, y los Padres a amparar sus ovejuelas. Y dentro de un mes poco más, no pudiendo sufrir sus malas costumbres las nuestras, faltaron a su palabra y los hizieron salir de la tierra en una fragata mal aviados, que casi milagrosamente an allegado a esta ciudad, como endenantes tocava, con particular providencia, para que la jornada que se pretende hazer destas partes a aquellas, vaya con más concierto y tenga el sucesso que se dessea [6].

6. Assí se perdió esta fuerça de Anbueno, que avía quarenta años que la edificaron y poseyeron los portugueses [7], a la qual estavan sujetas las islas del Liaser, Oma, Rozelao y toda la isla de Ambueno, salvo el lugar de Hito, cuyos habitadores parte se fueron a Baranula, y embiaron sus embajadores a Olanda al príncipe de Oranje [8], en cuya respondencia trujeron esta harmada de erejes.

7. Y dan por nuevas assí los capitanes, como los soldados olandeses, que están en astillero haziéndose en Olanda unos fortíssimos galeones de guerra para venir con gran pujança sobre la Yndia a conquistarla y hazerse señores della, trayendo consigo a Don Manuel, hijo de Don Antonio, que ellos llaman rey de Portugal, a cuyo título el príncipe de Oranje le dio su hermana en casamiento años ha. Porque pretenden governar los olandeses la Yndia y apoderarse de las drogas, y yntroducir al dicho Don Manuel por rey, al modo que V.M. introdujo al príncipe y cardenal Alberto, dándole título de rey en los estados de Flandez, casándole con su hermana [9].

8. Después de tomada esta fortaleza de Ambueno embiaron sinco navíos de alto bordo al rey de Terrenate, y sinco patajes y una fusta, todos cargados de gente, armas y municiones, para que en compañía

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[6] The bishop refers to the expedition Governor D. Pedro de Acuña was planning with a view to bringing Maluku again under the control of King Philip.

[7] The brick fortress of Ambon, nucleus of the town, had been built in 1576 (JACOBS, *Wanneer werd de stad Ambon gesticht*? 453-454). The first wooden fort deserving of this name dated from 1569 (ibid. 439-441).

[8] This seems less correct: the messengers sailed to Banten to wait for the Dutch ships.

[9] « Título de rey » is not wholly correct. « In 1598, Philip II decided to bestow a kind of semi-independence on the provincies of the Low Countries still faithful to him. He granted the provincies to his daughter Isabel and her bridegroom-to-be, the Archduke Albert of Austria . . . as their independent possession, subject to return to the Spanish crown if they bore no children » (ROWEN 356).

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de sus caracolas y navíos de remo diessen en la fortaleza de Tidore, con que los olandeses queden señores de todo el clabo assí de Anbueno, como de Maluco. Sospéchase bendrán a concierto como los de Ambueno, con condición que eche el rey de Tidore los portugueses de su tierra, prometa basallaje al príncipe de Oranje, y de benderles a ellos solos todo el clabo y especería, como haze el rey de Terrenate, poniendo en Tidore una fatoría como la tiene en Terrenate.

9. Porque a lo que se entendía del general olandez[10], pretendía rendir y allanar nuestras fortalezas sin matar portugueses, antes quando los cojen y captiban los honrran, respetan y hazen buen tratamiento, y si algunos agravios reciben, es de la gente baja que tiene la mira y fin de la guerra en aprobecharse. Y usan desto ardid por ganar nombre de afables, [3*r*] y ver si por esse camino les pudiessen ganar las voluntades, y a título de tener al hijo de Don Antonio casado con la hermana de su príncipe, que ellos falçamente tienen por rey.

10. Deste intento que publican, de señorearse de la Yndia, a algún yndicio, y es averse los olandeses confederado con todos los enemigos de los portugueses, prometiéndoles fabor y ayuda para echallos de sus tierras. Para cuya confederación y effecto an echo muchos embajadores de aquellas partes para Olanda, y an ydo a tratar de entregar la Yndia al príncipe Mauricio, y dellos an buelto algunos bien despachados y contentos con la esperança de la grueça y poderosa harmada, que dejan fraguada para benir sobre la Yndia. A esto ayuda que este mismo año diez navíos grandes olandeses an ido corriendo y reconociendo la costa desde Mosambique hasta la barra de Goa, no dejando costa en la Yndia, Malaca, Sonda, Zeilão que no se enterasen de los puertos, costas y playas, para que su yntento tenga effecto, reconosciendo primero las dificultades para traellas allanadas, o pençando y traçando como se allanen.

11. Y el que viene por general desta armada, sinco años ha tenía otra ves, con un navío, echa esta misma diligencia[11], y llevó conocido el fuerte y puerto de Anbueno que aora posee, y en que dejara hasta ochenta soldados de precidio[12], pero gente de poca fuerça y defensa, tirándole más de sien tiros, mientras se satisfiso bien de su barra y puerto. Y buelto a Olanda informó al príncipe de Oranje y le despacharon

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[10] Steven van der Haghen.

[11] D 130, 3.

[12] In the Dutch fort on the N coast of Hitu. The garrison did not outnumber 27 men (TIELE VI 165).

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con esta flota que aora a echo tanto daño, sin el mayor que se teme, si no se le pone el devido remedio. Porque se confederan con nuestros enemigos, que solos nos dan bien en que entender, y amenaçan no solamente la Yndia mas la China y Philippinas etc.[a], pretendiendo hazerse señores de la mar.

12. Y el mejor remedio parese que a de ser con tiempo dar en el Maluco y ganarles por la mano, apocecionándonos de la fuerça de Terrenate, como V.M. lo lleva encaminado y por acá se traça, porque ellos [13] ban resueltos de tomarla por fuerça, si no se les entriega de voluntad. Pero lo que parese cierto es, que ni el Terrenate se la dará, ni el olandés la podrá tomar con sinco navíos que lleva, pues la defendió [14] de otro mayor poder [15] que los olandeses llevan. Y es yndicio de que no se les entregará, porque assí él como sus capitanes Sabano, Basifrangui y Baranulas [16], mostraron disgusto con los olandeses en Ambueno, porque iban con título de ayudarles y de amigos, y no les entregó la fortaleza [17] y se recelarán que, si les dan entrada en la suya, los dejarán también fuera.

13. Y los terrenates están en que todas las islas de Maluco y Anbueno pertenecen [3*v*] a su rey, y están echos a una y confederados para no dejar levantar en sus tierras a portugués, olandés o español, o otra gente blanca fortaleza, que en sus tierras ellos solos quieren reynar. Y están juramentados los moros de Anbueno de no vender cate [18] de clabo al olandés, hasta que les entrieguen el fuerte y se rretiren a sus navíos, los quales les cargarán de clabo, con que no hagan haciento en la tierra, mas como mercaderes negocíen de passo [19]. Y si algún pueblo de Anbueno fuesse contra esta conjuración, le avían de destruyr y asolar.

14. De suerte que por este año ni el Terrenate les dará la fortaleza,

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[13] The Dutch.

[14] The king of Ternate.

[15] The combined fleets of Furtado and Gallinato in 1603.

[16] Bassi Frangi, a son of Rubohongi, occurs in VALENTYN (II b 19); the other two names may possibly stand for the governors or local commanders of Sawu in Jailolo island, and of Waranula, i.e., W Seram.

[17] In an Instruction the Dutch East India Company had ordered Van der Haghen to conquer the Portuguese fortresses and then to deliver them to the native rulers (See TIELE, *Documenten* IV 258-265).

[18] *Kati*, unit of weight: 625 grams or one pound or 1 1/3 lbs. English.

[19] Cf. D 146, 35. The Ternatans and Hituese appear consistent in their political principles.

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ni ellos tienen poder para tomalla; sino se contentarán con dejar una fatoría en Terrenate y otra en Tidore para su trato y contrato. Pero el año siguiente podría ser viniessen con mayor poder y que la tomen a fuerça de armas, y entonces se acabaría de perder la esperança de recobrar al Maluco, si con tiempo no se previenen y atajan los passos al enemigo, como se confía en la bondad del Señor se le atajarán con la jornada que se apresta para el fin deste año. Porque en Maluco no se sabe nada, y el olandés se bolberá por Julio deste mismo año con su mercancía, dejando a lo summo hasta 12 personas en sus fatorías; y dando en ellos de improviso, los cojerán descuidados y sin prevención.

15. Al Señor supplico mire estas partes con ojos de misericordia y aplaque la ira y justa indignación que contra estas partes tiene, y lebante el açote que tantas veses a descargado sobre ellas, con confución de los enemigos de su sanctíssimo nombre y paz deste archipiélago, que pacífico el Maluco no le queda lança enhiesta. Y juntamente nos guarde la persona de V.M., como todos tenemos necessidad para nuestra defenza y conservación.

Desta ciudad del Sanctíssimo Nombre de Jesús, y Junio último de 1605.

Fray Pedro de Agurto,
Obispo del Sanctíssimo Nombre de Jesús.

179A

FR. LUÍS FERNANDES' REPORT ON THE LOSS OF TIDORE AND HIS VOYAGE TO CEBU

CEBU, EARLY JULY, 1605

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: STREIT V no. 65 (incorrectly: from Ambon); WESSELS, *Amboina* 190 Fernandez no. 10.

II AUTHORS: ARGENSOLA 348-350; IARRICUS III/2 470-475; COLIN (ed. Madrid 1663) 550-552 (COLIN-PASTELLS III 20-22); TIELE VI 235-236; WESSELS, *Amboina* 159.

III TEXT:

A. In *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu, 1605*, 473-476. Printed Latin version.

B. GUERREIRO II 305-308, a little more detailed Portuguese rendering, in some places different from text A.

N.B. The report is partly inserted into the Portuguese letter of Fr. Jeró-

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nimo Gomes, Cochin, December 29, 1606: *ARSI, Goa 55* f. 154*v* (which will be published in the next volume of the *Documenta Malucensia*). An Italian text of it in *ARSI, Philip. 18 II*, ff. 203*v*-204*v* is merely a literal translation of Colín's narrative.

IV TIME: Fr. Fernandes arrived at Oton in Panay island *c.* July 1, and soon after, he sailed to Cebu to meet the Spanish Jesuits and Fr. Cruz with his Ambonese refugees (Fr. Masonio had left Cebu on June 20). Presumably it is here that he wrote his report.

V OUR EDITION: We publish text B that may be supposed nearest the lost original.

Text

1. *In April 1605 an English ship brought news to Tidore of the fall of Ambon and offered victuals for an eventual siege by the Dutch. Tidore fortress was strenghtened.* — 2. *In May five Dutch ships, passing by Bacan, drew near Tidore. Their artillery and their crew.* — 3. *As the king of Tidore did not agree with the proposal of driving the Portuguese away from his island, the Dutch planned to attack first two Portuguese galleons anchored there.* — 4. *The battle. Captain Fernão Pereira* [*de Sande*] *was wounded. The galleons were set on fire.* — 5. *On May 16 the fleet of Ternate joined the Dutch. A two-days Dutch-Ternatan bombardment of the fortress.* — 6. *On the third day the shelling was repeated from a nearer position; the Dutch killed a Portuguese commander and began scaling the wall.* — 7. *Fr. Fernandes warned the captain; the Dutch were driven back from the wall to their stockade.* — 8. *Unexpectedly the gunpowder exploded, destroying the fortress and killing about thirty men.* — 9. *Fortunately Fr. Fernandes escaped death.* — 10. *The captain and the survivors fled to the king of Tidore while the Dutch took possession of the fortress. Four hundred men sailed in five boats first to Siau, where they met Fr. António Pereira and Br. Giampaolo* [*Manfrida*], *and from there to Cebu.*

1. No princípio de Abril do ano de 605, apareceu uma nau inglesa[1] no mar de Maquiém, a qual vinha preguntando pela fortaleza dos portugueses que estava em Tidor, aonde pouco depois chegou. E tendo fala com os nossos lhes deu nova como os holandeses tinham tomado a fortaleza de Amboino e se faziam prestes para virem sobre esta. Juntamente ofereceu que lhes venderia a troco de cravo tudo o que de sua nau lhes fosse necessário, como vinho, azeite, queijos, biscoito e vários legumes, roupas e tudo o mais que quisessem. O que para os da fortaleza foi bom alvitre pela necessidade que de tudo tinham em tempo de guerra; dizendo porém que não poderiam ajudar os portugueses contra os holandeses, porque seu rei tinha pazes com eles, mas que somente estariam à mira, como estiveram no tempo da peleja.

[1] Under Captain Sir Henry Middleton (D 177 note 3).

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Começou-se com muita diligência a fortificar a fortaleza, ajudando os tidores contìnuamente com suas embarcações, e ajudando todos os que havia na fortaleza, até sacerdotes, mulheres e meninos.

2. No cabo de um mês que havia que a nau iglesa dera esta nova, chegou recado do Padre Jorge de Afonseca que então estava na cristandade de Labua, lugar da ilha de Bachão, como no mar daquella ilha apareciam oito naus holandesas, as quais chegaram no princípio de Maio acrescentada mais uma; convem a saber, cinco naus grandes e quatro patachos. Vinham as naus mui alterosas, e tão ligeiras que contra vento navegavam para onde queriam [2]. [306] Cada uma delas trazia de vinte e cinco para trinta peças de artilharia toda mui grossa e poderosa, que algumas botavam peloiro de trinte arráteis de ferro coado, e todos os peloiros eram de ferro. Entre todas traziam mais de cento e vinte peças afora a que traziam abatida. Vinham mui embandeiradas e com muitas trombetas bastardas de que cada nau trazia seu terno. A gente que nelas vinha era pouca, porque como se soube por um escrito dum português que consigo traziam e que secretamente o mandou ao capitão da fortaleza, em toda esta armada vinham somente pouco mais de duzentos homens; porém todos estes eram juntamente soldados, artilheiros e marinheiros.

3. Chegados que foram à ilha, salvaram todos a cidade de el-rei de Tidor que está da fortaleza como um quarto de légua [3], disparando cada uma sua peça sem peloiro. Neste tempo estavam dois galeões nossos, da carreira [4], surtos e juntos ao lugar de el-rei de Tidor por ser mais acomodado para se defenderem, e as naus foram surgir em uma ponta da ilha que chamam Saconora [5]; donde por uns tidores que traziam consigo de Amboino mandaram muitos recados a el-rei de Tidor, os quais todos se rematavam que lhes entregasse os portugueses ou os botasse fora da sua ilha. E como vissem que el-rei a nada lhes deferia, se determinaram vir cometer os dois galeões, os quais não tinham mais

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[2] Cf. D 146 note 26.

[3] The picture of 1606 of the battle, in *India Orientalis* VIII, plate XVIII shows from left to right (which equals from South to North) the native town, the mosque with the king's palace, the Portuguese town, and the fortress, all at the E side of the island. (The hill to the left, the bay, and the detached mountain X are too pronounced and the distances are reduced). Cf. D 73 note 110.

[4] Captained by Tomé de Torres and Fernão Pereira de Sande (*Voyage of Middleton*, ed. 1943, 34).

[5] Doubtless *Soahkonorah*, meaning a quarter or town situated in the middle (CLERCQ, *Ternate* 297 s.v. konorah).

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cada um que quatro ou cinco peças de artilharia pela proa, mas a gente mui pouca porque não a havia na fortaleza.

4. Durou a briga entre as naus e eles por duas horas, em que os nossos se defenderam mui bem. Porque abalroados e entrados pelos inimigos duas vezes, os lançaram fora e com a nossa artilharia lhes fizeram tanto dano que lhe tiveram metida no fundo sua capitânia, se os holandeses não foram tão destros em a pôr à banda e lhe deitarem a água fora[6]. Mas como eles eram tantos mais e sua artilharia tanta e tão grossa, apertaram rijamente os galeões até ferirem a Fernão Pereira, capitão deles, em uma perna de uma bombarda, de que logo caíu. E posto que não deixou de animar a gente a continuarem a batalha, como todavia foi necessário levarem-no em braços para fora do galeão, a gente que neles estava se saíu após ele, e os holandeses os entraram; e tirando-lhes a artilharia e o mais que neles estava, os queimaram ao outro dia[7]. Dos nossos que nos galeões pelejavam morreram somente dois homens; feridos sairam alguns. Da parte dos inimigos foram muitos feridos; dos mortos se não sabe porque o encobrem eles mui bem.

5. Tornaram os holandeses depois disto a mandar vários recados a el-rei de Tidor, mas sem efeito do que pretendiam. Ao outro dia que foi dezasseis de Maio, se veio ajuntar com eles el-rei de Ternate com sua armada. E logo os ternates desembarcando em terra fizeram uma tranqueira para dela por terra, e os holandeses por mar, baterem a fortaleza. O que começaram a fazer aos dezassete de Maio, jogando os holandeses cento e vinte peças de artilharia, da qual não havia na fortaleza mais que onze, e destas as seis ou sete lhes não podiam alcançar ao posto em que eles estavam. Durou a batalha deste dia desde pela manhã até à noite. Mas prouve a nosso Senhor que sem dano nenhum nosso, que por todos não eram mais que setenta homens, e destes uns trinta que pudessem bem pelejar. E era coisa maravilhosa ver a alegria e ánimo com que estes poucos pelejavam. Ao dia seguinte tornaram a continuar a bateria por terra e por mar sem em todo o dia levarem mão dela. Mas [307] também Deus ajudou os nossos e os guardou, que com serem sobre eles os peloiros tantos que pareciam chuva, não houve morto algum, e ferido foi um somente levemente de uma lasca de uma pedra.

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[6] It is perhaps these words that caused some authors to recount that the Dutch flaggship was sunk; see, e.g., D 187, 1; *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* I 148.

[7] Bastiaensz set fire to one ship, but before burning the other he offered

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6. Ao terceiro dia vendo os inimigos a fortaleza dos nossos, e quão fora estavam de se lhes entregarem como eles cuidavam, determinaram de apertar mais a bateria, e assim da meia noite por diante levando-se as naus do posto em que estavam, se vieram todas juntas em fileira pôr bem defronte da fortaleza, e botaram gente em terra na sua tranqueira para juntamente com os ternates que eram muitos, emquanto as naus batiam do mar, os da tranqueira cometerem por terra. O que começaram a fazer em amanhecendo com mui grande força de canhões reforçados que parece aquela noite a nau capitânia tirou de baixo. Ao tempo que esta bateria se começou estavam descansando um pouco os nossos soldados, porque toda a noite tinham vigiado e não deixou de haver algum descuido em acudirem neste ponto. O que foi causa de os holandeses começarem a entrar por uma coiraça que estava debaixo do baluarte do capitão [8]. E foi bastante ocasião disto que, estando o nosso condestável nesta coiraça apontando uma peça para tirar aos inimigos, eles o pescaram primeiro com outra de suas naus e o mataram. Pelo que logo outros que ali estavam, gente de pouca substância, desampararam o lugar e a coiraça. O que vendo os das naus fizeram sinal com as trombetas aos seus que estavam em terra que entrassem por aquele passo, que não havia quem lho estorvasse. Começam logo a entrar e trepar.

7. Nesta conjunção, estando ali perto o Padre Luís Fernandes da Companhia de Jesus [9], que por todas as partes também andava vigiando, indo ver o que passava na coiraça, encontra com os inimigos que já vinham com os mosquetes no rosto direitos ao Padre; o qual desviando-se deles foi correndo avisar o capitão, que logo com muito ánimo e diligência acudiu, e achou já um grande golpe de gente que vinha entrando assim de holandeses como de ternates. E com os poucos que consigo tinha deu tão forte Santiago [10] nos inimigos que os fizeram voltar com tanta pressa e tão desatinadamente que uns após outros se botavam da coiraça abaixo com muito perigo de quebrarem braços

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it to Abreu for sailing away after having surrendered the fortress; Abreu refused (TIELE VI 235).

[8] As far as I know, no trustworthy picture of the Portuguese fortress of Tidore was ever recorded. The picture mentioned in note 3, being too simple and schematic, cannot be considered such.

[9] This passage strongly suggests that this is not the literal original text of Fr. Fernandes's report, who most likely would not speak of himself in the third person.

[10] War-cry or battle-shout of the Iberian peoples.

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e pernas, como aconteceu a um dos seus capitães. E foi tão grande o medo que neles entrou que deixaram os mosquetes, espingardas e lanças por fugirem mais desembaraçadamente, indo-lhes os nossos no alcance até os fazerem meter em sua tranqueira.

8. Passado isto e recolhendo-se os nossos e andando todos ajuntando os despojos das armas que dos inimigos lhes ficaram, muito contentes e alegres por tal vitória, eis que de improviso pega o fogo a setenta barris e duas pipas de pólvora que estavam na fortaleza com tão grande estrondo que parecia se fundia o mundo, resinando pelos ares paus e pedras, e colhendo debaixo a nossa gente matou perto de trinta homens dos principais que havia naquela fortaleza, que foi coisa de grande lástima e de muito maior juízo de Deus.

9. Livrou Deus nosso Senhor com grande providencia sua ao bom velho [11] Padre Luís Fernandes para os muitos serviços que depois lhe havia de fazer; o qual neste ponto em que arrebentou a pólvora andava pela povoação buscando e chamando a gente que viessem acudir à fortaleza.

10. Vendo-se o capitão e os mais que escaparam com vida neste estado, sem fortaleza, sem pólvora, sem munições nem mantimentos, tomaram por conselho recolherem-se com [308] suas armas ao lugar de Tidor onde el-rei estava. Ficaram logo os holandeses senhores de tudo [12]. Mas como homens que não queriam de Tidor mais que fazer ali feitoria e lançar os portugueses fora, lhes mandaram oferecer embarcações para aonde se quisessem ir. Das quais eles aceitaram quatro; e com outra de el-rei de Tidor se embarcaram nelas quatrocentas pessoas e se foram à ilha de Siao aonde estava o Padre António Pereira e o Irmão João Paulo, com os quais se detiveram como quinze dias [13] em que fizeram mantimentos para sua viagem que fizeram dali a Zebu [14], onde também encontraram os Padres da Companhia que alí residem que com sua costumada caridade os agasalharam e consolaram.

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[11] He was then 55 years of age.

[12] This was on May 19, 1605.

[13] More or less from 7 to 21 June; Fr. Pereira is supposed to have forwarded his letter of June 21 (which is D 177) to the Philippines with this occasion.

[14] Here the Latin version, text A, is more detailed, referring to peril of life in a stormy sea and peril of starving because the Dutch had given them only two sacks of black rice; and stating that they arrived at Oton (in Panay island) about July 1 and that Fernandes, suffering from a quintan fever, decided to sail to Cebu as soon as possible.

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Lost Letter

179*a*. — *Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, Manila, to Fr. Acquaviva, General, Rome; July-August 1605.*

D 182, 6: It is better to join the Maluku mission to Manila than to India (understand Cochin).

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CONSULTATION OF THE PROFESSED FATHERS OF JAPAN

NAGASAKI, SEPTEMBER 15, 1605

I TEXT:

A. *ARSI, IapSin 14 II* ff. 219*r*-222*v*. Original in Portuguese in Japanese paper of large quarto. Folios 221*v* and 222*r* are blank; f. 222*v* contains the quasi-address « Consulta feita em Nangasaqui acerca da carta de N. P. Geral de 1603, que trata de fazer hum superior que corra somente com a China, Malaca e Maluco ». The text is written in a bold and very clear hand in black ink. It opens enumerating the thirteen Fathers who took part in the consultation, and it closes with the autograph signatures of all of them. Some sentences, or parts of them, are underlined in a brown ink.

B. *ARSI, IapSin 14 II* ff. 223*r*-225*v*, formerly 375-377. An identical original in Portuguese on the same paper and in the same hand. On f. 225*v* another hand noted « Japonia consulta 1605 ».

C. London, *British Library, MS Department, Add. 9860* ff. 103*r*-105*v*. Copy in Portuguese, obviously made in Japan and intended as a file-copy for Fr. Provincial of India; it was written in two hands of which the first is the same that wrote texts A and B. The signatures are neither autographic nor complete, two of the thirteen names having been omitted. Folio 105*r* is blank, the *verso* has the notes « Treslado da Consulta feita em Nancasaqui acerca da carta de N. P. Geral de 1603 que trata de fazer hum superior que corra somente com a China, Malaca e Maluco », and « Gavet. n. 32 ».

II OUR EDITION: We publish text A.

Text

1. *Fr. General, in a letter to Fr. Valignano, proposed to erect a new Vice-Province comprising Macao, Malacca, and Maluku, and excluding Japan.* — 2. *Reasons for this proposal. Fr. General, before making a decision, requests the advice of Fr. Visitor and the other Fathers.* — 3. *Valignano's reasons for building a college at Macao may help the Fathers to make up their mind.* — 4. *They were unanimous in rejecting a special superior for Malacca, Maluku, and China.* — 5. *Among the reasons for it,*

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the second was that Maluku is an insignificant thing, and moreover now dominated by the Dutch. — 6. The third was that Maluku, Malacca, and China cannot be visited by a superior within one year.

Consulta feita em Nangasaqi aos 15 de Setembro de 1605

[...]

1. Propôs o Padre Vice-Provincial[1] como tinha recebido neste Agosto passado de 1605 huma carta do N.R.P. Geral Claudio Aquaviva dos 13 de Janeiro de 1603, escrita ao P.e Alexandre Valignano[2], Visitador desta Vice-Provincia, que ao presente está na cidade de Macao[3], a qual elle, P.e Vice-Provincial, tinha aberto polla ordem que pera isso tem do dito P.e Visitador. Nesta carta escreve o P.e Geral como se lhe offerecia que pera o progresso da conversão da China e bom governo dos collegios de Macao, Malaca e residencias de Maluco seria de grande ajuda aver hum superior que tivesse todos estes lugares à sua conta (ficando Japão somente per sy Vice-Provincia, e a China, Malaca e Maluco como outra Vice-Provincia) e os pudesse visitar pessoalmente, acudindo a todas as necessidades e dando expediencia aos negoceos, o que não pode ser estando estas casas e lugares da maneira que agora estão.

2. Porque o superior de Japão não pode ausentar-se delle pera ir à China, e a comunicação por cartas hé difficil por aver muitas vezes falta de embarcações. E o superior de Cochim e partes do sul não pode visitar Malaca e Maluco sem gastar nisso hum par de annos, fazendo entretanto notavel falta em Cochim e mais partes a elle sugeitas, como mais diffusamente se contem na dita carta de N.P.e, a qual o P.e Vice-[219*v*] Provincial mandou ler na consulta. E porque N.P.e diz que não quer tomar resolução nisto sem primeiro ouvir o parecer do P.e Visitador, e pera isto lhe encomenda que o trate com os mais Padres de Japão pera ver o que elles sentem, disse o P.e Vice-Provincial que fazia esta consulta pera os Padres dizerem os seus pareceres, pera os poder escrever a N.P.e polla via das Filipinas e Indias Occidentaes, e tambem a Macao ao P.e Visitador.

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[1] Fr. Francisco Pasio was Vice-Provincial of Japan, 1600-1611 (RODRIGUES, *A Companhia* 25).

[2] Lost letter, 153*a*. At least, the text of such a letter did not come to our knowledge.

[3] Valignano was in Japan, for the third time, from 1598 to 1603 when he left for Macao (SCHÜTTE, *Valignano* I/I 45-46).

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3. Propôs tambem o P.e Vice-Provincial as razões que moverão ao P.e Alexandre Valignano, Visitador de Japão e China, a dar principio ao collegio de Macao com parecer da primeira Congregação Provincial de Japão [4], e outros inconvenientes e razões que se offerecião por huma parte e por outra, pera que, visto e ponderado bem tudo, podessem os Padres melhor dar seus pareceres.

4. E todos de comum consensu[a], nemine penitus discrepante, forão de parecer que não convinha aver tal superior que tenha cuidado somente de Malaca, Maluco e China, e que em particular pera Japão seria de grande dano. E que por isso se pedisse a N. Padre que ainda que os Padres da India aprovassem esta traça, N. Padre a não pusesse em execução. As razões pollas quaes a isto se moverão forão as seguintes: [...]

5. 2ª, porque Maluco, que [hé] [b] huma das tres christandades pollas quaes se deseja fazer esta divisão, hé cousa muito pouca em sy e muito menor o [c] hé agora, pois os olandeses tem tomado Amboino e provavelmente terão tambem tomado a Tidore, e em mentes [d] os olandeses andarem por este mar do sul, pouco fundamento se pode fazer em Maluco e muito mal poderá ser visitada.

6. 3ª, porque, ainda que Maluco esteja em pee e prospero, não [hé] [e] possivel visitar este [f] novo superior em hum anno todas estas tres partes, scilicet Malaca, Maluco e a China, polla grande distancia que há entre estes lugares e não se poder navegar e ir a elles senão em tempos determinados. De maneira que nem ainda com pôr este novo superior se alcança o que N. Padre pretende, que hé serem os subditos visitados cada anno huma vez presencialmente por seu superior, e de ordinario mais facilmente [220*r*] podem os da China ter recurso ao superior de Japão do que podem ter a este novo superior, pois acontecendo estar elle em Maluco não terão reposta senão dentro de dous annos.
[... 221*r*]

E por todos [...] serem deste parecer assinarão de sua propria mão esta consulta:

Francisco Pasio [5], o Bispo de Jappão [6], Organtino Soldo, Pedro da Cruz, Diogo de Mesquita, Melchior de Mora, Mattheus de Couros,

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[4] The first Provincial Congregation of Japan met in Nagasaki, February 3-14, 1592. Valignano built the Macao college between October 24, 1592 (day of his arrival from Japan) and November 1594 (SCHÜTTE, *Introductio* 56, 162-163).

[5] The Vice-Provincial.

[6] His name was Luís de Cerqueira.

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Gregorio de Céspedes, João Rodriguez, Affonso de Lucena, Pero Ramón, Francisco Calderón, Bartolomeu Gomez.

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[a] consenso *B* ‖ [b] *from B, om. A* ‖ [c] *om. B* ‖ [d] mentres *B* ‖ [e] *from B, om. A* ‖ [f] esteve *A*, este *B*

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FR. MANUEL RODRIGUES SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter
COCHIN, SEPTEMBER 25, 1605

I AUTHORS: GUERREIRO II 127; 129-131; his wording is the proof that he had this letter before his eyes; IARRICUS III/2 464-467.

II TEXT: *British Library, MSS Department, Add. 9853* ff. 501*r*-524*v* (also numbered in rather feeble pencil 62-85); original copy in Portuguese, written in one clear and beautiful hand, and headed « Annua da Vice-Provincia do Malabar da India Oriental do anno de 1604 e de 1605 ». Text divided according to the different stations whose names serve as titles of the chapters. Folio 524*r* is blank; its *verso* bears the endorsement « Annua da Provincia do Malavar de 1604 », to which a later archivist's hand added « Gav. N. 42 ». (*Gav.* is *Gaveta*). The part bearing on Maluku is on ff. 520*v*-523*v*. Unfortunately the condition and the legibility of many folios is rather bad, but of some others is excellent. So, e.g., in our part, ff. 520 and 523 are easy to read, but ff. 521 and 522 are badly damaged and scarcely legible. The reason of this deterioration is curiously indicated on f. 524*v* in a contemporary writing « . . . desfeito com urraca, untada em parte ». It seems doubtless that the ink too corrupted the paper producing holes, especially in f. 522 where some small parts of the text are simply lacking. Folio 521*r* contains, besides the number 82 in pencil, another number « 81. » in the left upper corner, and « 604 » in the right margin, this latter obviously indicating the year 1604; and at the top of f. 523*r* there is the number « 12 ».

III THE AUTHOR: On Fr. Manuel Rodrigues, see introduction to D 168.

IV NOTE: Though the letter was written after the loss of the fortresses of Ambon and Tidore, it is clear that the author had not yet got knowledge of these occurrences; it gives, as far as Maluku is concerned, the situation of early 1604.

V OUR EDITION: We give the full text of the chapters on Maluku preceded by one paragraph belonging to the chapter of Malacca but dealing with a missionary of Maluku. We tried to decipher the nearly illegible texts. For some parts it appeared that this was not sufficiently possible, i.e., not in a way that

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complete and coherent sentences could be formed. Where the result was more satisfying we were helped a lot by the narrative of GUERREIRO that proves to have somentimes the same wording as our MS. As this is the case with the letter of Fr. Jorge da Fonseca of May 17, 1604 (here in the badly battered f. 522*r*; GUERREIRO II 131), we prefer to publish the latter's text (D 169) and to skip it here. Where our endeavour resulted only into some scattered words, they at least show on what topic the text is bearing. The dotted lines between such words are not strictly mathematical, they only reveal that not a whole line but only a part of it was unreadable. Words between square brackets were not read but were substituted either from the context or from GUERREIRO. (*By permission of the British Library*).

Text

1. *Death of Fr. Bartholomeus Daniel of Flushing caused by the Dutch near Malacca.* — 2. *Fathers and Brothers in Maluku. Abortive endeavour of a fleet to reconquer the fortress of Ternate.* — 3. *Sacred ministries of the Fathers in Tidore fortress residence; its radiating function.* — 4. *Troubles of the Fathers who work in Labuha. Marriage of the sengaji's daughter with a Portuguese.* — 5. *On Christianity in Siau.* — 6. *The Fathers in Tidore suffered great distress by wars and by illness.* — 7. *They appeased strifes among soldiers and between two ship-captains. Two notable baptisms.* — 8. *The one of a Muslim who invoked the name of Jesus.* — 9. *The other of an old Muslim woman. A letter of Fr. Fonseca proves that the Fathers do not evade their difficulties.* — 10. *Three Fathers stationed in Ambon; their mission stations in the town of Ambon and in the Lease islands. Conversion of Muslims operated by sick-nursing.* — 11. *Ministries of the Fathers after the victory [of Furtado Mendonça]: baptisms, ecclesiastical marriages.* — 12. *Baptizing and erecting of a cross in a village.* — 13. *Conversion of a prominent Muslim.* — 14. *And of an entire Muslim family.* — 15. *Signs of true Christian life. Esteem of the sacrament of extreme unction.* — 16. *A sick person healed after prayers and vows.* — 17. *Conclusion.*

[. . .]

1. Em Fevereiro de 603 morreo na armada de Malaca o P.e Bertholameu Daniel, de nação fremengo, natural de Vlessighi, de idade 32 annos e doze da Companhia[1]. Tinha ido pera a christan[da]de de Maluco, onde sempre lhe foi mal da saude e por este respeito se tornou por ordem da obediencia pera Malaca. E avendo novas em Malaca de duas naos olandezas[2] que andavão alli perto, sayrão dous galiões nossos, em os quaes forão, à petição dos capitães, dous Padres da Companhia; hum delles era o P.e Bertholameu Daniel. E encontrando-sse

[1] Cf. General Introduction III 4 no. 64.

[2] Perhaps the two ships with which Joris Spilbergh hung about in and around Aceh from September 1602 to February 1603 (TIELE VI 210 and 213).

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os nossos galiões com as naos dos framengos, ouve peleja de parte a parte bem travada, e ainda seria mais se os olandezes se não retirarão bem maltratados com a mor preça que poderão. E na peleja aconteceo que, hum pelouro grande dando em o bordo da nao, saltou huma racha que alcançou na cabeça ao Padre e o tratou tão mal, que não durou mais que dous dias. Era este Padre muito alegre no serviço de Deos e muito prompto na obediencia e zeloso da christandade.

Residencias de Maluco e Amboino [521r]

2. . . . . lugares e estas são as residencias de Maluco e Amboino, nas quais [estão ao] presente nove Padres e hum Irmão[3], convem a saber dous P.es e hum Irmão [?] em Tidore que hé a residencia do Maluco, e . . . . . há outros dous Padres em companhia do P.e . . . . . superior daquelas residencias. E sempre . . . . . pouco podem pois el-rey . . . . . muito que se pode fazer con[verções] . . . . . armada que foi àquellas partes[4] pera sogeitar . . . . . pollos [?] poucos que tinhão . . . . . em Maluco . . . . . necessarios . . . . . porem . . . . que . . . . . Ternate, . . . muitas . . . . . da nossa parte, e grandes esperanças de . . . . aquella fortaleza de Ternate, que há muitos annos que perdimos . . . . . tomado dous baluartes . . . ., como digo, falta assi . . . . . os mantimentos e munições, e a monção estar no cabo . . . . . e outros com estes com que ia nossa armada . . . . . e assi foi necessario dar volta pera Malaca, ficando imperfeita a conquista de Ternate . . . . . revoltados e assanhados contra nos, e os Padres con menos esperanças . . . . . nequellas partes de Maluco que se podia fazer pollas ylhas . . . [Tidore] que dista de Ternate somente mea legoa.

Residencia de Maluco

3. Em Tidore está a nossa fortaleza de Maluco onde reside hum

[3] Ten Jesuits in all. In D 167 they were eight Fathers and two Brothers. It was known in Cochin that Fr. Daniel and Br. Brito had been recalled and that Frs. João Baptista and Manuel Carvalho had been appointed for Maluku. (D 174).

[4] Obviously the fleet of André Furtado de Mendonça is meant here.

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clerigo que hé vigairo da vara[5], o qual posto que tem a seu cargo assi os portuguezes como os mais christãos da terra, comtudo a nossa occupação nesta [?] residencia hé confessar toda a gente desta fortaleza assi brancos como pretos, e pregar ora na Sec[6] ora em nossa casa[7], ensinar a doutrina aos meninos[?] e escravos e outras cousas ordinarias. Nem há esperança nesta ilha de fazer mais christandade nova por serem mouros quasi todos e não darem ouvido ao evangelho. Porem a rezão de se conservar aqui esta residencia hé por estar segura à sombra da nossa fortaleza e em boa parajem pera que daqui se possão espalhar os Padres por outras ylhas.

4. E não se pode esperar algum fruto e prover-se cedo do necessario, porque[8] daqui a dezoito ou vinte legoas temos christandade na ylha de Alabua, onde averá alguns dozentos christãos vassalos do sangage[9], que hé tãobem christão, mas sogeito ao rei de Bachão que hé mouro, ou pera milhor dizer arrenegado, com cujas perseguições padecem os Padres grandes trabalhos na conservação daquella christandade, das quaes tiranias e perseguições cuidavamos que ficassem livres aquelles pobres christãos e juntamente os do Mo[ro][10], e outros com a yda da nossa armada àquellas partes, se tivera boa . . . . . em Ternate. Mas acodio N. Senhor a esta falta e asegurou aquella christandade d'Alabua com remedio suficiente, porque o sangage casou huma filha com hum português honrado, do qual casamento se esperão muitos bens e se atalharão grandes males que se temião por pretender casar com ella hùm senhor mouro seu vezinho, do que se havião de seguir grandes desaventuras.

5. A outra christandade que está pera aquella banda de Maluco e dista de Tidore 35 ou [40] legoas, hé a da ylha de Siao, onde averá

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[5] That is, he was the delegate or representative of the bishop of Malacca for the Maluku area.

[6] That is, the church of the aforementioned *vigário da vara* in or beside the fortress.

[7] The use of the term *casa* seems to insinuate that the Jesuits at their later residence in Tidore had not got at their disposal a church or chapel of any importance.

[8] The logical meaning of this *porque* cannot be seen.

[9] The *sengaji* Rui Pereira of Labuha.

[10] At this term *Moro* the paper shows a hole. The *M* and *o* can be read; further there is scarcely place for two more characters. So *Moro* seems to be the only possibility. It is somewhat surprising to find it mentioned here.

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catorze ou quinze annos que não andão Padres por não poderem ir nem se poderem prover do necessario [521*v*].

[*Eighteen lines are illegible*]
chegarão . . . . . que virão a hum nosso Padre[11] no meyo dos soldados, arremeterão a elle e abraçarão dizendo: christão, christão! . . . que nesta ylha de Siao e na ylha dos Celebes que lhe hé sogeita e vizinha, esperamos que se fará muito fruto . . . . . obreiros[?] e dizem que esta será a principal ou das principaes missões de Maluco.

6. E tornando a Tidore, pera os muitos grandes trabalhos que os nossos Padres padecerão com as guerras, assi no tempo que em Maluco . . . . . como depois que foi . . . e falta das couzas necessarias. Tambem padecerão . . . . . grandissimas doenças que ouve naquellas partes por espaço de dous annos, e no tempo que a armada lá esteve chegarão a estar todos os Padres de Maluco juntamente doentes em [cama] . . . . . dos dous Padres que[?] vinhão[?] na armada . . . . . se não fora . . . [hum P.e?] doente que convalesceu mais depressa pera curar aos outros e buscar-lhe o remedio assi de comer como de mezinhas, muito mais padecerião. E por ventura alguns delles acabarão por serem as febres como de peste e com grandissimos agastamentos de coração que chegarão a pôr todos em artigo de morte. Mas com a muita caridade que sempre se uzou com elles, no meio de tanta pobreza nossa, foi N. Senhor servido que todos sarassem pera se occuparem na ajuda dos da armada como da gente de Maluco, e dos que vierão da gente da terra de Amboyno.

7. Composerão muitas lides e desavenças que ouve assi entre soldados como as que ouve entre os capitães de duas naos[12] que estavão em Tidore, com que a terra quasi toda se dividio em dous bandos rompendo algumas vezes, com que sairão alguns malferidos. Dous baptismos ouve de grande gloria de nosso Senhor alem de outros, posto que poucos por causa das guerras e perturbações.

8. Hum delles foi de hum mouro, o qual apertado de graves dores que padecia de hum mal de que morreo, chamava tão fortemente pello nome de Jesus que dava materia de espanto aos que o ouvião. E passando hum nosso Padre pollo lugar aonde elle estava e advertindo a seus clamores, parecendo-lhe que era christão por nomear tantas vezes o santo nome de Jesus, chegou-sse a elle, o qual lhe pedio com

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[11] Here the narrative of Guerreiro helped in reading the damaged text.

[12] Or rather between the captain of the fortress, Pedro Álvares de Abreu, and the captains of two ships anchored near Tidore. Cf. D 171, 1.

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muita instancia que o baptizasse; e acrecentou que pollo desejar muito, tomava na boca de contino . . . . .[522*r*] pollo que pedia lhe . . . . . brevidade que pode . . . . . a seu Criador.

9. [Outro P.e] foi chamado pera fazer christã . . . . . moura muito velha, a qual esteve doente e desejava que a fizesse[?] christão [!] . o P.e . . . e polla achar . . . . . catequis . . E como ella passava de [sessenta] annos . . . . . muito . . . . . fazendo bom ouvido [?] das couzas da nossa fé [?]. E como o P.e a catequisou e baptizou, ao dia seguinte se foi a gosar de seu Criador. E posto que os trabalhos que os nossos Pes padecem em Maluco sejam mui grandes, e grandes . . . . . consolaç[ões], com que Deos N. Senhor . . . . . hum capitulo . . . . Jorge da Fonseca pera o P.e Provincial[?], que hé o seguinte.

[*Here follows the letter of Fr. Jorge da Fonseca of May 17, 1604, which is our D 169*]

Residencia de Amboino

10. Residem ao presente em Amboino tres Padres[13], posto que mais são necessarios pollo muito que há por fazer nas emprezas que pertencem a esta residencia, principalmente depois do bom sucesso que a nossa armada teve nestas partes de Amboino, como já se escreveo os annos passados, porque em Amboino temos duas igrejas com duas freguezias dentro da povoação onde está a nossa [522*v*] fortaleza que não hé inferior[?] à de Tidore[?] onde . . . Alem disso . . . . . todos . . . . . da terra . . . . . Amboino estão[?] muitos lugares de christãos que são visitados pollos nossos Padres de visita[?]. Fora da ylha de Amboino temos outros lugares de christãos nas ylhas de Liacer, Oma e Rosselao. Da residencia de Tidore dista esta residencia de Amboino noventa ou cem legoas . . . . . com as fomes e doenças, que os de Tidore . . . . . posto que . . . . . pera Tidore como passado de lá . . . . . foi grande a industria que . . . applic . . . . . defensa . . . no tempo das doenças . . [curan-]do-os no corpo e nas almas. E como estes . . . . soccorridos[?] . . . huns dose mouros se converterão, alguns . . . vivendo . . . . [mo-]rerão, e não[?] elles aver hum . . . . . finissimo[?], e ainda que no principio resistirão ao Espirito Santo . . . . comtudo[?] . . . . . dous . . . que tinha doente[s?] pera . . . . . e depois adoecendo sua molher[?] a ella fizerão

[13] Lorenzo Masonio, Gabriel Rengifo/da Cruz, André Pereira (D 167).

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o mesmo. E dahi a pouco tempo[?] morerão. O . . . homem . . . que antiguamente foi[?] . . . . . moura, serão já . . . . junta . . . . . se . . . . . fizerão que o Padre . . . . . E fazendo huma confissão geral . . . . . falleceo.

11. Depois das victorias[?] que aqui teve a nossa armada . . . que estes povos[?], logo se começou a colher o fruto que se esperava. E . . . . que . . . . . em milhares, fizerão-se dous [baptismos so-]lennes. Hum delles foi de noventa pessoas, [outro] de setenta . . . . . [ca-]pitães . . . . . alli . . . . . festejados[?] . . . . . vasallos[?] . . . . . E destes se baptisarão . . . . . com alguns sento e vinte pessoas que . . . os mouros e todos os que . . . . . casados . . . . . suas molheres conforme ao rito da Igreja . . . . . presencia . . . . . fizerão . . . . . E indo os Padres mais livremente discorrendo por esta ylha e ylhas adjacentes, baptizarão por vezes duzentos meninos e quatrozentos adultos que vivião na lei de Mafamede.

12. E passando hum Padre de largo por hum lugar por lhe parecer que não folgarião lá com a sua ida, forão os mais honrrados àquelle lugar ter com o Padre pedindo-lhe que chegasse tambem ao seu lugar pera os ensinar e bautizar e pera levantar a cruz, dizendo que ainda tinhão guardados os pedaços de huma cruz que alli esteve antigamente e os tinhão escondidos no mato pera que não viessem às mãos dos mouros quando tomarão aquelle lugar. Vendo o Padre que a petição era justa e que a fazião com bom coração, foy-os consolar e achou ser verdade o que lhe disserão da cruz, e lhes levantou outra cruz nova, pedindo-lhe ao Padre os pedaços da velha[14]. E baptizou todos os que no lugar estavão pera isso catequizando-os primeiro, acodindo ao catequismo muitos outros casados e velhos. E quando os adultos chegavão à pia pera serem baptizados, o Padre os mandava pôr de giolhos e pedir perdão de seus peccados. E vindo entre elles hum menino de tres ou quatro annos, sem o Padre lhe dizer nada por não ser necessario, se pôs de giolhos e levantando as mãos ao ceo pedio perdão dos peccados com tanta devação que consolou o Padre.

13. Hum mouro esforçado e valente entre elles, deixando sua familia e filhos [523*r*], veo de seu lugar a^{a} esta fortaleza, e pedio com muita instancia que o fizessem christão e que o casassem aqui, porque não queria tornar pera o seu lugar. O Padre o foi detendo por alguns mezes

[14] The story of a cross hidden for fear of the Moors recurs more than once in the letters of the Fathers. See DM I 374, 388, 471, 611.

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pera fazer prova delle, dizendo que o não avia de baptizar nem casar sem lhe dar fiança real e pessoal, porque areceava que se tornasse pera os seus. Escusou-sse elle dizendo que não tinha alli quem ficasse por elle. E indo o Padre dissimulando pera provar sua constancia, finalmente veyo elle com fiador e penhor, e assi o foi catequisando por alguns dias. E fez tanto entendimento das couzas da nossa fee que metia espanto; e não somente elle mas tambem huma sua sobrinha se bautizarão.

14. Outro veyo tambem dos lugares dos mouros a pedir o baptismo e que o casassem alli, que não queria tornar aos seus, offerecendo outros tres irmãos que tinha pera serem cristãos. Mas entendendo o Padre que elle tinha pay e mãy, lhe mandou que viessem elles tambem a fallar-lhe. E vierão ambos com alguns outros parentes e confirmarão o que o filho tinha dito, e alem disso se offerecerão elles todos a morarem naquella fortaleza com seus filhos e familia. E pera mor segurança disto derão perto de trezentos cruzados em ouro e outro fato de penhor ao Padre com outros fiadores pera perseverarem todos nesta fortaleza e viverem como bons christãos. E como o pai destes moços era pessoa principal na sua povoação e fora baptisado antigamente, prometeo que pello tempo em diante todos os de seu lugar se farião christãos.

15. Muitos outros derão sinal de bons christãos na frequencia da confissão assi nos jubileos da casa, que são quatro cada anno, como em outros tempos derramando muitas lagrimas ainda meninos de pouca idade com tanto sentimento que consolão aos confessores. Com occasião das muitas doenças que ouve, se foy pondo mais em uzo o sacramento da extrema-unção e ficarão os christãos tendo-lhe menos medo e mais devação que dantes.

Estando hum christão quasi na derradeira e, querendo-lhe o Padre persuadir que se aparalhasse pera receber a santa unção, elle, com medo de morrer, disse que não era ainda tempo (porque tinhão esta falsa imaginação, que avia de morrer logo tanto que a tomasse). E tornando-lhe o Padre a dizer que já era tempo e que não esperasse mais, não quis consentir, com que o Padre se foi muito desconsolado e o encomendou a Deos muito particularmente. Mas dahi a pouco, tocado de Deos, o enfermo mandou pedir ao Padre que lhe levasse a santa unção e logo lhe foi levada. E fez nelle tal effeito que logo se começou achar milhor até que de todo convaleceo, o que elle e os mais atribuirão à virtude do sacramento da unção, e reconhecerão nelle a força que tinha por curar não somente as almas mas tambem os corpos.

16. Outro enfermo mandando chamar ao Padre, estava já tanto b no cabo quando o Padre lá chegou, que lhe não pareceo aver tempo

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pera lhe ir buscar a santa unção, e assi lhe encomendou a alma com o officio ordinario da santa Igreja, o qual acabado e repetido outra vez, a molher e parentes do enfermo fizerão voto a Deos prometendo que mandarião diser por elle certas missas. E feito o voto accodio N. Senhor à sua necessidade começando-sse logo o enfermo achar melhor, e tanto que amanheceo forão os parentes à igreja a dar graças a N. Senhor polla mercê recebida, e levarão a esmola pera comprirem com a sua obrigação.

17. Isto hé o que destes dous annos se offereceo de serviço de Deos, o que resta hé pedirmos ser encomendados na benção e santos sacrifficios de V.P. e dos mais Padres e Irmãos dessas partes pera que nestas [523*v*] emprezas nunca faltemos naquelle fervor e zelo, e lealdade que pedem nossas obrigações, e o sangue de Christo derramado por tantas almas que há nestas partes tão alongadas de seu amor e verdadeiro conhecimento.

[*Autograph*] De Cochim, oje 25 de Setembro de 1605.
De V.P. indigno em Christo filho,

Manoel Rodriguez.

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[a] *interl.* || [b] *interl.*

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FR. LORENZO MASONIO TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

MANILA, SEPTEMBER 28, 1605
Via Malacca

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: WESSELS, *Amboina* 191 Masonio no. 12.
II AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Noord-Celebes* 396 note 1.
III TEXT: *ARSI, Philip. 10* ff. 191*r*-194*v*, earlier 279-280. Holograph in Spanish. At the top of f. 191*r* an archivist noted « De Manila 1605 » underlining the year; at the bottom he wrote « Masonio 5 ». Folios 193*r*-194*r* are blank; 194*v* contains the address and a note « P. Laurencio Mansonio 605 Cochim ». Close to the address there is a hole, obviously once the place of the seal.

Text

1. *Takes the opportunity of writing* via *Malacca.* — 2. *First reports how Fr.*

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Luís Fernandes and Br. Giampaolo [Manfrida] arrived at Cebu after the fall of Tidore fortress, and how this was taken by the Dutch. — 3. The Portuguese had to surrender; they were given some boats to sail off; the two Jesuits owned nothing but what they stood up in. — 4. Expects that the expedition of D. Pedro de Acuña will be successful; persuaded him to take with him in the fleet, besides Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans, the Jesuits who had arrived from Maluku. — 5. Some doubts about their livelihood, and about admitting those other religious, and Spaniards too, into Maluku. — 6. Proposes that, in case of victory, the Jesuit mission of Maluku be linked to Manila, or be erected into a province of its own. — 7. Case of a Manila Father being removed from office on a false information given by some competitors. — 8. How he was rehabilitated. — 9. And how the province consultors in this case had been placed before a fait-accompli. — 10. Another case of false accusation. — 11. Is on the verge of sailing to Cebu. Conclusion.

Molto Reverendo in Christo Padre Nostro

Pax Christi etc.

1. Aunque por via del México[1] y de Goa[2] yo tenga escritto a V.P. este mesmo año, con todo con esta occasión que me se offerece para Malaca, no me pareció cumplir con mi obligación sin escrivir estes pocos reglones a V.P., dándole cuenta de algunas cosas passadas después de escrittas las otras cartas.

2. Primieramente como el P.e Luis Fernandez y el Hermano Juan Paulo, que estavan en el Malucco[3], han venido a Zebú por causa de la pérdida de aquel fuerte de Tidore adò estavan, como el mismo Padre creo escriverá a V.P.[4] Porque fueron allá los mismos olandeses que tomaron Amboeno con cinco naos[5], y después de haveren tomadas

[1] D 176.

[2] Lost letter, 175*b*.

[3] This conflicts with Masonio's own statement in D 176, 9 that Br. Manfrida was stationed in Siau. And this was the truth, as can be seen in D 179A, 10. Masonio may have forgotten it.

[4] This appears a mere presupposition of Masonio who had not yet met Fernandes. According to Colín, Fernandes arrived at Oton (near Iloilo in Panay island) in June, and hearing that the Ambon Fathers had sailed to Cebu he joined them there (COLIN-PASTELLS III 20, 22), finding however Masonio departed to Manila.

[5] Under command of Cornelis Bastiaensz, Vice-Admiral. Masonio does not mention any dates. Bastiaensz anchored before Tidore on May 2, 1605; first he captured two Portuguese galleons; on May 17, the king of Ternate having arrived with fourteen korakoras, Bastiaensz started besieging the fortress and shelling it from both the land and the ships; his attacks however were beaten

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dos naos de portugueses que estavan en el puerto [6], y abrasádalas con muerte de mucha gente dellos y poucos portugueses heridos, battieron el fuerte. Y vendo que no hazían nada, desembarcaron con algunos mil ternates y, dando un grandíssimo assalto, lo entraron mas luego fueron echados fuera, huyendo y echando las armas a los portugueses que los seguían, y quedando muchos muertos y heridos. Volviendo los portugueses con esta victoria, tomó fuego el fuerte no sapiéndose cómo, y luego voló por l'aire, muriendo con el fuego y piedras que volavan hasta [191*v*] treinta hombres.

3. Con el qual successo, quedando los portugueses sin castillo, sin municiones y bastimientos, fueron forzados hazer partido con l'inimigo, pues eram muy pocos y los inimigos muchos, assí naturales como olandeses. Y ansí les dieron navíos para que se fuessen para do quisiessen, y venieron a estas islas Felippinas con mucha hambre y necessidad. Y el Padre con el Hermano [7] vinieron con lo que tenían en el cuerpo solamente, tudo lo demás quedó parte comido del fuego y parte en las manos de los olandeses y ternates.

4. Quanto a la jornada que haze el governador D. Pedro da Cunha para Malucco [8], pienço, siendo Dios servido, que conforme a la buena y muy lúzida gente que lleva, que se alcansará victoria contra el Ternate. Lleva consigo de todas las religiones que ha en Manila, que son domínicos, augustinos y franciscos. De los nuestros de Manila ninguno, seno los que de allá havemos venido; y en el principio se sonava que ni gostava que nos volviéssemos, por sermos de la Provincia de la India sogetta a la corona de Portugal, diziendo que hazía esta jornada y conquista por la corona de Castilla. Mas por las rezones que yo le apontei, de como havía sessenta años que en Malucco entraron los Padres de la Compañía, e que aun teníamos nuestra casa en pie y iglesia en Ternate, e que havía trinta años que estuvieron los Padres en Tidore esperando esta jornada, de volver a sus dottrinas y iglesias, y otras rezones que le apuntei, con las quales quedó satisfecho, dicéndomi que en hora buena

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off until an explosion of the gunpowder in the Portuguese fortress turned the tide; this happened on May 19.

[6] See D 179A, 3.

[7] Fr. Luís Fernandes took Br. Manfrida with him to the Philippines from Siau.

[8] The governor of the Philippines, D. Pedro Bravo de Acuña, who had arrived in Manila in 1602, was instructed by King Philip III of Spain to undertake an expedition to Maluku, and he was hard at work on outfitting a formidable fleet for this purpose.

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tornássemos y que nos metería en nuestros puestos, entendiendo en los de Ambueino y del Tidore, mas quanto a lo de Ternate, dixo que allá, havida la victoria, lo determinaría [9].

5. Y preguntándole más, que haríamos acerca de nuestra sustentación y aparejo para el culto divino, respondió que no moriríamos a hambre, y que al culto divino se provería del necessario, de modo que no se quis declarar más. Por onde no sey su intento y lo que ha de hazer, paréceme que de todo ha de esperar risolución de Espanha. Por onde será bien que V.P. también lo tratte y nos mande lo que havemos de hazer, y si admitteremos los otros religiosos en el Malucco y, admittiéndolos, se havemos de consentir que entren en nuestras [192*r*] doctrinas antiquas, como son las del Moro, plantadas da la santa memoria de nuestro Beato P. Francisco Xaver, las de Bachan, de Ternate y otras que tiníamos. Y que religiosos havemos de admittir, portugueses o españoles? Y todo lo que se mandar venga confirmado del Papa y del Rey de España, porque los religiosos de cá parece que hazen tan poca cuenta de lo que Su Santidad manda, como he visto del Breve que vino acerca de la ida al Jappón, que luego dizen que está mal enformado y hazen lo que se les antoja.

6. Quanto al govierno del Malucco y Ambueino, aunque estando las cosas como até ora estuvieron, ma parese que mejor se governaría uniéndose con esta Provincia de Manila que con la India, como en una otra he scritto a V.P. [10]. Con todo, havida la vittoria y sogettada[s] aquellas islas, parece que se podría hazer otra Provincia separada, porque las islas son muchas daquelle arzipiélago y muy pobladas, y solamente en las christianidades antiguas de Amboino y Malucco se podrían desde luego occupar más de treinta o quarenta Padres. Mas V.P. podrá mejor jusgar lo que conviene.

7. Aquí soccedió estes días passados un caso que me pareció bien que V.P. lo supiesse. El P. Angeles Armano, italiano, estuvo rector del seminario de los convittores [11] que aquí ha más de tres años con

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[9] Of course he doubted if, once having reconquered Ternate for the crown of Spain, he could admit there missionaries belonging to the Portuguese padroado.

[10] Not in D 176. Lost letter therefore, most probably written in the Philippines in July or August 1605; 179*a*.

[11] Fr. Angelo Armano, from Lucca, Italy, arrived in the Philippines in May 1601, and soon he was made rector of the royal San José College, a kind of philosophical and theological faculty of Manila. On this San José, see COSTA 195-199.

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mucha satisfactión de los provinciales y superiores passados. Con la venida del P. Pedro de Montes, rector deste collegio [12], como nuevo y que no conoscía los grandes Padres y mucha virtud del dicho Padre, dio oreja a unas falsas informaciones que algunos sus émulos dél le dieron, las quales toccavan muy al vivo y a la onra. Y después de haver del todo información in scriptis, por su desgargo se determinó sacarlo dal seminario, como de echo lo sacó con un modo muy repentino y algun tanto escandaloso, el que oleó muy mal no solamente en casa, mas también en el seminario y quisá también fuera.

8. Después de echo, halló que todo lo que se havía dicho era falsidad, y tan manifiesta que fue forzado el P. Rector de su consciencia a pidirle perdón [192*v*] y dezir que no havía hallado cosa contra su onra. Y para dar capa a lo que di fuera se havía sembrado, echó fama que el dicho Padre lo sacara para que se ricojesse a aparejarse para un atto público de theología que havía de hazer día de Navidad del Señor, y para remediarse no sey que cosa dentro del seminario que por vía del Padre Angeles no se podía en ninguna manera rimediar. Y con esto se quedó el buen Padre del modo que V.P. imaginar[á], y cierto se non fuera el bueno olor que todos los de fuera y de casa dél han siempre tenido, y la stima que dél siempre se ha hecho siendo amado y querido de todos, que uviera de padecer mucho detrimiento su fama y onra.

9. Los Padres consultores, que es el P. Juan de Ribeira, y el P. Miguel Gomes y el P. Montoya [13], sintieron mucho la repentina determinación del P. Rector y no pudieron accudir a nada, porque quando el P.e Rector lo comunicó con ellos estava todo echo y no tenía rimedio. Assí me lo dixeron el P. Ribeira y el P. Miguel Gomes; con el P. Montoya no he hablado. Y todos quedaron muy edificados de la paciencia del P. Angeles, diziendo que con esta tribulación gañó mucho, quedando muy evidente su pureza y virtud.

10. Daly a ocho días se hizo el mismo con el Hermano Daniel, de nación grieco [14], el qual le llevantaron los mismos del seminario

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[12] Fr. Pedro de Montes, from Málaga, Spain, arrived at Manila on June 22, 1605 (Costa 223). He was the rector of the Jesuit college (distinct from San José). The unsavoury story must have occurred between this date and September 28.

[13] The Fathers Juan de Ribera, Miguel Gómez, and Tomás de Montoya were at that time the official counsellors of Fr. Provincial Gregorio López (1605-1609).

[14] Br. Daniel Theoclitos is mentioned by Costa, 237-238. These two events

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un falso acerca de su pureza, y fue luego saccado sin averiguarse bien la verdade o, por mejor dezir, sin discubrirse la mentira. Daquí podrá considerar lo que sará en adelanti, se tan facilmente se da oreja a mentiras. No me estendo más porque pienço ellos mismos darán más larga cuenta del soccesso.

11. Y porque estoy de partida para Zebú esta noche[15] no puedo ser más largo. Solamente pido a V.P. se acuerde destes sus hyjos del Malucco y nos soccorra con algun[os] libros. Y yo pidíndolhe con toda humildad y reverencia su santa benedictión me echo de rodilla.

De Manila, 28 de 7mbre de 605.

De V.P. indigníssimo hyjo y siervo,

Laurencio Masonio.

[*Address* 194*v*] † Al P.e N. Claudio Agoaviva, prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús. Roma.

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FR. PIETRO EUTIZIO SJ TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

Annual Letter
COCHIN, OCTOBER 15, 1605

I AUTHORS: WESSELS, *Amboina* 144-145.

II TEXT:

A. *ARSI*, *Goa 55* ff. 114*r*-127*v*, formerly 117-129 and no. XVI. Original in Latin, in an elegant small handwriting, not always easily readable. Title « Annuae litterae V. Provinciae Malabaricae Societatis Iesu in India Orientali anni sesquimillesimi centesimi quarti et quinti ad R.P.N. Generalem Cla[u]dium Aquavivam ». Divided into chapters under headings. On the first page a secretary noted at the top « 604 et 605 », at the foot « Malabar 4 ». On f. 127*v*, the dating and the signature are autograph of Fr. Eutizio. The portion of the letter bearing on Maluku is on ff. 125*v*-127*r* (the last folio showing now both the numerals 126 and 127).

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concerning Fr. Armano and the Greek Brother do not seem to be known from other sources.

[15] Obviously Masonio wanted to meet his superior, Fr. Fernandes, and to communicate to him, to Fr. Cruz, and Br. Manfrida, that they had to accompany Acuña's fleet to Maluku.

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B. *ARSI, Goa 55* ff. 128*r*-144*v*. Another original, presumably another *via*, of the same Annual in Latin under the same title and written in the same hand but in bigger characters. The paper has suffered more from the ink than in text A, especially ff. 133-139. On f. 144*r*, the autograph signature of Fr. Eutizio, its *verso* contains the note « Annua Provinciae Coccinensis. 1604 e 1605 ». Our part is on ff. 143*r*-144*r*.

III THE AUTHOR: Fr. Pietro Eutizio, born in Visso, Marche, Italy, in 1566, entered the Society in the Roman Province on October 21, 1587. In 1597, not yet a priest, he sailed to India. At the time this letter was written, he was stationed at Cochin and evidently lent his services sometimes to Fr. Provincial Alberto Laerzio (*Goa 24*; WICKI, *Liste* no. 376).

IV NOTE: No good reason seems available for the existence of two Annual Letters of the Malabar Province of the same time, the one written by Fr. Manuel Rodrigues in Portuguese (D 181), and the other, the present one, by Fr. Eutizio in Latin, and though dealing with the same topics, yet quite different in the construction and contents. The Portuguese letter preceded this one by about three weeks, but Eutizio manifestly did not work from it but straight from the original letters coming from abroad (Cf. nos. 4-5).

V. OUR EDITION: We print the Maluku part of text A, sending ahead an earlier passage showing the place of Maluku in the whole of the Province and dealing with Fr. Daniel. After no. 5 we suppress the Latin translation of D 169.

Text

1. *The Jesuit residences at Malacca and Maluku.* — 2. *Distribution of the Jesuits over the Malabar Province area: ten in Maluku.* — 3. *Death of Fr. Bartholomeus Daniel.* — 4. *General topic of all Maluku letters: trouble and distress. Works of charity of the Fathers.* — 5. *A letter of Fr. Jorge da Fonseca.* — 6. *Two instances of Muslims baptized: a man and an old woman.* — 7. *The scandal of discord and factions in Tidore fortress; also the people of Ternate were split up into parties. The Jesuits persuaded the vicar to inflict ecclesiastical punishment. Distress of lack of foodstuffs.* — 8. *No letters from Labuha and Siau. Daughter of Labuha's chief was married to a Portuguese.* — 9. *Sad news from Ambon. Out of 2,200 Ambonese serving in Furtado's fleet only one third returned. Instances of how the others perished.* — 10. *Death of Manuel Pais, a prominent Ambonese.* — 11. *Ministries of the Ambon Fathers. An entire village people were baptized and a cross was erected in it.* — 12. *Conclusion.*

[... 114*r*]

1. In austro habemus collegium malacense cum duabus paraeciis, et collegium ternatense[1] in Malucis ad quod pertinent residentiae qua-

[1] Read *tidorense*. As so many Fathers in India, even superiors, Eutizio also had not got a clear notion of Maluku geography.

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tuor: alabuana et siaoana in insulis Alabua et Siao; in Amboino vero totidem, scilicet ativesensis et alosensis [2].

2. Ad plura regna et loca infidelium in hac provincia Societas non se extendit operariorum inopia, nam in tot tamque disiunctis locis degunt tantum e Societate octo et viginti supra centum: in collegio coccinensi et in suis[a] residentiis sexaginta, in vaipicottano[b] octo, totidem in coulanensi et ora Travancoridis, in ora Piscariae septemdecim, in Ceilano septem, duo Negapatani, Sancti Thomae novem, in regno peguano duo, quinque Malacae, in Malucis decem. Ex quibus sacerdotes sunt quinque et septuaginta. Qui omnes prospera sunt usi valetudine. Allecti in Societatem quinque qui excoluntur in domo probationis adiuncta collegio coccinensi.

3. Tranmissi, ut putamus in caelum, quinque [...] P. Bertolameus Danielius, belga, rediens ex Malucis in navali pugna a civibus suis occisus est [3].

[...125*v*]

Collegium Maluccense

4. Literas ex Maluccis allatas, ut inde aliqua his nostris inserenda secernerem, inspicienti iterumque ac[c] saepius legenti, nihil nisi nostrorum perpetuae aegritudines, labores, incommoda, fames, belli scilicet superioris pedissequae, occurebant[d]. Ad haec aliorum accedebant calamitates, quibus[e] ut[f] nostri opem ferrent[g] charitas adigebat. In his fuerunt, praeter plurimos milites tam lusitanos quam indigenas, duo franciscanae familiae religiosi, quibus in nostro collegio periculose aegrotantibus, nostri, et ipsi adversa valetudine laborantes, omnibus et charitatis et verae benevolentiae officiis praesto fuerunt [4]. Quibus rebus Patres malucenses apud omnes lusitanos, qui ex Malucis redierunt, eximiae sanctitatis laudem consecuti sunt. Nec eos, ut puto, fallit opinio, nam quantum ex eorum literis consequi potui, eos omnes Patres quo minus terrenarum, eo maioribus caelestium voluptatum inveni recreari fluentis.

5. Cuperem omnes eorum literas ad huius Indiae Patres Fratresque scriptas his meis tanquam auro[h] gemmas inserere. Sed quia id longum esset et omnes eiusdem fere sunt argumenti, unis[i] P. Georgii Fonsecae

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[2] That is, of Hatiwi and Halong, Christian villages whose dwellers had then settled down near the fortress (See D 94, 24).

[3] Better and more completely in D 181, 1.

[4] Cf. D 91, 1.

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ad P. Albertum Laertium, provincialem, datis decimo quinto[5] calendas Iunias anni sexcentesimi quarti, ero contentus, quarum fragmentum id est [... *Here follows the Latin translation of D 169*]

6. Inter haec incommoda Patres nihil nostrorum munerum, sive ad nostros sive ad externos spectent[j], nihil malucensibus utilium praetermiserunt. Ut alios omittam qui fidem susceperunt, qui propter perpetuum bellum[k] fuerunt admodum pauci[l], ex[m] maurica perfidia unius hominis[n] alteriusque mulieris ad nostram fidem accessus admirationi[o] ac voluptati fuit. Ille in maximis quibus cruciabatur doloribus[p] ad singula pene momenta dulcissimum Iesu nomen omni contentione vocis inclamabat. Forte illac iter faciens unus e nostris, auditis clamoribus accurrit hominem, quem putabat esse christianum, pia[q] uti poterat ac blanda oratione consolabatur. At ille enixe petiit a Patre ut se antequam moreretur christianis mysteriis initiaret, quibus susceptis paulo post iucundissime moritur. Illa vero sexagenaria cum esset et aegra, extremum spiritum Christo dare decreverat. Acciri iubet unum e nostris, a quo divina mysteria edocta ac baptizata, altero die e corpore tanquam e vinculis emissa in caelum (ut fas est credere) evolavit[6]. [126/127*r*]

7. Ars Tidorensis[r], ob simultates et odia inveterata lusitanorum in factiones bifariam distracta, hinc inde discordiarum flabellis falsis narratiunculis incendium ventilantibus, nullis neque vicarii neque nostrorum precibus poterat ad concordiam reduci. Erat offensio maxima neophytorum ac maurorum, praesertim ternatensium qui eodem tempore interventu suorum casisium[7], qui eorum sacerdotes sunt, in simili civium suorum discordia, arma, odia simultatesque posuerant. Nostrorum vero furor et odiorum acerbitas maiores quotid[i]e flammas agebat, ac iam non ut cives, sed veluti positis castris hostis[s] cum hoste pugnabat. Pridie quam universi cum signis atque tormentis in aciem armati prodirent, suasu nostrorum a vicario censuris ecclesiasticis deterriti primum, deinde omnino[t] compositi atque in gratiam redacti sunt. Subventum praeterea est fami tam lusitanorum quam indigenarum, quam famem diuturnum ternatensium bellum attulerat, adeo ut herbis pomisque sylvestribus vulgo viverent. His nostri fruges, vestes[u] ac nummulos suppeditarunt.

8. Ex[v] insulis Alabua[w] et Siao literas afferri bella prohibuerunt. De

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[5] Read *sexto*; cf. D 169, II B.
[6] The same in D 181, 8-9.
[7] See D 11 note 7.

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alabuensi Patre [8] tantum rescivimus multas pertulisse molestias in conciliandis filiae reguli alabuani nuptiis cum lusitano, cui antea parentes virginem iuramento desponderant, sed maurus regulus adiacens Alabuae nuptii[s] procus intervenerat [z]; ex quibus nuptiis, si cum lusitano conciliarentur, maxima rei christianae commoda sperantur, contra vero si cum mauro, plurima timebantur [y] incommoda. Rei exitum ignoramus. Et haec de Malucis.

Amboinus

9. Quae de malucensium incommodis, fame morbisque dicta sunt, eadem de amboinensibus volumus dicta, nisi quod haec maiora et productiora fuere, quibus tristissimorum eventuum perpetuus cursus cumulum fecit. Nam cum ex amboinensibus duobus millibus et ducentis, qui Andreae Furtadi [z] classem in Malucas commitati sunt, vix tertia pars superstes huc remeaverit, qui fuerunt [a] nostrorum sensus inter perpetuos hinc parentum illinc filiorum uxorumque atque charorum eiulatus, quivis cui [b] non sit ferreum pectus intelliget. Atque hi nuncii non omnes simul, sed interposito tantillo temporis, ut vulnus antequam obduceretur recrudesceret, afferebantur. Primum navigium quo vehebantur centum amboinenses, dum ob [c] bellum ternatense navigaret, tempestas immersit. Paulo post aliud quo vehebantur triginta in praelio cum ternatensibus amissum est, in reditu aliis tribus ab hostibus captis, miseri amboinenses in servitutem redacti sunt.

10. Demum Emanuel Pais [9], amboinensium neophytorum honestissimus ac reliquorum omnium veluti propugnaculum, indigna caede sublatus tristitia ac lacrymis implevit Amboinum. Nam cum dux lusitanae classis [10] arcis amboinensis praefecto [11] dedisset in mandatis, ut misso Emanuele Pais cum duobus navigiis et firmo robore militum in insulam Varanullam eorum animos ad lusitanorum amicitiam propen-

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[8] Fr. Rogerio Berwouts/Corrado, who for many years had worked in Labuha, had returned to India; in early 1604 he was not yet recalled (D 167), but in a catalogue of late 1605 he is already ascribed to the residence of Manapar, India (*Goa 24* f. 346*r*).

[9] Otherwise unknown. The surname *Pais* had become frequent among Ambonese.

[10] André Furtado de Mendonça.

[11] The new captain Gaspar de Melo; his predecessor Estevão Teixeira de Macedo had been entrusted with a command in Furtado's fleet in 1602 (BOXER-FRAZÃO 127).

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sos fide obsidibusque datis firmaret, praefectus Emanuelem cum viginti tantum amboinensibus et uno lusitano cymbula in Varanullam transmisit, quos omnes varanullani ex insidiis trucidaverunt, duobus qui nunciarent exceptis. Sed ad laetiora veniamus.

11. Nostri in arce amboinensi, praeter confessiones generales auditas, aliqua nostrae Societatis munera obita, conglutinarunt multorum animos abalienatos, inter quos erant primi ac veluti capita arcis a quibus ingentia mala timebantur [12]. Vetitas nuptias [d] triginta viri in matrimonia mutarunt. Baptismate abluti sunt adulti fere quingenti in pagis tota insula dispersis, quos cum lustraret Pater pagum nescio quem volebat praeterire. Quod illius pagi [e] incolae odorati honestissimos cum fructibus ac [f] munusculis mittunt ad Patrem: orantque ne suum pagum adire gravetur. Sequitur Pater oratores, omnique pago post luculentam rerum divinarum enarrationem baptizato, erectaque in eo cruce laetus discessit. Maurorum quorundam ad nostras partes ac fidem adventus, exhibitis verae constantiae in suscepto consilio documentis, fuerunt paulo insigniores, sed scribendo iam defessus eos [g] sciens prudensque praetereo [13].

12. Haec habui, Pater colendissime, quae ad Paternitatem Tuam ex literis nostrorum in maximis pro tenuitate virium mearum occupationibus furtim successivis [h] horis excerpta [i] atque in commodiorem methodum [j] redacta prescriberem. Reliqu[u]m nunc est ut hanc non postremam partem curarum tuarum [127*v*] perpetuo in tuis sacrificiis ac precibus praesentem habeas, sociosque quamplurimos [k] ad extrahendam dominicam sagenam [14] mittas. Nos contra, uti semper fecimus, a Deo Tuae Paternitati ac reliquae Societati universae incolumitatem assidue precabimur. Vale [l].

[*Autograph*] Coccini, die [m] 15 Octobris 1605.

V.P. inutilis servus indignusque filius,

Petrus Eutitius.

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[a] in suis *om.* *B* ‖ [b] *corr. to* collegio Serrae *B* ‖ [c] *om.* *B* ‖ [d] occurrebat *B* ‖ [e] qq *B* ‖ [f] *interl.*; *om.* *B* ‖ [g] ferre *B* ‖ [h] *del.* eorum literas ‖ [i] unius *B* ‖ [j] *corr. fr.* exspectent

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[12] For a true judgment on the loss of the fortresses to the Dutch it seems very useful to consider that the Portuguese did not hit it off among themselves, not only in Tidore (no. 7; DD 171-172), but in Ambon as well.

[13] Quite uncommon, such a subjective outpouring, to be sure. The same occurs a few lines further on.

[14] Allusion to Mt 13 47.

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‖ [k] *del.* nihil maluccensibus utilium p bellum *B* ‖ [l] *add.* centenarium numerum excessit *B* ‖ [m] et *ms.*; ex *B* ‖ [n] hominis . . fidem] hominis fidem alteriusque mulieris ad nostram *awkwardly ms.* ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* administrationi; administrationi *B* ‖ [p] *corr. fr.* doribus ‖ [q] via *B* ‖ [r] Todorensis *B* ‖ [s] *corr. fr.* hostes ‖ [t] *corr. fr.* omni; omni *B* ‖ [u] vectes *ms.* ‖ [v] in *B* ‖ [w] Ababua *ms.* ‖ [x] *corr. to* interveniret ‖ [y] plura timentur *B* ‖ [z] Furcadi *B* [a] *corr. fr.* fuerit; fuerit *B* ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* qui ‖ [c] ad *B* ‖ [d] *add.* a *B* ‖ [e] pagae *B* ‖ [f] *interl. B* ‖ [g] eo *B* ‖ [h] *corr. to* succesivis *AB* ‖ [i] *corr. fr.* excepta ‖ [j] matudum *B* ‖ [k] *del.* patres *corr. fr.* potes; quam plurimos potes *B* ‖ [l] Vale . . filius] Tuae Paternitatis filius ac servus inutilis *B* ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* de

183A

FR. JOÃO BAPTISTA, APPOINTED VISITOR OF MALUKU, TO FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, PROVINCIAL, COCHIN

MALACCA, DECEMBER 1, 1605

TEXT: No surviving MS text of this letter is recorded, neither could it be found in print. Part of it is inserted into Laerzio's letter of January 22, 1606, which is D 186. We refer the scholarly reader to that number.

184

A SET OF CATALOGUES OF THE MALABAR JESUIT PROVINCE

COCHIN, DECEMBER 1605

I TEXT: The present set is composed of *primus*, *secundus*, and *tertius catalogus*. The first is a list of numbered names, with external information (birth, entering the Society, studies, functions, vows, and such-like) of every Jesuit. The second gives information on his character, qualities, and abilities. The third is a list of several houses or residences with the number of inmates and the sources of income.

(I)

A. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 331*r*-337*v*. Original in Latin, containing 148 numbered names of Jesuits. It is preceded by an alphabetical index on f. 330*r-v*. Folio

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337*v* is blank, showing only the note « 1ª via ». Near the autograph signature of Fr. Alberto Laerzio on f. 337*r* there is a trace of a seal.

B. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 394*r*-402*v*. Similar original in Latin, without an indication of a *via*. The ink has been washed away by humidity so as to make the text in most places hardly readable. Folio 402*v* is blank. No signature.

(II)

A. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 347*r*-350*v*. Original in Portuguese under a Latin heading; beautifully written. On f. 350*r* the autograph signature of Laerzio; its *verso* is blank except for the indication « 2ª via ».

B. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 339*r*-342*v*, another original in a smaller hand, identic text, likewise signed by Laerzio. The last page, blank, bears only the note « 3ª via ».

(III)

A. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 351*r*-352*v*. Original in Latin, divided into paragraphs according to the houses of the Province, followed by appendices of the deceased in 1602-1605, and of the dismissed from the Society. Folio 352*v* is blank but for a note « 2ª via ». A later hand underlined many passages.

B. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 353*r*-354*v*. Identical original in Latin. On the blank f. 354*v* a note « 3ª via ».

II Our Edition: We picked out the names and passages which belong to the Maluku mission field. As texts A and B of every catalogue are as good as completely identical, there is no reason for a preference. We decided for text A.

Text

(I) *First catalogue: factual information on Jesuits (once) applied to Maluku.* — (II) *Second catalogue: character delineation of the same persons.* — (III) *Third catalogue: four residences, five priests and one Brother in Maluku; everyone receives 150 xerafins from the royal treasure. Death of Fr. Daniel.*

(I)

Primus catalogus Patrum Fratrumque [a] Provinciae Coccinensis [b], editus mense Decembri anno 1605.

[... 332*v*]

49. Mattheus a Brito, lusitanus, ex urbe et diaecesi Braccharensi, annorum 52, infirmis viribus, ab ingressu 12, emisit vota coadiutoris temporalis formati prima [c] die Ianuarii anno 1600.

[... 335*r*]

96. P. Rogerius Conradus, natione belga, ex oppido Trudon, diae-

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cesis Liodiensis, annorum 55, bonis viribus sed capite infirmus, ab ingressu numerantur anni 30, in perdiscendo utroque iure et theologia aliquod tempus collocavit, didicit casus conscientiae, callet linguam malaiam exercuitque in conversione ad[d] insulas Molucas annis 20[1], emisit vota coadiutoris spiritualis formati die[e] 30 Novembris anno 1596. [... 335v]

107. P. Vascus da Cunha, ex urbe Bassainensi diaecesis Goensis in India Orientali, annorum 38, robustus, ab ingressu numerantur anni 19, post cursum philosophiae didicit theologiam per annum, docuit grammaticam annis 7.
[...]

111. P. Ludovicus Ferdinandus, lusitanus, ex urbe et diaecesi Olysiponensi, annorum 55, viribus infirmis, ab ingressu numerantur anni 25, cursum philosophiae et theologiae absolvit, incaepit philosophiam docere sed non absolvit, per aliquod tempus in collegio Bassainensi minister fuit et vicerector et procurator, et iamdiu superioris munere fungitur ad insulas Molucas, emisit professionem quatuor votorum die[f] 2 Iulii[1a] anno 1596.

112. P. Ioannes Baptista, ex urbe et diaecesi Coccinensi in[g] India Orientali, annorum 48, vires mediocres, ab ingressu numerantur anni 32, cursum philosophiae et theologiae absolvit, docuit latinitatem annis 5, fuit superior in collegio Damanensi annis 3, minister in domo professa per annum cum dimidio, rector in collegio Malaccensi annis 7, emisit professionem quatuor votorum die 13 Octobris anno 1596.

113. P. Emmanuel Carvalho, lusitanus, ex oppido Barrellas diaecesis Lamacensis, annorum 46, bonis viribus, ab ingressu numerantur anni 28, cursum philosophiae et theologiae absolvit, docuit linguam graecam et hebraicam annis 4, per aliquot menses minister fuit in collegio Goensi, in conversione egit annis 3, fuit Pater christianorum in collegio Malacensi plus annis 7 simulque confessionibus audiendis et concionibus vacavit, emisit professionem quatuor votorum die 10 Augusti anno 1604.

114. P. Antonius Pereyra, lusitanus ex urbe Beja, diaecesis Eborensis, annorum 49, vires mediocres, ab ingressu numerantur anni 31, cursum philosophiae et theologiae absolvit, minister fuit per aliquot menses in collegio Goensi, callet linguam malaiam et plus 20 annis

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[1] He probably arrived at Maluku in late 1582.
[1a] July 22, to be correct.

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exercuit ad insulas Molucas [2], emisit professionem quatuor votorum die 29 Aprilis anno 1596. [336*r*]

115. P. Andreas Pereira, lusitanus, ex oppido Filgueiras, diaecesis Braccharensis, annorum 44, vires mediocres, ab ingressu numerantur anni 21, post cursum philosophiae didicit theologiam per annos 4, docuit grammaticam per annos 3 et dimidium, procurator fuit Provinciae per annum, quinto anno agit in conversione ad insulas Molucas [3].

116. P. Victorius Gradius [4], italus, ex Barleta, diaecesis Tranensis, annorum 39, robustus, ab ingressu numerantur anni 8, didicit casus conscientiae annos 2, totidem fuit superior in duabus residentiis, altera Chirinhola [5], altera vero Rinhano [6] dicitur, utraque in regno neapolitano, et in collegio Nolano [7] minister fuit menses 6.

117. P. Laurentius Massonius, ex Campoleto [8] in regno neapolitano, annorum 50, bonis viribus, ab ingressu numerantur anni 22, post cursum philosophiae didicit theologiam per aliquod tempus, ante ingressum in utroque iure perdiscendo collocavit annos 5, callet linguam malaiam exercetque anno decimo tertio [9] in conversione apud insulas Molucas, emisit professionem quatuor votorum.

118. P. Georgius da Fonseca, lusitanus olysiponensis, annorum 47, vires mediocres, ab ingressu numerantur anni 32, post cursum philosophiae didicit theologiam per annos 4, docuit grammaticam annos 5 [a], agit in conversione, emisit professionem quatuor votorum [9a].

119. P. Gabriel a [t] Cruce, hispanus toletanus, annorum 51, bonis viribus, ab ingressu numerantur anni 29, per aliquod tempus didicit theologiam et casus conscientiae, callet linguam malaiam, exercuitque

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[2] He did not arrive in Maluku before 1588.

[3] He sailed from Goa in 1600, but did not see Maluku before 1602.

[4] He was assigned to Maluku in 1605, together with Frs. João Baptista and Manuel Carvalho (D 185, first version), but they were not able to go there. Fr. Gradi remained at Malacca, where as late as 1610 he was claimed by the superior of Ternate, but in vain (WESSELS, *Molukken* 37).

[5] Cerignola, south of Foggia, Puglie, Italy.

[6] Rignano Garganico, north of Foggia, Puglie.

[7] Nola near Naples, Campania.

[8] Campolieto, Molise.

[9] In early 1591 he was already working in the Maluku mission field.

[9a] To be correct: *trium* votorum; viz. at Daman, March 3, 1600 (*Lus. 18*, f. 22).

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plus viginti annis[10] in conversione ad insulas Molucas, emisit vota coadiutoris spiritualis formati die 30 Maii anno 1596.

120. F. Ioannes Paulus, italus ex Cosença, annorum 49, robustus, ab ingressu numerantur anni 26, emisit vota coadiutoris temporalis formati anno 1596 die[j] 10 Novembris[k 11] [...]

[*Autograph*, 337*r*] Albertus Laertius.

(II)

2US CATALOGUS[l] PROVINCIAE COCCINENSIS[m], EDITUS MENSE DECEMBRI[n] ANNI 1605

[... 348*r*]

49. Mediocre iudicium ac prudentia, flegmaticus, inexpertus, aptus ministeriis Societatis. [... 349*r*]

96. Mediocre ingenium, iudicium et prudentia, flegmaticus sanguineus, mediocriter callet casus conscientiae, expertus in negocio conversionis, ad quae ministeria talentum habet. [...]

107. Mediocre ingenium, iudicium ac prudentia, in literis infra mediocritatem, flegmaticus sanguineus, ministeriis Societatis inserviet. [...]

111. Bonum ingenium, iudicium ac prudentia, expertus literatus, colericus sanguineus, bonum talentum ad negotia peragenda et ad gubernandum et ad reliqua ministeria Societatis. [349*v*]

112. Bonum ingenium, iudicium ac prudentia, literatus, flegmaticus sanguineus, talentum ad gubernandum, et ad reliqua ministeria Societatis.

113. Ingenium ultra mediocritatem, mediocre iudicium et prudentia, expertus, colericus sanguineus, in literis mediocriter versatus, talentum ad ministeria Societatis.

114. Bonum ingenium, mediocre iudicium et prudentia, expertus, mediocriter literatus, talentum ad ministeria Societatis, praecipue ad negotium conversionis.

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[10] He arrived in November 1584.

[11] Cf. app. crit.; text B has November 30; and *Goa 29* f. 33*v* has November 3. It must be presumed that Manfrida and Berwouts/Corrado made their vows in Tidore on the same day, i.e., on November 30. This is confirmed by his autograph formula of vows « Em Tydore, na igreja da Madre de Deus » of November 30, 1596 (*Lus. 25* f. 107*r*).

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115. Bonum ingenium, iudicium et prudentia, ultra mediocritatem expertus, mediocriter literatus, colericus sanguineus, talentum ad concionandum et ad reliqua ministeria Societatis.

116. Mediocre ingenium, bonum iudicium et prudentia, inexpertus, mediocriter callet casus conscientiae, colericus sanguineus, ad procuratoris officium talentum habet et ad conversionem.

117. Mediocre ingenium, iudicium et prudentia, mediocriter literatus, colericus sanguineus, expertus in ministeriis conversionis, ad eaque aptus.

118. Mediocre ingenium et iudicium, prudentia, ultra mediocritatem expertus in ministeriis conversionis, mediocriter literatus, talentum mediocre ad ministeria Societatis.

119. Mediocre ingenium [o], iudicium et prudentia, non bene callet casus conscientiae [p], expertus in ministeriis conversionis, ad eaque aptus.

120. Mediocre iudicium et prudentia, colericus sanguineus, experientia, et talentum ad officia domestica. [. . .]

[*Autograph* 350*r*] Albertus Laertius.

(III)

Tertius catalogus provinciae coccinensis in India Orientali, editus mense Decembri anno 1605

[. . . 352*r*]

Molucanae residentiae

Quatuor hic numerantur residentiae, duae tamen sunt praecipuae, altera Amboynensis, altera Tidorensis. In omnibus versantur e nostris 6[q], nempe sacerdotes 5[r] et unus Frater coadiutor [12]. Unicuique nostrorum assignantur xerafini centum quinquaginta ex regiis vectigalibus solvendi, nullum aes alienum conflatum.

Catalogus eorum qui vita functi sunt in Provincia Coccinensi ab anno 1602 usque ad annum 1605 inclusive

[. . .] Anno 1603 [. . .] Pater Bertolameus Daniel Malacae mense februario.

[. . .]

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[12] Agrees with D 185, second version.

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[a] *del.* vice ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* Malabarensis *h2* ‖ [c] prima . . 1600 *add. h2* ‖ [d] *rep., del.* insulis ‖ [e] die . . 1596 *add. h2* ‖ [f] die . . 1596 *add. h2* ‖ [g] *interl.* ‖ [h] *corr. fr.* sinco ‖ [i] da *B* ‖ [j] die 10 Novembris *add. h2* ‖ [k] die 30 Novembris anno 1596 *B* ‖ [l] *del.* V. *AB* ‖ [m] *corr. fr.* Malabarensis *h2 AB* ‖ [n] *corr. fr.* Dezembri *AB* ‖ [o] *corr. fr.* iudicium *B* ‖ [p] *del.* et talentum *B* ‖ [q] *corr. fr.* 16 *AB* ‖ [r] *corr. fr.* 9 *AB*

185

CATALOGUE OF THE FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE COCHIN PROVINCE DISTRIBUTED OVER THE HOUSES

[COCHIN, DECEMBER] 1605

I PREVIOUS NOTE: 1. One could be inclined to consider this catalogue as being the *quartus catalogus* belonging to D 184. But it is not titled as such in the heading, and it differs much from it in its several texts, e.g., in the paper used, in the handwriting, and in being neither dated nor signed. Add to this the special complication of the available texts, as soon will be explained, and we have every reason to publish this document under its own number. — 2. Of this catalogue, two versions are extant showing no small discrepancies. We will first describe the texts, then resolve the question of dating both versions, and finally explain why we print both of them.

II TEXT:

First Version

ARSI, Goa 24 II ff. 355*r*-356*v*. Original in Latin, written in a graceful hand, easy ro read, in two columns, without signature and seal. Folio 356*v* is blank, having only the note « Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum Provinciae Coccinensis ». A *via* is not indicated. At the end there is a list of six names under the title « Vita functi hoc biennio ».

Second Version

A. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 345*r*-346*v*. Original in Latin, written in two columns, not signed, second *via*.

B. *ARSI, Goa 24 II* ff. 343*r*-344*v*. Another original in Latin, third *via;* perfectly identical with text A, but in another hand. In both texts the addition « Vita functi » is lacking.

III DATE: Only the second version gives the year 1605. The catalogues I and II of D 184 had in the title *Vice-Provincia*, which was corrected into *Provincia*; the present document has already *Provincia* and this reveals that it was written later, not before December 1605. Moreover, each of the three texts of this document contains a passage saying « Ad hoc collegium [of Malacca] pertinent qui hoc anno ex Lusitania Goam appulere ad ministeria xenodochii et classis lusitanorum Malacae obeunda; ii autem sunt . . », followed by their names.

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In March 1605 *eight* Jesuits embarked at Lisbon, explicitly destined for Malacca; one of them died during the voyage, and another in Goa on November 22, after the group had arrived. (See *Goa 24 II* f. 354*r*; WICKI, *Liste* nos. 516-523). The *seven* names of the first version prove that it was written when the first death was known in Cochin, but the second not yet; whereas the *six* names of the second version reveal that also notice of the second death had been received, which presumably was in December. This difference of the two versions is fortified by other important discrepancies, and they occur especially in the part on Maluku. In the first version Fr. André Pereira is still located in Tidore, in the second he is stationed in Cochin college; the first lists Fr. João Baptista under Maluku, the second still under Malacca. It is clear that after the first version had been written Pereira arrived from Maluku and reported of its loss and that Baptista's appointment (D 174) had remained ineffective (D 187, 4). As furthermore some members of the Province had been overlooked (e.g., the later famous Fr. Roberto de Nobili) so that of the 148 (D 184) only 140 were listed, there was every reason to re-write the catalogue: second version.

IV OUR EDITION: We print the first version, showing that besides Fr. João Baptista and his companion Manuel Carvalho a third Father had been assigned to Maluku: Vittorio Gradi; and the second version, text A, demonstrating that Fr. André Pereira had returned to Cochin, and showing the distribution of the Jesuits over the Maluku area in the fatal year 1605.

Text

1. *According to the first version, nine Fathers and one Brother are stationed in Maluku.* — 2. *Fr. Daniel died in 1603.* — 3. *In the second version, only five Fathers and one Brother were in Maluku in 1605, distributed over Tidore, Labuha, Sian, and Ambon.*

First Version

CATALOGUS PATRUM FRATRUMQUE NOSTRORUM PROVINCIAE COCCINENSIS INDIAE ORIENTALIS

[. . . 356*r*]

1. Collegium Maluquense

P. Joannes Baptista, visitator[1], professus 4^{or} votorum.

P. Ludovicus Ferdinandus, rector, professus 4^{or} votorum.

P. Andraeas Pereira[2], predicator, confessor.

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[1] Cf. D 174.

[2] He was not present when the fortresses of Ambon and Tidore were seized by the Dutch; he must have left Maluku in early 1605. See D 187, 1. The Cámara of the City of Goa mentioned in a letter to King Philip of 1605 «. . . esta

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P. Victorius Gradius[3], confessor.

Residentia in insula Labua

P. Georgius da Fonseca, professus trium votorum, predicator et confessor.

Residentia in insula Siao

P. Antonius Pererius, professus 4^{or} votorum.
F. Joannes Paulus, coadiutor formatus.

Residentia Amboinensis

P. Laurentius Massonius, professus 4^{or} votorum.
P. Emmanuel Carvalho[4] professus 4^{or} votorum.
P. Gabriel da Cruz, confessor, coadiutor spiritualis formatus.
[. . .]

2. Vita functi hoc biennio

P. Bartholomeus Daniel, Malacae, mense Decembri[5] anno 1603.
[. . .]

Second Version

CATALOGUS PATRUM FRATRUMQUE NOSTRORUM PROVINCIAE COCCINENSIS INDIAE ORIENTALIS ANNI 1605

[. . . 344*v*]

3. Molucanae residentiae
Residentia Tidorensis

P. Ludovicus Fernandes, superior, professus 4^{or} votorum.

Residentia in insula Labua

P. Georgius a Fonseca, praedicator, confessor, professus trium votorum.

Residentia in insula Siao

P. Antonius Pererius, professus quatuor votorum.
Fr. Ioannes Paulus, coadiutor formatus.

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semana passada veo hum Padre da Companhia por terra, que residia em Maluco » (APO I 2ª 161). Cf. also VALENTYN III a 33, and see the introduction to the present document.

[3] He is mentioned here for the first time. He had to accompany Baptista and Carvalho, but he never saw the Maluku area. Cf. D 187, 4.

[4] Designated as a companion of Fr. Baptista (D 174).

[5] All other sources have February (D 181, 1; 184 III).

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Residentia Amboinensis

P. Laurentius Massonius, professus quatuor votorum.
P. Gabriel da Crux, confessor, coadiutor spiritualis formatus.

186

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. JOÃO ÁLVARES, ASSISTANT OF PORTUGAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 22, 1606
Second *via*

TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 16* ff. 9*r*-10*v*, formerly no. XCI/a. Original in Portuguese, in a regular and beautiful hand, bold and clear. On f. 9*r*, in the left lower corner, « Laertio Cochin 6 »; f. 10*r* is blank; its *verso* has the address with the seal, and a note running « Cochim P. Laercio 606 ».

Text

1. *A ship brought letters from Malacca; one of Fr. João Baptista.* — 2. *Portuguese coming from Banda and Makasar reported that the fortress of Maluku* [*Tidore*] *stood up to the attack of the Dutch.* — 3. *In Ambon the Dutch expelled the two Fathers whom they suspected of taking part in a plot.* — 4. *They may have sailed to Labuha or Bacan, less probably to Manila. The Dutch blockade the* [*Singapore*] *strait.* — 5. *Conclusion.*

[...]

1. Quando cheguey aquy [1], achey avia poucos dias chegara huma caravella de Malaca com cartas dos nossos Padres com novas de Maluco. Em huma sua, o P.e João Bautista, de primeiro de Dezembro de 605, poem este capitolo.

2. De Maluco ategora se não sabe mais, que o que dizem os portuguezes que vierão de Banda e Macaçar: que a fortaleza de Maluco se deffendera das naos olandezas que forão sobre ella e dos ternates, com ajuda d'el-rei de Tidore, nosso amigo [2], e de huma

[1] At the outset of his letter Laerzio recounted that he sailed from Goa on January 6 and arrived at Cochin on 14.

[2] The king of Tidore did not help the Portuguese, but neither the Dutch. He contended himself with standing by inactively.

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fragata de castelhanos, que chegara pouco avia de Manilla [3], com esforço e honra. Tem-se esta nova por verdadeira, porque os proprios ternates a trouxerão a Banda e levarão a Solor, donde o capitão que lá está escreveo ao nosso [4] tudo o que contarão os ternates.

3. Com esta nova tambem veo que os olandezes que estão em Amboyno lançarão da terra os Padres Lourenço Masonio e Gabriel da Cruz com os portuguezes que tinhão ficado nella, por terem sospeitas que os Padres entrarão em huma consulta feita antre alguns olandezes catholicos e os portuguezes, de lhe entregarem a fortaleza e matarem os que estavão em guarda della [5]; mandando a huns e outros, e aos Padres com elles, que em espaço de tantos dias se fossem fora da terra, não tomando satisfação desta culpa mais que saquearem as casas dos portuguezes e a dos nossos Padres.

4. Assi o fizerão embarcando-se logo, e dizem que sem duvida irião os Padres pera a Labua ou Bachão com os portuguezes. Tambem outros dizem que poderião ser ydos a Manilla, mas os que bem entendem daquellas partes o não tem por veresimile. A fragata, por que cada dia se espera, dirá se assi hé, posto que tem os olandezes com suas naos tomado o estreito [6], e parece nem lhe escapará a fragata da Manilla nem a galeota que se espera de Machao, nem o capitão desta fortaleza acode a isto com nada.

5. Isto hé o que escreve o P.e João Bautista, de donde pode V.R. entender o estado das cousas de Amboyno e Maluco, e quanta necessidade tem aquellas partes de ajuda dos ceos, e eu com tantos trabalho[s] das orações e santos sacrificios de V.R., em cuja benção muito me encomendo.

Cochim, 22 de Janeiro de 606.

Alberto Laercio.

[*Address* 10*v*] † Ao P.e João Alvarez, assistente de Portugal da Companhia de Jesu. Roma. 2ª via.

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[3] In our sources no mention is made of a Spanish frigate in Tidore during the Dutch attack.

[4] Captain of Malacca was André Furtado de Mendonça, 1603-1606.

[5] The plot of some so-called-Catholic Dutch and the Ambon Portuguese is evidently the product of fantasy and wishful thinking. Neither Portuguese nor Dutch sources know of it.

[6] The strait by which the ships both from Manila and from Macao passed for Malacca is the Singapore Strait.

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187

FR. ALBERTO LAERZIO, PROVINCIAL, TO FR. CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA, GENERAL, ROME

COCHIN, JANUARY 23, 1606
Second *via*

I TEXT: *ARSI, Goa 16* ff. 11*r*-12*v*, earlier 494, and no. XCI/b. Original in Portuguese. Secretary's notes: on f. 11*r* « Malabarica 1606 » and « 23 ian. »; on f. 12*v* « Cochim. 23 de Janeiro. 606. P. Alberto Laertio, Provincial do Malavar », followed by a summary in Portuguese of n. 4; beside the address there is a seal; f. 12*r* is blank.

II NOTE: Laerzio was accustomed to number the letters he wrote for the mail of one sailing period. The present document is letter 23; curiously enough, the foregoing letter, D 186, is not numbered.

Text

1. *A caravel from Malacca brought news about Maluku; quotes a letter of Fr. João Baptista. Tidore successfully resisted the Dutch.* — 2. *In Ambon the Fathers were found taking part in a plot; therefore they were expelled.* — 3. *The native Christians of Ambon wrote that some Portuguese killed many Dutchmen by poison.* — 4. *Fr. João Baptista and his two companions did not sail to Maluku; he is appointed visitor of all the Jesuits of Malacca, Maluku, and of the fleet chaplains.* — 5. *Conclusion.*

†

Muito Reverendo em Christo Padre Nosso

Pax Christi.

1. Quando aqui cheguei a esta cidade a somana passada [1], achei que tinha então chegado huma caravella de Malaca com outras novas do que socedeo em Maluco e Amboyno depois da vinda pera quá do P.e André Pereira [2], e são milhores do que cuidavamos e estavamos arrezeando. Porque tendo o capitão da fortaleza de Tidore em Maluco aviso de como hiam sobre aquella fortaleza sinco naos olandezas, se

[1] See D 186 note 1.

[2] In July 1604 he was still in Tidore (D 173); he must have left in 1605.

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aparelhou pera pelejar e lhes resistir (conforme ao que o P.e João Bautista me escreve em huma sua [3], que contarão huns ternates e tidores que de Maluco forão a Banda) ajudado d'el-rei de Tidore, e de huma fragata de castelhanos que naquelle tempo Deos ahy mandou; e de huma nao ingleza que tambem por ahy passou [4], a qual lhe offreceo gente e ajuda, mas não lhe tomarão senão trinta barris de polvora de que tinha necessidade. De modo que com estas ajudas, como chegarão as naos olandezas pelejarão os nossos portuguezes com muito esforço com ellas e meterão no fundo a sua almirante [5] e lhe matarão muita gente, como tambem a el-rei de Ternate que confiderado com os olandezes foy por terra cometer a fortaleza. Mas assi huns como os outros se recolherão com muita sua perda, e ficou a fortaleza livre de tam má gente.

2. Os dous Padres nossos Lourenço Masonio e Gabriel da Cruz estão já fora de Amboyno, lançados fora pollos olandezes com alguns outros portuguezes que tinhão ficado naquella fortaleza, por descubrirem que alguns olandezes catolicos secretamente se tinhão concertado com os portuguezes pera lhes entregarem a fortaleza e matarem todos os olandezes herejes que nella estavão [6]. O que sabido delles, mandarão aos portuguezes e aos Padres que em tres dias se fossem, com lhe darem em suas casas e nas nossas, e lhe roubarem quanto tinham, e com este castigo se contentarão. De modo que os nossos Padres se sayrão e cuida-se irião pera a Labua.

3. Os christãos naturaes de Amboyno que lá ficarão escrevem que andão alevantados com dous ou tres portuguezes contra os olandezes, que estão na fortaleza fazendo assaltos; e que antes de se alevantarem contra os olandezes, lhes derão estes portuguezes hum banquete e com peçonha matarão a muitos delles [7], com que descubertos se alevantarão e ausentarão com os mais christãos.

4. Os Padres João Bautista, Manoel Carvalho e Victorio Gradi não passarão a Maluco, estiverão sempre em Malaca bem ocupados.

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[3] Cf. D 186.

[4] The ship of Sir Henry Middleton.

[5] See D 179A note 6.

[6] Cf. D 186 note 5.

[7] The truth of this story seems rather questionable; it does not appear to be confirmed by other sources.

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E como agora vão os seis Padres d'armada [8] e pera tomarem o assumpto do hospital, e vay lá o Viso-Rei [9], hé necessario haja lá hum Padre que seja superior assy dos [11*v*] de Malaca, como dos de Maluco e dos d'armada pera se dar bom expediente e ter o Viso-Rei a quem recorrer nos negocios que se offerecerem. Tenho começado tratar isto com os Padres, e nos parece que o P.e João Bautista fique em Malaca por visitador de todos e do collegio de Malaca, como lhe avisaremos em Abril [10], que então vão pera lá as embarcações e o Viso-Rei com a armada toda.

5. Isto hé o que de novo se offereceo de Maluco. De quá não faltarey àquelles bons Padres com as ajudas necessarias e proveimento pera que tenhão algum remedio suas grandes necessidades. Na benção e santos sacrificios e orações de V.P. muito me encomendo.

Cochim, 23 de Janeiro de 606.

De V.P. inutil filho em Christo,

Alberto Laercio.

[*Address* 12*v*] † A Nosso Padre Claudio Aquaviva, preposito geral da Companhia de Jesu, Roma. 23ª carta. 2ª via.

Lost Letter

187*a*. — *Fr. Alberto Laerzio, Provincial of Malabar, Cochin, to Fr. João Baptista, Malacca; April 1606.*

D 187, 4: « Lhe avisaremos em Abril » that he is superior-visitor of Malacca, Maluku, and of the Jesuit chaplains in the fleet (of Viceroy D. Martim Afonso de Castro).

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[8] For these fleet and hospital chaplains, see introduction to D 185 under III.

[9] Viceroy D. Martim Afonso de Castro sailed to Malacca from Goa with a formidable fleet in May 1606 (*Goa 55* f. 145*r*). It is in this fleet that the aforementioned six Jesuits were employed.

[10] Lost letter, 187*a*.

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APPENDIX

Three documents concerning the mission of the Jesuit Brother Gaspar Gómez to Maluku, 1592

As it was explained in note 5 to D 88 and touched upon in note 3 to D 90, a Spanish Jesuit Brother, called Gaspar Gómez, was sent as a military explorer to Maluku from Manila by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in 1592. Three documents are available dealing directly with this adventurous voyage:

1° the *Instrucción* that Dasmariñas gave to the Brother,

2° the *Respuesta* that Gaspar Gómez wrote after his return from the exploration,

3° a *Relación* that the Brother wrote ten years later in Mexico for D. Pedro Bravo de Acuña, the new governor, when the latter was on his way to the Philippines.

The originals may have been lost; they did not turn up in the archives. Copies of them were made in Mexico in early 1602 and carried to Spain by the Brother himself; they are now in the Archivo de Indias at Seville.

They were published by Pablo Pastells, not always accurately, with some shortenings and misreadings, and without any commentary.

Consult H. Jacobs, *La missione del Fratello Gaspar Gómez nelle Molucche*.

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1

GOVERNOR GÓMEZ PÉREZ DASMARIÑAS TO BR. GASPAR GÓMEZ

Instruction

[MANILA, LATE 1591 OR EARLY 1592]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: TORRES Y LANZAS, *Catálogo* IV no. 6064; V no. 6212.

II TEXT:

A. Seville, *AGI, Patr⁰ 46 ramo 26.* Copy in Spanish, two folios not numbered (we use ff. 1*r*-2*v*). The last page contains the notes « Copia de una instrución que Gómez Pérez de as Mariñas dio al Padre Gaspar Gómez de la Compañía de Jhesús », « Corresponde al cap. 10 de la carta de materias de guerra fecha en México a 8 de março 1602. Duplicado ».

B. Ibid., *Filip. 1 ramo 1 no. 54.* Similar copy in Spanish, written by the same hand and furnished with the same note as in text A.

III DATE: From DD 88,2 90,2-3 and 96,2, Br. Gómez is known to have visited Maluku in the first half of 1592; he was expected to return in May, but in fact he did so only in August. As the appropriate time for sailing south from Manila was from December to April, he must have started his exploration about December 1591 or January 1592. About that same time the instruction was written. The afore-said note reveals that the copy was made in Mexico shortly before March 1602.

IV PRINTED: COLIN-PASTELLS III 29-31. PASTELLS, *Historia General* III pp. cclxxxix-ccxci. In an adapted English translation, REPETTI, *History* I 155-157.

V OUR EDITION: We print text A.

Text

1. *The Brother shall pretend to sail to Spain* via *India on affairs of his Order and, with the help of Fr. Antonio Marta, shall take informations on the following things.* — 2. *How many and what kind of troops has the king of Ternate? What artillery, what munitions of war?* — 3. *From which side an eventual night assault should be attempted? Could a sentinel be caught? What are the weak spots of Ternate and from where does it get supplies?* — 4. *What ships does it keep, and with what armament? Would it be better attacked by land or by sea? Who are its friends and enemies?* — 5. *How many are the Portuguese soldiers and marines? What armament do they have? Can one count upon the good disposition and friendship of the Portuguese?* — 6. *In case neither the Portuguese nor the king of Tidore can be depended upon, how many troops and*

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ships will be needed to subdue and keep the islands as far as Banda? — 7. On doubtful disposition of the king of Tidore. Is it not better to rely only upon our own forces and to consider all the others as enemies? — 8. If the attack is made by night, will guides and spies be available? Is it advisable, in order to divert the enemy's attention, to send a frigate with relief at the same time? Some of its possible uses. — 9. It seems advisable to take first the king of Tidore as hostage. — 10. Timing of the light signals. — 11. The Father [Brother] shall return within next May. — 12. In case the help of the captain [of the Portuguese fortress] is needed, with what things could his favour be won? — 13. Nobody shall be taken into confidence except Fr. Rector [Superior]; may God punish the one who does not keep the secret.

COPIA DE UNA INSTRUCTIÓN QUE GÓMEZ PÉREZ DE LAS MARIÑAS DIO DE SU MANO Y LETRA AL PADRE[1] GASPAR GÓMEZ[a] DE LA COMPAÑÍA

Ihs[b]. Que todo sea a su servicio.

1. Primeramente entrado que sea en el Maluco, hechará fama que passa en España por vía de la India a cossas de su Orden con Su Magestad[2], y de passo dará las cartas generales[3].

Dará luego al P.[e] Rector[4], si lo es Antonio Marta, la carta de creencia mía, y con su comunicación y industria se procurará ynformar con toda certeza y puntualidad de las cossas siguientes.

2. Del estado en que están las cossas del rey de Terrenate, qué gente tiene, y quántos arcabuceros, quántos piqueros, quántas pieças de artillería, y a qué armas son más afficionados, y con quáles pelean mejor.

Si tienen algunos artificios de fuego, si tienen bastantes municiones, y faltándoles de dónde son socorridos; qué partes tienen bien guardadas y quáles flacas y menos proveídas.

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[1] More correctly, *Hermano*.

[2] The inference is that the Brother was not to go disguised but simply as a Jesuit Brother. His true task, that of exploring the military force of the sultan of Ternate, was, however, to be kept secret; only Fr. Marta was allowed to know of it (no. 13).

[3] We are not informed about the true nature of these letters nor about their addressee(s). Perhaps they were recommendatary letters to the Portuguese captains requesting them to permit his voyage to India on Portuguese ships. If the Brother would really pretend to sail there, he should stay at Ambon about mid-May, i.e., where and when the royal ship left for Malacca.

[4] More correctly, *Superior*.

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3. Pudiéndosele dar asalto de noche, por qué parte de la isla; y si tienen centinelas y algunas postas perdidas por la ribera de la isla, porque salteando alguna aviéndola, esta tal dicen diría[c] algún secreto importante.

Si ha tenido algunas guerras, si quedó flaco de gente y de bastimentos y municiones, y si tiene quien le socorra, y quánto socorro le pueden dar, y por dónde; y cerca de la isla quánto bastimento tiene, y para qué tiempo. Y tomar buena noticia, en casso que no le tenga, por adónde le pueden meter.

4. Qué navíos son los que tiene, y qué gente y armas trae en cada género de ellos, y si será mejor attender a quitarle la fuerza de la mar, o acudir a la de tierra, supuesto que en la mar siempre a de aver armada y escolta.

Ansimismo saver qué amigos y socorro les pueden dar, y de qué enemigos puede ser offendido y nosotros tener alguna ayuda, y con qué seguridad. [1*v*]

5. Y para el recato o seguridad que de los portugueses se puede tener, se a de informar, y el P.[e] Rector asegurar, quánto número de gente portuguesa ay, assí de soldados como de marineros; y qué armas tienen y municiones, y quánta[d] artillería y de[e] qué quenta, y si es para batir o para solo campear, y lo que alcanza. Y esto a de ser también del enemigo como de los portugueses.

Y porque acá se duda de los ánimos de los portugueses, tanto como de los dos reyes de Terrenate y Tidore, assí por ser la nación castellana odiosa, como por sus particulares respectos, como por ser muchos de ellos casados con moras de Tidore y Terrenate, y estar tam trabado el parentesco. Y por estas raçones se a de apurar mucho esto para la resolución que se a de tomar, por ser diferentes si son amigos o enemigos.

6. Presupuesto lo dicho, se ynformará, casso que ellos y el de Tidore falten, qué aparato de gente será menester que de acá vaya y para quánto tiempo, y qué gente será menester para passar a las más islas adelante hasta la de Banda, supuesto que a de quedar aý de guarnición la que baste.

Qué navíos y de qué suerte serán menester, y los que serán más a propósito, y quánto mantenimiento, y si allá abrá falta de pólvora, y si hallare algún socorro de ellos[f], porque acá no ay mucha, y las más advertencias que sobre esto se ofrezieren.

7. Supuesto lo dicho, se a de ynformar del rey de Tidore, porque aún[g] se muestra amigo nuestro y tan enemigo del Terrenate, sospé-

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chase evidentemente que o[h] se hará amigo con él y con los demás, o no se declarará contra él y no nos ayudará, y qualquiera de estos dos cassos es mucho estorvo. Y pregúntase si será mejor comenzar a allanar el negocio por él: pareze que lo más cierto sería yr de acá con presupuesto que en la pretensión hemos de ser solos, y que[i] portugueses ni Tidore ni otros no nos han de ayudar, sino que teniendo a todos por enemigos es menester[j] saver qué gente y aparatos es menester.

8. Será de mucha importancia saver muy puntualmente, en caso que combiniesse que la entrada y asalto fuesse de noche por la comodidad de su poca prevención, por qué parte se hará esta[k] entrada; y si pudiesse aver guía y espías fidedignas para guiar la gente, y en qué parage podía estar la armada surta para poder dar este golpe. Y si será bien embiar una fragata con ocasión de socorro, que se prometerá de treynta soldados para el mismo tiempo, porque, llegado a esto, se descuyden en lo demás.

Y en casso que algunos pescadores amigos o enemigos descubran el vagel del socorro, él sea aviso de los que lo pudieren ver para se passa[r] la palabra de armada, que con [2r] ocasión del socorro se podía arrimar un rey[l] con un capitán plático que, descubierto el puerto, sobre tarde se pudiesse bolver sin que se sintiese[5].

9. Supuestas las sospechas dichas, pareze que combendría con suavidad y buenos medios hechar mano del rey de Tidore y tenerlo en rehenes hasta ver lo que sucedía, porque estando él en rehenes caminaría el negocio más pujantemente[m]. Encárgase mucho la orden que en esto se deve y[n] puede tener, por ser negocio tam de importancia y a mi parezer en que trava el buen suceso desta jornada.

10. Si fuere menester para la seguridad de la[o] entrada de la armada, y para la ora[p] que fuere combeniente, quedar resuelto que con tales señales de fuego que se harán en tal parte entre la armada en la isla del enemigo, esto se hará dentro del tiempo que de allá viniere resuelto. Y pues las señas importan[q] poco hazerse quince días arreo, supuesto que no engendre novedad ni prevención, ni se fíe de quien puede ser sospechoso, y aviendo algo de este yncombeniente no se haga.

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[5] This proposition seems to lack clearness of expression to such an extent that its true meaning is difficult, not to say impossible, to grasp. Did perhaps the copyist skip some words or lines? Text B is not different either.

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11. La venida del Padre será en todo Mayo[6] y lo más antes que sea possible, si ello lo es. Dios, a quien se pone por protector de ella[r], lo guíe a su santo servicio.

12. Y en casso que parezca que combiene fiarse del Capitán mayor[7], que cosas serán las que acá le estarán bien para que la codicia[s] de lo que a él le estuviere bien facilite el negocio. Y esto se a de tener mucha advertencia en que, si no fuere muy precisamente forzoso, no se a de decir[t] como cossa resuelta, sino como cossa que se ofreze tratar conmigo[u] para ver lo que yo digo.

13. Y esto no se puede fiar de nadie sino del P.[e] Rector, y en confisión lo digo. Y si alguno de los dos lo descubrieren, protesto delante de Dios el castigo de ello, y en el mundo pedir antes justicia como cossa en[v] confissión dicha[8].

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[a] Nunez *B* ‖ [b] IHS . . servicio *om. B* ‖ [c] dirá *B* ‖ [d] que *B* ‖ [e] *interl. B* ‖ [f] de ellos] della *B* ‖ [g] aun que *B* ‖ [h] que o] o que *B* ‖ [i] que ni *B* ‖ [j] necessario *B* ‖ [k] *interl. B* ‖ [l] birrey *B* ‖ [m] juntamente *B* ‖ [n] o *B* ‖ [o] *om. B* ‖ [p] otra *ms.*, ora *B* ‖ [q] importa *B* ‖ [r] de ella *om. B* ‖ [s] cobdicia *B* ‖ [t] hazer ni dezir *B* ‖ [u] *om. B* ‖ [v] de *B*

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[6] Fr. Sedeño expected him to be back at Manila in June (D 90,3); actually the Brother returned only in August (D 96,2). The southern winds begin blowing only in or after May, which is a month of transition.

[7] In early 1592 the captain of Tidore, Rui Dias da Cunha, was relieved by Tristão de Sousa. It was the latter that Gaspar Gómez met (Respuesta no. 20).

[8] Neither Sedeño nor Marta saw any harm in communicating the mission of the Brother to Fr. General in Rome, where their letters would not arrive until many months later. They evidently felt bound not to hide their own responsibility in this affair from their highest superior.

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2

BR. GASPAR GÓMEZ TO GOVERNOR GÓMEZ PÉREZ DASMARIÑAS

Answer to the Instruction

[MANILA, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1592]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: TORRES Y LANZAS, *Catálogo* IV no. 6061; V no. 6213.

II TEXT: Seville, *AGI, Filip. 1 ramo 1 no. 52.* Copy in Spanish. Seven pages of written text. Two secretary's notes run « Copia de la rrespuesta qu'el Padre Gaspar Gómez de la Compañía de Jhesús dio a un papel qu'el Gobernador Gómez Pérez de as Mariñas le entregó secreto de su mano quando le embió al Maluco », and « Corresponde al capítulo 10 de la carta de materias de guerra ffecho en México a 8 de marzo de 1602 años ».

III DATE: See introduction to the preceding document. Gómez returned to Manila in August 1592 and cannot be supposed to have been long in writing his report. It was copied in Mexico in 1601 or 1602.

IV PRINTED: PASTELLS, *Historia General* III pp. ccxci-ccxcvii. ARGENSOLA gives a summary of it (200-201).

Text

1. *The king of Ternate keeps his State in good order, but he lives at odds with his nobles; a rebellion threatens on account of excessive tributes. Now he keeps neither Javanese, nor Lascars, nor Arabs there as he used to do at the time of Morones.* — 2. *He has two fortresses on his island: one on the sea-side which he took from the Portuguese. Description. It is provided with artillery. The other, of recent construction, is on a mountain for fear of a Spanish fleet, difficult of access, but for the rest of little importance.* — 3. *His soldiers (3000 fighting men, 1000 harquebusiers of whom 200 scarcely effective) and their weapons. Some curious missiles, swords and shields.* — 4. *Artillery of the upper fortress, brought there to the prejudice of the lower one.* — 5. *Usually they do not use incendiary devices. They manufacture their munitions from materials imported from Java.* — 6. *The best guarded place is the island of Ternate; once it is taken, the rest is easy.* — 7. *The best time for an assault is just before dawn. They have sentinels in many islands.* — 8. *The island can be assailed from any side. Former experience shows that the soldiers should preferably land near Limatau and attack the fortress in the flank.* — 9. *The best way of assaulting the fort. A spy can be brought from Manila or from the island of Siau.* — 10. *Many advantages of occupying first the island of Ternate.* — 11. *In which way the kings of Ternate and Tidore used to fight each*

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other; as soon as the one sees the other having the advantage he takes to flight. — 12. *They never lack foodstuffs because they find sago and other victuals in the mountain woods.* — 13. *The vessels of the Javanese who come bartering cloves for munitions should be intercepted. The Javanese, and other allies from Mindanao and Brunei, are not residing in Ternate at present. They never stock many victuals; once besieged they soon have to surrender.* — 14. *Their only war vessel is the korakora; its crew and armament.* — 15. *Their way of fighting in these vessels.* — 16. *The usefulness of capturing the sea-side fortress.* — 17. *The Ternatans receive their supplies from their vassals, especially from Makian and Moro. They dread not only the Spaniards and the Portuguese, but also many of their vassals who at the approach of our fleet will rebel for the sake of Christian faith and excessive tributes.* — 18. *The king of Siau is our friend and a fierce enemy of Ternate. He could give five or six korakoras and some foodstuffs. The Tidore fortress could furnish fifty soldiers but no vessels.* — 19. *The fortress of Ambon, at 120 leagues from Ternate, is able to give five or six korakoras and nearly 50 Portuguese. They can be warned by a Siau korakora to arrive in due time.* — 20. *Captains at Tidore: of the fortress Tristão de Sousa, of the sea João de Brito, of the royal galleon Fernão Boto Machado, an intimate of the king of Tidore.* — 21. *Another prominent captain is Paulo de Lima, capable, experienced, and trustworthy though married to a relative of the king of Ternate.* — 22. *Also Ambon has some able and reliable men; the captain of the fortress, António Pereira, is not very combative; there are about 130 fighting men in the fort.* — 23. *The fortress of Tidore has about 80 soldiers. Armament and munitions of the two fortresses; they are badly provided by the viceroys. Artillery of Tidore.* — 24. *Guns at Ambon. Of all these guns only a few have chambers.* — 25. *Ternate can equip 200 men with armours and helmets; the iron for it comes from Sula and Butung.* — 26. *The king of Tidore has a large quantity of guns, munitions, and powder, and can equip about 120 harquebusiers.* — 27. *The disposition of the Portuguese toward the Castilians is now doubtless favourable; at Morones' time they were divided among themselves, not now.* — 28. *For the entire enterprise as far as Banda, more than 1200 soldiers are needed, and a number of light vessels in order to catch the fleeing enemy. The Ternatans themselves say that when a Spanish fleet turns up they have to surrender.* — 29. *The importance of taking Banda; it could be sustained from the nearby Ambon. That is also the opinion of Fr. Antonio Marta.*

COPIA DE LA RESPUESTA QUE EL PADRE[1] GASPAR GÓMEZ DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS DIO A UN PAPEL QUE EL GOVERNADOR GÓMEZ PÉREZ DASMARIÑAS LE ENTREGÓ SECRETO DE SU MANO[2] QUANDO LE ENVIÓ AL MALUCO

1. Las cosas del reyno del rey de Terrenate las tiene en buen estado, aunque algo enflaquecen sus fuerças no estar muy unido con los

[1] Correctly, *Hermano*.
[2] That is, the *Instrucción*.

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principales de su reino, y muchos le amenaçan que se an de levantar contra él por ser tirano y llevarles[a] excesivos tributos.

No ay aora jabos, lascares[3] ni moros de Meca como los havía en el tiempo del capitán Morones[4], que era quando governava Santiago de Vera, que entonces pasavan de dos mill y quinientos[5].

2. Tiene dos fortaleças, la una la que nos tomó, que es de forma quadrada, orilla de la mar, en lugar llano. Es de piedra suelta sin mezcla, y tiene en quadro por cada frente quarenta baras, y la frente que mira a la mar tiene en las dos esquinas en cada una un cubo, en la forma antigua de las fortaleças que ay en España. El muro tiene de alto cinco baras y de ancho bara y media, y por algunas partes está undido[b] y maltratado[6]. El hartillería que tiene es poca y de bersos, porque la demás la an pasado a la otra fortaleza[7], que hicieron aora en la misma isla, una legua de la otra, en un monte muy alto y fuerte, y temiéndose de mucha armada de los nuestros, que desto le dieron noticia al rey de Terrenate algunos portugueses yndiscretos. Esta fortaleça tiene de la parte de la mar la ssuvida muy áspera y dificultossa, y de la parte de la tierra una legua[8], y por las espaldas el monte y la subida no tan áspera. Y no guarda la dicha fortaleza el lugar, que es avierto y está arrumado a la fortaleça bieja, de forma que no es de consideración.

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[3] One is surprised to meet here this term, not being the name of a people like Javanese and Moors from Mekka. *Lascar*, in Portuguese often *Lascarim*, is the Indian professional soldier on board ships; later on, it is used simply for troops.

[4] Juan de Morón, commander-in-chief of a relief fleet to Maluku, sent from Manila by Governor Santiago de Vera in 1585.

[5] Quite interesting to learn the presence of such a large number of foreign troops in Ternate in 1585, and that in 1592 they were wanting.

[6] Other descriptions of the former Portuguese fort: *Treatise* 211; CASTANHEDA VI 354; VIII 349; CORREA, *Lendas* II/2 715; COUTO X/II 52-53; SÀ I 156 194; III 304 386; *Livro das Cidades* f. 64*v*; COLIN-PASTELLS II 351; III 40 56-73.

[7] It was probably situated at an elevated point of the S coast of the island at about 5 km east of the fortress, between the sea and the lake Laguna. It is called a barrier fort in ENI IV 319. A small and fairly well-preserved fort is still to be seen in that place between the road and the sea.

[8] This is surely a misreading for *laguna*, perhaps for the Portuguese *lagoa*. The only lake in the island of Ternate in those days was the one which is still now called Laguna, very near the southern coastline. (NB, two other lakes, near Takome at the northwestern side of the island, originated by a volcanic eruption only in 1775; ENI IV 318).

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Ni en ella tienen algives ni agua, que no se hiço para otra cossa, sino para rretirarse en aquella ocasión que temían la harmada de Manila por aviso de los portugueses, como digo.

3. Tienen hasta tres mill hombres de pelea y hasta mill arcabuzeros, y de estos solos ducientos tiran y mal, porque no son diestros en este género de [3] armas. No usan de picas ni de lanças, ni de otras harmas largas; ussan de una harma que llaman torana[9], que será de poco más de una braça a modo de dardo, y de otra que es a modo de saeta, que tiran muy recio con una caña y una cuerda, con que hacen daño quando pelean a la gente desharmada: unas tirándolas derecho y otras por cima, de manera que caen en las caveças. Y tanvién ussan de campilanes[10] que son como alfanjes, y un modo de rodelillas largas de más de media braça, y angostas de palmo y medio, que son al modo de paveses. Tanvién ussan de algunas cotas y capacetes, que algunos portugueses les an dado a trueque de clabo.

4. La fortaleça de arriva, donde pasaron la hartillería, tendrá doce piezas entre culebrinas, camiletes y falcones: y e notado el llevar a la fortaleça del monte el artillería más gruesa, y quitarla de la fortaleça de la mar, adonde les puede ser de provecho.

5. En las peleas de la mar, ni de la tierra, no ussan de artificios de fuego. Solo en el tiempo que fue el capitán Morones pegaron fuego a unos juncos biejos para que diesen sobre los nuestros y no hicieron efecto.

Tiene cantidad de municiones y ellos mismos las hacen, y los materiales los traen los jabos a trueque de clavo.

6. La parte que más guardan de todas las islas es la de Terrenate, donde vive el rey y los principales y, ésta tomada, las demás no son de consideración, que desta sola les viene el brío y socorro a todas las que están a ella[c] subjetas.

7. Con esta gente siempre ha sucedido vien dar los asaltos antes de amanezer, al quarto del alva y, si la armada de los nuestros llegase sin ser sentida, se haría todo muy vien. Tiene muchas espías y centinelas en las demás islas hasta la ysla de Canda[11], Sarragán y Mindanao.

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[9] *Turana*, a missile resembling a harpoon. Description in *Treatise* 164–165; VALENTYN II a 182.

[10] Malay *kampil* and *kampilan*, a broadsword.

[11] There is no island of the name Kanda. Presumably it stands for Sangi, in which *Kandahe* or *Kandhar* is a kampung (village) on the NW side where ships sailing from Manila were due to pass and could easily be observed.

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8. Por todas partes de la isla se puede dar asalto: la una es por la mar, algo desviados de la fortaleza, de manera que la artillería no hace daño; y por la expiriencia que ay del tiempo de Morones, es mejor por la otra parte de la tierra, un tiro de culebrina antes de llegar a la fortaleça, en una ensenada que ay en el lugar que llaman Limatho [12], y de allí caminar por tierra, y dar por las spaldas de la fortaleça que es lo más fácil. [4]

9. El modo de acometer a la fortaleza, será llegar al muro con escalas, y juntamente acometer la puerta, que está muy bieja y será muy fácil de derrivarla. Y començando a jugar el arcabucería y mosquetería, fácilmente se asegurará el camino para entrar: y sobretodo es mejor batirla con quatro o seis pieças, que, como es la muralla de la suerte que he dicho, será fácil el tomarla, porque los yndios son de tal condición que no harán rostro al enemigo.

Quanto a espía, se hallará muy vien en Manila o en la ysla de Siao, que son fieles amigos.

10. Mejor será començar de la isla de Terrenate que de otras, porque, viniendo con harmada bastante y hecho pie en ella como cabeza, se podrá desde allí hacer guerra a las demás yslas de día y de noche, y será muy fácil después el tomarlas; y se cierra el camino al rey de Tidore para que no haga, debajo de amistad, alguna traición. Y tanvién se descubren desde allí todas las enbarcaciones enemigas, y son señores de la mar. Y fácilmente se puede despachar y recevir desde allí socorro y bastimentos de Manilla y de las demás partes, lo que no puede ser de la Yndia de Portugal por ser tan lejos.

En tiempo de guerra todos hechan sus centinelas por mar y por tierra, mas son malos veladores quando la guerra va de algún spacio.

11. La guerra que siempre an tenido el rey de Tidore y el de Terranate, es hacer celadas y haverle muerto alguna gente el de Tidore al de Terrenate; pero aunque an peleado algunas bezes en la mar, no quedó el de Terrenate enflaquecido porque, en conociendo tantica ventaja de una parte a otra, luego huyen. Y no se tiene esto por deshonrra ni afrenta.

12. Bastimentos ni municiones nunca les falta a los terrenates ni a los tidores, porque ellos con poco se sustentan, y en el monte hallan el sahagu, que es un árbol a modo de palma silvestre, y todo el cora-

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[12] Limata(h)u is a village west of the fortress. See *Treatise* 288-289 and map after 376.

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ción es comida mejor que caçave, y tanvién tienen muchas hiervas y frutas.

13. Si nuest[r]a harmada ynpidiese, que le es fácil, los juncos de los jabos que cada año van a cargar de clavo, les faltarían las municiones, porque ellos se las traen a trueque de clabo. [5]

Tienen los terrenates por amigos a los mindanaos, borneis, jabos, mas éstos no se hallarán más como en el tiempo de Morones, y los demás se entiende que no le socorrerán porque están con mucho miedo y cada uno procura guardar su tierra.

Nunca se proveen de mucho mantenimiento para mucho tiempo, porque, como es dicho, lo hallan en el monte; mas cerrándoles el lugar donde están, no pudiendo ellos salirlo a buscar, por hambre se an de entregar y special por sed.

14. No ussan[d] los terrenates de otra suerte de navíos en la guerra que caracoas, que a cada una la reman hasta cien hombres, y llevan veynte soldados, los seis arcabuzeros y los demás se ocupan en tirar dos o tres bersos que lleva cada caracoa. Y los remeros y soldados llevan cada uno sus campilanes y rodelas, como queda dicho, y gran número de calabais[13] y sagus-sagus[14], que son unas baras de cañas tostadas, las quales tiran sin barloar, de la manera que los moros los dardos.

15. Y el modo de pelear es ponerse a tiro de verso, y en disparando huyen con mucha ligereza de ambas partes hasta cargar otra bez, y buelven muy depriesa al puesto a disparar los bersos; a los quales tienen para cada uno tres hombres, el uno apunta el berso y el otro[e] pega fuego, y el otro ceba las cámaras. Están muy dispuestos a que nuestra hartillería les mate, porque nunca ussan de pavesadas ni otra defensa, porque los navíos son muy rasos y descubiertos, que no tienen cubierta, al modo de barcos de St. Lucar[15], sino que son mucho más largos y más bajos de puntal. Y traen dos timones, uno a proa y otro a popa, porque no hacen cía, ni escurre más de solo por presteza bolviendo los cuerpos, y así con galeras subtiles o con galeotas. Con sola la palamenta basta a trabucar este género de navíos, aunque fuesen muchos.

16. Mejor será quitarles la fuerça de la mar, como ya está dicho, porque desta manera se les quita todo género de socorro[f] y mante-

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[13] *Kalawai*, javelin or dart with an iron barbed hook (CLERCQ 293; description in CAMPEN, *Visscherij* 261-262).

[14] *Sagu-sagu* is a kind of spear or assegai (CLERCQ 275).

[15] Sanlúcar de Barrameda, sea port of Seville.

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nimiento que ellos pueden esperar de fuera, y el pescar y bañarse que estiman en mucho, y los nuestros tendrán el campo franco para esto y todo lo demás, y en medio de la guerra goçarán de gran descanso y hartura. [6]

17. El socorro que reciven los terrenates es de sus mismos basallos, en especial de la ysla de Machien y de Homero [16] por haver mucha gente. Pero aunque se junten muchas islas *9* no juntarán más que quarenta caracoas. No se temen de ser offendidos de otros más que de los castellanos, y algún recelo tienen tanvién de los portugueses; y tanvién de mucho número de sus vasallos que en viendo nuest[r]a harmada se entiende se levantarán contra ellos, en especial los mucho[s] christianos que están en Machien y Homero [17], y otras islas cerca de Tidore por los excesivos tributos que ya está referido.

18. El rey de Siao es fiel amigo nuestro, podrá ayudar con cinco o seis caracoas. Está muy mal con los terrenates. Hallarse ya en aquella isla algún socorro de puercos y gallinas.

De la fortaleza de Tidore podrán salir hasta cinquenta soldados en nuestro fabor, caracoas no tienen ni otra enbarcación que sea de provecho porque no lo consiente el rey.

19. De la fortaleza de Amboyno, que está ciento y veinte leguas por mar de Terrenate, podrán salir hasta cinco o seis caracoas grandes, esquipadas de buena gente, hasta quarenta o cinquenta portugueses. Y para que este socorro pudiese acudir con tiempo a Maluco, llegados a Siao se podría despachar luego una caracoa de los mismos siaos, como más pláticos de aquella mar y tierra, con algunos soldados.

20. De la fortaleça de Tidore es capitán Tristán de Sosa [18], y de la mar Juan de Brito. Estos dos creo lo harán vien, aunque no son hombres de grandes azañas. Del galeón que fue a cargar de clavo, lo era Fernán Boto Machado [19]. Este se halló con otro galeón en tiempo

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[16] Misreading of *ho Moro*, as the Brother heard it from the Portuguese or saw it written by them. It means the region of Moro.

[17] The documents never reveal the existence of a Christian community in the island of Makian. On the contrary, the Church of Moro, destroyed by Ternate, is very well attested to.

[18] Captain 1592-1595; see Gen. Introd., Ch. I a.

[19] He made many voyages to Maluku and is often mentioned by several authors; see, e.g., COUTO X/I 421 480; X/II 43-44 52-53 286-288; SÀ IV 425 428; APO I 2a Parte, 81.

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de Morones; es gran amigo del rey de Tidore; éle[20] tratado en particular[h] (aunque al disimulo); llevóle un gran presente al rey de Tidore. No será malo recatarse algo destos tales.

21. Están en Tidore el capitán Pablo de Lima[21], que save vien la lengua de Terrenate, y es hombre de hecho y de mucha expiriencia de guerra y de por allá, y ha visto muchas o todas las fortalezas del Terrenate. Y aunque [7] es casado con una parienta deste rey, se le puede fiar qualquier cossa. Es hombre de punto de honrra y a peleado con los terrenates algunas bezes, yendo y bolviendo a Manila y siempre ha salido muy vien. Spera recevir merced de Su Magestad por lor servicios que tiene hechos.

22. Tanvién en la fortaleça de Anboyno ay otros tres o quatro hombres expirimentados en las cossas de guerra que por allá se ussan y son de confiança, aunque no de mucho ánimo, y de mucho menos lo es el capitán de la fortaleça que allí reside, llamado Antonio Pereira[22]. Abrá en esta fortaleça, entre casados y solteros, hasta ciento y treinta de pelea y obligación de acudir a la guerra quando son llamados, y para esto reciven paga.

23. En Tidore habrá hasta ochenta soldados, pocos más o menos, entre casados y solteros. Los soldados destas dos fortaleças tienen sus arcabuzes y algunos sus cotas, y pocos petos y morriones. Municiones tienen muy pocas y solas las que el Virrey les envía de la Yndia: muchas beces les falta el plomo y cuerda, y en perdiéndose o faltando aquel año el galeón, todo falta y no ay de donde proveerse.

Fuera de las naves del clavo, que traen algunas pieças de artillería de falconetes, cameletes y algunos pedreros, ay en la fortaleça de Tidore dos culebrinas y un camelete, seys falcones; y cada una de las naves traen de hordinario quatro cameletes y dos falcones.

24. En la fortaleça de Amboyno ay seis cameletes, el uno de marca mayor, dos culebrinas buenas, seis falcones, diezyocho medios falcones y veinte y quatro bersos, y algunos chicherros; pero de todas estas pieças algunas pocas cámaras y a otras les falta.

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[20] Read *héle*, i.e., *le he*

[21] In 1606 he is called « Pablo de Lima, portugues natural destas yslas que fue interprete de la lengua » (COLIN-PASTELLS III 49 note 2).

[22] António Pereira Pinto, captain from 1591 to 1596; see Gen. Introd., Ch. I a. For this judgment on him, cf. D 94,33.

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25. Fuera de lo que está dicho, de las harmas que tiene el Terrenate, harmará tanvién hasta ducientos hombres de cotas, petos y murriones, y tiene un official que los hace. Y el hierro para esto y para los campilanes y demás harmas, les biene de dos minas que tienen en dos yslas, la una llamada Sula y la otra Botua[23], no lejos de allí.

26. El rey de Tidore se save de cierto que tiene mucha cantidad de versos y chicherros, dos o tres cameletes y otros tantos falcones, y mucha cantidad de municiones, y tres pipas o más de pólvora enterradas. Armará hasta ciento y [8] veynte hombres arcabuzeros con sus cotas, murriones y petos.

27. Del ánimo de los portugueses se entiende vien, y que serán dellos vien recevidos los castellanos, porque están tan avatidos y viven cada día con tantas amenaças del rey de Tidore, que no hacen otra cossa sino suspirar por los castellanos. Y lo que se hiço mal en tiempo de Morones, no fue otra cossa sino la desunión que hubo entre los dos capitanes[24], lo qual no abrá agora, porque todos claman a Dios y desean vengar las ynjurias que de estos moros tienen recevidas.

28. El aparato de gente que será menester para acavar la guerra de presto, aunque falte el rey de Tidore, serán necessarios más de mill y ducientos soldados vien harmados con sus cotas y capacetes hasta pasar a la ysla de Vanda, para que queden allí los necessarios de guarnición: y an de benir con cantidad de navíos legeros para coxer al enemigo quando huyere, y desta manera se acavará la guerra en breve spacio y sin sangre. Y los mismos moros terrenates lo dicen, que si viene aparato de gente de pelea, que sin pelear ellos se an de venir a dar la ovidiencia, lo qual se ará todo muy vien con la gracia del Señor.

29. Y adviértese que la ysla de Banda es de gran provecho el conquistarla y de poco rriesgo, y para sustentarla es de grande ynportancia la vecindad de Anboyno, pues es nuestra, que así le parece al Padre Antonio Marta, a quien V. Señoría da tanto crédito como es raçón. Y yo, por lo que e visto, soy del mismo parezer; y aun los portugueses que allí están, en las conversaciones que a las bezes entre si tenían, y

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[23] Neither the Sula islands nor Butung are known to contain iron; according to ancient authors, the Banggai island did so (REBELO 394) and likewise the southeastern coast of Sulawesi. The Sula and Butung people are likely to have shipped and bartered this metal.

[24] See D 50,3.

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yo oýa al disimulo, entendí facilitavan grandemente el tomar a Banda, y del mucho provecho e ynterese que le sería a Su Magestad.

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[a] llevarlos *ms.* ‖ [b] endido *ms.* ‖ [c] ellas *ms.* ‖ [d] ussando *ms.* ‖ [e] y el otro *rep.* ‖ [f] sococorro *ms.* ‖ [g] *corr. fr.* gentes ‖ [h] *opening bracket is lacking in ms.*

3

BR. GASPAR GÓMEZ TO GOVERNOR D. PEDRO DE ACUÑA AND THE VICEROY OF MEXICO

Report on Maluku

[MEXICO, DECEMBER 1601 - JANUARY 1602]

I BIBLIOGRAPHY: TORRES Y LANZAS, *Catálogo* IV no. 6063.

II TEXT:

A. Seville, *AGI, Filip. 1 ramo 1 no. 53.* Copy in Spanish, written with many errors by an inexperienced or little attentive amanuensis. There is no title at the beginning, but on the last page of the four folios two notes read « Copia de una rrelación que dio el Padre Gaspar Gómez de la Compañía de Jhesús [*interl.* al Virrey y] a D. Pedro de Acuña en razón de cosas particulares de la tierra y reyno del Maluco como testigo de vista », and « Corresponde al capítulo 10 de la carta de materias de guerra ffecha en Mexico a 8 de marzo de 1602 años ».

B. *AGI, Patr⁰ 46 ramo 24.* A parallel copy to text A, conformable to it and furnished with the same notes.

III DATE: Gómez's *Relación* was used in a report on matters of war dated March 8, 1602. It was requested and received by Governor Acuña when he was in Mexico on his way to the Philippines; on February 2 he had already left Mexico-city and stayed at Acapulco, and in May he arrived at Manila (*AGI, Méj. 1 ramo 1 no. 11*; MORGA 127). Fr. Francisco Váez, Provincial of Mexico, wrote on April 25, 1602, to King Philip that, at the request of the Viceroy and Acuña, he had allowed Br. Gómez to sail to Spain (*AGI, Méj. 121 ramo 1 no. 27*). And many other contemporary documents converge in showing that the Brother wrote his report in early 1602 or late 1601.

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IV PRINTED: in COLIN-PASTELLS III 31-32; in PASTELLS, *Historia General* V pp. clxxvii-clxxx, rather a somewhat shortened paraphrase in the wording of the text.

V OUR EDITION: We print text A.

Text

1. *Having been a spy in Maluku, will narrate the knowledge he collected there.* — 2. *A military action against Ternate is justified, first on account of the insulting behaviour of its king in committing sacrileges, in sending for foreign Islamic preachers, and in making alliance with the English [Dutch].* — 3. *Secondly, because of his cruelly persecuting the Christians and compelling them to apostatize.* — 4. *When the former Christians see those islands controlled by Spain, they will return to religious fervour, and a door will be opened for Jesuit apostolate.* — 5. *The reputation of the Spanish king is greatly damaged by the rebellion of this petty king.* — 6. *Economic advantages of controlling Ternate because of the clove, and Banda because of the nutmeg; the latter can be secured from Ambon.* — 7. *In consultation with the much experienced Fr. Antonio Marta, it was found that an army of 1,300 or 1,400 men could subdue the entire area.* — 8. *As to how the action should be undertaken, refers to his former Respuesta and adds three more points.* — 9. *First, the armada should be composed at Manila.* — 10. *Second, the soldiers should be paid liberally and promptly. The clove and nutmeg will reimburse all costs.* — 11. *Third, Ternate is enlarging its power and influence in the Philippines to the detriment of the Spanish crown and of the Christian faith.* — 12. *Added to this it allied itself with the English [Dutch].* — 13. *The more it grows in power and riches, the more difficult it would be to conquer it.* — 14. *The risk of the military action is reduced by the lack of fighting spirit of the natives, who take to flight at any tumult of war. Instance of it.* — 15. *Once, as the Ternate flagship was captured, the crew threw themselves overboard. A Mekka preacher was killed. Rich booty.* — 16. *The expedition will be to the glory of God and of the king, and can easily succeed.*

1. Obedeciendo al sancto celo y mandato de V. Señoría, en lo tocante al Maluco diré lo que se me ofrece a gloria de Dios nuestro Señor como testigo de vista, por haver sido embiado al mesmo intento y propósito por orden del governador Gómez Pérez [1] y de mis superiores a aquellas partes por espía secreta, y cobrado en ellas vastante noticia de todo lo que puede hacer al casso para aquella jornada y conquista [a]; y para certificar a V. Señoría que sería de grandíssima ymportancia emprehenderla por el servicio grande y gloria de la Magestad divina, rreputación del Rey nuestro señor, y acrecentamiento de sus estados y real hazienda.

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[1] Dasmariñas.

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2. Consta ser de gloria divina por dos razones. La una, porque es grande ignominia del nombre christiano que un rreyeçuelo de Terrenate, pusilánime y de pocas fuerças, con tanto atrevimiento y tan a ojos bistas de los christianos ande profanando los sagrados templos y ornamentos, derrivando las cruces y hechando por el suelo las ymagines, y usando para sus bicios y borracheras los cálices [2], uno de los quales traxe yo a Manila que lo rresgaté. Y que no contento con esto, aya llamado y conbocado de Marruecos y de Meca, alfaquíes [3] y moravitos [4] para que enseñen y publiquen la secta mahometana por todas aquellas yslas hasta la de Mindanao; y hecho alianças, paces y conciertos con yngleses. Y servirse a Dios nuestro Señor mucho en que tales y tantos ynsultos y atrevimientos contra su santa fe atagen y rrepriman.

3. La segunda, que por aquellas yslas y archipiélago están esparcidos muchos christianos, a quien el dicho Terrenate, sólo porque lo son y no quieren seguir la secta de Mahoma, trae perseguidos, acossados y oprimidos [b] con extraordinarias vexaciones, agravios y fuerças, haciendo esclavos hasta quarta generación y he-[3]chando al remo, y cruelmente castigando a los que no quieren rrecevir su maldita seta; y admitiendo como en otra Ginebra los facinerosos y sacrílegos [c] contra nuestra santa fee [5], como acaeció el tiempo que allí estuve, que dos sacerdotes [d] medio mestiços portugueses [e] se acogieron allí a rrenegar de Dios y su santa fee [6].

4. Y ganándose aquella ysla y biéndose por la Magestad del Rey Católico amparados, los della cobrarán ánimo para perseverar en el camino de su salvación, y los que por tantas vexaciones huvieren enflaquecido en la creencia de Jhesu Christo, se rreducirán según las muestras que dello me dieron, en especial los de la ysla de St. Guel Bassar [7] y del Moro, donde el glorioso apostol Sancto Thomé predicó el Evangelio [8]. Y agradarse a en gran manera Dios nuestro Señor de

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[2] Cf. COLIN-PASTELLS III 36.

[3] From Arabic *al-fakik*, teacher of Muslim law.

[4] From Arabic *murabit*, Muslim hermit or monk, marabout.

[5] Allusion to the city-republic of Geneva, transformed by Calvin into a theocratic city-of-God; as a matter of fact, its leaders were fiercely opposed to Roman Catholicism, and therefore considered evil-doers by the Catholics.

[6] Cf. D 102,6 where the same case is mentioned of only one secular priest.

[7] Sangi Besar or Great Sangi island.

[8] A grotesque statement. Not even G. Schurhammer, who knew all about both St. Thomas and Moro, ever heard of the Apostle having preached in these islands.

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que los tales sean favorecidos y defendidos, y se abra por aquí puerta no sólo para que los de la Compañía, a quien el vendito P.e Francisco Xavier dexó en aquellas partes travaxando en la viña del Señor, lo hagan con liverdad y seguridad, y no [a] sombra de texados al modo de Ynglaterra[9], mas también para que en todas las yslas de aquel arcipiélago, llenas de ciudades y pueblos de inumerable gente deseosa de su salvación y fee christiana, se rreciva y plante el sancto Evangelio.

5. La reputación y buen nombre del Rey nuestro señor padece notable detrimento, en que una ysleta tan pequeña y de tan poca gente, le rresista y haga rrostro a Su Magestad tantos años a, ultra de lo mucho que la Magestad Católica puede perder para con aquella nueva christiandad y bárvaras naciones, y con las demás a cuia noticia biniere, que a sus ojos y en su patrimonio y rreal corona esté la fee de Jesuchristo y los que la siguen en tal avatimiento y opresión[f].

6. La real hazienda se acrecentaría en más de quinientos mil ducados cada año, porque, teniendo el Rey nuestro señor por suya a Terrenate, ternía las demás yslas comarcanas donde se coge el clavo hasta la de Banda, donde es la cosecha de nuez moscada y [4] maça, droga tan excelente cuios yntereses della son más de trecientos mil ducados. La qual con mucha facilidad se ganaría assí por ser solos y gente de por sí, como porque, según yo bi costeando aquella tierra, y lo que de dos Padres de nuestra Compañía que allí avían estado[10] me informé, tengo por cierto que, ganado Terrenate, como está tan cerca, con parte de la gente y navíos se podrá ganar, porque no es ysla de tanta fuerça de gente como Terrenate. Y para su conservación adelante, que a esto se a de mirar, ymporta la vezindad de la ysla de Amboyno, que es de V. Magestad y están en ella portugueses con una fortaleza.

7. En lo tocante al aparato de guerra que será menester, según allá he visto y tanteado, e informádome de los que dello saven y entienden, en special del P.e Antonio Marta de[g] nuestra Compañía, visitador y comissario general del sancto Officio en aquellas partes, hombre muy experto en cossas de guerra por haver sido soldado y capitán en Ytalia[11], y que save bien los secretos y ardides y modo de pelear

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[9] The ill-treated and persecuted English Catholics could not worship but in hiding.

[10] That some Jesuits made a stop at Banda about 1590 is not narrated in our documents. Perhaps Frs. Marta, Rebelo, and Masonio did (D 79,3).

[11] Relevant particular of Marta's life; it is not known from other sources.

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del Maluco, por los muchos años que allí a estado y está predicando la ley de Jhesuchristo, hallo por buena quenta que con mil y trecientos hombres, o mil y quatrocientos de mar y guerra, se puede hallanar y ganar todo aquel arcipiélago hasta la ysla de Vanda.

8. El modo de hacerse la dicha jornada, me remito a la rrespuesta e instrución que truxe al dicho governador Gómez Pérez, quando allá a esto me embió por su orden la obediencia, cuia copia va con esta. Demás de la qual se me offrece advertir tres puntos.

9. Primero, que esta armada es bien se haga en Manila, porque allí todo género de embarcaciones se hace con mucha facilidad y poca costa.

10. Segundo, que, según yo he visto en aquella tierra, importaría mucho la liveralidad y puntualidad [5] en la paga de los soldados, en la qual, aunque se alargue algo más de lo ordinario, por ser corta no ará daño. Y todos los gastos de esta jornada no pueden venir a ser más, que la quinta o sesta parte de[l] acrecentamiento que la real hazienda tendrá aquel mismo año en solo lo del clavo, nuez y maça.

11. Tercero, que desde la punta de Mindanao hasta Terrenate ay poco más de 50 leguas [12], y estas de yslas en yslas en atravesías de ocho a diez leguas, de manera que con mucha facilidad pueden los terrenates por mar y tierra entrar a las yslas de Manila hasta la de Botuan [13], que es la contra costa de la dicha punta de Mindanao, y Bool, Leyte, Ybabao [14], y otras donde están doctrinando los de la Compañía, a muchos tributarios de Su Magestad y encomenderos, como lo hizieron el año de 94. Y llevaron captivos muchos christianos, y fueron a venderlos por aquellas yslas, en special a la de Joló cuyos indios heran tributarios de Su Magestad [15] y agora lo son del Terrenate. El qual por esta vía y bezindad, y fácil passo de unas yslas en otras, cada día se yrá[h] haciendo más fuerte[i] y menoscavando el número de los tributarios de la corona real, y por el consiguiente, lo que peor es, afligiendo más la christiandad de allí.

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[12] The distance is double as much.

[13] Butuan on the N coast of Mindanao.

[14] Bohol and Leyte islands. Ibabao was the name of the eastern half of Samar island facing the Pacific, whereas the western part was called Samar (COLIN-PASTELLS I 32). Practically 'Ibabao' was equivalent to 'Samar'.

[15] Cf. COSTA, *The Jesuits* 151. The ruler of Jolo promised fealty and vassalage to the king of Spain in 1578.

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12. Mayormente uniéndose con el ynglés[16], como ya a començado, porque de cinco o seis años a esta parte vienen allí yngleses por clavo, nuez moscada, y pimienta a la de Java. Y abrá dos años que el Terrenate asentó paces contratación de especería con el ynglés que allí vino con dos navíos y dexó en pago y precio muchas armas y algunas pieças gruessas de artillería[17], la[s] quales [6] vi yo en la playa.

13. Y será mayor la dificultad de esta conquista mientras más se dilatare, y más fueren engrossándose y cebando el Terrenate y el ynglés en mercadería de tanta demanda por todo el mundo, y que en otra parte dél no se halla.

14. Quán poco sea el riesgo que se correrá en esta jornada con el favor divino, colígese del poco ánimo de esta gente, que a qualquiera ruido de guerra fácilmente se atemoriça y pone en huida, como sucedió yendo yo costeando la punta de la ysla de Mindanao el año de 93 en una embarcación pequeña de solos once indios y un español, que encontramos quatro vaxeles grandes que llaman caracoas, en que benían quinientos terrenates bien apercevidos de armas y artillería de cada dos versos. Y al punto que nuestra embarcación disparó sola una pieça pequeñuela huieron a la buelta del Maluco.

15. De allí a cinco meses cogimos en aquel paraje con mucha facilidad y sin riesgo la capitana dellas con algunos terrenates, porque los demás se hecharon al agua *j* y huieron a tierra. Y entre los que murieron fue un gran alfaquíe de Meca, que el rey de Terrenate embiava a Mindanao para enseñar la seta de Mahoma. Hallamos en la dicha capitana muchas barras de fierro por lastre, y gran número de armas de barias maneras, y pieças de damascos rrasos y taffetanes *k*, que, según parece, havían robado a un navío de la Gran China que por allí pasava en contratación con vassallos de Su Magestad. También [7] hallamos cantidad de oro de más de 22 quilates, mucha cera, canela y algalia, que havían robado por aquellas yslas donde todo se da en abundancia.

16. Todas estas caussas y otras muchas que por brevedad he dexado, me persuaden no sólo a que será esta jornada de mucha gloria divina, buen nombre y rreputación del Rey nuestro señor, y aumento de su real hazienda, pero que será muy fácil y de pocos gastos y rriesgo, con el favor divino y la yda del governador D. Pedro de Acuña, que,

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[16] For *ynglés* read *holandés*.

[17] Refers to the two sail of Wybrant Warwyck that on May 22, 1599, reached Ternate, the first Dutch ships to do so (TIELE VI 147-148).

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como cavallero de tanta espiriencia en ocassiones de guerra, y tan celoso del servicio de Dios y de Su Magestad, que trata las cossas de aquellas partes muy cuerdamente, espero en la divina Bondad tendrá buen sucesso.

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[a] *corr. fr.* con esta ‖ [b] *corr. fr.* perseguidos ‖ [c] sacrilegios *ms.* ‖ [d] sacerdoctes *ms.* ‖ [e] *interl.* ‖ [f] opinión *ms.* ‖ [g] *del.* la ‖ [h] yrán *ms.* ‖ [i] fuertes *ms.* ‖ [j] al agua *corr. fr.* algua ‖ [k] *corr. fr.* rasso

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GLOSSARY

Alcorão — minaret of a mosque; the Koran.
Alfaquí — (Ar. *al-fakik*) teacher of Muslim law.
Alfuros — Alifurus, aboriginal people in E Indonesia.
Ambar — ambergris.
Amok — to run amuck, i.e. furiously and desperately at any one.
Arak — rice wine, brandy.
Areka — a palm tree that produces the *areka* nut.
Bahar — measure of weight for cloves, varying between 360 and 600 lbs.
Baileu — village meeting house; cabin on upper deck.
Baju — jacket with long narrow sleeves.
Balai — kind of couch, bench and bed in one (Malay *balai-balai*).
Bambu — bamboo, giant grass plant.
Banting — brigantine, two-masted small merchantman.
Bate — rice still in the husk.
Bazar — market.
Bazarucco — Portuguese Indian coin of low value; Anglo-Indian: *budgrook*.
Bendahara (*bandara*) — governor, treasurer.
Beriberi — acute disease.
Besar — great.
Betre — leaf of Piper betle.
Bicara — to speak, to discuss.
Bininta — long and narrow boat or prow (Siauese).
Caciz — Muslim teacher, preacher.
Caixa — small copper coin with a square hole in the middle.
Canequim — Indian white cotton cloth.
Catureiro — pilot or steersman of a *catur*, a light rowing vessel.
Champana — sampan, small boat.
Chito — letter or note.
Durian — a tasty fruit.
Gamute — black fibre growing on the arén palm.
Garu — raid, sudden assault.
Gudang — store-house.
Gunung — mountain, hill.
Junku — large Oriental ship.
Kacang — pea, bean.
Kaicil — title of princes of royal blood.
Kalambak — kind of aloes wood.
Kalawai — iron barbed javelin.
Kampilan — broadsword.
Kati — unit of weight of 625 grams.
Kelulus — light and rapid boat.

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Keris — kind of dagger, crease.
Ketan — sticky rice.
Korakora — Moluccan war boat with outriggers.
Lanchara — small high speed vessel (Malay *lancaran*).
Laskar — soldier.
Lorcha — somewhat modified *junku*.
Mabalunca — (distorted form of Siauese *lumalungkang*) woman mourner at funerals.
Manchua — Asian vessel resembling a galliot.
Mangga — mango tree and fruit.
Mardika — free (Malay *merdeka*).
Mocadão — (Ar. *mukaddam*) head-man; pilot or proprietor of vessel.
Mongang — poisonous shell fish; its evil spirit; devil (Siauese).
Morabito — (Ar. *murábit*) Muslim hermit.
Mosaffi — holy book, Koran (Ar. *mushaf*).
Ola — palm leaf variously used.
Pagode — idol; sanctuary.
Pardau — coin of 300 to 360 réis.
Patacão — coin of about 360 réis.
Pati — Javanese title of prime minister; chief of a village.
Patola — fine silk cloth, sometimes many-coloured.
Pegas — kind of mantrap or caltrop (text: *pecas-pecas*).
Perahu — any type of vessel, boat, prow.
Rotan — rattan, climbing plant with long stems; the stems themselves.
Sagu — sago; food prepared from the pith of the sago palm.
Sagu-sagu — kind of spear.
Sengaji — chief of a district.
Socão — steersman (Ar. *sukkani*; Anglo-Indian *seacunny*).
Suang(g)i — evil spirit, vampire.
Sukun — bread fruit (text, plural: *sucõis*).
Sungga — mantrap, caltrop.
Syahbandar — harbour master, port officer.
Tala — small rowing boat.
Tifa — native drum.
Tifador — man occupied in tapping palm wine from the tree.
Tuak — palm wine, toddy.
Turana — harpoon.
Tutumbu — quadrangular box made from palm leaves.
Veniaga — merchandise.
Xerafim — silver or gold coin of varying value.
Zavra — Arabic boat.

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Corrigenda

Page 297, IV, instead of Nowhere . . . was superior, read: So he wrote it as superior of the Maluku mission, as he called himself as early as 1588 (D 73, 19).

Page 315: note 3 to be dropped.

Page 446, note 6: to be added: The village in question is Puta (D 94, 27-28).

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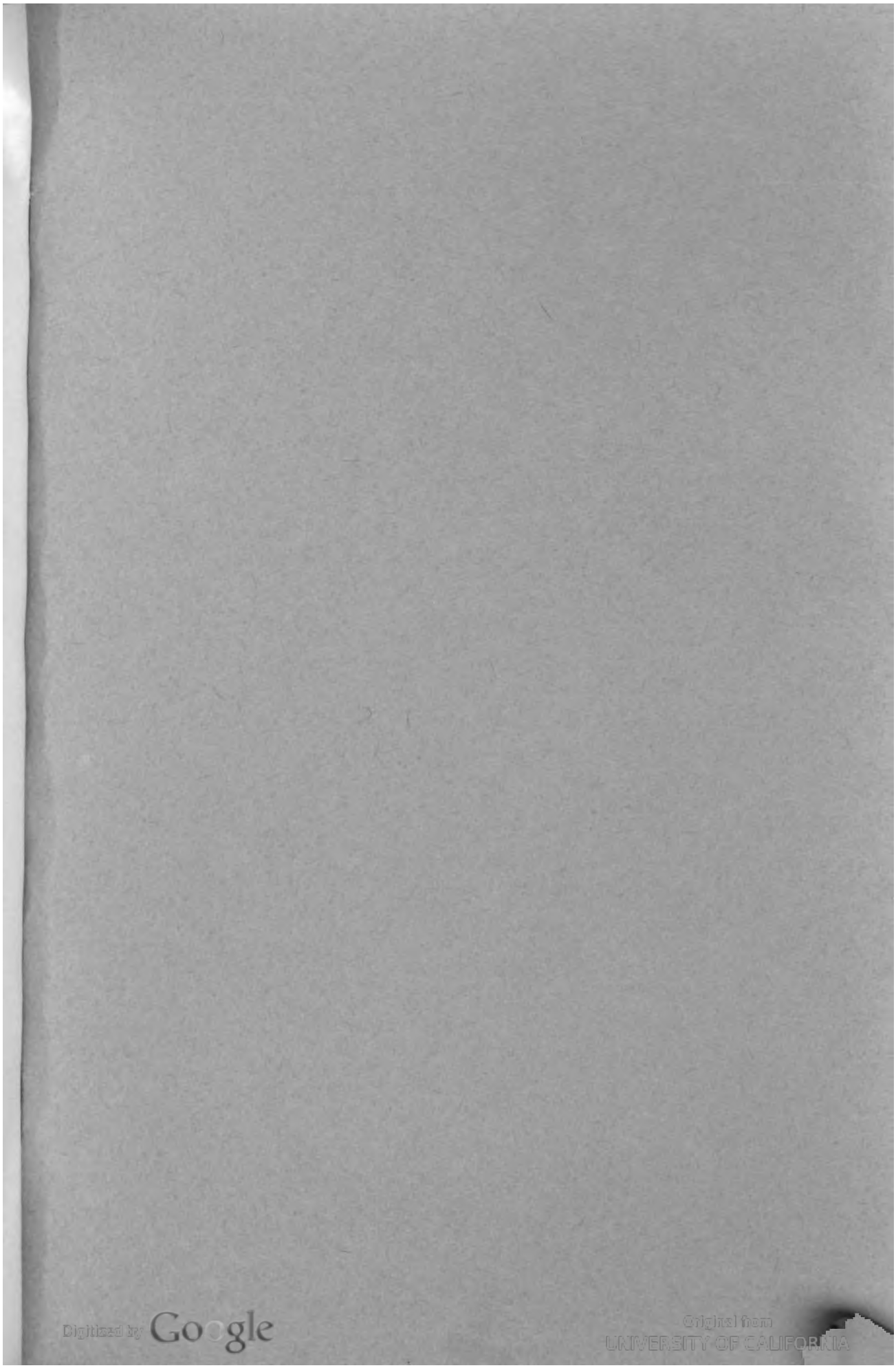
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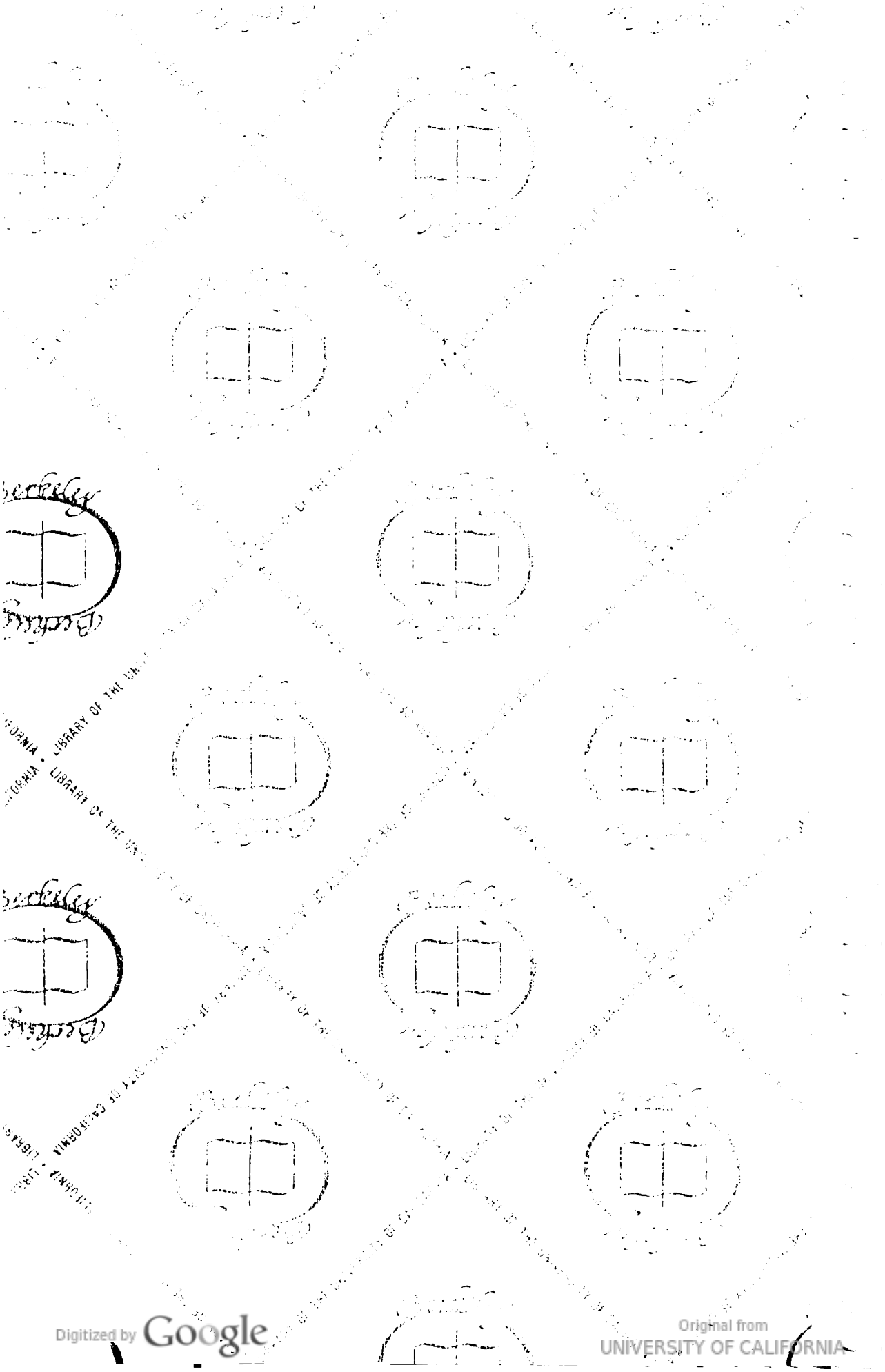

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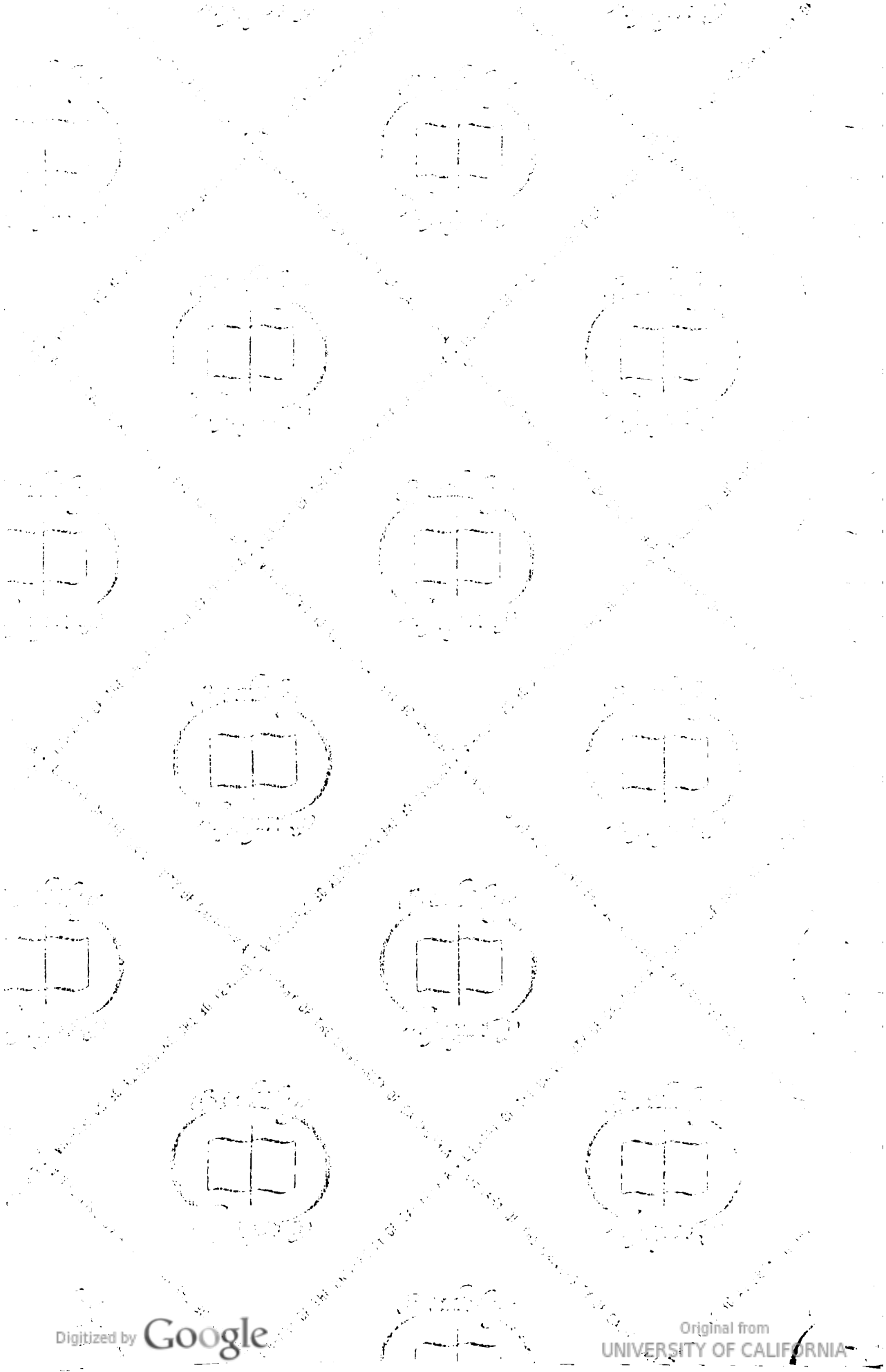

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