

الفنح

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A Man in the Shadow of Magellan

Francisco Serrão, the First European in the Maluku Islands (1511-1521)

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INTRODUCTION

Portuguese and Spanish sources contain abundant material dealing with the activities of Francisco Serrão, the first Portuguese who settled in the islands of Maluku, in the eastern part of today's Indonesia. Such materials often contain inconsistent information and intentionally distorted historical data on the profile and the deeds of this figure. Reflecting competition among the Iberian nations for the control of the sources of Indonesian spices during the early decades of the 16th century, such information must be carefully analysed and submitted to strict scrutiny.

The materials for this early period came mostly from chronicles and archival records, some of them included in the so called 'Maluku Process' (*Questão das Molucas*), which contains statements produced from the 1520s onwards to be used by Portuguese and Spanish delegates in the diplomatic dispute for the ownership of the Spice Islands. For this reason, the

information contained in such testimonies, written with the purpose of taking eventual advantage from their content, should not be unconditionally trusted as other first-hand documents.¹

Although we are familiar with many aspects of the action and interference of Francisco Serrão on Asian scenarios, no information is available about his life prior to his departure from Portugal to India. Moreover, the biographical material relating to his days in Asia and particularly in the Maluku islands, where he spent the last few years of his life, is also scanty. For these reasons, a biographical essay on this important figure, who initiated the Portuguese presence in Eastern Indonesia and whose acts decisively influenced subsequent developments, has been awaited for many years.² We took that challenge with the present text, although we are aware that only a few elements of his life and his accomplishments can be established beyond any doubt.

This paper intends also to review the earliest Portuguese expeditions from Melaka to the Maluku islands. Instead of trying to develop this theme according to the usual approach to the historiography of 'Discoveries', it aims to pay attention to the study of sailing, trade and, especially, to the early 16th century political history in the region, to which the activities of Francisco Serrão are closely related.

THE ANTÓNIO DE ABREU FLEET

The oldest oral traditions registered by the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Dutch, confirm the Chinese sources that attest to the Chinese priority in

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regularly visiting the Maluku archipelago, although some of these traditions also claimed the Javanese to be the earliest foreign traders to visit the Spice Islands. It is possible that, after the Chinese officially drew back from the Southeast Asian seas, by the 1430s, the oral tradition was slightly adjusted with the purpose of sanctioning the overwhelming Javanese influence in Maluku dating back from the 13th century onwards. It created a new scenario in which the Javanese appear as the oldest partners of the Malukans, finally superseded by the Malay merchants from Melaka, who, from the mid-15th century, were considered to be newcomers.

After the Malay merchants overcame all foreign competitors, in the 15th century, they became the preferential partners of the kings of the Maluku Islands. The fast 'take over' operated by the Malay merchants in close articulation with Muslim traders from the most important port-cities in the Javanese *pasisir*, found a justification in the fact that the Indian Ocean had become a 'Muslim lake' since the Chinese withdrew from these regions at the very moment when the early stage of Islamisation on Java was just beginning. From the outset, Malay merchants from Melaka attracted the friendship and the alliance of the King of Ternate, who was the most powerful ruler in Maluku and with whom they would stand in good terms until 1512, when the Portuguese finally made up their appearance in Maluku.

As an objective to be fulfilled in the scope of the Portuguese maritime and commercial expansion in East Asia, the Maluku Islands are believed to be mentioned for the first time in 1508, in an ordinance given by King Manuel to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. In this ordinance, the monarch ordered Sequeira to build up *padrões*, or stone columns, 'in the islands where cloves come from', and to calculate their latitude and the maritime distances separating them from the neighbour islands and lands.³

But it was only by 1511, after Melaka had been seized by Afonso de Albuquerque, that the Portuguese were fully aware of the fact that some of the most valuable and renowned spices currently used in Asia and in Europe came from a few islands lying on the edge of the Malay-Austronesian world. Cloves only grew in Maluku, while nutmeg and mace were exclusively produced in the Banda islands. Similarly, white sandalwood only grew in Timor and, to a lesser extent, in some neighbouring islands.

Established in Melaka, the Portuguese concentrated their efforts on setting up trade relations with the Maluku and Banda archipelagos. Afonso de Albuquerque being in Melaka, in November 1511, a few months after he captured the city from the sultan Mahmud Syah, dispatched a three-vessel fleet to Maluku.⁴ António de Abreu, the chief-commander, sailed onboard the *Santa Catarina*, piloted by Luís Botim.⁵ The captaincy of the *Sabaia*, an Indian vessel seized by Afonso de Albuquerque during the capture of Goa, was given to Francisco Serrão, who was also the fleet's lieutenant,⁶ the pilot being Gonçalo de Oliveira.⁷ The accountant (*feitor*) of the fleet was João Freire, and Diogo Borges its clerk (*escrivão*).⁸

Afonso de Albuquerque also appointed Simão Afonso Bisagudo to be captain of the Latin caravel, a vessel with a round-hull that he ordered to be constructed in Melaka especially for this expedition. The pilot was the famous Francisco Rodrigues, a young cartographer and the author of the book known by his name—*Livro de Francisco Rodrigues*—attached to the famous *Suma Oriental*, written by Tomé Pires in 1513.⁹

Francisco Rodrigues left us the earliest European maps of the Indonesian archipelago. In those maps he erased the vestiges of Ptolemy's tradition still remaining in European cartography concerning Southeast Asia. Based upon personal observations that he made during the voyage and on the examination of Asian pilots' maps—probably from Malay or Javanese origin—Francisco Rodrigues draw the first reliable representation of Southeast Asia accomplished by Europeans. His access to locally made cartography explains why the Maluku archipelago and Timor Island are outlined in his maps despite the fact that he did not visit any of those archipelagos. With a few extra additions, Rodrigues' cartography reproduced maps used by Javanese and Malay pilots.¹⁰

The importance of the work of Francisco Rodrigues lies also on 68 sketches and landscape drawings from several islands taken from aboard the Latin caravel on the return journey of this first Portuguese exploration to the Eastern Archipelago and the Banda islands. This curious set of drawings, displaying mainly the Lesser Sunda Islands and the Malay Archipelago maps, constitutes precisely the book entitled *Livro de Francisco Rodrigues* from c. 1513.

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Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, 'The image of the Archipelago in Portuguese cartography of the 16th and early 17th centuries', *Archipel*, 49, Paris, 1995, pp. 79-124, Plate III: 'Assemblage of Four Sketches by Francisco Rodrigues's *Rutter of the East* (c. 1513)'. Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Paris; *P. M. C.*, I, 35.

One hundred-and-eighty Portuguese joined this fleet along with 60 slaves to operate the water-pumps, as both older ships were in a fairly bad condition. To overcome these drawbacks, special attention was paid to the choice of spare materials and trading articles—mostly cloth—to be offered to the authorities or exchanged for spices. The fleet took the trading route along the northern coast of Java. Despite the use of experienced Malay pilots, the journey proved to be difficult and too long for old ships, preventing the Portuguese from sailing beyond the Banda islands. Only two ships and 80 men returned to Melaka one year after their departure, in December 1512, without having reached Ternate or Tidore, the main islands in the Northern Maluku archipelago where cloves were produced.¹¹

Francisco Serrão and some fourteen companions were shipwrecked twice. After having sunk in Ambon, they suffered a second wreck on their way back to Melaka, in the shallows near Nusa Pinju or 'Turtle Island', which the Portuguese sources called *baixos de*

Lucupino or *Lucepinho*. Part of the cargo of spices was also recovered and later on sent to Java where it was reshipped to Melaka.¹

In Nusa Pinju, warned by the Malay sailors who travelled with them, the survivors defeated a group of *orang selat* (or 'people from the straits') and *Bajao* ('sea nomads') pirates, seizing their vessels and sailing to Nusa Telu,¹² in Ceram, from where they later on moved to Hitu, in Ambon.¹³

The chronicler Safara Rijali, *imam* of Hitu and author of the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* ('Chronicle of the Lands of Hitu', c. 1646),¹⁴ registered the arrival of Serrão and his companions to Hitu, as it had been recorded in the memory of its inhabitants and also circulated among them by oral tradition:

One day the people of Nusatelo encountered a boat full of human creatures, the like of whom they had never seen before. Their bodies were white and their eyes resembled cats' eyes. They were asked questions, but they did not speak the local language...¹⁵

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Whatever the meaning that one should attribute to this fact in the context of today's non-Asian historiography, it implies that there is no longer a place to speak about the 'discovery' of Maluku. From the East African coast, the Portuguese simply followed the sea routes used by Muslim sailors, as they continued eastwards of Melaka. Thus, this discussion merely addresses the European priority in the Spice Islands. In this respect, historical criticism has established that the account by the Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema on his alleged journey to Banda and Maluku Islands only contains second-hand information collected, probably, in the Indian Malabar coast, in the early years of the 16th century. So, contrary to what he states, Varthema is not an accredited witness, and, accordingly, one can safely discard the priority of this Italian traveller and his account of the Spice Islands.¹⁶

Due to the Varthema's report, which, translated into several languages, circulated throughout Europe, the Portuguese priority in Maluku was ripe for discussion from the start, though the reports of the Italian travellers, who, like Varthema, travelled to South and Southeast Asia, brought no political consequences. However, some authors, while ascribing the European priority in Maluku to Francisco Serrão, persisted until today in darkening his role, attributing it to fate. Such is the case of the Spanish historian Cuesta Domingo, who states that 'Portugal, thus, because of an involuntary blow of good luck had reached the Islands of Spices' by way of a 'shipwrecked survival' named Francisco Serrão.¹⁷ It is true that Serrão was shipwrecked in a route later on considered quite dangerous. One should not assume, however, that the Portuguese were merely fortunate in having reached the Maluku islands. This argument was already developed by the Spanish negotiators at the Badajoz-Elvas summit during the years 1524 to 1529, in order to diplomatically obtain the 'control' over the Maluku Islands. Unlike Magellan, who foresaw the existence of a passage linking the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, which proved to be a fortunate guess, the Portuguese expedition under the command of António de Abreu, along with the lieutenant Serrão, left Melaka to Maluku guided by Malay pilots, who were experts on that particular route, owned maps displaying distances and directions from one anchor to the next and who were familiar with the monsoon calendar, and were thus able to sail throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

The instructions to António de Abreu,¹⁸ that should be part of his lost ordinance, mentioned that Afonso de Albuquerque assigned to him the mission of searching out the path to the Spice Islands. The expedition fully accomplished that mission, as the chronicler Gabriel Rebelo, a royal-accountant in Ternate, clearly noticed in a chronicle on Maluku he wrote during the 1560s, which is preserved in two distinct versions.¹⁹ A slightly different opinion is held by the chronicler Fernão Lopes de Castanheda²⁰ and, in his wake, almost all scholars usually underline the fact that none of the vessels of Abreu's fleet reached Maluku due to successive setbacks and shipwrecks. In his testimony to the 'Maluku Process', the already-mentioned judicial dispute between the Portuguese and the Spanish crowns for the ownership of those islands, Diogo Brandão clearly states that, being old and damaged, the remaining ships were not in a condition to proceed to the Northern Maluku for fear that they could not accomplish the homeward voyage to Melaka.²¹

The argument that the Serrão's shipwreck was the main reason for the Portuguese having not reached Northern Maluku, sustained by several authors,²² does not therefore find evidence supporting it. Although it is an unquestionable fact that none of the vessels of the fleet reached the Northern Spice Islands, where cloves were produced, one can also oppose several arguments to the thesis of the failure of the expedition: (i) shipwrecks did not prevented further navigation, since the second wreck of Serrão occurred in his way back to Melaka; (ii) in a greater sense, the concept of Maluku, and especially the one of 'Spice Islands', also included the Banda and Ambon islands, where the fleet anchored; (iii) the monsoon calendar to sail from Banda or Ambon archipelagos towards the Northern Maluku islands usually delayed the homeward journey to Melaka another entire year; (iv) for that reason and also because in the Banda islands they could easily purchase spices locally produced—mace and nutmeg—as well as cloves from Northern Maluku, brought there in large quantities, the ships from Melaka had no need to sail beyond those islands; they usually awaited there for the monsoon reversal to sail homeward,²³ a maritime practice that the Portuguese maintained throughout the 16th century.

Finally, although the ordinance given to António de Abreu by Afonso de Albuquerque is lost,²⁴ this

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Francisco Rodrigues' voyage of Discovery to the Spice Islands, from Armando Cortesão, *Summa Oriental de Tomé Pires*, I, London: Hakluyt Society, Plate VI, reprinted in *Esparsos*, III. Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1975, p. 353.

governor of the *Estado da Índia*, in a letter to King Manuel, wrote that the purpose of the mission was to reach Banda and Ambon, which names his letter registered as well as a vague reference to the 'clove islands' (*ilhas do cravo*).²⁵

Several instructions for this expedition have been preserved. They show that the Portuguese considered it a voyage of discovery. Barros stated that António de Abreu had erected *padrões* in Ambon and in the Javanese ports where he anchored during his journey to Maluku, according to the Portuguese practice of marking new lands for the purpose of symbolically taking ownership at the time of the supposed 'discovery'.²⁶ The main instructions concerned, however, the good relations that should be developed with the natives, the authorities of the seaports and the crews of the ships found in their pathway. The ordinance expressly prohibited their capture and imposed respect for local customs and the payment of goods at a fair price, as well as polite dealings with the local authorities, to whom Abreu should offer clothes that he carried onboard for that purpose.²⁷

There is another important aspect not yet mentioned. *Nakoda* Ismail—a Chinese merchant born in Melaka,²⁸ where he lived with his family and was considered to be an 'honourable man'²⁹, 'that use to sail to Maluku'³⁰—played the role of a herald. According to Barros,³¹ Afonso de Albuquerque sent him from Melaka to Maluku as captain and master of a junk of which he was also the owner,³² 'two or three days' before the fleet of António de Abreu.³³

His mission was to make the necessary arrangements for a friendly welcome to the Abreu's fleet in Maluku and throughout the Java Sea. We can presume that the *nakoda* Ismail played a part in the warm reception that the Sultan of Ternate dispensed to Francisco Serrão. Later events showed that his influence would be, presumably, focused in preparing a friendly agreement between both men. On returning to Melaka, the *nakoda* Ismail travelled in the company of a junk belonging to the Sultan of Ternate, which carried out letters to Afonso de Albuquerque. In Ternate, Serrão should also load some cloves in the *nakoda* Ismail's junk,³⁴ on which also embarked

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Pero Fernandes and the pilot Gonalo de Oliveira,³⁵ survivors with Serrão from the second shipwreck off the Nusa Pinju shallows. These men arrived in Melaka in 1513, carrying letters from the Sultan of Ternate, Abu Lais, to the King of Portugal,³⁶ and from Francisco Serrão to his friend Ferdinand Magellan who had returned to Portugal in 1512.

For the moment, we should leave Magellan and focus on his informant in Maluku, Francisco Serrão, to discover the events in which he was involved after he suffered the second shipwreck off the Nusa Pinju shallows.

FRANCISCO SERRÃO IN HITU AND TERNATE

Francisco Serrão and some ten companions who were shipwrecked off Nusa Pinju (the ‘Turtle Island’), moved to Nusa Telu, on the island of Ceram, where they gave military assistance to the local people in the conflict with their neighbours from Veranula.³⁷ Later on, the survivors found a shelter in Hitu, in the Ambon Island, where they were welcomed by the local ‘council of the four’ (*empat perdana*). Guided to Hitu, Serrão and his companions affirmed before the ‘council’ their provenance from Portugal and their purpose for trading in spices. According to Indonesian historian Paramita Abdurachman, Serrão would then grant the title of ‘captain’ (*capitão*) to the *empat perdana* spokesman, Jamilu, who he erroneously took for a king, though he was, in fact, the founder of the Hituese state. Abdurachman believes that this act could be the reason for the Malay-Ambonese title of *kapitan* being in use in the region until the late 19th century.³⁸ The Portuguese sources, however, ignore this fact, unlike the aforementioned local chronicle, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, written by Ridjali, grandson of Jamilu. Although it is probably a written version from an earlier oral tradition that suffered successive changes in its transmission, it conserved the memory of this first moment in the Hituese-Portuguese relations. But it is more likely to believe that the title of *kapitan* is derived from the appropriation by the natives of the title used by Serrão to present himself—captain of the King of Portugal—by which the Portuguese survivors under his command certainly used to address him.

The Sultan of Ternate, Abu Hayat, in a letter to the King of Portugal, Manuel I, written in Malay

language and Arabic characters, says that his father, Bayan Sirrulah (Abu Lais), sought for Serrão at Hitu, an area belonging to his realm.³⁹ António Galvão,⁴⁰ possibly based on information gathered on site, says that the Sultan of Ternate, knowing that nine *firangi* were to be found at Hitu, sent his brother, *cachil* Culiba, and nine *korakora*, to bring them to Ternate. Al Mansur, *raja* of Tidore, did the same, but the seven *korakora* he sent to Hitu arrived after the Portuguese had already left in the company of the emissaries of the Sultan of Ternate.

Hosting Francisco Serrão and his companions in Ternate, the sultan Bayan Sirrullah (Abu Lais) showed himself greatly pleased,⁴¹ since he believed that an ancient prophecy circulating in Maluku, as João de Barros reported it, was about to become true during his lifetime, ‘according to which’, Barros says, ‘some men, dressed in iron, would arrive and dominate the natives. The Sultan of Ternate would be helped by them and he would control the entire archipelago.’⁴²

FRANCISCO SERRÃO AND THE EARLY PORTUGUESE VOYAGES TO MALUKU

The second fleet sent to Maluku by the captain of Melaka, Rui de Brito Patalim (1511-1514), consisting of three ships under the command of António de Miranda de Azevedo,⁴³ sailed from Melaka to Banda on 28 December 1513. In Banda, where he was headed to buy some spices, Miranda de Azevedo expected to find Francisco Serrão. This one, in fact, accompanied by some *kimalaes* from Ternate, sailed to Ambon to meet Martim Guedes, captain of the ship *Santo André*.⁴⁴ The sultan of Ternate, who impatiently awaited a permanent Portuguese trading post to be established in Ternate and counted on Serrão to do it, provided the fleet with cloves.⁴⁵ All kings and some other traditional leaders expected that the Portuguese would build forts on their lands, as they stated in letters that the fleet of Miranda de Azevedo brought to Melaka, along with letters from Francisco Serrão himself.⁴⁶

In the meantime, Afonso de Albuquerque sent Duarte Coelho from India to Banda to build a trading post and to concentrate there the Portuguese trade in cloves, mace and nutmeg, that would be sought every year by the ships coming from Melaka. His intent was not achieved as, once arrived in Melaka, Duarte Coelho was sent to China. The project of a trading post

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in Banda, just suitable for the aims of the Portuguese trade, was abandoned soon as King Manuel was informed of the offerings from the kings of Maluku for a Portuguese fortress to be erected on their islands.⁴⁷

As an objective to be fulfilled in the scope of the Portuguese maritime and commercial expansion in East Asia, the Maluku Islands are believed to be mentioned for the first time in 1508, in an ordinance given by King Manuel to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

António de Miranda revisited Banda in 1515, commanding a fleet of just two ships, the *São Francisco*, also called *Bretão*, and a junk belonging to a merchant from Melaka, Nina Suryadeva, which was captained by Álvaro do Cocho.⁴⁸ From Banda, Miranda dispatched⁴⁹ Jorge Mesurado,⁵⁰ with an embassy and offerings to the Sultan of Ternate, who received him ‘much honourably’ and reciprocated by sending an embassy to the captain of Melaka.⁵¹ The ambassador Jorge Mesurado has thus been the first Portuguese who led a ship up to the Northern Maluku islands. He did it in May, then the best time in the monsoon to sail from Banda, although he accomplished his mission in a local vessel that he bought or leased in Banda to carry out his voyage. Anyway, the previous expeditions had not gone beyond Banda and Ambon islands, as was also emphatically declared by Álvaro do Cocho, when he was still unaware of the success of the mission committed to Jorge Mesurado. Writing in early 1516, Cocho says that Maluku was not then even ‘discovered’ by any Portuguese, except by Francisco Serrão, who lives there.⁵²

Under the command of Tristão de Meneses, a third expedition, sent by the Portuguese governor in India, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, reached Ternate by 1519. Meneses’ task was to erect a fortress, possibly

on the island of Makian, whose domain was divided between the kings of Ternate and Tidore. Meneses’ ordinance also contained instructions to purchase cloves in Ternate and to bring back Francisco Serrão to Melaka. However, he soon abandoned the idea of constructing the fortress, trying to persuade Sultan Bayan Sirrullah that Francisco Serrão should be sent back to Portugal to reveal, in person, before King Manuel, the sultan’s desire that the fort should be built on Ternate.⁵³ This seems to be a sign that agents of the Portuguese Crown wanted Serrão to leave Maluku, as discussed further on.

Insisting that the fortress be erected in his realm, Sultan Bayan Sirrullah led the governor (*capitão*) of Melaka, Garcia de Sá, to send Garcia Henriques, his kinsman, to Ternate.⁵⁴ In late 1520, however, the political scenario totally changed as news of the contract (*capitulación*) between Ferdinand Magellan and the Spanish emperor Charles V reached Melaka. In that contract, Magellan intended to ‘discover’ the Spice Islands on behalf of the Spanish Crown.⁵⁵

THE DARK YEARS OF FRANCISCO SERRÃO (1505-1511)

Francisco Serrão’s action in Maluku assumes the most important significance for the early Portuguese presence in the archipelago, and for the political life of these islands. Besides defending the Portuguese interests—in a previous work we considered he acted as a Portuguese ‘consul’⁵⁶—Serrão also exercised an enormous influence in the internal politics of the archipelago, due to his personal charisma as a leading warrior. That way, he proved that Afonso de Albuquerque made the right choice by appointing him to command one of Abreu’s vessels based upon his previous experience and as a reward for his deeds during the conquest of Melaka.

Information is scarce about the life of Francisco Serrão prior to his participation in the first Portuguese expedition to Melaka, in 1509, under the command of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. Francisco Serrão was already in Asia in 1505 or, according to some authors, he arrived that year in the same fleet in which Ferdinand Magellan also travelled from Portugal to India. He was probably a young man at the time. Anyway, in 1505, the viceroy Francisco de Almeida appointed him to serve at Kannur, under the orders of António de Brito.⁵⁷ Being

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'Gente que habita nas ilhas de Maluco; são gintios. Chamam-se Malucos. Destas ilhas vem o cravo'. Portuguese anonymous Codex, mid-16th century (Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Ms. 1889, folios 132-133). From Luís de Matos (ed.), *Imagens do Oriente no Século XVI* (Lisboa: IN-CM, 1985).

in Cochin, in 1509, Serrão joined the fleet of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira aboard a vessel carrying horses. The famous Ferdinand Magellan was also among the 60 men that boarded it.⁵⁸ In the way back to Portugal, in January 1510, both were wrecked in the shallows of Padua, north of the Lakshadweep islands. They lost their assets but found a shelter at Cochin, which they left to participate in the capture of Goa under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque, who, as early as April 1510, sent Serrão back to Cochin as captain of a caravel on a mission to supply foodstuffs to the forces in campaign.⁵⁹

Francisco Serrão and Ferdinand Magellan were therefore companions-in-arms, since they participated in the first fleet that demanded Melaka under the command of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. Magellan and the aforementioned Martim Guedes rescued Serrão from trouble on two separate occasions, firstly, in the

hasty evacuation of Melaka, in 1509, the second one in a naval clash off the island of Pulo Berhala (*Polvoreira*), in the northern part of the Straits of Malacca.⁶⁰

THE ACTION OF FRANCISCO SERRÃO IN MALUKU

The involvement of Serrão in local politics, as well as his role as agent of the Portuguese, did not go unnoticed by the late scholar A. da Silva Rego, in the following terms:

He created a solid friendship to the King of Ternate, becoming this way his best consultant, his best general, his best friend. Defending the interests of Ternate, inside the politics of the archipelago, he also took care for those of the king of Portugal. He was the best commercial agent that Melaka could desire in such an important

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key position. He was the one who, using ships belonging to Ternate, carried to Banda or Ambon the precious cloves, thus shortening the voyage of ships coming from Melaka.⁶¹

Albuquerque, writing in 1515 to King Manuel after he received news from Francisco Serrão, says: 'he was in control of the Clove Islands, and ruled the King and the whole land.'⁶² In his aforementioned testimony, Bartolomeu Gonçalves defines, in a few words, the relationship between Serrão and the Sultan of Ternate and the influence he acquired as his political and military advisor:

Francisco Serrão had absolute power to do whatever he wanted. And how some places revolted against the obedience of the King of Maluku, this sent there a fleet and Francisco Serrão as its commander and this one made peace and brought the rebels to his obedience; and to those who would not obey, the said Francisco Serrão destroyed them in such a way that the King of Maluku was very happy and satisfied with the obedience that he gave to the King of Portugal.⁶³

We mentioned above the prophecies that circulated in Maluku, which originated from the sultan of Ternate himself, about the arrival of foreigners, 'iron men', who supposedly will bring prosperity to the islands. Certainly the deeds of Francisco Serrão in Nusa Pinju against the pirates contributed to the regard that the Sultan Bayan Sirrulah (Abu Lais) immediately nurtured for the Portuguese, who managed to save themselves from the shipwreck fully equipped with their individual weapons which would create an impressive warrior-like appearance in the eyes of the Sultan.⁶⁴

Similarly, the fact that Serrão, calling at Gresik, on the Javanese northern coast, had taken—or abducted, according to others—a native woman for his wife or concubine, may have propitiated for him an easier approach to the inner circle of the Ternate's court and to access the Sultan himself, who was also married to two Javanese women, one of them counted among his most important wives.⁶⁵ Although there is no further information about the Serrão couple, such a marriage should have helped Francisco, at least, to learn the Malay language, spoken by the merchant communities established in Javanese ports along the spice route leading to the Eastern Indonesian archipelago. In brief, there are reasons to conclude

that the successful interference of Francisco Serrão in Maluku was due both to circumstantial reasons and to his personal character.⁶⁶

Luís de Albuquerque refers to him as a 'factor' or King's accountant.⁶⁷ In fact, although Serrão never had been officially appointed to such a position, he acted as a representative of the Portuguese Crown in Maluku. He spared no efforts to get quantities of spices in this archipelago and, especially, in Banda, where the ships from Melaka, some of them equipped at the expense of the Portuguese royal treasure, came to carry them. In this trade, Serrão acquired prestige and influence, and also he should have gathered a personal fortune. The chronicles mention, in this regard, that the Sultan gave him full support and also requested him to stay in Maluku, a sufficient reason for Serrão to refuse to sail back to Melaka in the fleet of António de Miranda de Azevedo,⁶⁸ that reached Banda and Ambon in 1513, and thus refused to leave Ternate and being readmitted in the *Estado da Índia*. In fact, Serrão, who remained in Northern Maluku until his death in 1521, would no longer sail beyond the Central Maluku islands, which he sailed to every year to meet the Portuguese coming there for spices.⁶⁹ His influence, however, exceeded the Maluku world. In addition to the contacts he kept with the Portuguese in Melaka, in Portugal and, most probably, in Seville, Serrão extended his influence to Timor island, through a certain Pedro Afonso de Lourosa, his agent in Banda—who was sentenced to death, in 1522, after having introduced the Spaniards in the sandalwood trade of Timor—just as he dispatched some Portuguese subordinates to the Philippines in search for rice that was lacking in Maluku.⁷⁰

Francisco Serrão's loyalty and his faithful service to the Portuguese Crown were consistently mentioned by the Portuguese sources and there is no evidence for insinuations raised up by some Spanish authors. However, it should be remembered that Serrão, though claiming the role of a strenuous servant of the Crown, remained in Maluku on his own account and, most significant for our purposes, interfered in local politics according to his personal criterion, supporting the Sultan of Ternate against his neighbours in the on-going dispute. His profile exhibits some traits in common with the *lançados*, a term that refers to the Portuguese mercenaries and adventurers, normally renegades, at the service of African or Asian rulers, found from the late 15th century in the Upper Guinean Coast and from

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1510 in different areas bordering the Indian Ocean, especially in the Bay of Bengal.⁷¹

Serrão, who took part in the early steps of the Portuguese in the Malay Archipelago under Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, was perfectly aware that the efforts undertaken by the Portuguese Crown were to become increasingly focused in spice-producing areas such as Maluku. Goa, Hormuz and Melaka had just been occupied when Serrão left to Maluku, a reason for these islands to be considered as the final result of the Portuguese efforts to overcome the vast Muslim spice-trading network. Serrão certainly did not want to miss the opportunity to play a major role in the acquisition of that final position in the web of the Portuguese network in Asia.

Little is known, however, about the relationship between Serrão and the Portuguese that every year demanded Maluku. Some of them would be mere individuals who embarked on a personal basis in junks of merchants from Melaka. Others, however, were royal agents—captains, factors or accountants—appointed by the Crown as their representatives on board of vessels in which the royal treasury shared the cargo with Asian merchants from Melaka. Obviously, we are better informed about these vessels and fleets sent by the governor of Melaka in diplomatic and trading missions than on early private enterprises.

The fact that some of these missions caused troubles in Maluku comes by the hand of the Ternate Sultan Bayan Sirrullah. In a letter to the Portuguese governor in India, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, probably written in mid-1518 and translated in October of that year in Melaka, which the aforementioned Álvaro do Cocho carried from Maluku, the Sultan of Ternate complains about the conduct of that captain, who, he claims, took the faction of Yusuf, *raja* of Jailolo. This one also wrote a letter to the same Portuguese governor, merely relying on the testimony of Álvaro do Cocho, who witnessed serious events, on which he advanced no further details. Whatever the nature of this dispute, the meaning seems quite clear: the Sultan, being the most powerful king in the entire Malukan region, with the support of Serrão and his companions, tried to impose his hegemony on the neighbouring kings, to whom he became involved in disputes and skirmishes. That is also the meaning of a letter that, on the same occasion, Baab Husein (Lebechucem), King of Makian, sent to the same

governor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, in which he regrets to be 'dispossessed of his entire realm' by the Sultan of Ternate.⁷² Similarly, after Serrão's death, the new Sultan of Ternate, Abu Hayat, sent a letter to the King of Portugal, in which he alludes to the war that set his father, Sultan Bayan Sirrullah, against the kings of Tidore, Jailolo and Bacan.⁷³

It seems, however, that several agents of the Portuguese Crown who visited Maluku in the 1510s, consistently received instructions to repatriate Serrão, according to the Portuguese authorities' desire that he should leave these islands, in order to dispossess him from the control he held over the local affairs. As mentioned above, the ordinance given to Meneses, besides containing precise instructions on the purchase of cloves in Ternate—its purpose would be, in the words of Gaspar Correia, 'to settle down the cloves trading'⁷⁴—also ordered Meneses to repatriate Francisco Serrão to Melaka.⁷⁵ However, Meneses return to Melaka in 1521, without Serrão, but in the company of an ambassador, son of the Sultan of Ternate, who sailed in his own junk along with 200 Ternate warriors.

In addition, there are other reasons to suspect that the relationship between Francisco Serrão and Tristão de Meneses was not a friendly one. The arrival of Meneses in 1518 immediately produced some misunderstanding, as Sultan Bayan Sirrullah supposed that such a fleet—the first really Portuguese expedition to reach Northern Maluku—was assigned to construct a trading post and to build a fortress at Ternate, in accordance with his wishes and repeated requests. For that purpose, the Sultan immediately provided a strong wooden house to serve as a factory. That situation would not have pleased Serrão, who, at first, refused to attend the meeting with the Sultan scheduled by Meneses, considering that the Portuguese King should have appointed him, Serrão, to construct the fortress, as the most well-informed and influential Portuguese knight in the region.

Thus, apart from the competition between the kings of Maluku for the construction of the future Portuguese fortress in their respective islands, Serrão was displeased at not being assigned such mission by the Portuguese Crown. Serrão also aspired to be appointed to the position of royal factor in Maluku, which factory did not actually exist, since, according to the testimony of Fernão Peres de Andrade in the 'Maluku Process', Sultan Bayan Sirrullah requested it to King Manuel.⁷⁶

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Moreover, Tristão de Meneses' efforts to meet either the demands from the Sultan of Ternate or those from the *raja* of Tidore,⁷⁷ acted against the strategy implemented by Francisco Serrão. This one actively supported the Sultan and commanded a Ternatese punitive expedition against Tidore, resulting in the destruction of Soasio, the village that served as a capital to the *raja*, a fact that some contemporary observers considered to be the main reason for Serrão's murder, while others claimed the *raja* of Bacan to be responsible for his death.⁷⁸

A little reliable testimony from the officers and pilot of the ship *Trinidad* mentions that Meneses was the instigator of the murder of Francisco Serrão, after he successively failed to send him to India. However, such a statement seems to be a mere attempt from the Spanish negotiators in the 'Maluku Process' to take advantage of the differences between Meneses and Serrão and to discredit him as an official representative of the Portuguese Crown in Maluku, suggesting that, from the outset, he had been a *lançado* that 'runaway from Melaka in a junk of those which use to trade in Maluku.'⁷⁹

Although supportive of the old Sultan of Ternate, Bayan SIRRullah, Serrão also tried, in his early years there, to conciliate him with Al Mansur, *raja* of Tidore, by promoting, in 1512 or 1513, the marriage of the sultan to a daughter of the *raja*.⁸⁰ This peaceful interlude did not last, as Tomé Pires, writing in 1514, says that the war between both rulers was going on.⁸¹

THE DEATH OF SERRÃO

In 1520, or in the beginning of the next year, Sultan Bayan SIRRullah instructed Francisco Serrão to avenge the death of eight Portuguese who, having anchored in Bacan, had been massacred by the inhabitants.⁸² Serrão did not fulfil this assignment,⁸³ due to his sudden death under quite unclear circumstances. According to some witnesses, he had been poisoned, along with the Sultan of Ternate, during a banquet offered by Al Mansur, *raja* of Tidore. Other versions—including that contained in a letter written by Sultan Abu Hayat, the son and successor of Bayan SIRRullah, to the King of Portugal—involve in these deaths the King of Bacan, Ala ud-Din,⁸⁴ a 70 years old man, and his daughter, who was also widow of the deceased Sultan of Ternate. In his letter, Abu Hayat suggests that both his father and Francisco

Serrão were poisoned on separate occasions and that Serrão died first, four days after ingesting the poison that the *raja* of Tidore, Al Mansur, would have give him to drink at a banquet to which he was invited.⁸⁵ Pigafetta's account makes clear that the murder of Serrão occurred by mid-March 1521.⁸⁶

In the meantime, Francisco Serrão, deceived from being appointed governor (*capitão*) or factor of Maluku, expressed his wish to return to Melaka in his very last months of life. It is possible that, after a period of eight years in Maluku, Serrão intended to return to Melaka, India or even to Portugal, in order to be remunerated for services to the Crown.⁸⁷ By preparing his departure, Serrão also obeyed an order from King Manuel received in 1519 from the hands of Tristão de Meneses.⁸⁸

All kings and some other traditional leaders expected that the Portuguese would build forts on their lands, as they stated in letters that the fleet of Miranda de Azevedo brought to Melaka, along with letters from Francisco Serrão himself.

The influence exerted by the Portuguese and, in particular, by Francisco Serrão, in Maluku during the 1510s, was a very deep one. To some extent, it marked a new age to the region that brought changes not always clearly perceived in the Iberian sources. The Portuguese involvement in political events was, in the early days, not predominantly military, but based upon the diplomatic role played by Serrão as an advisor of the Sultan Bayan SIRRullah.

According to Paramita Abdurachman, this Sultan, by appointing a daughter of the *raja* of Tidore and his main wife, who received the title of *niachile* Boki Raja and whom he married by intercession of Serrão, to succeed him as an interim ruler or regent (*rainha*) after

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his death and during the childhood of Abu Hayat, their son, and doing so through the use of a will, represented a novel political event, unprecedented in the history of Maluku, which violated a prerogative traditionally entrusted to the Council of Elders or *Empat Perdana*.⁸⁹ It is possible that Serrão, while planning for the 'Queen', daughter of the King of Tidore, to succeed the old Sultan as regent of Ternate, had in view the commercial interest of the Portuguese in promoting peace and stability between both kingdoms. This policy also neglected other candidates well positioned to ascend the throne of Ternate and having no clear family connection to the King of Tidore. Moreover, his action was consistent with the policy he followed from his early days in Maluku, when he tried to forge a friendly agreement between the two main kingdoms, promoting the mentioned marriage of Bayan Sirrullah to that princess, daughter of Al Mansur, *raja* of Tidore.

FRANCISCO SERRÃO AND MAGELLAN

Not a single letter written by Serrão to King Manuel and to his friends in Melaka and in Portugal survived. There are references to those letters, but all of them disappeared, as well as the whole correspondence he exchanged with Ferdinand Magellan, that António de Brito, the first Portuguese governor in Maluku, on arriving at Ternate, found among the papers left by Serrão, as reported by Barros.⁹⁰

According to several Spanish authors, Francisco Serrão would send to Magellan some notes, or *Observaciones*, concerning spices and the Ternate Island. Pigafetta, for instance, states that Magellan, while in Melaka, received Serrão's letters from Maluku. This information, which the Spanish historians remembered, is not mentioned by any contemporary Portuguese source. Queiroz Velloso considered 'inaccurate' the information from Pigafetta, since a letter from Serrão would only arrive at Melaka 'after the departure of Magellan to Portugal', as already mentioned above. In fact, it seems very unlikely that Ferdinand Magellan had received letters from Serrão in Melaka. These supposed letters could only be brought to him by his companions, Pero Fernandes and the pilot Gonçalo de Oliveira, who travelled in the same junk as the ambassador of the Sultan of Ternate who accompanied the *nakoda* Ismail in his return to Melaka, where all of them arrived in early 1513, as mentioned above,

and which Armando Cortesão also confirms. But in September of this year, Magellan would participate in the capture of Azamour, in Morocco. Thus, he returned to Portugal only in the possession of the information he collected in Melaka at the end of 1512, as A. Teodoro de Matos noticed. It is almost certain that Pero Fernandes embarked to Portugal with the letters of Serrão, and there undoubtedly he delivered them to Magellan, as stated by Gaspar de San Agustin.⁹¹

All in all, this information was not sufficiently accurate to suggest in the spirit of Magellan the idea of reaching Maluku through a Western pathway. This idea would emerge in the summer of 1514, when in Spain the 'discovery' of the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa became known. This information, as the one on the 'discovery' of Maluku by Francisco Serrão, would probably arrived at the Spanish court 'at the same time', as Isabel Branquinho correctly noticed.⁹²

Barros states that Serrão, in his letters, described Maluku as a larger and richer world than the one discovered by Vasco of Gama,⁹³ while some Spanish authors argue that in the same letters Serrão had raised the suspicion about these islands, being located too far east from Melaka, would be located within the Spanish area traced, in 1494, at Tordesillas.⁹⁴ However, it is not convincing that such letters compromised the Portuguese interests in Maluku, since the Spanish delegation to the Elvas-Badajoz summit did not exhibit any of them.

In short, after having settled in Maluku, Serrão probably sent letters to Ferdinand Magellan, as both travelled together aboard the same ship from Cochín to Melaka, in 1509, in the fleet under Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, and that on separate occasions Magellan rescued Serrão twice from falling into the hands of the enemy, as noted above.⁹⁵ It is also likely that Gonçalo de Oliveira, the pilot who sank with the Serrão in Nusa Pinju, served as a postman to one or more of those aforementioned letters. Oliveira was said to be a relative of Magellan and his teacher in cosmographic and nautical matters. As already mentioned, he remained in Ternate, near Serrão and under his command, at least until 1513, when the junk of *nakoda* Ismail sailed back to Melaka. According to the *Relação do piloto genovês* ('Account of a Genoese Pilot'),⁹⁶ it would not be Serrão's letters, but the acquaintance with Oliveira, the major influence on his decision to seek Maluku by a Western route.⁹⁷ Anyway, Serrão undoubtedly sent such letters,

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one of which was, according to Barros, a major cause of the interest that the discovering project provoked in the Emperor Charles V, to whom Magellan had shown it.⁹⁸ Tormo Sanz goes even further saying that the knowledge about the Philippines allegedly evidenced by Magellan was learned in Serrão's letters.⁹⁹

There is no evidence to accept, as some authors do, in the steps of Pigafetta, that Serrão was a relative or a 'cousin' of Magellan,¹⁰⁰ nor to claim, in the wake of 16th century Italian compiler Ramusio and 19th century Spanish historian Barros Araña, that Magellan has personally visited Maluku.¹⁰¹ The Visconde de Lagoa, in his biography of the celebrated Portuguese navigator, pointed to the lack of credible sources, either Portuguese or Spanish, which authorises such a proposition.¹⁰²

Father Silva Rego believes that 'Francisco Serrão's death marks the end of the early contact between

Portugal and Moluccas.'¹⁰³ This event, which must have occurred in March or April 1521, preceded by a few months the arrival of the Magellan-Delcano Spanish fleet to Tidore,¹⁰⁴ a much more decisive event in the history of the Iberian presence in the region, also marked by the following Portuguese initiatives: the building of the fortress of St. John the Baptist, in Ternate; and the consolidation of the alliance with the local Sultanate, in order to ensure access to the sources of Indonesian spices and to preserve political and military influence against Asian and European competitors, specially the Spaniards.

When the Magellan-Delcano expedition arrived at Maluku, the Spaniards found one single Portuguese man established there, named Lourosa,¹⁰⁵ and several *mestizo* children, said to be Francisco Serrão's offspring.¹⁰⁶ **RC**

NOTES

- 1 An important part of this puzzle consists of testimonies from people that played an important role in the Maluku area or found themselves involved during the early years of the Portuguese presence in Melaka. Most of such testimonies and letters were published in *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas de Documentos que as Elucidam*, (henceforth *CAA*), edited by R. A. Bulhão Pato and H. Lopes de Mendonça, vol. 4. Lisbon, 1910, pp. 73-173 (see Armando Cortesão, 'As mais antigas cartografia e descrição das Molucas', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a Questão das Molucas*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1975, p. 56, n. 12), and more recently in *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, edited by A. Silva Rego. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, vols. 3 (1963), 4 (1964) and 81 (1970), henceforth *Gavetas*.
- 2 An important approach to this *desideratum* was given by Vitor Rodrigues, in the item 'Francisco Serrão', in *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, edited by Luís de Albuquerque and Francisco Contento Domingues, vol. 2. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994, pp. 984-985.
- 3 J. Ramos Coelho (ed.), *Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1892, pp. 192-193, *apud* A. Cortesão, 'As mais antigas cartografia e descrição das Molucas', cit., p. 54.
- 4 For a detailed discussion on this expedition and Serrão's arrival in Maluku, see Freitas Ribeiro and Visconde de Lagoa, 'Os Portugueses no arquipélago malaio. Viagens de António de Abreu, Francisco Serrão e Simão de Abreu', in *Grandes Viagens Portuguesas de Descobrimento e Expansão. Antecedentes Históricos, Sinopse e Esquematização Cartográfica*, vol. 1. Lisbon: Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar, 1951, pp. 239-251.
- 5 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* [1554], edited by M. Lopes de Almeida. Oporto: Lello & Irmão, 1979, p. 678.
- 6 Several authors, based on a letter by Afonso de Albuquerque, whose meaning is not entirely clear (see Extract from a letter by Afonso de Albuquerque to the King of Portugal, Cochín, August 20, 1512, in Artur Basílio de Sá, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, henceforth *DHMPPO*, vol. 1. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar 1954, p. 35, originally published in *CAA*, vol. 1), diverge from Castanheda in assigning the captaincy of the carrack *Sabaia* to António de Abreu and *Santa Catarina* to Francisco Serrão. See A. Basílio de Sá, 'Molucas', *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, edited by Joel Serrão, vol. 3. Lisbon: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1968, pp. 91-92; A. da Silva Rego, 'As Molucas em princípios do século XVI', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota, cit., p. 79; Luís de Albuquerque, 'Os Portugueses na Insulíndia', *Portugal no Mundo*, vol. 4. Lisbon: Alfa, 1989, pp. 169-171.
- 7 Gonçalo de Oliveira is mentioned in the 'Prologo da viagem de fernão de magalhães, na demãda de maluco por elrey de castella', text attributed to Fernando Oliveira, that introduces the 'Viagê de fernão de magalhães escripta p hü home q foi na cópanhia', in the Library of the University of Louvain, a version of the well known manuscript called 'Relação do piloto genovês', publ. by M. de Jong (*Um Roteiro Inédito da Circunnavegação de Fernão de Magalhães*, Sep. de Biblos, 1937) and again by Pierre Valière (*Le voyage de Magellan raconté par un homme qui fut en sa compagnie*, édition critique, traduction et commentaire au texte manuscrit recueilli par Fernando Oliveira. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1976). In this text, the pilot Gonçalo de Oliveira is said to be teacher and counselor of Ferdinand Magellan for nautical and cosmographical matters and also to be his relative. See the note by Max Justo Guedes, 'Acerca de dois textos quinhentistas sobre a viagem de Fernão de Magalhães', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota, cit., p. 470, and the review of this book by Jean Aubin ('Études Magellanienues', *Mare Luso-Indicum*, 4, 1980, p. 158-164). In vain we searched for

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- Castanheda's information that Gonçalo de Oliveira was the 'chief-pilot' of that fleet (Artur Teodoro de Matos, *Portugal na Rota das Especiarias. De Malaca à Austrália (On the Seaway to Spices. From Malacca to Australia)*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda [IN-CM], 1995, p. 69 and n. 22).
- 8 Silva Rego, 'As Molucas em princípios do século xvi', cit., p. 79.
 - 9 A. Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, an account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515 and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues* London: Hakluyt Society, 1944 [reprinted: Kraus Reprint Ltd, Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967; Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1990 and 2005].
 - 10 See our brief summary in 'Timor nos Descobrimentos e na Cartografia' (*Coral*, 2, 1992, p. 10) and the bibliography therein. New edition, *O Livro de Francisco Rodrigues. O Primeiro Atlas do Mundo Moderno*, edited by José Manuel Garcia. Oporto: Universidade do Porto, 2008.
 - 11 The discussion on the route followed by Antonio de Abreu's fleet was undertaken by several authors, which prevented us from doing it again. See for all, the studies by A. Cortesão, 'O descobrimento da Australásia e a "Questão das Molucas"', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, edited by A. Baião, H. Cidade and M. Múrias, vol. 2. Lisbon: Ática 1939, pp. 141-150; id., 'O itinerário de António de Abreu', *Seara Nova*, 796, 1942 (reprint: id., *Esparsos*, vol. 1. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1974, pp. 345-353); id., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, cit., vol. 1, pp. lxxviii-xcvi (which includes a map tracing the route on plate vi); see also, by the same author and A. Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, Lisbon: IN-CM, 1960, vol. 1, pp. 79-84. By Freitas Ribeiro and Visconde de Lagoa, 'Os Portugueses no arquipélago Malaio', cit., pp. 239-251; also by Visconde de Lagoa, 'Abreu, António de', *Grandes e Humildes na Epopeia Portuguesa do Oriente (Séculos XV, XVI e XVII)*, vol. 1. Lisbon: s.n., 1942, pp. 73-83.
 - 12 Group of three islands westwards of Hitu.
 - 13 João de Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no Descobrimento e Conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente, Década Terceira* [1563], edited by H. Cidade and M. Múrias, Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1947 [reissued in CD-ROM. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998], p. 272; Matos, *Portugal na Rota das Especiarias*, cit., p. 71; Testimony of Jorge Botelho, *Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 25; *A Treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544) Probably the Preliminary Version of António Galvão's lost Historia das Molucas*, edited by Hubert Jacobs SJ. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute/St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis University, 1971, p. 196. About the Malay etymology of these ethnic groups, in connection with this particular incident, see L. F. Thomaz, 'As cartas malaia de Abu Hayat, sultão de Ternate, a el-rei de Portugal e os primórdios da presença portuguesa em Maluco', *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, 4, 2003, pp. 381-446. Some information from Spanish provenance on the role of these *Selat* or *Bajao* groups of sea pirates and merchants in the southern Philippines, as well as their close association to the Muslim authorities and merchants, can be found in Martin J. Noone, *General History of the Philippines*, Pt. I, vol. 1, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines (1521-1581)*. Manila: Historical Conservation Society 1986, p. 22, n. 47.
 - 14 Z. J. Manusama (ed. and transl.) *Ridjali's Hikayat Tanah Hitu: Historie en Sociale Structuur van Ambonse Eilanden in het Algemeen en Uli Hitu Bijzonder het tot het Midden of Zeventiende Eeuw*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden, 1977 (mimeo). The complete edition of this book written by Safara Ridjali and published by Manusama with a Dutch translation, shows, according to father Jacobs (*Documenta Malucensia (1542-1682)*, vol. 1. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974, p. XXXVI), that the later version offered by François Valentijn (*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. 2, Dordrecht-Amsterdam, 1724, Part b, pp. 1-14) differed considerably from the original. See also Richard Chauvel, 'Ambon's Other Half: Some Preliminary Observations on Ambonese Society and History', *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs*, 14, 1 (Jun. 1980), p. 43; and Ch. Fraassen, 'Historical Introduction', in Katrien Polman, *The Central Moluccas. An Annotated Bibliography*. Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Koninklyk Instituut Voor Taal Land, 1983, p. 29. A new and annotated edition by H. Stravers, Ch. Fraassen and J. Putten, *Ridjali: Historie van Hitu. Een Ambonse geschiedenis uit de zeventiende eeuw*. Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2004, which I unfortunately could not access. For a detailed description of this book see G. L. Koster, 'Hikayat Tanah Hitu. A Rare Local Source of 16th and 17th Century Moluccan History', *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture*, Macao, 28, 2008, p. 132-142. I am grateful to Professor Koster for providing me with a copy of his article and for his remarks on an earlier version of this paper.
 - 15 Ibid., translated by P. R. Abdurachman, 'New Winds, New Faces, New Forces', *Prisma*, 33, Sept. 1984, p. 48.
 - 16 Jean Aubin, 'Itinerario de Ludovico di Varthema', in *Le latin et l'astrolabe. Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales*, edited by Françoise Aubin, vol. 2. Paris: Centre Culturelle Calouste Gulbenkian; Lisbon: CNCDP, 2000, especially pp. 483-486.
 - 17 Cuesta Domingo, 'Los viajes a las Islas Molucas', in *El Pacifico Español de Magallanes a Malaspina*, edited by Carlos Martínez Shaw. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores 1988, p. 46.
 - 18 The identity of this captain has been subject of controversy. See João Cabral do Nascimento, 'António de Abreu, descobridor das ilhas de Maluco, não é António de Abreu, natural da Madeira e capitão duma nau das Índias em 1523', *Arquivo Histórico da Madeira*, 1, 1931, pp. 21-28 (reed. 4, pp. 117-121).
 - 19 This is also the view expressed by father Silva Rego, who says that, 'despite all the setbacks, the journey of António de Abreu was completely successful' (Silva Rego, 'As Molucas em princípios do século xvi', cit., p. 79).
 - 20 According to Castanheda (*História do Descobrimento e Conquista*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, cit., vol. 1, p. 702), António de Abreu and Simão Afonso did not proceed to the islands of Ambon 'due to bad winds'.
 - 21 Testimony of Diogo Brandão, Tomar, 25 August 1523, *DHMPPPO*, vol. 1, p. 176. In this part, which is the most cited of the entire testimony, though it is also the most concise one (Luís de Albuquerque and Rui G. Feijó, 'Os pontos de vista de D. João III na Junta de Badajoz-Elvas', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota, cit., p. 537) Brandão is not consistent when he considers that António de Abreu has decided not to go beyond Banda because the ships were old. In fact, that decision was taken in Banda, at a time when only one ship remained in these conditions—the flagship *Santa Catarina* he commanded himself—while the *Sabaia* of Francisco Serrão, wrecked in Java, was already replaced by an Indonesian junk, and the third ship was a caravel making its first sailing, for which it had been expressly built in Melaka, as explained above.
 - 22 This view was recently confirmed by Isabel Drummond Braga ('Molucas', in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol. 1, t. 2 - *De Macau à Periferia*. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000, p. 300).
 - 23 Testimony of Jorge Botelho, Tomar, 22 August 1523, *Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 26.
 - 24 Afonso Fernandes Jacobus requested a copy of this ordinance to be used in the negotiations of the 'Maluku Process', an indication that by that time it was probably already lost (*Gavetas*, vol. 8, p. 227).
 - 25 Dating from Cochin, 20 August 1512, this letter from Albuquerque to the King was written earlier than the news on the fleet reached India: 'May please to Our Lord to guide and bring them safely;

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- and with the goal of going to the Banda Island, islands of mace and nutmeg, and to repair the ships in a cape called Ambon, part of a big island four-day journey from the islands of cloves; the tide there is very strong' (Afonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel, Cochín, 20 August 1512, Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Cronológico* (henceforth CC), Pt. I, m. 22, doc. 66, CAA, vol. 1, pp. 65-75; also in *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 36 and Freitas Ribeiro and Visconde de Lagoa, 'Os Portugueses no arquipélago malaio', cit., p. 241.
- 26 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Segunda*, cit., bk. VI, Ch. 7 and *Década Terceira*, cit., bk. V, Ch. 6. About the *padrões* erected by the Portuguese in Java, its symbolism and political significance, see Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, 'L'inscription du *padrão* de Banten', *Archipel*, 47, 1994, pp. 23-33.
- 27 Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, cit., vol. 1, p. 679. V. Magalhães Godinho (*Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 2nd ed., vol. 3. Lisbon: Presença, 1982, p. 138) summarized the main items of this ordinance.
- 28 Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, cit., vol. 1, p. 679. Albuquerque and Feijó ('Os pontos de vista de D. João III', cit., p. 537, n. 32), based on the same passage by Castanheda and also in Ch. LXXXVI, believe that the junk would be Chinese, but not the *nakoda*; see our 'Chinese nas ilhas Molucas: da prioridade no comércio de longa distância à fixação de uma comunidade residente', in *Encontros de História Luso-Chinesa*, edited by J. Santos Alves. Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2001, p. 156. Paramita Abdurachman ('In Search of Spices: Portuguese Settlements on Indonesian Shores', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, 2, 2, Jan. 1974, reprint Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies, p. 114) considered him 'Malay', a view not adopted by most Anglo-Saxon historians of the Malay Archipelago as Willard A. Hanna (*Indonesian Banda. Colonialism and Its Aftermath in the Nutmeg Islands*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978, p. 6).
- 29 Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, cit., vol. 1, p. 679.
- 30 Testimony of Jorge Botelho, *Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 256.
- 31 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Segunda*, cit., p. 291.
- 32 Matos, *Portugal na Rota das Especiarias*, cit., p. 69.
- 33 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Segunda*, cit., p. 291.
- 34 Albuquerque and Feijó, 'Os pontos de vista de D. João III', cit., p. 537, especially n. 32, quoting Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, cit., vol. 1, bk. V, Chs. LXXV and LXXXVI. See *infra* notes 52 and 68.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Testimony of Jorge Botelho, Tomar, 27 August 1523, *Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 25. According to Diogo Brandão, Pero Fernandes would have been the carrier of a letter of allegiance from the Sultan of Ternate, Abu Lais, to King Manuel, whose answer this Sultan would receive five years later from the hands of Tristão de Meneses. See the letter of the Sultan of Ternate to the King of Portugal, *apud* Schurhammer, 'Novos documentos para a história das Molucas no tempo de São Francisco Xavier', *Gesammelte Studien*, edited by László Szilas, vol. 2 - *Orientalia*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1963, p. 447, originally publ. in *Broetéria*, 14, 1932, pp. 278-288; Testimony of Diogo Brandão to the Maluku process, Tomar, 25 August 1523, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 178.
- 37 Although proposing an unacceptable chronology, see Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, vol. 2. Oporto: Lello & Irmão, 1975, p. 710. On the conflict in Veranula, L. Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*. Madrid: Miraguano-Polifemo, 1992 [1609], p. 7.
- 38 Paramita Abdurachman, 'Moluccan Responses to the First Intrusion from the West', in *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, edited by Haryati Soebadio and Carine Sarvaas. Amsterdam: North Holland Publ., 1978, p. 170; R. F. Ellen, 'Conundrums about Panjandrums: On the Use of Titles in the Relations of Political Subordination in the Moluccas and along the Papuan Coast'. *Indonesia*, 41, Apr. 1986, p. 52.
- 39 This letter was first translated and published by C.O. Blagden, 'Two Malay Letters from Ternate in the Moluccas, written in 1521 and 1522'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 6 (1930-1932), reimp. Kraus Reprint, Vaduz, 1964, pp. 87-101. Diogo do Couto (*Década Sétima*, Pt. 2, Lisbon, 1783, reprint Lisbon, 1973, p. 541) is one of the few chroniclers who agree with either the content of this letter and the content of the Ridjali's *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (cit., p. 91), indicating Hitu ('Aito'), a cluster of villages on the northern shore of the Ambon's island, as the place where Serrão and his companions were welcomed. Other authors vaguely mentioned Ambon or, alternatively, Nusatelo (Rucutelo, Rocatelo), on the west coast of that island, as Gabriel Rebelo, who mentioned both places confessing his ignorance (Gabriel Rebelo, 'Informação das cousas de Maluco', in *DHMPPO*, vol. 3, p. 406). Castanheda greatly simplifies the facts to say that Serrão wrecked close to Ternate, where he would arrived safely in a small boat (*História do Descobrimento e Conquista*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, cit., vol. 1, p. 702).
- 40 Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, cit., p. 196.
- 41 Gabriel Rebelo has named five of the 'six or seven' of Serrão's companions, who saved themselves from the second wreck: 'Diogo Lopes, Diogo Cão, Diogo Afonso, Pero Fernandes and Antonetto, Sicilian' (Gabriel Rebelo, 'Informação das cousas de Maluco', *DHMPPO*, vol. 3, p. 406 and vol. 6, p. 211). Actually, that number was a little higher. Jorge Botelho (*Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 25) reported fourteen survivors, while António Galvão states 'nine Portuguese' (Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, p. 84). In his testimony to the Maluku Process, Tomar, August 25 1523, Diogo Brandão stated that Pero Fernandes returned to Melaka in the junk belonging to the Sultan of Ternate, which accompanied the *nakoda* Ismail (Albuquerque and Feijó, 'Os pontos de vista de D. João III', cit., p. 537), noting also the presence of African slaves in Ambon among the survivors of this wreck (*DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 176). Also according to Gabriel Rebelo, Sultan Abu Lais sent Diogo Lopes and Diogo Cão as emissaries to Melaka and to the Portuguese Governor in India, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1518-1521), to propose him the fortress he wanted to be built in Ternate (*DHMPPO*, vol. 6, p. 212). Diogo Lopes joined the fleet of Jorge de Brito, who took the task of building a Portuguese fortress in Maluku. Diogo Lopes was found guilty in the death of this captain at the Aceh's shore, as stated by António de Brito, his brother, in a letter he sent to the King of Portugal, along with Diogo Lopes, who was repatriated presumably under custody (Brito to King, Ternate, 6 May 1523, published in *Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo*, edited by J. Ramos Coelho, cit., p. 475; see Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 246). In 1519, only three companions remained in Ternate with Serrão, the other having left or died (Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, cit., p. 711). It is possible that these men were 'three Portuguese among the men of Francisco Serrão', about whom Pigafetta says they were killed in Tidore (Antonio Pigafetta, *Primer viaje alrededor del mundo*, edited by Leoncio Cabrero Fernández. Madrid: Historia 16, 1985, p. 139).
- 42 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 593, information also found in Faria e Sousa's *Ásia Portuguesa*, vol. 2, translated by M. V. Ferreira. Oporto: Civilização, 1947, p. 55; see Silva Rego, 'As Molucas em princípios do século XVI', cit., p. 79.
- 43 A recent biographical survey of António de Miranda de Azevedo in L. F. Thomaz, 'O malogrado estabelecimento oficial dos portugueses

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- em Sunda e a islamização de Java', in *Aquém e Além da Taprobana. Estudos Luso-Orientais à Memória de Jean Aubin e Denys Lombard*, edited by L. F. Thomaz. Lisboa: Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2002, p. 523, n. 488.
- 44 Jorge de Albuquerque to King, Melaka, 8 January 1515, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, pp. 79-80. This version corroborates Tomé Pires, who briefly recorded the events shortly after they had been produced, saying that Miranda visited Banda and 'sent for Ambon, where the letters came brought by Francisco Serrão, who returned to Ternate because it was planned that way' (A. Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, cit., p. 341), suggesting that it was probably arranged between Serrão and the Sultan. Afonso de Albuquerque, in a letter to King Manuel, also states that Serrão came to meet Miranda de Azevedo at Banda (*CAA*, vol. 1, p. 372) version supported by a memorandum publ. in the *Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 257 (see note below). Jorge de Albuquerque and Tomé Pires, writing about the facts as they were known in Melaka, were certainly better informed than the governor. Similarly, in the Portuguese translation, made in Melaka in 1518, of another letter from Yusuf, *raja* of Jailolo, to the Portuguese Governor in India, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, one can read that 'four years ago a certain Martim Gonçalves arrived to the island of Ambon', probably an inaccurate reading of Martim Guedes's name, who had arrived there, in fact, in 1514 (see 'Instrumento de fé e treslado', Melaka, 10 October 1518, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 113, also published in *Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 515).
 - 45 'Papéis pelos quais constava que em 1508 se descobrira Malaca e as ilhas de Maluco' (c. 1524-1527), *Gavetas*, vol. 4, doc. 3241, p. 257. The reliability of this source, however, is suspicious because it is a memorandum that the Portuguese representatives probably forged in order to 'prove' a set of claims at the Elvas-Badajoz summit. According to it, Sultan Bayan Sirrullah obtained a commitment from Francisco Serrão that he would never abandon Maluku while the Portuguese do not build 'a fortress and a trading post' there (*Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 257).
 - 46 Jorge de Albuquerque to the King, Melaka, 8 January 1515, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 80. It is clear enough the meaning to be attached to these pledges, demonstrative of the importance that the local rulers granted to the Portuguese to settle into the region. Unfortunately the original letters, written in Malay and translated in Melaka to be sent to the Portuguese King, were lost.
 - 47 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 272.
 - 48 Álvaro do Cocho to King Manuel, Melaka, Jan. 2, 1516, Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo, CC, Pt. III, m. 6, doc. 3, in L. F. Thomaz, 'As cartas malaías de Abu Hayat', cit.
 - 49 *Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 257.
 - 50 Jorge Mesurado, or Mensurado, the second Portuguese factor in Pasai, perpetrated violent acts and robbery which led, in 1519, to the massacre of fifteen Portuguese there (see Geneviève Bouchon, 'Les premiers voyages portugais à Pasai et à Pegu, 1512-1520', *Archipel*, 18, 1979, pp. 152-155; also our 'Malaca', in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol. 1, t. 2 - *De Macau à Periferia*, p. 25). Fluent in the Malay language, Jorge Mesurado usefully served the Crown in several occasions, particularly during the second expedition to Pegu by António Correia (Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 136), studied in detail by L. F. Thomaz, 'De Malaca a Pegu. 2.ª Parte: A Viagem de António Correia (1519-1521)', in *De Ceuta a Timor*. Lisbon: Difel, 1994, p. 370 ff.).
 - 51 L. F. Thomaz (ibid., p. 352, n. 48) considered Mesurado to be in Melaka in 1515, based on a letter from Jorge de Albuquerque, second captain of Melaka (1514-1515), to the King, on 8 January that year, where he refers to Mesurado among those who participated in the attack on the King of Lingga. Actually, this mission, as stated in the letter, refers to the beginnings of his captaincy (*DHMPPO*, vol. 1, pp. 77-78), which began in July 1514 ('Nina Chatu e o comércio português em Malaca', in *De Ceuta a Timor*, cit., p. 494), and not in 1515 (id., 'O malogrado estabelecimento oficial dos portugueses em Sunda', cit., p. 491, n. 377).
 - 52 Álvaro do Cocho to King Manuel, Melaka, 2 January 1516, Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo, CC, Pt. III, m. 6, doc. 3, in id., 'As cartas malaías de Abu Hayat', cit.
 - 53 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., pp. 272-273.
 - 54 Garcia de Sá was concluding his three years as captain of Melaka (1519-1521) when he received the letter from Abu Laís, which translation, made in Melaka, is published in *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, pp. 118-120 and *Gavetas*, vol. 4, pp. 520-521.
 - 55 L. F. Thomaz, 'O malogrado estabelecimento oficial dos portugueses em Sunda', cit., p. 429, n. 197.
 - 56 Manuel Lobato, *Política e Comércio dos Portugueses na Insulíndia. Malaca e as Molucas de 1575 a 1605*. Macao: IPOR, 1999, p. 98.
 - 57 Vitor Rodrigues, 'Francisco Serrão', cit., p. 984, summarizes the information advanced by the Visconde de Lagoa that Serrão was already in Asia by 1505, when the viceroy Francisco de Almeida sent him to Kannur to serve under the command of António de Brito. Indeed, Queiroz Velloso (*Fernão de Magalhães. A Vida e a Viagem*. Lisbon: Império, 1941, p. 19) says that, according to the *Ementa da Casa da Índia*, Magalhães sailed from Lisbon in 1505 in the same fleet in which Francisco Serrão also travelled.
 - 58 Ibid., p. 19. See Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Segunda*, cit., p. 171; L. F. Thomaz, *Os Portugueses em Malaca (1511-1580)*. Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 1964 (mimeo), vol. 1, p. 51; similar in *Early Portuguese Malacca*. Macao: CTMCDP/IPM, 1998, p. 31, n. 35.
 - 59 Visconde de Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhães. A Sua Vida e a Sua Viagem*, vol. 1. Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1938, pp. 133-136.
 - 60 Ibid., p. 131 and sources cited therein; Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista*, vol. 1, bk. II, Chaps. CXV and CXVI; Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Segunda*, cit., pp. 180; A. Teodoro de Matos, 'As reuniões e as conversações castelhano-portuguesas nos anos posteriores ao Tratado de Tordesillas', in *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su Época*, Congreso Internacional de Historia, Sociedad V Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas. Valhadollid: Junta de Castilla y León 1995, vol. 3, p. 1357.
 - 61 Silva Rego, 'As Molucas em princípios do século XVI', cit., pp. 79-80.
 - 62 J. Ramos Coelho (ed.), *Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo*, cit., p. 379 (also in *CAA*, vol. 1, p. 372).
 - 63 *Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 30.
 - 64 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 270.
 - 65 Paramita Abdurachman, 'Niachile Pokaraga'. A Sad Story of a Moluccan Queen', *Modern Asian Studies*, 22, 3, 1988, p. 572.
 - 66 The opinion of Queiroz Velloso (*Fernão de Magalhães*, cit., p. 24) that the status of 'military advisor' provided the 'rank of a Prime Minister' to Serrão and access to a 'delight and restful existence' far from his previous 'adventurous life, full of dangers and hardwork' is to be discarded in view of his murder and active political interference in Maluku.
 - 67 Luís de Albuquerque, 'Fernão de Magalhães', in Joel Serrão (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, 1st ed., vol. 3. Porto: Liv. Figueirinhas, 1965, p. 136.
 - 68 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 272. Serrão refused to obey an order from the captain of Melaka, Rui de Brito Patalim, as stated in his testimony to the 'Maluku Process' (*Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 35, see Albuquerque and Feijó, 'Os pontos de vista de D. João III', p. 537). However, in a letter to Afonso de Albuquerque, Rui de Brito suggested that such an order, part of the

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- ordinance given to António de Miranda de Azevedo, was a mere instruction to rescue the survivors from the shipwreck of which Serrão and his companions were victims (Rui de Brito Patalim to Afonso de Albuquerque, Melaka, 6 January 1514, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 54).
- 69 Some historians sustained the wrong idea that Francisco Serrão returned to Melaka. See, for instance, the 'Editor's Introduction' by J. S. Cummins to the English edition of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1971, p. 52.
- 70 The Spaniards from the Magellan's fleet found that the inhabitants of the archipelago of St. Lazarus—the future Philippines—believed they were Portuguese coming from Maluku. Comparing different accounts on this voyage, Leandro Tormo Sanz ('El mundo indígena conocido por Magallanes en las islas de San Lázaro', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota, cit., pp. 405-406) concludes that, in their zeal to serve the Emperor, several authors, as Pigafetta, Albo, Transylvano and others, except the so-called 'Genoese Pilot', imposed a curtain of silence over the information concerning the early 16th century Portuguese activities in the Philippines.
- 71 On this subject see the classic work of Geneviève Bouchon and Luís Filipe Thomaz, *Voyage dans les deltas du Gange et de l'Irraouaddy, relation portugaise anonyme (1521)*. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1988, and the texts by Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, 'Exiles and Renegades in Early 16th century Portuguese India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 23, 3, 1986, pp. 248-262, and 'Degredados e arrenegados portugueses no espaço Índico nos primórdios do século xvi', *Povos e Culturas*, 5, 1996, pp. 41-61.
- 72 A 'Trusted tool and its transcription', Melaka, 10 October 1518, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 112-115, where the name of this King is spelled Lebechuçem or Lebechucem, as in *Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 516.
- 73 See the letter from the Sultan of Ternate to the King of Portugal, *apud* Schurhammer, 'Novos documentos', cit., p. 447.
- 74 Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, vol. 2, cit., p. 552.
- 75 Esther Trigo de Sousa, 'Capitães portugueses nas ilhas Molucas', *Studia*, 43-44, 1980, p. 190.
- 76 *Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 21.
- 77 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 274.
- 78 *Gavetas*, vol. 3, pp. 31-32.
- 79 Information given to the [Spanish] court by Gonzalo Gomes de Espinosa, Ginés de Mafrá and Leon Pancaldo, Badajoz, August 5, 1527, in *Obras de D. Martín Fernandez de Navarrete*, vol. 4, edited by Carlos Seco Serrano. Madrid: Atlas, 1964, p. 336.
- 80 Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, vol. 2, cit., p. 710.
- 81 A. Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, cit., p. 340.
- 82 According to a letter from Rui Gago to the King (*DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 169), they were Simão Correia, accountant of a junk belonging to Suriadeva, merchant of Melaka, and six companions, who were trading in cloves on behalf of the Portuguese royal treasury at the Island of Bacan.
- 83 The Portuguese retaliation and punishment against the *raja* of Bacan would take place two years later, carried out by Simão de Abreu, guardian of the Maluku fortress and one of the officers who served under the command of António de Brito, first captain of that fortress. Abreu burned a village, killing several people. See Luís de Sousa, *Annaes de El Rei Dom João Terceiro*, edited by Alexandre Herculano. Lisbon: Typ. da Soc. Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Uteis, 1844, p. 91, and António de Brito's letter to the King, Ternate, 6 May 1523, *Gavetas*, vol. 8, p. 205 (similar content in another letter, dating back from February 11, publ. in *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, pp. 133 ff).
- 84 Paramita Abdurachman ('Niachile Pokaraga', cit., p. 577), names him 'Sultan of Bacan', a title that the contemporary evidence does not allow. Andaya, however, accepts the explanation provided by Barros that Javanese merchants were behind the death of Sultan Abu Lais, harmed by the privileges he conceded to the Portuguese concerning trade in cloves (Leonard Y. Andaya, *World of Maluku. Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993, p. 117).
- 85 This letter was published by Blagden in a Latin transcription provided with an English translation, in 'Two Malay letters from Ternate in the Moluccas, written in 1521 and 1522', cit., pp. 87-101, and reissued in *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, pp. 121-123, under the title 'Carta do rei de Ternate, Abu Hayat, a el-rei', and recently, with a Portuguese translation, by L. F. Thomaz, 'As cartas malaia de Abu Hayat', cit.
- 86 Pigafetta, *Primer viaje*, cit., p. 131.
- 87 The intention of leaving Maluku in the company of Tristão de Meneses, declared by Garcia de Sá, captain of Melaka, in a letter he wrote in 1520 to the King (Carta de Garcia de Sá, capitão de Malaca, a el Rey, Melaka, 23 August 1520, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 116; *Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 245), was later confirmed by Jorge Botelho in his testimony (*ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 26) and since then repeated by different authors, mostly Spaniards, as António de Morga (p. 52), and also indirectly confirmed by a letter that the Sultan himself addressed to the captain of Melaka. In this letter, anticipating the departure of Serrão or, alternatively, after his death, he makes no mention of him, but refers to 'no Portuguese, good or evil, does not stay in Maluku that one can name him a Portuguese' (*Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 521), which he certainly would not say if Serrão continued to reside there. Indeed, in his testimony, Bartolomeu Gonçalves suggests that the Sultan wrote to Melaka after the death of Serrão (*Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 26), although most sources agree that both men were poisoned at the same time, having died within a short period. The departure of Serrão was postponed 'because of the monsoon calendar' (Garcia de Sá to the King, Melaka, 23 August 1520, *DHMPPO*, vol. 1, p. 116; *Gavetas*, vol. 4, p. 245), which forced him to return to Ternate for lack of favourable winds, while the fleet of Tristão de Meneses awaited five months in Banda (Pigafetta, *Primer viaje*, p. 135). Meanwhile, Serrão, who travelled in the company of Tristan de Meneses in his return to Melaka, 'not very willingly', in the words of Gabriel Rebelo ('Informação das Cousas de Maluco', cit., Pt. II, Ch. I, *DHMPPO*, vol. 3, p. 406) probably went back to Ternate, which he could easily and quickly accomplish. Indeed, it was in the harbour of Talangame, in Ternate, that, according to António Galvão, he received a cry for help from the aforementioned Simão Correia, who was in trouble at Bacan in the command of a junk from Meneses' fleet, from which he was separated while sailing from Maluku to Banda, as also occurred to the junk of Serrão, who came ashore in Ternate (Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, cit., pp. 196-198). Barros, normally more detailed, says that the junk of Serrão was equipped by Sultan Abu Lais, who also has sent the ambassador *cachil* Latu in another ship (*Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 253).
- 88 Esther Trigo de Sousa, 'Capitães portugueses nas ilhas Molucas', cit., p. 190.
- 89 Paramita Abdurachman, 'Niachile Pokaraga', cit., p. 578.
- 90 *Década Terceira*, p. 278 and p. 283.
- 91 See António Garcia-Abásolo and José Luis Porras, *Spain in the Moluccas. Galleons around the World*, Jakarta: s.n. 1992, p. 124; L. de Albuquerque, 'Fernão de Magalhães', cit., p. 136; Visconde de Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhães*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 147-148; Queiroz Velloso, *Fernão de Magalhães*, cit., p. 24; A. Teodoro de Matos, 'As reuniões e as conversações castelhano-portuguesas', cit., p. 1357; Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 272; Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, cit., p. 338, n. 348; *Gavetas*, vol. 3, p. 20; Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, edited by Manuel Merino. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1975, p. 36; Bañas Llanos, *Islas de las Especies. Fuentes etnohistóricas sobre las Islas Molucas (s. XIV-XX)*. Cáceres: Universidad

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- de Extremadura, 2000, p. 32; José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta nuestros días*, vol. 1. Madrid: Tello, 1887, p. 3.
- 92 'O Tratado de Tordesilhas e a questão das Molucas', *Mare Liberum*, 8, Dec. 1994, pp. 9-18.
- 93 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 273. See Silva Rego, 'As Molucas em princípios do século XVI', cit., p. 86.
- 94 Alfredo Comings Barcena et al., 'La primera circunnavegación (Magallanes-Elcano)', in *Descubrimientos españoles en el Mar del Sur*, edited by Amancio Landín Carrasco, vol. 1. Madrid: Banesto, 1991, pp. 116-117; Leoncio Cabrero, 'Nuevas tierras y nuevas islas: el descubrimiento del Pacífico', in Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas*, cit., pp. 120-167.
- 95 According to the chronicler Francisco López de Gomara, 'Magellan ... used to show a letter of Francisco Serrão, ... Portuguese, written from Maluku, in which he ask him to go there if he wanted to become quickly a rich man ...' (*Historia General de las Indias*, vol. 1. Barcelona: Ed. Iberia, 1965, p. 160, *apud* María Belén Bañas Llanos, 'Fuentes Hispánicas para el Estudio de la Presencia Ibérica en las Islas Molucas', in *El Extremo Oriente Ibérico. Investigaciones históricas: metodología y estado de la cuestión*, edited by Francisco de Solano, Florentino Rodao García, Luis E. Togores. Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional en colaboración con el Centro de Estudios Históricos, Departamento de Historia de América, CSIC, 1989, p. 246 and also in the aforementioned anthology organised by the same author, *Islas de las Especies*, cit., pp. 19 and 32).
- 96 M. de Jong, *Um Roteiro Inédito da Circunnavegação de Fernão de Magalhães*, cit.
- 97 Max Justo Guedes, 'Acerca de dois textos quinhentistas sobre a viagem de Fernão de Magalhães', cit., p. 470.
- 98 Barros, *Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram, Década Terceira*, cit., p. 285. See also Visconde de Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhães*, cit., vol. 1, p. 189, n. 4. In the same vein, father Schurhammer believes that the letter brought from Maluku by António de Miranda de Azevedo and addressed to Ferdinand Magellan led him to offer his services to the emperor ('Novos documentos', cit., p. 445, originally published in *Brotéria*, 14, 1932, pp. 278-288). The Spanish historian Roberto Barreiro-Meiro considers that 'his coming to Spain rather than disagreements with the King, was due to the news he received from his friend Francisco Serrão' ('El Pacífico y el Estrecho de Magallanes en la cartografía del siglo XVI', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota, cit., p. 522).
- 99 Leandro Tormo Sanz, 'El mundo indígena conocido por Magallanes', cit., p. 406.
- 100 See Pigafetta, *Primer viaje*, cit., p. 131, also reproduced by the Castilian chronicler Francisco Lopez de Gomara (*Historia General de las Indias*, vol. 1. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941, p. 213). The Pigafetta's remark was gathered by Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo ('La organización del viaje magallánico: financiación, enganches, acopios y preparativos', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota, cit., p. 267, and by the same author, under Diaz-Lopez Trechuelo-Spinola, 'Las expediciones al área de la Especiería', in *Historia General de España y América*, vol. 7 - *El Descubrimiento y la fundación de los reinos ultramarinos. Hasta fines del siglo XVI*, edited by Manuel Lucena Salmoral. Madrid: Ed. Rialp, 1982, p. 315) from whom Ana María Prieto Lucena summarised it ('Conflictos entre Castellanos y Portugueses en Extremo Oriente, según los Cronistas Españoles de los Siglos XVI y XVII', unpublished paper presented to the Symposium *Maritime Routes and Associated Networks*, Sagres, April 28 to May 1, 1992, CNCDP-UNESCO (dactil.), p. 2; id., *El contacto hispano-indígena en Filipinas según la historiografía de los siglos XVI y XVII*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1993, pp. 87-88 and 93). Similar views in Cuesta Domingo ('Los viajes a las Islas Molucas', cit., p. 46), or Charles McKew Parr (*Ferdinand Magellan, Circumnavigator*. New York: Crowell 1964 [1953], pp. 46, 61 and 83-84). According to Parr (p. 59 and p. 63), the well known Portuguese pilot João Serrão, who participated in the Magellan expedition as captain of the ship *Santiago*, was an elder brother of Francisco Serrão. The detailed study by the Visconde de Lagoa on the Portuguese officers, who served in Asia until 1514, when João Serrão was already living in Seville, does not refer they were relatives.
- 101 Spanish chronicler and compiler Pedro Fernández del Pulgar says, in his *Descripción de las Philippinas y de las Malucas e Historia del Archipiélago Maluco, desde su descubrimiento al tiempo presente* (BNMadríd, ms. 3002), that Magellan was one of three captains who Afonso de Albuquerque sent to discover Maluku, reproducing verbatim from Argensola (*Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, cit., p. 17). Pulgar remains unpublished, although some extracts, specifically the 'Prologue' and chapters 1 to 3 of the second book, were recently published by Bañas Llanos (*Islas de las Especies*, cit., pp. 128-144), preceded by a bio-bibliographical note (pp. 123-127) and the passage in question at p. 134.
- 102 Visconde de Lagoa, *Fernão de Magalhães*, cit., vol. 1, p. 139.
- 103 Silva Rego, 'As Molucas em princípios do século XVI', cit., p. 89.
- 104 Pigafetta states that, not yet eight months after the death of Serrão, the fleet anchored at Tidore, on 8 November that year (*Primer viaje*, cit., p. 131). A. Cortesão believes that the murder of Serrão took place in January, but he does not give reasons to choose such an early date (*The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, cit., p. 338, n. 348).
- 105 He was a certain Pero Afonso de Lourosa, probably the same man that António Galvão refers to as having informed the Spaniards that the prices of the cloves that they bought in Tidore were excessively high (Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, cit., Ch. 41 and n. 23, p. 352).
- 106 Cuesta Domingo, 'Los viajes a las Islas Moluccas', cit., p. 50.