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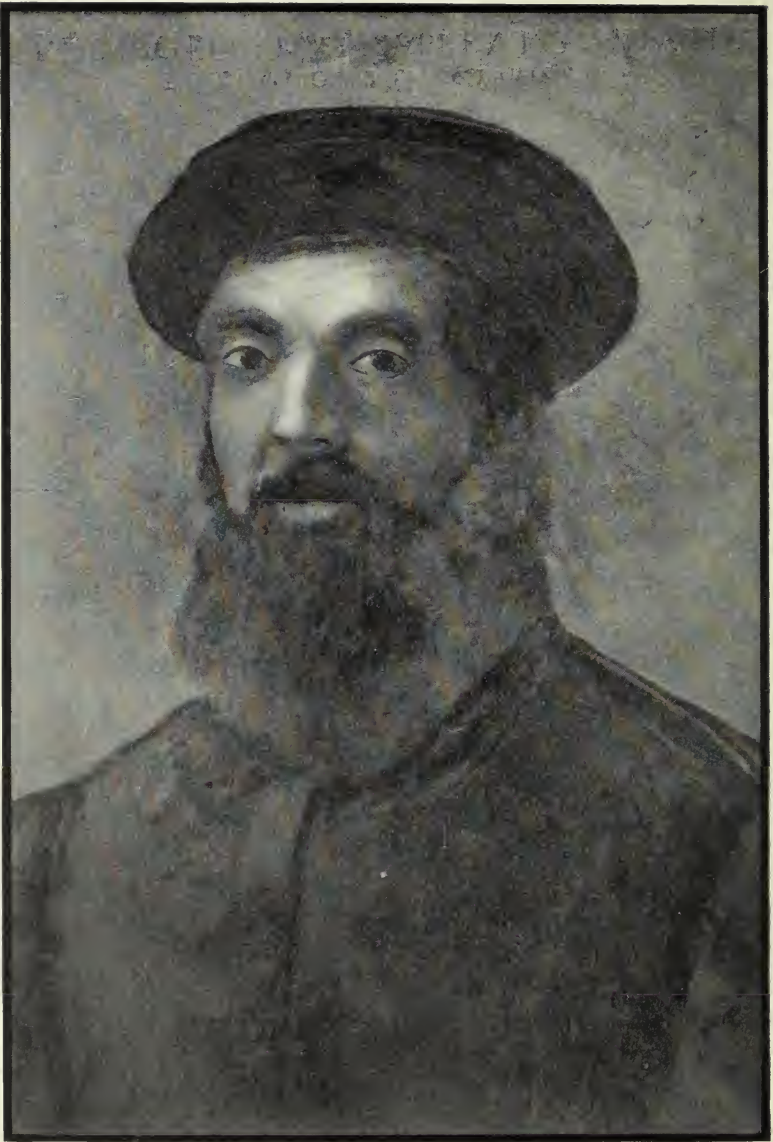
MAGELLAN'S VOYAGE
AROUND THE WORLD

VOLUME I

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Fernão de Magalhães

[From painting in Musco-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid]

Magellan's Voyage Around the World

BY

ANTONIO PIGAFETTA

The original text of the Ambrosian MS., with English translation, notes, bibliography, and index

BY

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

*With portrait, and facsimiles of the original
maps and plates*

VOLUME I



Cleveland, U. S. A.
The Arthur H. Clark Company
1906

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These volumes are dedicated to
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to whom all students of
Spanish colonial history are greatly indebted.

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PREFACE

Of all the accounts of the first circumnavigation, by far the most important is that of the Venetian, Antonio Pigafetta, who accompanied Fernão Magalhães, the greatest navigator, perhaps, of the modern age, on the expedition that disclosed secrets that had been so long hidden from man. Pigafetta's account is not only the most valuable and authentic of the few contemporary and early relations of the famous voyage, but is also the only source of information for many details of that voyage. Probably no other historical document is more universally accepted by students as the final authority regarding the actual events with which it deals.

Pigafetta's account is herewith presented for the first time in complete form. The value and interest of the relation are evident by its various manuscript versions, and were recognized by its publication in condensed form in both French and Italian during the first quarter-century after the return of the "Victoria" to Spain, and in English as early as 1555. These publications, however, are very unsatisfactory, for much of great value to the modern historical student has been hurriedly slurred over, or entirely omitted. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, Dr. Carlo Amoretti, prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, at Milan, Italy, recognizing to a slight degree the value of the original manuscript which he discovered among the treasures entrusted to his

care, published the relation in both Italian and French, but committed the sin of editing the precious document, almost beyond recognition in places. In the latter half of the same century, Lord Stanley of Alderley translated and edited the relation for the Hakluyt Society; but, unfortunately, in his translation he omitted passages of importance to ethnologists, and in addition, relied for his text, not on the original Italian, but in part on the older of the two French manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in part on Amoretti's garbled publication. Consequently, Stanley's, as well as Amoretti's edition, is unsatisfactory to students who prize accuracy. The text of the Italian manuscript, edited by Andrea da Mosto (part v, vol. iii, of *Raccolta di documenti e studi*, published by the Italian government—Rome, 1894—in honor of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America) has proved, all things considered, the most useful edition of Pigafetta's relation hitherto given to the public. Its usefulness is limited, however, as it is available to only Italian readers. Mosto's transcript, although in general tolerably faithful, contains a few errors and some serious blemishes from the standpoint of historical accuracy, such as the spelling out of all abbreviations, the rendering of the frequently occurring Spanish abbreviation "q̄" (for "que") by the Italian "che," and the arbitrary insertion of punctuation not in the original.

The present edition first gives the English reader access to a translation of the true text of Pigafetta, edited and extensively annotated. This, together with the original Italian of Pigafetta, places before the student abundant material, both for a study of

the relation itself and of the wonderful voyage. The transcript of the Italian manuscript (the oldest and most complete of the four existing manuscripts) which is conserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, was made personally by the editor, who enjoyed in that library full privileges for the work of transcription and reference. In the printing, great care has been taken to represent correctly the many peculiar characters and abbreviations occurring in the old Italian, and for this purpose many special characters have been designed and type specially cast. The peculiarities of the manuscript have been carefully preserved, even to the spacing, except that paragraphs in the original have a hanging indention, and the punctuation at the end of paragraphs is usually a dash or a series of dashes and dots.

Throughout the document, the Italian text has been collated with the text of the earlier of the two French manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and with the Eden version, as published by Arber, and all the variant readings are incorporated in the notes. The annotations have been made very extensive, and include not only a large amount of original matter gathered from the best sources, but also the most valuable comments of the various editors of former editions of the relation. Mosto's edition, mentioned above, has been of especial assistance in elucidating many matters. The bibliography is as complete as possible at the present time; in its preparation, the editor has had the advantage of personal assistance from librarians of many great libraries, public and private, both in Europe and America, where rare Pigafetta manu-

scripts or books are conserved. He would call especial attention to the fact that more complete and definite details are presented of the four existing manuscripts than has yet appeared anywhere, especially of the Nancy Manuscript. An exhaustive analytical index has been added, which has been carefully prepared to meet the requirements of modern historical research. Pigafetta's numerous charts were photographed especially for this work from the original manuscript: of other illustrations only those of distinct historical value have been admitted.

Pigafetta's account, as here published, was prepared for issue in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*. The decision of the publishers a few months since to limit the edition of *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898* to about one-half the edition originally announced, and the fact that more than half of the sets issued are permanently located in the large European and other foreign libraries, has led many scholars, and some librarians, to urge the editors and publishers to make this work more widely accessible to students. In response to this demand the present small separate edition is published.

In the preparation and editing of this manuscript, the thanks of the editor are due to Rev. Antonio Ceriani, prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Italy, for his courtesy in allowing the free use of the manuscript and library; to the officials of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for permission to examine and transcribe Pigafetta manuscripts; to Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, England, for definite information concerning the Nancy MS. of Pigafetta's relation which was

owned by his grandfather, Sir Thomas Phillipps; to Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago, for the use of his edition of Mosto's work; and to various others mentioned in the annotations. The editor is under a deep sense of obligation to Signore Andrea da Mosto, for the use of his excellent annotations and bibliographical notices which have been drawn upon freely. In the compilation of the bibliography, the most hearty coöperation has been experienced from the following: Mr. Herbert Putnam, and officials, of the Library of Congress, for the loan of books and bibliographical material; Mr. George Parker Winship, of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, who has kindly examined and compared the Colines and Italian (1536) edition of Pigafetta's relation, supplied titles, and otherwise rendered valuable aid; Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits of Lenox Library, New York City, who has generously supplied titles, and examined bibliographies and collections; Miss Clara A. Smith, librarian of the Ayer (private) Library, Chicago, who has cordially loaned books and supplied titles; the officials and staff of the libraries of the Wisconsin Historical Society and of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, for the free use of library facilities; and from Mr. Thomas J. Kiernan, of Harvard University Library, Mr. Horace G. Wadlin, of Boston Public Library, Mr. Samuel A. Green, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Prof. Addison Van Name, of Yale University Library; Mr. H. M. Lydenberg, of Astor Library, New York City; and Mr. Robert H. Kelley, Librarian of the New York Historical Society. Many friends and well-wishers, too numerous to mention, have also merited many thanks. Especial

thanks are due to Miss Emma Helen Blair, the present editor's colleague in *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*, whose quiet and unselfish helpfulness and generosity of spirit have proved the greatest inspiration in this work.

J. A. R.

Madison, Wisconsin, October, 1905.

MAGELLAN'S VOYAGE
AROUND THE WORLD

VOLUME I

[PRIMO VIAGGIO INTORNO AL MONDO]

Antonio pigafeta patricio vicentino et Cauallier de Rhodi aL JIL^{mo}. et Exell^{mo}. S. philipo de villers lisleadam Jnclito grã mai/t^o de Rhoddj /ignior /uo ob/eruanti//imo.

Perche /ono molti curiofi IIL^{mo} et exell^{mo}. Signor che non /olamente /e contentano de /apere et Intendere li grandi et admirabillj co/e che dio me a conce//o de vedere et patire nela infra/crupta mia longa et pericola/a nauigatiõe. Ma anchora vogliono /apere li mezi et modi et vie che ho tenuto ad andarui, non pre/tando q'ella Jntegra fede aL exito /e prima nõ anno bonna Certeza deL initio pertanto /apera v^a. Jll^a. s^a. che ritrouandomi neL anno de La natiuita deL nño /aluatore m^o.v^c.xix in /pagnia in la corte deL sereni//imo Re de romani con el R^{do} mons^{or}. franc^o chieregato alhora proñho ap^{co}. et oratore de La s^{ta}. memoria de papa Leone x^o. che per /ua vertu dapoi he acce/o aL epis^{to}. di aprutino et principato de teramo. Hauendo yo hauuto grã noti/ia p molti libri letti et per diuer/e per/onne che praticauano con sua s^a. de le grande et /tupende co/e deL mare

[FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD]

Antonio Pigafeta,¹ patrician of Venezia and knight of Rhodi [*i.e.*, Rhodes],² to the most illustrious and excellent Lord, Philipo de Villers Lisleadam,³ renowned grand master of Rhoddi, his most honored lord.⁴

Inasmuch as, most illustrious and excellent Lord, there are many curious persons who not only take pleasure in knowing and hearing the great and wonderful things which God has permitted me to see and suffer during my long and dangerous voyage, hereto appended, but who also wish to know the means and manners and paths that I have taken in making that voyage [*literally*: "in going thither"]; and who do not lend that entire faith to the end unless they have a perfect assurance of the beginning: therefore, your most illustrious Lordship must know that, finding myself, in the year of the nativity of our Savior MCCCCCXIX in Spagnia, in the court of the most serene king of the Romans,⁵ with the reverend Monsignor, Francesco Chierigato, then apostolic protonotary and nuncio of Pope Leo X of holy memory (and who has since become bishop of Aprutino and prince of Teramo),⁶ and having learned many things from many books that I had read, as well as from various persons,⁷ who discussed the great and marvelous things of the Ocean Sea with his Lordship,

occeanno deliberay con bonna gratia deLa magesta Cezaria et deL prefacto S. mio far experientia di me et andare a vedere q^elle co/e che pote//ero dare alcuna /ati/fatiõe a me mede/mo et pote//ero parturirmi q^alche nome apre//o la po/terita hauendo Inte/fo q̄ allora /i era preparata vna armata in la cita de Siuiglia che era de cinq³ naue per andare a /coprire la Speceria nele y/olle de maluco de la q^alle era capitano generale ferando de magaglianes gentil-homo portugue/e et era com^{re} de s^{to}. Jacobo de la /pada piu volte cõ molte /ue laude haueua peregrato in diuer/e guize lo mare oceanno. Mi parti cõ molte lettere di fauore dela cita de bar/alonna doue alhora resideua sua mage/ta et /op^a vna naue pa//ay /ino amalega onde pigliando eL Camino p tera jun/i a /iuiglia et iui effendo /tato ben circa tre me/i e/petando que La dicta armata se pone/e in hordine p la partita finalmente como qⁱ de /oto intendera v ex^a s^a. con felici//imi au/pitij in comen/fiamo la n^{ra} nauigatiõe Et pche ne le/er mio in ytalia Quando andaua a la /antita de papa Clemente q^ella per /ua gratia amontero/fo ver/fo dime se dimo/tro assai benigna et humana et di/semi che li /arebe grato li copia//e tute q^elle co/e haueua vi/te et pa//ate nella nauigatiõe Benche yo ne habia hauuta pocha Como dita niente dimeno /egondo el mio debiL potere li ho voluto /ati/fare. Et co/i li offeri/co in que/to mio libreto tute le vigilie fatiq³ et peregrinatiõe mie pre-

I determined, by the good favor of his Cæsarean Majesty, and of his Lordship abovesaid, to experience and to go to see those things for myself, so that I might be able thereby to satisfy myself somewhat, and so that I might be able to gain some renown for later posterity.⁸ Having heard that a fleet composed of five vessels had been fitted out in the city of Siviglia for the purpose of going to discover the spicery in the islands of Maluco, under command of Captain-general Fernando de Magaglianes,⁹ a Portuguese gentleman, comendador of the [Order of] Santo Jacobo de la Spada [*i.e.*, "St. James of the Sword"],¹⁰ [who] had many times traversed the Ocean Sea in various directions, whence he had acquired great praise, I set out from the city of Barsalonna, where his Majesty was then residing, bearing many letters in my favor. I went by ship as far as Malega, where, taking the highroad, I went overland to Siviglia. Having been there about three full months, waiting for the said fleet to be set in order for the departure,¹¹ finally, as your most excellent Lordship will learn below, we commenced our voyage under most happy auspices. And inasmuch as when I was in Ytalia and going to see his Holiness, Pope Clement,¹² you by your grace showed yourself very kind and good to me at Monteroso, and told me that you would be greatly pleased if I would write down for you all those things which I had seen and suffered during my voyage; and although I have had little opportunity, yet I have tried to satisfy your desire according to my poor ability; therefore, I offer you, in this little book of mine, all my vigils, hardships, and wanderings, begging you, although

gandola quando la vachera dalle a/idue cure Rhodi-
anne se degni tran/corerle peril que me potera e/sere
nõ pocho remunerato da V Jll. s. a la cui bona
grac^a mi donno et recomando.

Hauendo deliberato il capitano generalle difare
co/i longa nauigatiõe p lo mare oceanno doue fem-
pre sonno Inpetuofi venti et fortune grandi et nõ
volendo manife/tare aniuno deli fuoj el viaggio che
voleua fare açio nõ fo/ffe /marito in penfare de fare
tanto grande et /stupenda co/ta como fece cõ lo aiuto
de ydio li Capitani fui che menaua in /ua cõpagnia
lo odiauano molto nõ fo perche /finon pche era por-
tugue/e et e/si /pagnioli. Volendo dar fine a que/to
que promi/e cõ Juramento aLo inperatore D. carlo
Re de /pagnia açio le naue nele fortune et nela nocte
non se separe/eno vna de lalt^a. ordeno questo hor-
dine et lo dete atuti li piloti et mae/tri de le /ue nauì
Loqual era lui de note /empre voleua andar inanzi
dele altre nauì et elle /seguita/eno la /ua con vna
facela grande de legnio che la quiamano farol Qual
/emp^õ portaua pendēte de la popa de la Sua naue
que/to /egniale era açio de continuo lo /seguita/eno
se faceua vno alt^o fuoco con vna lanterna ho cõ vno
pezo de corda de iuncho che la chiamã strengue di
Sparto molto batuto neL hacqua et poi /ecado al /ole
ho vero al fumo ottimo per simil cosa ge re/ponde-
/eno açio /ape/se per chesto /egniale che tute veni-
uano in/ieme se faceua duj focqⁱ /enza lo farolo
vira/seno o voltaseno in altra banda quando eL

M... nota lo as... y como q... solo la... que
... ben o... la persona... y... m... q...
... mas en... m... que... las... q... de...
... me son... y... m... q... de...
... de... y... m... de...
... a la cual... m... q... m... de...
... de... que... sea... m...
... y lo que... que... de... m... q...
... al... de... de... m... q...
... m... de... q... m...
... y q... m... de... m...
... de... m... de... m...
... m... de... m...
... q... de... m... q...
... m... de... m...
... m... de... m...

[From original MS. in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla.]

Signature of Fernão de Magalhães

Fernão de Magalhães
Genral Capitanejo
del mar del sur

Fernão de Magalhães
Genral Capitanejo

1518
de Fernão de Magalhães
Genral Capitanejo

you are busied with continual Rhodian cares, to deign to skim through it, by which I shall be enabled to receive a not slight remuneration from your most illustrious Lordship, to whose good favor I consign and commend myself.¹³

The captain-general having resolved to make so long a voyage through the Ocean Sea, where furious winds and great storms are always reigning, but not desiring to make known to any of his men the voyage that he was about to make, so that they might not be cast down at the thought of doing so great and extraordinary a deed, as he did accomplish with the aid of God (the captains who accompanied him, hated him exceedingly, I know not why, unless because he was a Portuguese, and they Spaniards), with the desire to conclude what he promised under oath to the emperor, Don Carlo, king of Spagnia, prescribed the following orders and gave them to all the pilots and masters of his ships, so that the ships might not become separated from one another during the storms and night.¹⁴ These were [to the effect] that he would always precede the other ships at night, and they were to follow his ship which would have a large torch of wood, which they call *farol*.¹⁵ He always carried that *farol* set at the poop of his ship as a signal so that they might always follow him. Another light was made by means of a lantern or by means of a piece of wicking made from a rush and called *sparto* rope¹⁶ which is well beaten in the water, and then dried in the sun or in the smoke – a most excellent material for such use. They were to answer him so that he might know by that signal whether all of the ships were coming together.

vento nõ era buono et al preposito p andar al nõ camino ho q̃do voleua far pocho viaggio se faceua tre fuochi tole/seno via la bonneta, che he vna parte de uela che se ataca da ba/so dela vela magiore quando fa bon tempo p andar piu la setol via açio /fia piu facile aracogliere la vela maggior quando se amayna in pre/sa in vno tempo subito: Si faceua quatro fochi amay/seno tute le vele facendo poi lui vno /egniale di fuoco como staua fermo Se faceua piu fochi ouero tiraua alguna bõ barda fose segniale de tera o de bassi. Poi faceua quatro fuochi quando voleua far alsare le vele in alto açio loro nauega/seno /eguendõ /emp̃r p Quela facela de popa Quando voleua far metere la boneta faceua tre fuochi Quando voleua voltar/e in altra parte faceua duj Volendo poi sapere se tute le naue lo seguitavã et veniuã in/ieme faceua vno pche cu/si ogni naue face/se et li re/ponde/e ogni nocte /e faceua tre gardie la p^a nel principio de la nocte La /econda Que la chiamano modora neL me/o La t^a nel fine tuta la gente dele naue se partiua in tre Coloneli el p^o era del cap^o. houero del contra maistro mudando/e ogni nocte. Lo secondo deL piloto ho nochiero. Lo t^o del mae/tro p tanto lo Cap^o genneral Comando che tute le naue obserua/eno Que/ti /egniali et guardie acio se anda/e piu /eguri.

If he showed two lights besides that of the *farol*, they were to veer or take another tack, [doing this] when the wind was not favorable or suitable for us to continue on our way, or when he wished to sail slowly. If he showed three lights, they were to lower away the bonnet-sail, which is a part of the sail that is fastened below the mainsail, when the weather is suitable for making better time. It is lowered so that it may be easier to furl the mainsail when it is struck hastily during a sudden squall.¹⁷ If he showed four lights, they were to strike all the sails;¹⁸ after which he showed a signal by one light, [which meant] that he was standing still. If he showed a greater number of lights, or fired a mortar, it was a signal of land or of shoals.¹⁹ Then he showed four lights when he wished to have the sails set full, so that they might always sail in his wake by the torch on the poop. When he desired to set the bonnet-sail, he showed three lights.²⁰ When he desired to alter his course, he showed two;²¹ and then if he wished to ascertain whether all the ships were following and whether they were coming together, he showed one light, so that each one of the ships might do the same and reply to him. Three watches were set nightly: the first at the beginning of the night; the second, which is called the midnight,²² and the third at the end [of the night]. All of the men in the ships were divided into three parts: the first was the division of the captain or boatswain, those two alternating nightly; the second, of either the pilot or boatswain's mate; and the third, of the master.²³ Thus did the captain-general order that all the ships observe the above signals and watches, so that their voyage might be more propitious.²⁴

Luni a x d' agosto g^o de sancto laurentio Nel anno Ja deto e/ sendo la armata fornita de tute le cose necessarie per mare et dogni forte de gente eramo ducente et trenta/ete homini nela matina Se feceno p̃/te per partir/e daL mole de siuiglia et tirando molta artegliaria deteno il trinqueto aL vento et venne abaso del fiume betis al p̃nte detto gadalcauir passando p vno luochò chiamato gioan dal farax che era gia grande habitatiõe de mori per mezo lo q^{alle} /taua vn ponte che pasaua el dicto fiume p andare a siuiglia dilque li e restato fin aL presente nel fondo del acqua due colonne que quando pa//ano le nauì a ño bi/ognio de homini q̃ sapianno ben lo Locho delle colonne p cio ño de//eno in e//e et e bi/ognio pa//arle quanto el fiume /ta piu cre//ente et anche p molti altri luochi deL fiume q̃ ño a tanto fondo che baste p pa//are le nauì cargate et q^{alle} non /ianno tropo grandi Poi venirono ad un alt^o q̃/e chiama coria pa//ando p molti altri villagij a longo deL fiume tanto q̃ ajon/eno ad vno ca//tello deL duca de medina cidonia il q^{alle} /e chiama S. lucar che e porto p entrare nel mare oceanno leuante ponente cõ il capo de sancto vincent che /ta in 37 gradi de latitudine et longui dal deto porto x leghe da Siuiglia fin aqⁱ p lo fiume gli sonno 17 ho 20 Leghe dali alquanti giorni vene el capitano genneralle cõ li altⁱ capⁱ p lo fiume abaf//o neli bateli de le naue et iui /te//imo molti giorni per finire la armata de alcune

On Monday morning, August x, St. Lawrence's day, in the year abovesaid, the fleet, having been supplied with all the things necessary for the sea,²⁵ (and counting those of every nationality, we were two hundred and thirty-seven men), made ready to leave the harbor of Siviglia.²⁶ Discharging many pieces of artillery, the ships held their forestaysails to the wind, and descended the river Betis, at present called Gadalcavir, passing by a village called Gioan dal Farax, once a large Moorish settlement. In the midst of it was once a bridge that crossed the said river, and led to Siviglia. Two columns of that bridge have remained even to this day at the bottom of the water, and when ships sail by there, they need men who know the location of the columns thoroughly, so that the ships may not strike against them. They must also be passed when the river is highest with the tide; as must also many other villages along the river, which has not sufficient depth [of itself] for ships that are laden and which are not very large to pass. Then the ships reached another village called Coria, and passed by many other villages along the river, until they came to a castle of the duke of Medina Cidonia, called San Lucar, which is a port by which to enter the Ocean Sea.²⁷ It is in an east and west direction with the cape of Sanct Vincent, which lies in 37 degrees of latitude, and x leguas from the said port.²⁸ From Siviglia to this point [*i.e.*, San Lucar], it is 17 or 20 leguas by river.²⁹ Some days after, the captain-general, with his other captains, descended the river in the small boats belonging to their ships. We remained there for a considerable number of days in order to finish³⁰

co/fe li manchauão et ogni di andauamo in tera ad aldir meffa aduno locho ã fe chiama ñra dona de baremeda circa S. lucar. Et avanti la partita Lo cap° genneraL vol/e tucti fe confeffa/eno et nõ confentite ninguna dona veniffe ne Larmata per meglior ri/pecto.

Marti a xx de /eptembř neL medesimo anno ne parti/fero da que/fo Locho chiamato /an luchar pigliando La via de garbin et a 26 deL dicto mese ariua/fero a vna Jsola de la grã canaria ã fe di/fe teneriphe in 28 gradi de Latitudine per pigliar carne acha et legnia /te/fero yui tre giorni et mezo per fornire Larmata de le decte cose poi anda/fero a vno porto de La medesima y/ola deto monte rosso p pegolla tardando dui giorni Sapera vña ILL^{ma} s^a. ã in que/te y/olle dela grã canaria ge vna infra le altre ne laq^{le} nõ /i troua pur vna goza de hacqua ã na/cha finon nel mezo di descendere vna nebola daL ciello et circunda vno grande arbore che e ne la dicta y/ola /tilando dale /ue foglie et ramy molta hacqua et al piede deL dicto arbore e adri/fero in guiza de fontana vna fossa houe ca/ca tuta la acqua de La q^{le} li homini abitanti et animali cosi dome/atici como /aluatici ogni giorno de que/ta hacqua et nõ de alt^a habondanti/fero imamēte /i saturano.

Luni a tre doctobre a meza nocte /e dete le velle aL Camino deL au/tro in golfandone neL mare oceanno pa/fero fra capo verde et le /ue y/olle in

[providing] the fleet with some things that it needed. Every day we went ashore to hear mass in a village called Nostra Dona de Baredema [our Lady of Barrameda], near San Lucar. Before the departure, the captain-general wished all the men to confess, and would not allow any³¹ woman to sail in the fleet for the best of considerations.

We left that village, by name San Luchar, on Tuesday, September xx of the same year, and took a southwest course.³² On the 26th³³ of the said month, we reached an island of the Great Canaria, called Teneriphe, which lies in a latitude of 28 degrees, [landing there] in order to get flesh, water, and wood.³⁴ We stayed there for three and one-half days in order to furnish the fleet with the said supplies. Then we went to a port of the same island called Monte Rosso³⁵ to get pitch,³⁶ staying [there] two days. Your most illustrious Lordship must know that there is a particular one of the islands of the Great Canaria, where one can not find a single drop of water which gushes up [from a spring];³⁷ but that at noontide a cloud descends from the sky and encircles a large tree which grows in the said island, the leaves and branches of which distil a quantity of water. At the foot of the said tree runs a trench which resembles a spring, where all the water falls, and from which the people living there, and the animals, both domestic and wild, fully satisfy themselves daily with this water and no other.³⁸

At midnight of Monday, October three, the sails were trimmed toward the south,³⁹ and we took to the open Ocean Sea, passing between Cape Verde and its islands in 14 and one-half degrees. Thus for

14 gradi et mezo et cussi molti giorni nauiga//imo p La co/ta de la ghinea houero ethiopia nela q^alle he vna montagna detta fiera leona in 8 gradi de latitudine con venti contrari calme et piogie senza venti fin a la lignea equinotiale piouendo se/anta giornj de continuo contra la opignione de li anticqⁱ Jn anzi q̄ ajunge//emo ali legnea a 14 gradi molte gropade de venti inpetuo/i et corenti de acqua ne a/altaronno contra el viaggio nō possendo /pontare Jnan/i et acio q̄ le naue nō pericula//eno. Se calauano tute le velle et de q3/ta forte andauamo de mare in trauer/o fin q̄ pa//aua la grupada pche veniua molto furiosa. Quando pioueuca nō era vento. Quando faceua folle era bonna/a. veniuano aL bordo de le naue certi pe//i grandi q̄ se quiamano tiburoni q̄ anno denti teribilli et se trouano hominj neL mare li mangiano. pigliauamo molti cō hami de fero benche nō sonno bonni da mangiare se non li piccoli et anche loro maL bonny. Jn que/te fortune molte volte ne apar/e il corpo /ancto cioe /ancto elmo in lume fra le altre in vna ob/curi//ima nocte de taL /splendore come e vna facella ardente in cima de La magiore gabia et /te circa due hore et piu cō noi consolandone q̄ piangevão quanto que/ta bennedeta luce/e vol/e partire da nuy tanto grandi//imo /splendore dete ne li hocqⁱ no/ti q̄ /te/emo piu de mezo carto de hora tuti cieqⁱ chiamando mi/ericordia et veramēte credendo e//ere morti el mare /ubito se aquieto.

Viti molte forte de vcelli tra le q^alle vna q̄ nō haueua culo. vn altra quando la femina vol far li

many days did we sail along the coast of Ghinea, or Ethiopia, where there is a mountain called Siera Leona, which lies in 8 degrees of latitude, with contrary winds, calms, and rains without wind, until we reached the equinoctial line, having sixty days of continual rain.⁴⁰ Contrary to the opinion of the ancients,⁴¹ before we reached the line many furious squalls of wind, and currents of water struck us head on in 14 degrees. As we could not advance, and in order that the ships might not be wrecked,⁴² all the sails were struck; and in this manner did we wander hither and yon on the sea, waiting for the tempest to cease, for it was very furious.⁴³ When it rained there was no wind. When the sun shone, it was calm. Certain large fishes called *tiburoni* [*i.e.*, sharks] came to the side of the ships. They have terrible teeth, and whenever they find men in the sea they devour them. We caught many of them with iron hooks,⁴⁴ although they are not good to eat unless they are small, and even then they are not very good. During those storms the holy body, that is to say St. Elmo, appeared to us many times, in light – among other times on an exceedingly dark night,⁴⁵ with the brightness of a blazing torch, on the maintop, where he stayed for about two hours or more, to our consolation, for we were weeping. When that blessed light was about to leave us, so dazzling was the brightness that it cast into our eyes, that we all remained for more than an eighth of an hour⁴⁶ blinded and calling for mercy. And truly when we thought that we were dead men, the sea suddenly grew calm.⁴⁷

I saw many kinds of birds, among them one that had no anus; and another, [which] when the female

oui li fa soura la /quena deL ma/chio et iui /e creanno nō anno piede et /empre Viueno neL mare. vn altra /orte q̄ viueno deL /tercho de li altⁱ vcelli et nō de alt^o Si como viti molte volte que/fo vcello q^aL chiamamo Caga//ela corer dietro ad altⁱ vcelli fin tanto q^elli /onno con/trecti mandar fuora eL /tercho /ubito Lo piglia et La//a andare lo vcello anchora viti molti pe//i q̄ volauano et molti altⁱ congregadi in/ieme q̄ pareuano vna y/ola.

Pa//ato q̄ haue//emo la linea equinotiale in ver/fo el meridianno p de//emo la tramontana et co/i /e nauego tra el me/fo Jorno et garbin fino en vna tera che se di/e la tera deL verzin in 23 gradi $\frac{1}{2}$ aL polo antātico q̄ e tera deL capo de S^{to} augu/tino q̄ /ta in 8 gradi aL medefimo polo do ue piglia//emo grā refre/cho de galine batate pigne molte dolci fruto in vero piu gentiL que /ia carne de anta como vaca canne dolci et altre co/e infinite q̄ La/cio p non effere plixo p vno amo da pe/care o vno cortello dauano 5. ho 6. galinne p vno petine vno paro de occati p vno /pequio ho vna forfice tanto pe/ce q̄ hauerebe baftato a x homini p vno /onaglio o vna /tringa vno ce/fo de batate. q3/te batate /onno aL mangiare como ca/tagnie et longo como napi et p vno re de danari q̄ e vna carta de Jocare me deteno 6. galine et pen/auano anchora hauernj inganati Jntra//emo in que /fo porto iL giorno de /ancta lucia

wishes to lay its eggs, it does so on the back of the male and there they are hatched. The latter bird has no feet, and always lives in the sea. [There is] another kind which live on the ordure of the other birds, and in no other manner; for I often saw this bird, which is called Cagassela, fly behind the other birds, until they are constrained to drop their ordure, which the former seizes immediately and abandons the latter bird. I also saw many flying fish, and many others collected together, so that they resembled an island.⁴⁸

After we had passed the equinoctial line going south, we lost the north star, and hence we sailed south south-west⁴⁹ until [we reached] a land called the land of Verzin⁵⁰ which lies in $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of the Antarctic Pole [*i.e.*, south latitude]. It is the land extending from the cape of Santo Augustino, which lies in 8 degrees of the same pole. There we got a plentiful refreshment of fowls, potatoes [*batate*], many sweet pine-apples – in truth the most delicious fruit that can be found – the flesh of the *anta*,⁵¹ which resembles beef, sugarcane, and innumerable other things, which I shall not mention in order not to be prolix. For one fishhook or one knife, those people gave 5 or 6 chickens; for one comb, a brace of geese; for one mirror or one pair of scissors, as many fish as would be sufficient for x men; for a bell or one leather lace, one basketful of potatoes [*batate*]. These potatoes resemble chestnuts in taste, and are as long as turnips.⁵² For a king of diamonds [*danari*],⁵³ which is a playing card, they gave me 6⁵⁴ fowls and thought that they had even cheated me. We entered that port on St. Lucy's day,

et in q^eL di haue//emo eL /olle p Zenit et pati//emo piu caldo. q^eL giorno et li altⁱ quãdo haueuão eL /olle p zenit che Quando eramo /oto la linea equinotiale.

Que/ta tera deL verzin e abundantiss^a et piu grande ã /pagnia fran/a et Jtalia tute in/ieme. e deL re de portugalo li populi de que/ta tera nõ /onno christiani et nõ adorano co/a alguna viueno /ecõdo Lo vzo de La natura et viueno Cento vinticinque anny et cẽto et quaranta. Vano nudi co//i homini como femine habitano in certe ca/e lingue che le chiamano boij et dormeno in rete de bã ba/o chiamate amache ligade ne le medeme ca/e da vno capo et da Lalt^o a legni gro//i fanno foco infra e//i in tera in ogni vno de que/ti boij /tano cento homini cõ le /ue moglie et figlioli facendo grã romore anno barche duno /olo arburo ma/chize quiamate ca noe cauate cõ menare de pietra que/ti populi adoperão le pietre Como nui el fero p nõ hauere /tanno trenta et quaranta homini in vna de que/te. vogano cõ palle como da forno et cu//i negri nubi et tosi asimigliano quando vogano aq^elli de la/ftigie palude. Sono di/po/ti homini et femine como noi Mangiano carne humana de Li /ui nemici non p bonna ma p vna certa vzan/a Que/ta vzan/a Lo vno con laltro. fu principio vna vequia Laq^alle haueua /olamente vno figliolo ã fu amazato dali suoi nemici p iL ã pa//ati alcuni giorni li /ui pigliorono vno de la Compagnia ã haueua morto

and on that day had the sun on the zenith;⁵⁵ and we were subjected to greater heat on that day and on the other days when we had the sun on the zenith, than when we were under the equinoctial line.⁵⁶

That land of Verzin is wealthier and larger than Spagnia, Fransa, and Italia,⁵⁷ put together, and belongs to the king of Portugalo. The people of that land are not Christians, and have no manner of worship. They live according to the dictates of nature,⁵⁸ and reach an age of one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and forty years.⁵⁹ They go naked, both men and women. They live in certain long houses which they call *boii*,⁶⁰ and sleep in cotton hammocks called *amache*, which are fastened in those houses by each end to large beams. A fire is built on the ground under those hammocks. In each one of those *boii*, there are one hundred men with their wives and children,⁶¹ and they make a great racket. They have boats called canoes made of one single huge tree,⁶² hollowed out by the use of stone hatchets. Those people employ stones as we do iron, as they have no iron. Thirty or forty men occupy one of those boats. They paddle with blades like the shovels of a furnace, and thus, black, naked, and shaven, they resemble, when paddling, the inhabitants of the Stygian marsh.⁶³ Men and women are as well proportioned as we. They eat the human flesh of their enemies, not because it is good, but because it is a certain established custom. That custom, which is mutual, was begun by an old woman,⁶⁴ who had but one son who was killed by his enemies. In return some days later, that old woman's friends captured one of the company who had killed her

Suo figliolo et Lo condusero doue /taua que/ta vequia ela vedendo et ricordando/e deL fuo figliolo como cagnia rabiata li cor/e adoffo et Lo mordete in vna /pala co/tui deli a pocho fugi neli /oi et di//e Como Lo vol/ero mangiare mo/trandoli eL /egnialle de La /pala. qñ que/ti pigliarono poi de q'lli li mangiarono et q'lli de que/ti /iche p que/to he venuta tal vzan/a. Non /e mangiano /ubito ma ogni vno taglia vno pezo et lo porta in ca/ta metendola al fumo poi ogni 8. Jorni taglia vno pezeto mangiandolo bruto lado cõ le altre cose p memoria degli /ui nemici Que/to me di//e Johane carnagio piloto q̃ veniua cõ nuy el q'lle era /tato in que/ta tera quattro anny Que/ta gente /e depingeno marauigliosamēte tuto iL corpo et iL volto con foco in diuer/i a maniere ancho le done /ono [sono: *doublet in original MS.*] to/i et /en/a barba perche /e la pelanno. Se ve/teno de ve/tituř de piume de papagalo cõ rode grande aL cullo de Le penne magiore cosa ridicula ca/i tuti li homini excepto le femine et fanciuli hano tre bu/i ne lauro de/oto oue portano pietre rotunde et Longue vno dito et piu et meno de fora pendente. nõ /onno del tuto negri ma oliua/tri portano de/coperte le parte vergonio/e iL Suo corpo e /enza peli et coffi homini q'ãL donne Sempre Vano nudi iL Suo re e chiamato cacich anno infiniti//imi papagali et ne danno 8 ho 10 p vno /pecho et gati

son, and brought him to the place of her abode. She seeing him, and remembering her son, ran upon him like an infuriated bitch, and bit him on one shoulder. Shortly afterward he escaped to his own people, whom he told that they had tried to eat him, showing them [in proof] the marks on his shoulder. Whomsoever the latter captured afterward at any time from the former they ate, and the former did the same to the latter, so that such a custom has sprung up in this way. They do not eat the bodies all at once, but every one cuts off a piece, and carries it to his house, where he smokes it. Then every week,⁶⁵ he cuts off a small bit, which he eats thus smoked with his other food to remind him of his enemies. The above was told me by the pilot, Johane Carnagio,⁶⁶ who came with us, and who had lived in that land for four years. Those people paint the whole body and the face in a wonderful manner with fire in various fashions, as do the women also. The men are [are: *doublet in original manuscript*] smooth shaven and have no beard, for they pull it out. They clothe themselves in a dress made of parrot feathers, with large round arrangements at their buttocks made from the largest feathers, and it is a ridiculous sight. Almost all the people, except the women and children,⁶⁷ have three holes pierced in the lower lip, where they carry round stones, one finger or thereabouts in length and hanging down outside. Those people are not entirely black, but of a dark brown color. They keep the privies uncovered, and the body is without hair,⁶⁸ while both men and women always go naked. Their king is called cacich [*i.e.*, cacique]. They have an infinite number of parrots,

maimoni piccoli fati como leoni ma Jalli co/a belis-
 sima fano panne rotondo biancho de medola de
 arbore non molto bonno ã na/ce fra l'arbore et La
 /cor/a et he como recotta. hanno porci ã /op^a La
 /quena teneno eL suo lombelico et vcceli grandi ã
 anno eL becho como vn cuquiaro /en/a lingua ne
 dauano p vno acceta ho cortello grãde vna ho due
 dele /ue figliole giouane p fchiaue ma /ua moglie
 nã darianno p co/a alguna Elle nã farebenno
 vergonia a suoi mariti p ogni grã co/a come ne /tate
 referito de giorno nã con/enteno a li Loro mariti
 ma /olamẽte de nocte. Esse Lauorano et portano
 tuto eL mãgiañ suo da li monti in zerli ho vero
 cane/tri /uL capo ho atacati aL capo pero e//endo
 /empre /eco /ui mariti /olamẽte cõ vno arco de
 verzin o de palma negra et vno mazo de freze di
 canna et que/to fano per che /onno gelofi le
 femine portano /ui figlioli tacadi aL colo in vna rete
 de banbazo. La/cio altre co/e p nã e//ere piu longo.
 Se di//e due volte me//a in tera p il que que/ta
 /tauano cõ tanto constrictiõe in genoquionj aL/ando
 le mano giunte ã era grandiss^o piacere vederli Edi-
 ficareno vna ca/a per nui pen/ando doue//emo /tar
 /eco algun tempo et taglia rono molto ver/in per
 darnela a la no/tra partida era /tato forse duy
 me/i nã haueua pioue/to in que/ta terra et Quando

and gave us 8 or 10 for one mirror; and little monkeys that look like lions, only [they are] yellow, and very beautiful.⁶⁹ They make round white [loaves of] bread from the marrowy substance of trees, which is not very good, and is found between the wood and the bark and resembles buttermilk curds.⁷⁰ They have swine which have their navels [*lombelico*] on their backs,⁷¹ and large birds with beaks like spoons and no tongues.⁷² The men gave us one or two of their young daughters as slaves for one hatchet or one large knife, but they would not give us their wives in exchange for anything at all. The women will not shame their husbands under any considerations (whatever, and as was told us, refuse to consent to their husbands by day, but only by night.⁷³ The women cultivate the fields, and carry all their food from the mountains in panniers or baskets on the head or fastened to the head.⁷⁴ But they are always accompanied by their husbands, who are armed only with a bow of brazil-wood or of black palm-wood, and a bundle of cane arrows, doing this because they are jealous [of their wives]. The women carry their children hanging in a cotton net from their necks. I omit other particulars, in order not to be tedious. Mass was said twice on shore, during which those people remained on their knees with so great contrition and with clasped hands raised aloft, that it was an exceeding great pleasure⁷⁵ to behold them. They built us a house as they thought that we were going to stay with them for some time, and at our departure they cut a great quantity of brazil-wood [*verzin*] to give us.⁷⁶ It had been about two months since it had rained in

ajonge/emo aL porto per ca/o piouete p que/to deceuano noi vegnire daL cieLo et haueñ monato no/co la pioggia que/ti populi facilmente Se conuerterebenno a la fede de Je/ŭ xpõ.

Jmprima co/ŭtoro pen/auano li batelli fo/ŭero figlioli de le naue et que elle li purturi//eno quando /e butauano fora di naue in mare et /tando co/ŭi aL co/ŭta do como he vzan/a credeuano le naue li nutri//eno Vna Jouene bella vene vn di nela naue capitania, houe yo /taua non p alt° /enon p trouaĩ alguno recapito /tando co/ŭsi et a/ŭpectando buto lo ochio sup^a la camera deL mai/t° et victe vno quiodo Longo piu de vn dito il que pigliando cõ grande gentile//a et galantaria se lo fico aparte aparte de li labri della /ua natura et subito ba//a ba//sa Se partite. Vedendo que/ŭto iL cap°. generale et yo.

Alguni Vocabuli de q3/ti populi deL verzin.

AL miglio.	Maiz
Alla farina.	hui
AL hamo.	pinda
AL cortello	tacse
Al petine	chigap
Alla forfice	pirame
AL /onaglio	Jtanmaraca
Buono piu q̄ bono	tum maragathum

Ste//emo 13. giorni in que/ta tera /eguendo poi il nño camino anda/emo fin a 34 gradi et vno ter/o aL polo antarticho doue troua//emo in vno fiume de

that land, and when we reached that port, it happened to rain, whereupon they said that we came from the sky and that we had brought the rain with us.⁷⁷ Those people could be converted easily to the faith of Jesus Christ.

At first those people thought that the small boats were the children of the ships, and that the latter gave birth to them when they were lowered into the sea from the ships, and when they were lying so alongside the ships (as is the custom), they believed that the ships were nursing them.⁷⁸ One day a beautiful young woman came to the flagship, where I was, for no other purpose than to seek what chance might offer. While there and waiting, she cast her eyes upon the master's room, and saw a nail longer than one's finger. Picking it up very delightedly and neatly, she thrust it through the lips of her vagina [*natura*], and bending down low immediately departed, the captain-general and I having seen that action.⁷⁹

Some words of those people of Verzin ⁸⁰

For Millet	maiz
for Flour	hui
for Fishhook	pinda
for Knife	tacse
for Comb	chigap
for Scissors	pirame
for Bell	itanmaraca
Good, better	tum maragathum

We remained in that land for 13 days. Then proceeding on our way, we went as far as 34 and one-third degrees ⁸¹ toward the Antarctic Pole,

acqua dolce homini q̄ se chiamano Canibali et mangiano la carne humana vene vno de la statura cafi como vno gigante nella naue capitania p̄ asigurar li alt̄i suoi haueua vna voce fimille a vno toro in tanto que que/to stete ne la naue li alt̄i portoronno via Le fue robe daL loco doue habitauão dent^o nella terra p̄ paura de noi Vedendo que/to saltaffimo in terra cento homini p̄ hauef̄ lingua et parlare secho ho vero p̄ for/a pigliarne alguno fugiteno et fugēdo face uano tanto grā passo q̄ noi saltando nō poteuamo auanfare li sui passi. in que/to fiume /tanno sette Jzolle. ne la maior de que/te se troua pietre preciose Qui se chiama capo de s^{ta}. maria gia se pen/aua q̄ de qui se pa/sse aL mare de Sur cioe mezo di ne may piu altra fu di/couerto ade/fo nō he capo /inon fiume et a larga La boca 17 legue. Altre volte in que/to fiume fu mangiado da questi Canibali per tropo fidar/e vno Capitano Spagnuolo q̄ se chiamaua Johā de solis et /esanta homini q̄ andauano a di/courir terra como nui.

Po /eguendo eL medesimo camino v/o eL polo antarticho aco/to de terra veni/ffimo adare in due J/olle pienni de occati et loui marini veramente non se porla narare iL grā numero de que/ti occati in vna hora carga/ffimo le cinque naue Que/ti occati /enno negri et anno tute le penne aduno modo co/si neL corpo como nelle ale. nō volano et viueno de pe/se erano tanti graffi q̄ non bi/ogniaua parlarli ma /cor tigarli anno lo beco como vno coruo Que/ti loui marini /onno de diuerfi colori et groffi

where we found people at a freshwater river, called Canibali [*i.e.*, cannibals], who eat human flesh. One of them, in stature almost a giant, came to the flagship in order to assure [the safety of] the others his friends.⁸² He had a voice like a bull. While he was in the ship, the others carried away their possessions from the place where they were living into the interior, for fear of us. Seeing that, we landed one hundred men in order to have speech and converse with them, or to capture one of them by force. They fled, and in fleeing they took so large a step that we although running could not gain on their steps. There are seven islands in that river, in the largest of which precious gems are found. That place is called the cape of Santa Maria, and it was formerly thought that one passed thence to the sea of Sur, that is to say the South Sea, but nothing further was ever discovered. Now the name is not [given to] a cape, but [to] a river, with a mouth 17 leguas in width.⁸³ A Spanish captain, called Johan de Solis and sixty men, who were going to discover lands like us, were formerly eaten at that river by those cannibals because of too great confidence.⁸⁴

Then proceeding on the same course toward the Antarctic Pole, coasting along the land, we came to anchor at two islands full of geese and sea-wolves.⁸⁵ Truly, the great number of those geese cannot be reckoned; in one hour we loaded the five ships [with them]. Those geese are black and have all their feathers alike both on body and wings. They do not fly, and live on fish. They were so fat that it was not necessary to pluck them but to skin them. Their beak is like that of a crow. Those sea-wolves are of various colors, and as large as a calf,

como viteli et eL capo como loro cõ le orecchie piccole et tõe et denti grandi nõ anno gãmbe /enon piedi tacade aL corpo /imille a le nře mani cõ onguie picolle et fra li diti anno q'lla pele. le och'ie /arebenno fe roci//ime /e pote//eno corere nodano et viueno de pe/cie Qui hebenno li naue grandi//ima fortuna p il que ne apar/enno molte volte li tre corpi /ancti çioe s^{to}. elmo s^{to}. nicolo et s^{ta} chiara et /ubito /e//aua la fortuna.

Partendone de qⁱ ariua//emo fin a 49 gradi et mezo aL antarticho e/sendo linuerno le nauì introrono in vno bon porto p inuernar/e quiui /te/emo dui me/i senza vedere p/onna alguna. Vndi a linproui/o vede//emo vno homo de /tatura de gigante q̄ /taua nudo nella riuà deL porto balando cantando et butando/e poluere Soura la testa. JL capitano gñale mando vno deli nři a lui acio face//e li mede/fimi acti in /egno de pace et fati lo conduce in vna Jzollea dinanzi aL cap^o gñalle Quando fo nella /ua et nřa pre/entia molto /e marauiglio et faceua /egni cõ vno dito alzato credendo veni//emo daL ciello Que/to erra tanto grande q̄ li dauamo a La cintura et ben di/po/to haueua La faza grande et depinta intorno de rosso et Jntorno li ochi de Jallo cõ dui cori depinti in mezo de le galte. li pocqⁱ capili q̄ haueua erano tinti de bianco. era ve/stito de pelle de animale cofi de Sotilmente in/ieme el qualle animale a eL capo et orecchie grande como vna mula iL colo et iL corpo como vno camello, le

with a head like that of a calf, ears small and round, and large teeth. They have no legs but only feet with small nails attached to the body, which resemble our hands, and between their fingers the same kind of skin as the geese. They would be very fierce if they could run. They swim, and live on fish. At that place the ships suffered a very great storm, during which the three holy bodies appeared to us many times, that is to say, St. Elmo, St. Nicholas, and St. Clara, whereupon the storm quickly ceased.

Leaving that place, we finally reached 49 and one-half degrees toward the Antarctic Pole. As it was winter, the ships entered a safe port to winter.⁸⁶ We passed two months in that place without seeing anyone. One day we suddenly saw a naked man of giant stature on the shore of the port, dancing,⁸⁷ singing, and throwing dust on his head. The captain-general sent one of our men to the giant so that he might perform the same actions as a sign of peace. Having done that, the man led the giant to an islet into the presence of the captain-general. When the giant was in the captain-general's and our presence, he marveled greatly,⁸⁸ and made signs with one finger raised upward, believing that we had come from the sky. He was so tall that we reached only to his waist, and he was well proportioned. His face was large and painted red all over, while about his eyes he was painted yellow; and he had two hearts painted on the middle of his cheeks. His scanty hair was painted white.⁸⁹ He was dressed in the skins of animals skilfully sewn together. That animal has a head and ears as large as those of a

gambe de ceruo et La coda de caualo et nitri//e como lui ge ne sonno a/aysimi in questa tera haueua a li piedi albarghe de le mede/me pelle q̄ copreno li piedi a vzo de /carpe et nella mano vno archo curto et grosso. La corda alquando piu grossa di q̄lle deL lauto fata de le budelle deL medemo animale cō vno mazo de frece de canna non molto longue inpenade como le nostre p fore pōte de pietra de fuoca bianca et negra amodo de freze turque/que facendole cō vn alt^a pietra. Lo cap^o genneralle li fece dare da mangiare et bere et fra le altre cose q̄ li mostrate li mostro vno /pequio grande de azalle. quando eL vide /ua figura grandamente /e /pauento et /alto in drieto et buto tre o quat^o de li noſtⁱ homini p terra da poy li dete Suonagli vno /pequio vno petine et certi pater noſtⁱ et mando lo in tera cō 4 homini armati Vno /uo compagno q̄ may vol/e venire a le naue quando eL vite venire coſtui cō li noſtⁱ cor/e doue /tauano li altⁱ Se miſſeno in fila tuti nudi ariuando li noſtⁱ a eſſi comen/orono abalare et cantare leuando vno dito aL ciello et moſtrandoli poluere bianca de radice de erba poſta in pigniate de tera q̄ la mangiaſſeno pche non haueuano altra co/a li noſtⁱ li feceno /egnio doueſſeno vegnire a le naui et que li ajuterebenno portare le /ue robe p il que Queſti homini subito pigliorono Solamente li /ui archi et le /ue femine cargate como asine portorono il tuto. queſte nō sonno tanti grandi ma molto piu groſſe quando le

mule, a neck and body like those of a camel, the legs of a deer, and the tail of a horse, like which it neighs, and that land has very many of them.⁹⁰ His feet were shod with the same kind of skins which covered his feet in the manner of shoes.⁹¹ In his hand he carried a short, heavy bow, with a cord somewhat thicker than those of the lute,⁹² and made from the intestines of the same animal, and a bundle of rather short cane arrows feathered like ours, and with points of white and black flint stones in the manner of Turkish arrows, instead of iron. Those points were fashioned by means of another stone.⁹³ The captain-general had the giant given something to eat and drink, and among other things which were shown to him was a large steel mirror. When he saw his face, he was greatly terrified, and jumped back throwing three or four⁹⁴ of our men to the ground. After that he was given some bells, a mirror, a comb, and certain Pater Nosters. The captain-general sent him ashore with 4 armed men. When one of his companions, who would never come to the ships, saw him coming with our men, he ran to the place where the others were, who came [down to the shore] all naked one after the other. When our men reached them, they began to dance and to sing, lifting one finger to the sky. They showed our men some white powder made from the roots of an herb, which they kept in earthen pots, and which they ate because they had nothing else. Our men made signs inviting them to the ships, and that they would help them carry their possessions. Thereupon, those men quickly took only their bows, while their women laden like asses carried everything. The latter are

vedeffimo grandamēte /teffemo /tupefati anno le tete longue mozo brazo. /onno depinte et veftite como loro mariti /inon dinanzi a la natura anno vna peleffina q̄ la copre menavano quat° de q̄3/ti animali piccoli ligadi cō ligami amodo de caueza. Que/ta gente quanto voleno pigliare de que/ti animale ligano vno de que/ti piccoli a vno /pino poi veneno li grandi p Jocare cō li piccoli et effi /tando a/confi li amazano cō Le freze. li no/ti ne candu/fero a le nauì dizidoto tra homini et femine et foreno repartiti de due parte deL porto açio pigliaffeno de li dicti animalj.

Deli a 6. Jorni fu vi/to vno gigante depinto et veftito de la medi/ima /orta de alguni q̄ faceuano legnia haueua in mano vno arco et freze acotando/e a li no/ti p̄ma /e tocaua eL capo eL volto et eL corpo et iL /imile faceua ali no/ti et dapoy leuaua li mani aL ciello. Quando eL cap° gñale Lo /epe. Lo mando atore cō Lo/quifo et menolo in q̄lla Jzola che era neL porto doue haueuano facta vna ca/a p li fabri et p meter li alcune cofe de le naue. co/tui era piu grande et meglio di/po/ti de li alt̄ et tanto trata bile et gratiofo. /altando balaua et quando balaua ogni volta cazaua li piedi Soto tera vno palmo. Stete molti giorni cō nui tanto q̄L bati/a/ffemo chiamandolo Johannj cos chiaro prenuntiaua Je/ù pater no/ter aue maria et Jouani

not so tall as the men but are very much fatter. When we saw them we were greatly surprised. Their breasts are one-half braza long, and they are painted and clothed like their husbands, except that before their privies [*natura*] they have a small skin which covers them. They led four of those young animals, fastened with thongs like a halter. When those people wish to catch some of those animals, they tie one of these young ones to a thornbush. Thereupon, the large ones come to play with the little ones; and those people kill them with their arrows from their place of concealment. Our men led eighteen of those people, counting men and women, to the ships, and they were distributed on the two sides of the port so that they might catch some of the said animals.

Six days after the above, a giant painted⁹⁵ and clothed in the same manner was seen by some [of our men] who were cutting wood. He had a bow and arrows in his hand. When our men approached him, he first touched his head, face,⁹⁶ and body, and then did the same to our men, afterward lifting his hands toward the sky. When the captain-general was informed of it, he ordered him to be brought in the small boat. He was taken to that island in the port where our men had built a house for the smiths⁹⁷ and for the storage of some things from the ships. That man was even taller and better built than the others and as tractable and amiable. Jumping up and down, he danced, and when he danced, at every leap, his feet sank a palmo into the earth. He remained with us for a considerable number of days, so long that we baptized him, calling him Johanni.

como nui /e non cõ voce groci//ima. poi eL cap° gñale li dono vna camiza vna cami/ota de panno brague//e di pano vn bonet vn /pequio vno petine /onagli et altre co/e et mandolo da li sui ge li ando molto alegro et cõtento eL giorno /egunte co/tui porto vno de quelli animali grandi aL cap° gñale p il que li dete molte co/e acio ne porta//e de li altⁱ ma piu noL vede/emo pen/a/emo li Suoi lo haue//ero amazato p haueñ conuer/ato cõ nuy.

Pa//ati 15 giorni vede//emo quat° de que/ti gi-ganti /enza le /ue arme p che le aueuano a/co//e in certi /pini poi li dui che piglia//emo ne li in/egniaro ogni vno era depinto diferentiatamente JL cap° genneralle retenne duy li piu Joueni et piu di/po/ti cõ grande a/tutia p condurli in /pagnia Se alt^a mente haue//e facto facilmente hauerebanno morto alcuni de nui. La stutia ã vzo in retenerli fo que/ta ge dete molti cortelli forfice /peqⁱ /onagli et chri/talino hauendo que/ti dui li mani piene de le detti co/e iL cap° gñale fece portare dui para de feri ã /e meteno a li piedi mo/trando de donnarli et elli p e//ere fero li piaceuão molto ma non /apeuano Como portarli et li rincre/ceua la/sarli nõ haueuano oue meteñ q^elle merce; et be/ogniauali tenerli cõ le mani la pelle ã haueuão intorno li altⁱ duy voleuano ajutarli ma iL cap° nõ vol/e vedendo ã li rincre/ci-

He uttered [the words] "*Jesu*," "*Pater Noster*," "*Ave Maria*" and "*Jovani*" [*i.e.*, John⁷ as distinctly as we, but with an exceedingly loud voice. Then the captain-general gave him a shirt, a woollen jerkin [*camisota de panno*], cloth breeches, a cap, a mirror, a comb, bells, and other things, and sent him away like his companions. He left us very joyous and happy. The following day he brought one of those large animals to the captain-general, in return for which many things were given to him, so that he might bring some more to us; but we did not see him again. We thought that his companions had killed him because he had conversed with us.

A fortnight later we saw four of those giants without their arms for they had hidden them in certain bushes as the two whom we captured showed us. Each one was painted differently. The captain-general kept two of them – the youngest and best proportioned – by means of a very cunning trick, in order to take them to Spagnia.⁹⁸ Had he used any other means [than those he employed], they could easily have killed some of us.⁹⁹ The trick that he employed in keeping them was as follows. He gave them many knives, scissors, mirrors, bells, and glass beads; and those two having their hands filled with the said articles, the captain-general had two pairs of iron manacles brought, such as are fastened on the feet.¹⁰⁰ He made motions that he would give them to the giants, whereat they were very pleased since those manacles were of iron, but they did not know how to carry them. They were grieved at leaving them behind, but they had no place to put those gifts; for they had to hold the skin wrapped

ua la/siare q^elli ferì li fece /egnio li farebe ali piedi et quelli portarebenno via e//i ri/po/ero cō la te/ta de /i Subito aduno mede/imo tempo li fece mettere a tucti dui et quando linquiauão cō lo fero q̄ trauer/a dubitauano ma /figurandoli iL cap^o pur /teteno fermi a vedendo/e poi de lingano Sbufauano como tori quiamando fortemente setebos q̄ li ajuta//e agli altⁱ dui apena pote/imo ligarli li mani li manda//emo a terra cō noue homine açio guida//eno li no/tⁱ doue /taua La moglie de vno de q^elli haueuano pre/ì perche fortemēte cō /egni la lamentaua açio ella intende//emo. Andando vno /e de/ligo li mani et cor/e via cō tanta velocita q̄ li n^{ri} lo per/eno de vi/ta ando doue /taua La /ua brigata et nō trouo vno de li /oi q̄ era rima/to cō le femine p che era andato a la caza /ubito lo ando atrouare et contoli tuto eL fatto Lalt^o tanto /e /for/aua p de/ligar/e q̄ li no/tⁱ lo ferirono vn pocho /op^a la te/ta et sbufando conduce li n^{ri} doue /tauão le loro donne. gioan cauagio piloto capo de que/ti nō vol/e tore la donna q^ella /era ma dormite yui p che se faceua nocte li altⁱ duy veneno et vedendo co/tui ferito se dubitauão et nō di/ero niente alhora ma ne lalba parloro a

about them with their hands.¹⁰¹ The other two giants wished to help them, but the captain refused. Seeing that they were loth to leave those manacles behind, the captain made them a sign that he would put them on their feet, and that they could carry them away. They nodded assent with the head. Immediately, the captain had the manacles put on both of them at the same time. When our men were driving home the cross bolt, the giants began to suspect something, but the captain assuring them, however, they stood still. When they saw later that they were tricked, they raged like bulls, calling loudly for *Setebos*¹⁰² to aid them. With difficulty could we bind the hands of the other two, whom we sent ashore with nine of our men, in order that the giants might guide them to the place where the wife of one of the two whom we had captured¹⁰³ was; for the latter expressed his great grief at leaving her by signs so that we understood [that he meant] her. While they were on their way, one of the giants freed his hands, and took to his heels with such swiftness that our men lost sight of him. He went to the place where his associates were, but he did not find [there] one of his companions, who had remained behind with the women, and [who had gone hunting. He immediately went in search of the latter, and told him all that had happened.¹⁰⁴ The other giant endeavored so hard to free himself from his bonds, that our men struck him, wounding him slightly on the head, whereat he raging led them to where the women were. Gioan Cavagio, the pilot and commander of those men, refused to bring back the woman¹⁰⁵ that night, but determined to sleep there,

le donne subito fugiteno via et coreuão piu li piccoli
 q̄ li grandi lassando tute le sue robe dui se traffeno
 da parte tirã do ali nři frece. laltº menaua via q̄lli
 /oi animaleti p̄ cazare et co/i cõba tendo vno de q̄lli
 passo la coffa cõ vna freza a vno deli nři il q̄lle
 subito mori quando vi/teno que/to subito corfeno
 via li nři haueuano /quiopeti et balestre et may
 nõ li poterono ferire quando que/ti combateuão
 may /tauano fermi ma /altando de qua et della. li
 no/ti se pelirono Lo morto et bra/arono tute le robe q̄
 haueuano laffata Certamente que/ti giganti
 Coreno piu Cauali et Sonno gelosi/fimi de loro
 mogliere.

Quando que/ta gente se sente malle aL /tomacho
 in loco de purgar/se se metẽo nela golla dui palmi
 et piu duna firza et gomitano coloro v̄de mi/quiade
 cõ /angue p̄q̄ mangiano certi cardi Quando li
 dole eL capo Se danno neL fronte vna tagliatura neL
 trauer/o et cussi nele brace ne le gambe et in cia/
 cuno locho deL corpo cauando/fe molta /angue.
 vno de q̄lli hauiuão pre /i q̄ /taua nela nřa naue
 diceua como q̄L /angue nõ voleua /tare iui et p̄ q̄llo
 li daua passione anno li capeli tagliati cõ la quie-
 rega amodo de frati ma piu longui cõ vno cordonne

for night was approaching. The other two giants came, and seeing their companion wounded, hesitated,¹⁰⁶ but said nothing then. But with the dawn, they spoke¹⁰⁷ to the women, [whereupon] they immediately ran away (and the smaller ones ran faster than the taller), leaving all their possessions behind them. Two of them turned aside to shoot their arrows at our men. The other was leading away those small animals of theirs in order to hunt.¹⁰⁸ Thus fighting, one of them pierced the thigh of one of our men with an arrow, and the latter died immediately. When the giants saw that, they ran away quickly. Our men had muskets and crossbows, but they could never hit any of the giants, [for] when the latter fought, they never stood still, but leaped hither and thither. Our men buried their dead companion, and burned all the possessions left behind by the giants. Of a truth those giants run swifter than horses and are exceedingly jealous of their wives.

When those people feel sick at the stomach, instead of purging themselves,¹⁰⁹ they thrust an arrow down their throat for two palmos or more¹¹⁰ and vomit [substance of a] green color mixed with blood, for they eat a certain kind of thistle. When they have a headache, they cut themselves across the forehead; and they do the same on the arms or on the legs and in any part of the body, letting a quantity of blood. One of those whom we had captured, and whom we kept in our ship, said that the blood refused to stay there [*i.e.*, in the place of the pain], and consequently causes them suffering. They wear their hair cut with the tonsure, like friars, but it is

di bambaso intorno lo capo neL q^alle ficano le freze quando vano ala caza ligano eL Suo membro dentro deL corpo p lo grandi/simo fredo. Quando more vno de que/ti apareno x ho dudice demonj balando molto alegri in torno deL morto tucti depinti ne vedeno vno /oura altri asay piu grande gridando et facendo piu grã festa cosi como eL demonio li apare de pinto de q^ella Sorte /e depingeno quiamano eL demonio magior /etebos ali altⁱ cheleulle anchora co/tui ne di/fe cõ /egni hauere vi/to li demonj con dui corni in testa et peli longui ã copriuano li piedi getare focho p La boca et p iL culo JL cap^o gñale nomino que/ti populi patagoni tutti /e ve/tino de la pelle de q^ello animale gia deto nõ anno case /enon trabacque de la pelle deL medesimo animale et cõ q^elli vano mo di qua mo di la como fanno li cingani viueno de carne cruda et de vna radice dolce ã la quiamão chapae ogni vno de li dui ã piglia/emo mangiaua vna /porta de bi/coto et beueua in vna fiata mezo /echio de hacqua et mangiauão li /orgi /enza /corti carli.

Steffemo in que/to porto el q^aL chiama/emo porto de s^{to}. Julianno cirqua de cinque mesi doue acadetenno molte co/fe. Açio ã vña IIL^{ma}. s^a ne /apia algune fu ã /ubito entrati neL porto li capitani de le altre quat^o naue ordinarono vno tradimẽto p amazzare iL cap^o genneralle et que/ti erano eL vehadore

left longer;¹¹¹ and they have a cotton cord wrapped about the head, to which they fasten their arrows when they go hunting. They bind their privies close to their bodies because of the exceeding great cold.¹¹² When one of those people die, x or twelve demons all painted appear to them and dance very joyfully about the corpse. They notice that one of those demons is much taller than the others, and he cries out and rejoices more.¹¹³ They paint themselves exactly in the same manner as the demon appears to them painted. They call the larger demon Setebos,¹¹⁴ and the others Cheleulle. That giant also told us by signs that he had seen the demons with two horns on their heads, and long hair which hung to the feet belching forth fire from mouth and buttocks. The captain-general called those people Patagoni.¹¹⁵ They all clothe themselves in the skins of that animal above mentioned; and they have no houses except those made from the skin of the same animal, and they wander hither and thither with those houses just as the Cingani¹¹⁶ do. They live on raw flesh and on a sweet root which they call chapae.¹¹⁷ Each of the two whom we captured ate a basketful of biscuit, and drank one-half pailful of water at a gulp. They also ate rats without skinning them.

In that port which we called the port of Santo Julianno, we remained about five months.¹¹⁸ Many things happened there. In order that your most illustrious Lordship may know some of them, it happened that as soon as we had entered the port, the captains of the other four ships plotted treason in order that they might kill the captain-general. Those conspirators consisted of the overseer of the

de Larmata q̄ /e chiamaua Johan de cartegena eL the/orero alouise de mendo/a eL contadore anthonio cocha et ga/par de cazada et /quartato eL veador de li homini fo amazato lo the/orẽ apognialade e/endo de/coperto Lo tradimento de li alquantj giornj ga/par de ca/ada p̄ voler fare vno alt° tradimẽto fo /bandito cõ vno prete in que/ta tera patagonia. eL Cap° generale nõ vol/e far lo amazare perche Lo imperatoř don carlo lo haueua facto cap° Vna naue chiamata /ancto Jacobo p̄ andare a de/courir la co/ta Se per/e tucti li homini Si /aluarono p̄ miracolo nõ bagnando//e appena dui de que/ti venirono ali nauì et ne di/cero el tuto p̄ il que eL cap° gñale ge mando alcuni homini cõ /acq̄ pienny de bi/coto p̄ dui me/i ne fu for/a portarli eL viuere p̄ che ogni giorno trouauano q̄alque co/a de la naue eL viaggio ad andare era longuo 24 legue q̄ /onno cento millia la via a/pri//ima et pienna de /pini /tauano 4 giorni in viaggio le nocte dormiuano in machioni nõ trouauano hacqua da beuere /enon giaçio il que ne era grandisima fatiga. Jn que/to porto era a/ay//ime cape Longue q̄ le chiamano missiglioni haueuano perle neL mezo ma piccole q̄ non le poteuano mangiare ancho /e trouaua Jn/en/o /truzi volpe pa//are et conigli piu piccoli a//ay de li no/tri Qui in cima deL piu alto monte driza//emo vna croce in /igno de que/ta terra, q̄ erra deL re de /pagnia et chiama//emo que/to monte monte de x°.

fleet, one Johan de Cartagena, the treasurer, Alouise de Mendosa, the accountant, Anthonio Cocha, and Gaspar de Cazada. The overseer of the men having been quartered, the treasurer was killed by dagger blows, for the treason was discovered. Some days after that, Gaspar de Casada, was banished with a priest in that land of Patagonia. The captain-general did not wish to have him killed, because the emperor, Don Carlo, had appointed him captain.¹¹⁹ A ship called "Sancto Jacobo" was wrecked in an expedition made to explore the coast. All the men were saved as by a miracle, not even getting wet. Two of them came to the ships after suffering great hardships, and reported the whole occurrence to us. Consequently, the captain-general sent some men with bags full of biscuits [sufficient to last] for two months. It was necessary for us to carry them the food, for daily pieces of the ship [that was wrecked] were found. The way thither was long, [being] 24 leguas,¹²⁰ or one hundred millas, and the path was very rough and full of thorns. The men were 4 days on the road, sleeping at night in the bushes. They found no drinking water, but only ice, which caused them the greatest hardship.¹²¹ There were very many long shellfish which are called *missiglioni*¹²² in that port [of Santo Julianno]. They have pearls, although small ones in the middle, but could not be eaten. Incense, ostriches,¹²³ foxes, sparrows, and rabbits much smaller than ours were also found. We erected a cross on the top of the highest summit there, as a sign in that land that it belonged to the king of Spagnia; and we called that summit Monte de Christo [*i.e.*, Mount of Christ].

Partendone de qui in 51 grado mancho vno terfo al antartico troua/emo vno fiume de hacqua dolce nel q^alle le nauì quasi p/enno p li venti teri bili ma dio et li corpi fancti le ajutarono In Que/to fiume tarda//emo circa duy mefi p fornirne de hacqua legnia et pe/cie longho vno bra/o et piu cō /quame. era molto bonno ma pocho et inanfi /e parti//emo de qui eL cap^o genneralle et tuti nuy Se confe//asemo et Comunica//semo Como veri chri/tianni.

Poi andando a cinquanta dui gradi aL mede/imo polo troua//emo neL giorno delle vndici millia vergine vno /tretto eL capo deL q^alle chiamão capo dele vndici millia vergine p grandi/simo miracolo Que/to /tretto e longo cento et diece legue q̄ sonno 440 millia et largo piu et mancho de meza legua q̄ va a referire in vno alt^o mare chiamato mar pacificho circondato da mōtagnie alti//ime caricate de neue nō li poteuamo tro uare fondo /inon con lo proi/e in tera in 25 et 30 braza et /e non era eL capitano gennerale nō trouauamo Que/to /trecto perch̄ tuti pen/sauamo et diceuamo como era /erato tuto intorno. ma iL capitano gñale q̄ /apeua de douer fare la /ua nauigatiōe p vno /tretto molto a/co/so como vite nela the/oraria deL re de portugaL in vna carta fata p q^ella exelenti//imo huomo martin de boemia Mando due nauì S^{to}. anthonio et la conceptiōe q̄ coffi le quiamauano auedere q̄ era neL capo de la baia noi cō le altre due naue la capitania Se chiamaua trinitade Laltra la victoria /te//emo ad

Leaving that place, we found, in 51 degrees less one-third¹²⁴ degree, toward the Antarctic Pole, a river of fresh water. There the ships almost perished because of the furious winds; but God and the holy bodies¹²⁵ aided them. We stayed about two months in that river in order to supply the ships with water, wood, and fish, [the latter being] one braccio in length and more, and covered with scales. They were very good although small.¹²⁶ Before leaving that river, the captain-general and all of us confessed and received communion as true Christians.¹²⁷

Then going to fifty-two degrees toward the same pole,¹²⁸ we found a strait on the day of the [feast of the]¹²⁹ eleven thousand virgins [*i.e.*, October 21], whose head is called Capo de le Undici Millia Vergine [*i.e.*, cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins] because of that very great miracle. That strait is one hundred and ten leguas or 440 millas long, and it is one-half legua broad, more or less.¹³⁰ It leads to another sea called the Pacific Sea, and is surrounded by very lofty mountains laden with snow. There it was impossible to find bottom [for anchoring], but [it was necessary to fasten] the moorings¹³¹ on land 25 or 30 brazas away. Had it not been for the captain-general, we would not have found that strait, for we all thought and said that it was closed on all sides. But the captain-general who knew where to sail to find a well-hidden strait, which he saw depicted on a map in the treasury of the king of Portugal, which was made by that excellent man, Martin de Boemia, sent two ships, the "Santo Antonio" and the "Conceptione" (for thus they were called), to discover what was inside the cape de la

a/pectarle dent° ne la baya La nocte ne souravenne vna grande fortuna q̄ duro fino al alt° mezo Jorno p̄ il que ne fu forza leuare lanchore et la/siare andare de qua et dela per la baia a le altre due nauì li era trauer/ia et nõ poteuão caualcare vno capo q̄ faceua la baya qua/si in fine p̄ voler veniř a noi /i que li era for/a adare in /eco pur acostandose aL fine de La baya pen/ando de effere per/si viteno vna boca piccola q̄ no [pa/aua: *crossed out in original MS.*] pariuu boca ma vno Cantone et como abandonadi /e cazarono dentro /i que per forza di/co per/eno el /tretto et vedendo q̄ nõ era cantone ma vno /tretto de tera andarono piu inanzi et trouoro no vna baya. poi andando piu oltra trouorono vno alt° /tretto et vnalt^a baya piu grande q̄ le due p^{ime} molto alegri subito voltořo Jndrieto p̄ dirlo aL capitano gñale noi pen/auamo fo/eno per/e prima p̄ La fortuna grande. Lalt^a perche erano pa//ati dui giorni et nõ aparauão et ancho per certi fumi q̄ faceuano duy deli /ui mandati in tera p̄ auifarne et co/si /tando /u/pe/i vedemo venire due nauì cõ le velle piene et cõ le bã dere /piegate ver/so de noi. effendo co/si vicine subito /caricorono molte bom barde et gridi poy tuti in/ieme rengratiando ydio et la vergine maria anda /emo acercare piu inanzi.

Baia [*i.e.*, of the Bay].¹³² We, with the other two ships, [namely], the flagship, called "Trinitade," and the other the "Victoria," stayed inside the bay to await them.¹³³ A great storm struck us that night, which lasted until the middle of next day, which necessitated our lifting anchor, and letting ourselves drift hither and thither about the bay. The other two ships suffered a headwind and could not double a cape¹³⁴ formed by the bay almost at its end, as they were trying to return to join us; so that they thought that they would have to run aground. But on approaching the end of the bay, and thinking that they were lost, they saw a small opening which did not [exceed: *crossed out in original MS.*] appear to be an opening, but a sharp turn [*cantone*].¹³⁵ Like desperate men they hauled into it, and thus they discovered the strait by chance. Seeing that it was not a sharp turn, but a strait with land, they proceeded farther, and found a bay.¹³⁶ And then farther on they found another strait and another bay larger than the first two.¹³⁷ Very joyful they immediately turned back to inform the captain-general. We thought that they had been wrecked, first, by reason of the violent storm, and second, because two days had passed and they had not appeared, and also because of certain [signals with] smoke made by two of their men who had been sent ashore to advise us.¹³⁸ And so, while in suspense, we saw the two ships with sails full and banners flying to the wind, coming toward us. When they neared us in this manner, they suddenly discharged a number of mortars, and burst into cheers.¹³⁹ Then all together thanking God and the Virgin Mary, we went to seek [the strait] farther on.

Essendo entrati in questo stretto trouaffemo due bocque vna aL Siroco l'altra aL garbino iL capitano gñale mando la naue sancto anthonio insieme cō la concitione p vedere se q'lla boca q̄ era v̄so firocho haueua exito neL mare pacifico la naue sancto anthonio noL vol/e a/pectare la conceptiōe p q̄ voleua fugire p retornare in Spagna como fece iL piloto de questa naue Se chiamaua stefan gomes Loq'alle hodiaua molto lo Cap° gennerale p̄q̄ inanzi Se faceffe questa armata costui era andato da Lo imperatoř p far/e dare algune carauale p di/courirre terra ma p la venuta deL Cap° gennerale sua mage/ta nō le li dete p questo se acordo cō certi /pagniogli et nella nocte seguente pigliarono lo cap° de la sua naue el q'alle era germano deL cap° gñale et haueua nome aluaro de me/chita Lo ferirono et Lo meffeno in feri et cosi lo conduffero in spagna in questo naue. era lalt° gigante q̄ haueuamo prezo ma quanto entro neL caldo morse. La Conceptiōe p nō potere seguire questa La a/pectaua andando fugi p lo medesimo [porto: *crossed out in original* diqua et dela s^{to}. ant° a la nocte torno indrieto et se MS.] /trecto nuy eramo andati a descourirre lalt^a bocha verso eL garbin trouando pur ogni hora eL medesimo [porto: *crossed out in original* MS.] /trecto ariua/ffemo a vno fiume q'el chiama/ffemo eL fiume delle fardine pche apre/ffo de questo ne erano molte et cosi quiuy tarda/ffemo quatro Jorni p a/pectare le due naue in questi giorni māda/emo

After entering that strait, we found two openings, one to the southeast, and the other to the southwest.¹⁴⁰ The captain-general sent the ship "Sancto Anthonio" together with the "Concitione" to ascertain whether that opening which was toward the southeast had an exit into the Pacific Sea. The ship "Sancto Anthonio" would not await the "Conceptione," because it intended to flee and return to Spagnia – which it did. The pilot of that ship was one Stefan Gomes,¹⁴¹ and he hated the captain-general exceedingly, because before that fleet was fitted out, the emperor had ordered that he be given some caravels with which to discover lands, but his Majesty did not give them to him because of the coming of the captain-general. On that account he conspired with certain Spaniards, and next night they captured the captain of their ship, a cousin¹⁴² of the captain-general, one Alvaro de Meschita, whom they wounded and put in irons, and in this condition took to Spagnia. The other giant whom we had captured was in that ship, but he died when the heat came on. The "Conceptione," as it could not follow that ship, waited for it, sailing about hither and thither. The "Sancto Anthonio" turned back at night and fled along the same [port: *crossed out in original MS.*] strait.¹⁴³ We had gone to explore the other opening toward the southwest. Finding, however, the same [port: *crossed out in original MS.*] strait continuously, we came upon a river which we called the river of Sardine [*i.e.*, Sardines], because there were many sardines near it.¹⁴⁴ So we stayed there for four days in order to await the two ships. During that period we sent a well-equipped boat to explore the

vno batello ben fornito p descoprire eL capo de lalt° mare venne in termini ne de tre Jorni et differo como haueuano [haueuano: *doublet in original MS.*] veduto eL capo et eL mare amplo eL capitano generale lagrimo p allegrezza et nomino q°L capo Capo dezeado perche laueuano Ja grã tempo difiderato. Torna/emo indrieto p sercar le due naue et nō troua/emo finō la conceptiōe et domandandoli doue era lalt°. ri/pose Johan /eranno q̃ era cap° et piloto de questa et ancho de q°lla q̃ /e per/fe q̃ nō /apeua et q̃ may nō Laueua veduta dapoy que ella entro ne la boca la Cerca/emo p tuto lo /tretto fin in q°lla boca doue ella fugite. il cap° gennerale mando indrieto la naue victoria fina aL principio deL /tretto auedere /e ella era iui et non trouandola metef/fe vna bandera in cima de alguno mōticello cō vna letera in vna pigniatella ficada in tera apre/fo la bandera acio vedendola troua/fero la lra et /apa/fero lo viaggio q̃ faceuamo p che cussi era dato le ordine fra noi Quando /e /mariuamo le naue vna de lalt°. /e mi/fe due bandere cō le lre luna avno mōticello nela prima baya lalt° in vna Jzoleta nella terza baya doue erano molti Loui marini et vceli grandi. JL cap° gñale le/peto cō lalt° naue apre/fo eL fiume Jsleo et fece metere vna croce in vna Jzoleta zirca de que/to fiume eL q°lle era fra alte montagne caricate de neue et descendeneL mare apre/fo Lo fiume de le /ardine. Se nō trouauamo que/to /tretto eL cap°. gñale haueua deliberato andare fino a /etanta cinq̃ gradi aL polo artāticho [*sic*] doue in taL altura aL

cape of the other sea. The men returned within three days, and reported that they had seen the cape and the open sea. The captain-general wept for joy, and called that cape, Cape Dezeado [*i.e.*, Desire],¹⁴⁵ for we had been desiring it for a long time. We turned back to look for the two ships,¹⁴⁶ but we found only the "Conceptione." Upon asking them where the other one was, Johan Seranno,¹⁴⁷ who was captain and pilot of the former ship (and also of that ship that had been wrecked) replied that he did not know, and that he had never seen it after it had entered the opening. We sought it in all parts of the strait, as far as that opening whence it had fled, and the captain-general sent the ship "Victoria" back to the entrance of the strait to ascertain whether the ship was there. Orders were given them, if they did not find it, to plant a banner on the summit of some small hill with a letter in an earthen pot buried in the earth near the banner, so that if the banner were seen the letter might be found, and the ship might learn the course that we were sailing. For this was the arrangement made between us in case that we went astray one from the other.¹⁴⁸ Two banners were planted with their letters – one on a little eminence in the first bay, and the other in an islet in the third bay¹⁴⁹ where there were many sea-wolves and large birds. The captain-general waited for the ship with his other ship near the river of Isleo,¹⁵⁰ and he had a cross set up in an islet near that river, which flowed between high mountains covered with snow and emptied into the sea near the river of Sardine. Had we not discovered that strait, the captain-general had determined to go as far as sev-

tempo de la estate nõ ge e nocte et /e glie ne he poche et cõffi neL inuerno Jorno. açio q̃ ṽra IIL^{ma}. s^a iL creda quando eramo in queſto /trecto le nocte erano /olamēte de tre hore et era neL meſe doctob̃r La terra de queſto /trecto amã mancha era voltata aL /iuro et era baſſa chiamaſſemo aqueſto /trecto eL /trecto patagoni cho ï Lo q^aL /e troua ogni meza lega Seguriſſimi porti hacque exelentiſſime Legnia /inon di cedro pe/chie /ardine miſſigliani et appio erba dolce ma gene anche de amare na/ce atorno le fontane del q^{alle} mangiaſſimo aſſay Jorni p nõ hauer̃ alt^o credo nõ /ia aL mondo el piu bello et megliõr /trecto como equeſto. Jn queſto mar oceanno Se vede vna molto delecteuoL caza de pe/ci /onno tre /orte de peſſi Longui vno brazo et piu q̃ /e chiamano doradi, albacore et bonniti, li q^{alli} /equitano pe/ci q̃ volanno chiamattj colondrini Longui vno palmo et piu et /onno obtini aL mangiare. Quando q^{elle} tre /orte trouão alcuni de queſti volanti Subito li volanti /altanno fora de lacqua et volano fin q̃ anno le alle bagniate piu de vno trar de bale/tra in tanto q̃ queſti volano li altⁱ li corenno indrieto /octa hacqua a La /ua ombra nõ /onno cuſſi preſto ca/cati ne lacqua q̃ queſti /ubito li piglianno et mangiano co/a in vero beliſſima de vedere.

enty-five degrees toward the Antarctic Pole. There in that latitude, during the summer season, there is no night, or if there is any night it is but short, and so in the winter with the day. In order that your most illustrious Lordship may believe it, when we were in that strait, the nights were only three hours long, and it was then the month of October.¹⁵¹ The land on the left-hand side of that strait turned toward the southeast¹⁵² and was low. We called that strait the strait of Patagonia. One finds the safest of ports every half legua in it,¹⁵³ water, the finest of wood (but not of cedar), fish, sardines, and missiglioni, while smallage,¹⁵⁴ a sweet herb (although there is also some that is bitter) grows around the springs. We ate of it for many days as we had nothing else. I believe that there is not a more beautiful or better strait in the world than that one.¹⁵⁵ In that Ocean Sea one sees a very amusing fish hunt. The fish [that hunt] are of three sorts, and are one braza and more in length, and are called dorado, albicore, and bonito.¹⁵⁶ Those fish follow the flying fish called colondrini,¹⁵⁷ which are one palmo and more¹⁵⁸ in length and very good to eat. When the above three kinds [of fish] find any of those flying fish, the latter immediately leap from the water and fly as long as their wings are wet – more than a cross-bow's flight. While they are flying, the others run along back of them under the water following the shadow of the flying fish. The latter have no sooner fallen into the water than the others immediately seize and eat them. It is in fine a very amusing thing to watch.

Vocabuli de li giganti pataghoni

AL capo	her.
aL ochio.	other.
AL nazo	or
Alle cillie	occhecheL
ALe palpebre	SechechieL
Ali bussi deL nazo	oresche
ALa boca	xiam
Ali Labri	Schiahame
Ali denti	phor.
ALa lingua	SchiaL
AL mento	Sechen
A li pelli	archiz
AL volto	cogechel
Ala golo	ohumez
ALa copa	Schialeschin
ALe /palle	pelles.
AL gomedo	CoteL
ALa man	chene
ALa palma de Laman	Caimeghin
AL dito	Cori
Ale orecchie	Sane
Soto eL broço	Salischin
Ala mamela	othern
AL peto	ochij
AL corpo	gecheL
AL membro	/achet
Ali te/ticuli	Sacancas
Ala natura de le donne	Jsse
AL vzar cõ effe	Jo hoi
ALe coffe	chiane
AL genochio	tepin

Words of the Patagonian giants

For Head	her
for Eye	other
for Nose	or
for Eyebrows	occhechel
for Eyelids	sechechiel
for Nostrils	oresche
for Mouth	xiam
for Lips	schiahame
for Teeth	phor
for Tongue	schial
for Chin	sechen
for Hair	archiz
for Face	cogechel
for Throat	ohumez
for Occiput	schialeschin ¹⁵⁹
for Shoulders	pelles
for Elbow	cotel
for Hand	chene
for Palm of the hand	caimeghin
for Finger	cori
for Ears	sane
Armpit	salischin
for Teat	other
for Bosom	ochij
for Body	gechel
for Penis	sachet
for Testicles	sacancas
for Vagina ¹⁶⁰	isse
for Communication	
with women	jo hoi
for Thighs	chiane
for Knee	tepin

AL chulo	Schiaguen
Ale culate	hoij
AL brazo	maz
AL polso	holion
A le gambe	coss
AL piede	thee
AL calcagno	tere
ALa chauequie deL pie	perchi
Ala /ola deL pie	caot/cheni
Ale onguie	Colim
AL core	thoL
AL gratare	gechare
Al homo /guerco	Calischen
AL giuane	Calemi
AL hacqua	holi
AL fuoco	ghialeme
AL fumo	giaiche
Al no	ehen
AL si	Rey
AL oro	pelpeli
ALe petre lazure	Secheg
AL solle	Calexcheni
Alle /telle	/ettere.
AL mare	Aro
AL vento	oni
ALa fortuna	ohone
AL pe/se	hoi
AL mangiare	mechiere
ALa /cutella	elo
ALa pigniata	aschanie
AL demandare	ghelhe
Vien qui	hai si
AL gardar	chonne

for Rump	schiaquen
for Buttocks	hoij
for Arm	maz
for Pulse	holion
for Legs	coss
for Foot	thee
for Heel	tere
for Ankle	perchi
for Sole of the foot	caotscheni
for Fingernails	colim
for Heart	thol
for to Scratch	gechare
for Cross-eyed man	calischen
for Young man	calemi
for Water	holi
for Fire	ghialeme
for Smoke	giaiche
for No	ehen
for Yes	rey
for Gold	pelpeli
for Lapis lazuli	secheg
for Sun	calexcheni
for Stars	settere
for Sea	aro
for Wind	oni
for Storm	ohone
for Fish	hoi
for to Eat	mechiere
for Bowl	elo
for Pot	aschanie
for to Ask	ghelhe
Come here	hai si
for to Look	chonne

AL andar	Rey
AL Combater	oamaghce
Ale freze	Sethe
AL Cane	holL
AL lupo	Ani
AL andare longi	Schien
ALa guida	anti
ALa neue	theu
AL courire	hiani
AL Seruzo ucelo	hoihoi
A li sui oui	Jani
Ala poluere derba che mangião	Capac.
AL odorare	os
AL papagalo	cheche
ALa gabiota ucelo	Cleo
AL misiglioni	Siameni.
AL panno ro/so	Terechae.
AL bonet	AicheL
Al colore neg ^o .	AineL
AL ro/so	taiche
AL giallo	peperi
AL coçinare	yrocoles
ALa cintura	Catechin
AL ocha	cache
AL diauolo grande	Setebos
Ali piccoli	cheleule.

Tucti que/ti vocabuli /e prenuntiano in gorgha pche cuf/i li prenũtiauão Loro.

Me di/fe que/ti vocabuli queL gigante ã haueuamo nella naue per ã domandandome Capac çioe

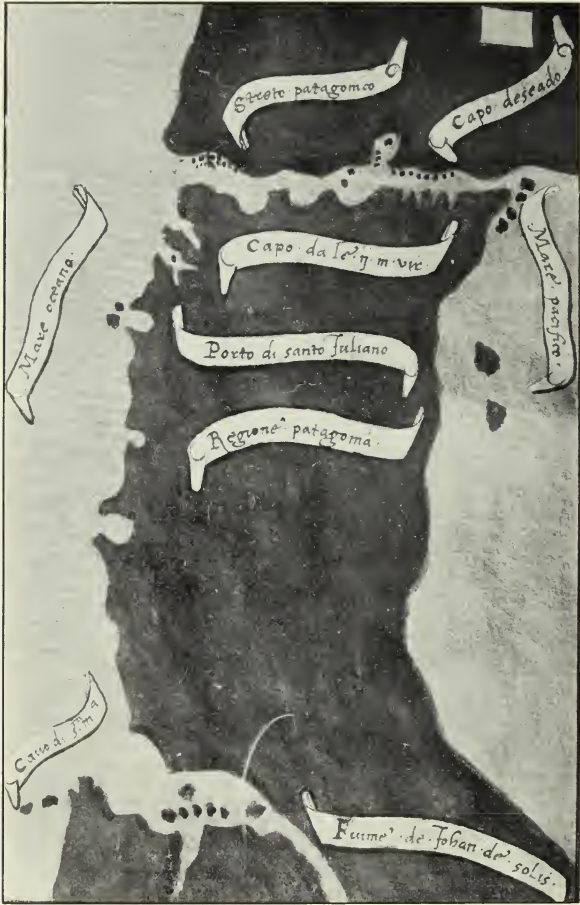
for to Walk	rey
for to Fight	oamaghce
for Arrows	sethe
for Dog	holl
for Wolf	ani
for to Go a long distance	schien
for Guide	anti
for Snow	theu
for to Cover	hiani
for Ostrich, a bird	hoihoi
for its Eggs	jani
for the powder of the herb which they eat	capac
for to Smell	os
for Parrot	cheche
for Birdcage	cleo
for Misiglioni	siameni
for Red Cloth	terechae
for Cap	aichel
for Black	ainel
for Red	taiche
for Yellow'	peperi
for to Cook	yrocoles
for Belt	catechin
for Goose	cache
for their big Devil	Setebos
for their small Devils	Cheleule

All the above words are pronounced in the throat, for such is their method of pronounciation.¹⁶¹

That giant whom we had in our ship told me those words; for when he, upon asking me for *capac*,¹⁶²

pane che chusi chiamano quella radice q̄ vzanno Loro p panne et oli çioe hacqua Quando eL me vite /criuer que/ti nomi domandandoli poi de li altⁱ cō la penna in mano me Jntendeua vna volta feci la croce et la basai mo/trandoglila Subito grido /etebos et fecemi /egno Se piu face//e la croce me intrarebe neL corpo et farebe crepare Quando que/to gigante /taua male domando la croce abra/sandola et ba/sandola molto Se volse far Xp̄iano inanzi la /ua morte eL chiama/emo paulo Que/ta gente Quando voleno far fuoco fregano vno legnio pontino cō vno alt^o in fine q̄ fanno Lo fuecho in vna certa medola darbore q̄ fra que/ti dui legni.

Mercore a 28 de nouembre 1520 Ne di/buca/emo da que/to /trecto ingolfandone neL mare pacifico /te//emo tre mesi et vinti Jorni sen/a pigliare refrigerio de co/a alguna mangiauamo bi/coto non piu bi/coto ma poluere de q^{ello} cō vermi apugate p che e//i haueuano māgiato iL buono puzaua grã damēte de orina de Sorzi et beueuamo hacqua Jalla gia putrifata per molti giorni et mangiauamo certe pelle de boue q̄ erano /op^a Lantena mangiore açio q̄ Lantena nō rompe//e la /arzia duri//ime p iL Solle pioggia et vento Le la/ciauamo p quat^o ho cinque giorni neL mare et poi le meteua vno pocho /op^a le braze et cosi le mangiauamo et ancora a//ay volte /egature de a/e li sorgi /e vendeuano mezo ducato lo vno et /e pur ne haue//emo potuto hauef ma /oura tute le altⁱ /quiagu re Que/ta era la



that is to say, bread, as they call that root which they use as bread, and *oli*, that is to say, water, saw me write those words quickly, and afterward when I, with pen in hand, asked him for other words, he understood me. Once I made the sign of the cross, and, showing it to him, kissed it. He immediately cried out "Setebos," and made me a sign that if I made the sign of the cross again, Setebos would enter into my body and cause it to burst. When that giant was sick, he asked for the cross, and embracing it and kissing it many times, desired to become a Christian before his death. We called him Paulo. When those people wish to make a fire, they rub a sharpened piece of wood against another piece until the fire catches in the pith of a certain tree, which is placed between those two sticks.¹⁶³

Wednesday, November 28, 1520, we debouched from that strait, engulfing ourselves in the Pacific Sea.¹⁶⁴ We were three months and twenty days without getting any kind of fresh food. We ate biscuit, which was no longer biscuit, but powder of biscuits swarming with worms, for they had eaten the good. It stank strongly of the urine of rats.¹⁶⁵ We drank yellow water that had been putrid for many days. We also ate some ox hides that covered the top of the mainyard to prevent the yard from chafing the shrouds, and which had become exceedingly hard because of the sun, rain, and wind.¹⁶⁶ We left them in the sea for four or five days, and then placed them for a few moments on top of the embers, and so ate them; and often we ate sawdust from boards. Rats were sold for one-half ducado apiece, and even then we could not get them.¹⁶⁷ But above all the other

pegiore. Cre/siuano le gengiue ad alcuni /op^a li denti Cofi de Soto Como de /oura q̄ p modo alguno nō poteuamo māgiare et coffi moriuano p que/ta infirmita morirono 19. homini et iL gigāte cō vno Jndio de La terra deL verzin vinti cinque ho trenta homini /e infirmorono q̄ neli brazi neli gambe o in alt^o loco /icque poqⁱ resta rono /ani p La gratia de dio yo nō hebi algunna infirmitade. Jn Que/ti tre me/i et vinti giorni anda/emo circa de quatro millia legue in vn golfo p que/to mar pacifico in vero he benne pacifico p q̄ in q̄/to tempo nō haue/semo fortuna Sen/a vedere tera alcuna sinō due y/olete de/habitate nelle q^aL nō troua//emo alt^o /enon vcelli et arbori la chiama//emo y/olle infortunate Sono longi luna da lalt^a ducento legue nō trouauamo fondo apre//o de loro /e nō vedeuamo molti ti buroni La pⁱma Jzolla /ta in quindi/i gradi de latitudine aL hau/tralle, et lalt^a in noue ogni Jorno faceuamo cinquanta /esanta et /etanta Legue a La catena ho apopa et /e ydio et /ala /ua madre bennedeta nō ne daua cosi bō tempo moriuamo tucti de fame in que/to mare grandi//imo Credo certamēte nō /i fara may piu taL viaggio.

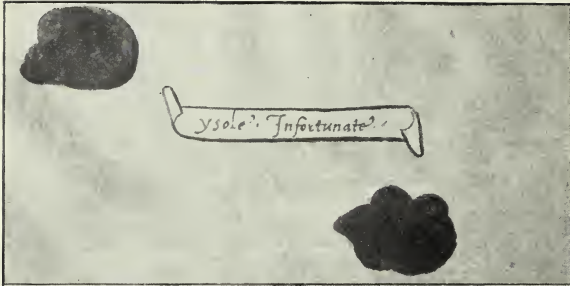
Quando fuffimi v/citi da que/to /trecto Se haue//emo nauigato Sempre aL ponēte hauere//emo dato vna volta aL mondo /enza trouare terra niuna Se nō el capo deli xj^{os} vergine che he capo de que/to /trecto aL mare oceanno leuante ponēte cō Lo capo de/eado del mare pacifico liq^alli dui capi /tanno in cinquāta duy gradi di latitudine puntualmente aL polo antarticho.

misfortunes the following was the worst. The gums of both the lower and upper teeth of some of our men swelled, so that they could not eat under any circumstances and therefore died.¹⁶⁸ Nineteen men died from that sickness, and the giant together with an Indian from the country of Verzin. Twenty-five or thirty men fell sick [during that time], in the arms, legs, or in another place, so that but few remained well. However, I, by the grace of God, suffered no sickness. We sailed about four thousand leguas during those three months and twenty days through an open stretch in that Pacific Sea.¹⁶⁹ In truth it is very pacific,¹⁷⁰ for during that time we did not suffer any storm. We saw no land except two desert islets, where we found nothing but birds and trees, for which we called them the Ysolle Infortunate [*i.e.*, the Unfortunate Isles]. They are two hundred leguas apart. We found no anchorage, [but] near them saw many sharks.¹⁷¹ The first islet lies in fifteen degrees of south latitude, and the other in nine. Daily we made runs of fifty, sixty, or seventy leguas at the catena or at the stern.¹⁷² Had not God and His blessed mother given us so good weather we would all have died of hunger in that exceeding vast sea. Of a verity I believe no such voyage will ever be made [again].

When we left that strait, if we had sailed continuously westward we would have circumnavigated the world without finding other land than the cape of the xi thousand Virgins.¹⁷³ The latter is a cape of that strait at the Ocean Sea, straight east and west with Cape Deseado of the Pacific Sea. Both of those capes lie in a latitude of exactly fifty-two degrees toward the Antarctic Pole.

JL polo antartico no ne cosi /tellato como Lo artico /e vede molto /stelle picolle congregate in/ fieme \bar{q} fanno in guiza de due nebulle poco /eparate luna de lalt^a et vno poco ofu/che in mezo de leq^{alle} /tanno due /stelle molto grandi ne molto relucenti et poco /e moueno. Que/te due /stelle sonno iL polo antarticho La Calamita no/tra Zauariando vno sempre tiraua aL suo polo artico niente de meno non haueua tanta forza como de la banda Sua. Et pero Quando eramo in Que/to golfo iL Cap^o generale domando a tucti li piloti andando /empre a la vela p q^aL Camino nauigando pontasemo nele carte ri/pos/ero tucti p la Sua via puntaLmēte datta li ri/posi \bar{q} pontauano falso cosi como era et che conueniua agiutare la guchia deL nauegare p che nō receueua tanta forza da la parte /ua. Quando eramo in mezo di que/to golpho Vedessemo vna croce de cinque /stelle lucidi/ime drito aL ponente, et Suono iu/ti/ime luna cō lalt^a.

Jn que/ti giorni mauiga/emo fra iL ponente et iL mae/tralle et a La quarta deL mae/tralle in ver/so ponente et aL mae/tralle fin \bar{q} ajunge/emo a la linea equinoti alle longi da la linea de la ripartitiōe Cento et vinti dui gradi la linea de la ripartitiōe e trenta gradi longi daL meridionale el meridionale e tre gradi al leuante longi de capo verde Jn que/to Camino pa/a/emo poco longi da due Jzolle richisie vna in vinti gradi de latitudine al polo antarticho \bar{q} Se chiama Cipangu Lalt^a in quindici



The Antarctic Pole is not so starry as the Arctic. Many small stars clustered together are seen, which have the appearance of two clouds of mist. There is but little distance between them, and they are somewhat dim. In the midst of them are two large and not very luminous stars, which move only slightly. Those two stars are the Antarctic Pole. Our loadstone, although it moved hither and thither, always pointed toward its own Arctic Pole, although it did not have so much strength as on its own side. And on that account when we were in that open expanse, the captain-general, asking all the pilots whether they were always sailing forward in the course which we had laid down on the maps, all replied: "By your course exactly as laid down." He answered them that they were pointing wrongly—which was a fact—and that it would be fitting to adjust the needle of navigation, for it was not receiving so much force from its side. When we were in the midst of that open expanse, we saw a cross with five extremely bright stars straight toward the west, those stars being exactly placed with regard to one another.¹⁷⁴

During those days¹⁷⁵ we sailed west northwest, northwest by west, and northwest, until we reached the equinoctial line at the distance of one hundred and twenty-two degrees from the line of demarcation. The line of demarcation is thirty degrees from the meridian, and the meridian is three degrees eastward from Capo Verde.¹⁷⁶ We passed while on that course, a short distance from two exceedingly rich islands, one in twenty degrees of the latitude of the Antarctic Pole, by name Cipangu, and the other in

gradi chiamata Sūbdit pradit pa//ata la linea equinotiale nauiga//emo tra ponente et mai/tralle et a la carta deL ponente ver/fo eL mae/tralle poi duzente legue aL ponente mudando eL viag°. a La Quarta in ver/fo garbin fin in tredici gradi aL polo articho p apropinquar/e piu a La tera deL capo de gaticara iL q^aL capo cō perdon de li Co/mo grafi p q̄ nō Lo vi/teno nō /fi troua doue loro iL pen/auão ma aL /etentrione in dodeci gradj poco piu o mancho.

Circa de setanta legue a la detta via in dodeci gradi di latitudine et 146 de longitudine Mercore a 6 de mar/fo di/copre//emo vna y/ola aL mai/tralle piccola et due alt^e aL garbino vna era piu alta et piu granda de Laltre due iL cap° generale voleua firmar/e nella grande p pigliare q^alque refrigerio ma nō puote perche la gente de que/ta Jzolla entrauano nele nauì et robauano qⁱ vna co/fo qⁱ lalt^a talmente q̄ non poteuamo gardar/i. Voleuano calare le vele acio anda/emo in tera ne roborono lo /quifo q̄ e/tauua ligato a La popa de la naue cap^a cō grandiss^a pre/teza p il que corozato eL cap° generale ando in tera con Quaranta huomini armati et bruzarono da quaranta o cinquanta caze cō molti barquiti et amazorono /ette huomini et rehebe lo /quifo Subito ne parti /emo /equendo Lo mede/imo camino. Jn anzi q̄ di/monta/emo in tera alcuni no/te infermi ne pregorono /e amazauamo huomo o donna li porta/emo Ly interiori p che Subito /arebenno /ani.

fifteen degrees, by name Sumbdit Pradit.¹⁷⁷ After we had passed the equinoctial line we sailed west northwest, and west by north, and then for two hundred leguas toward the west, changing our course to west by south until we reached thirteen degrees toward the Arctic Pole in order that we might approach nearer to the land of cape Gaticara. That cape (with the pardon of cosmographers, for they have not seen it), is not found where it is imagined to be, but to the north in twelve degrees or thereabouts.¹⁷⁸

About seventy¹⁷⁹ leguas on the above course, and lying in twelve degrees of latitude and 146 in longitude, we discovered on Wednesday, March 6, a small island to the northwest, and two others toward the southwest, one of which was higher and larger than the other two. The captain-general wished to stop at the large island and get some fresh food, but he was unable to do so because the inhabitants of that island entered the ships and stole whatever they could lay their hands on, so that we could not protect ourselves. The men were about to strike the sails so that we could go ashore, but the natives very deftly stole from us the small boat¹⁸⁰ that was fastened to the poop of the flagship. Thereupon, the captain-general in wrath went ashore with forty armed men, who burned some forty or fifty houses together with many boats, and killed seven men.¹⁸¹ He recovered the small boat, and we departed immediately pursuing the same course. Before we landed, some of our sick men begged us if we should kill any man or woman to bring the entrails to them, as they would recover immediately.¹⁸²

Quando feriuamo alcuni de questi cō li veretuni q̄ li pa//auano li fianqⁱ da luna banda alaltra tirauano il veretone mo diqua mo diLa gardandoLo poi Lo tirauano fuora marauigliando/e molto et cu//i moriuano et altⁱ q̄ erano feriti neL peto faceuano eL Simille ne mo//eno agrã compafione Co/loro vedendõe partire ne /eguatorono cō piu de Cento barchiti piu de vna legua Se aco/tauano ale nauì mo//trandone pe/ce cō /imulatiõe de darnello ma traheuano /axi et poi fugiuano andando le naue cō velle piene pa/a vano fra loro et li batelli con q^elli /ui barcheti molto de/tri//imi vede/emo algune femine in li barqueti gridare et /capigliar/e credo p amore de li Suoi morti.

Ognuno de questi vive /econdo la Sua volonta non anno /ignori vano nudi et alguni barbati con li capeli negri fino a lo cinta ingropati portano capeleti de palma como li albanezi /onno grandi como nui et ben di/po//ti nō adorã niente /onno aliuatri ma na/cono bianqⁱ anno li denti ro//i et negri p che la reputano beli//ima cofa le femine vano nude /enon q̄ dinanzi a la /ua natura portano vna /cor/a /treta /otille come la carta q̄ na/ce fra larbore et la /corza de la palma /onno belle delicate et bianque piu que li huomini cō li capilli /par/i

When we wounded any of those people with our crossbow-shafts, which passed completely through their loins from one side to the other, they, looking at it, pulled on the shaft now on this and now on that side,¹⁸³ and then drew it out, with great astonishment, and so died. Others who were wounded in the breast did the same, which moved us to great compassion. Those people seeing us departing followed us with more than one hundred¹⁸⁴ boats for more than one legua. They approached the ships showing us fish, feigning that they would give them to us; but then threw stones at us and fled. And although the ships were under full sail, they passed between them and the small boats [fastened astern], very adroitly in those small boats of theirs. We saw some women in their boats who were crying out and tearing their hair, for love, I believe, of those whom we had killed.¹⁸⁵

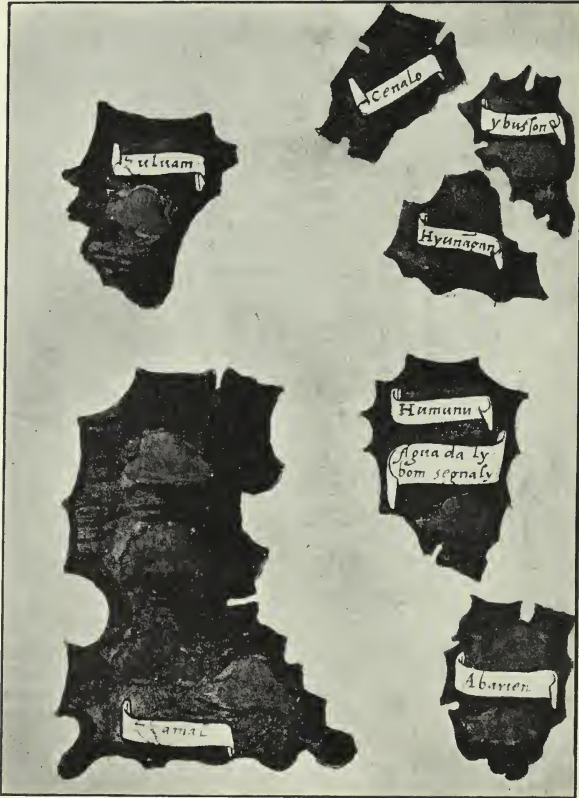
Each one of those people lives according to his own will, for they have no seignior.¹⁸⁶ They go naked, and some are bearded and have black hair that reaches to the waist. They wear small palm-leaf hats, as do the Albanians. They are as tall as we, and well built. They have no worship. They are tawny, but are born white. Their teeth are red and black, for they think that is most beautiful. The women go naked except that they wear a narrow strip of bark as thin as paper, which grows between the tree and the bark of the palm, before their privies. They are goodlooking and delicately formed, and lighter complexioned than the men; and wear their hair which is exceedingly black, loose and hanging quite down to the ground. The wom-

et longui negri/ffimi fino in tera Que/te nō lauorano ma /tanno in ca/ta te/ffendo /tore casse de palma et altre co/fe nece/ffarie aca/ta /ua mangiano cochi batate vcceli figui longui vno palmo canne dolci et pe/ci volatori cō altre co/fe /e ongieno eL corpo et li capili cō oleo de cocho et de giongioli le /ue ca/te tute /onno facte di legnio coperte de taule cō foglie defigaro de /op^a langue due braza con /olari et cō fene/tre li camare et li lecti tucti forniti di /tore belliffime de palma dormeno /oura paglia di palma molto mole et menuta nō anno arme Senon certe a/te cō vno offo pontino de pe/ce ne La cima Que/ta gente e pouera ma ingenio/a et molto ladra p questo chiama/ffemo que/te tre J/ole le y/ole de li ladroni eL /uo /pa/o e andare cō Le donne p mare cō q^elle /ue barquete Sono como le fucelere ma piu /trecti alcuni negri bianqⁱ et altⁱ roffi anno da lalt^a parte dela vella vno legno gro/fo pontino nele cime cō pali atrauer/adi q^eL /u/tentano neL acqua p andare piu /eguri aLa vela la vela e di foglie de palma cosite in/ieme et facta amodo de latina p timone anno certe pale como da for no cō vno legnio in cima fanno de la popa proua et de la proua popa et /onno Como delfini /altar a lacqua de onda in onda Que/ti ladroni pen/auano ali

en do not work in the fields but stay in the house, weaving mats,¹⁸⁷ baskets [*casse*: literally boxes], and other things needed in their houses, from palm leaves. They eat cocoanuts, camotes [*batate*],¹⁸⁸ birds, figs one palmo in length [*i.e.*, bananas], sugarcane, and flying fish, besides other things. They¹⁸⁹ anoint the body and the hair with cocoanut and beneseed oil. Their houses are all built of wood covered with planks and thatched with leaves of the fig-tree [*i.e.*, banana-tree] two brazas long; and they have floors and windows. The rooms and the beds are all furnished with the most beautiful palm-leaf mats.¹⁹⁰ They sleep on palm straw which is very soft and fine. They use no weapons, except a kind of a spear pointed with a fishbone at the end. Those people are poor, but ingenious and very thievish, on account of which we called those three islands the islands of Ladroni [*i.e.*, of thieves].¹⁹¹ Their amusement, men and women, is to plough the seas with those small boats of theirs.¹⁹² Those boats resemble *fucelere*,¹⁹³ but are narrower, and some are black, [some] white, and others red. At the side opposite the sail, they have a large piece of wood pointed at the top, with poles laid across it and resting on the water, in order that the boats may sail more safely. The sail is made from palmleaves sewn together and is shaped like a lateen sail. For rudders they use a certain blade resembling a hearth shovel which have a piece of wood at the end. They can change stern and bow at will [literally: they make the stern, bow, and the bow, stern],¹⁹⁴ and those boats resemble the dolphins which leap in the water from wave to wave. Those Ladroni [*i.e.*, robbers]

legni q̄ faceuão nō fufero altⁱ homini aL mondo
fenon loro.

Sabato a fedize de mar/o 1521 de//emo neLa au-
rora soura vna tera alta lōgi trecento legue delle
y/olle de li latroni laq^aL e y/ola et se chiama Zamal
eL cap^o gñale nel giorno leguente vol/e di/mont-
tare in vnalt^a y/ola de/habitata p effere piu seguro
q̄ era di dietro de que/ta p pigliare hacqua et q^alque
diporto fece fare due tende in terra p li infermi et
feceli amazare vna porcha Luni a 18. de mar/o
vedeffemo dapoi di/nare venire v/o de nui vna
barca cō noue homini p ilque lo cap^o generale co-
mando q̄ niuno Si moueffe ne diceffe parolla alguna
fenza sua li/entia Quando ariuorono que/ti in
terra subito Lo suo principalle ando aL cap^o gñale
mo/trando/e alegro p la nra venuta restarono cinq³
de que/ti piu ornati cō nuy li altⁱ andorono a leuare
alguni altⁱ q̄ pe/cauano et cussi venirono tucti
vedendo Lo cap^o gñale que que/ti erano homini cō
ragionne li fece dare da mangiare et li donno bonneti
roffi spequi petini sonagli Auorio boca//ini et alt^e
cofe Quando vi/tenno la cortesia deL cap^o li pre-
fentorono pe/ci vno vazo de vino de palma q̄ Lo
chiamano Vraca figui piu longui dun palmo et altri
piu piccoli piu faporiti et dui cochi alhora nō
haueuano alt^o ne fecero legni cō La mano q̄ in fino
aquatro giorni portarebenno vmay q̄ e ri/o cochi et
molta altra victuuaglia.



L. celstam

Cenalo

ybusson

Hyunacna

Humunu

Agnada ly
dom sepnaly

Abavien

AMAL

thought, according to the signs which they made, that there were no other people in the world but themselves.¹⁹⁶

At dawn on Saturday, March sixteen,¹⁹⁶ 1521, we came upon a high land at a distance of three hundred leguas from the islands of Latroni – an island named Zamal [*i.e.*, Samar]. The following day, the captain-general desired to land on another island which was uninhabited and lay to the right of the above-mentioned island, in order to be more secure, and to get water and have some rest. He had two tents set up on the shore for the sick and had a sow killed for them. On Monday afternoon, March 18, we saw a boat coming toward us with nine men in it. Therefore, the captain-general ordered that no one should move or say a word without his permission. When those men reached the shore, their chief went immediately to the captain-general, giving signs of joy because of our arrival. Five of the most ornately adorned of them remained with us, while the rest went to get some others who were fishing, and so they all came. The captain-general seeing that they were reasonable men, ordered food to be set before them, and gave them red caps, mirrors, combs, bells, ivory, bocasine,¹⁹⁷ and other things. When they saw the captain's courtesy, they presented fish, a jar of palm wine, which they call *uraca* [*i.e.*, arrack], figs more than one palmo long [*i.e.*, bananas],¹⁹⁸ and others which were smaller and more delicate, and two cocoanuts. They had nothing else then, but made us signs with their hands that they would bring *umay* or rice,¹⁹⁹ and cocoanuts and many other articles of food within four days.

Li coqⁱ sonno fructi deLa palma coⁱ como nui hauemo iL panne iL vino lo oleo et lacetto coⁱ anno que^{sti} populi ogni co^a da que^{sti} arbori anno eL vino in que^{sto} modo forano La dicta palma in cima neL corefino de to palmito dalq^{alle} stilla vna lichore como e mo^{sto} bianco dolce ma vn pocho bru^{queto} in canne gro^{ffe} come La gamba et piu laticano alarbo^r la fera p la matina et la matina p la fera Que^{sta} palma fa vno fructo iL q^{alle} he lo cocho Que^{sto} cocho e grande como iL capo et piu et meno La sua p^{ima} scor^a e v^{de} et gro^{ffa} piu de dui diti nelaq^{alle} trouano Certi filittj q̄ fanno le corde q̄ liganno le sue barque foto di que^{sta} ne he vna dura et molto piu gro^{ffa} di quella de la noce que^{sta} la bru^{ano} et fano poluere bonna p loro foto di que^{sto} e vna medola bianca gro^{ffa} come vn dito Laq^aL mangiano fre^{ca} cō La carne et pe^{ffi} como nui lo panne et de q^eL sapore q̄ he la mandola qui la feca^{ffe} fe farebe panne in mezo di que^{sta} medola e vna hacqua quiara dolce et molto cordiale et quando que^{sta} hacqua sta vn pocho acolta se congella et diuenta como vno pomo Quando voleno fare oglio piglianno que^{sto} cocho et la^{ffano} putrefare q^{ella} medola cō lacqua et poi la fanno buglire et vene oleo como butiro Quando voleno far aceto la^{ffano} putrefare lacqua solamente poi lameteno aL solle et e aceto como de vino bianco /i po fare ancho.

Cocoanuts are the fruit of the palmtree.²⁰⁰ Just as we have bread, wine, oil, and milk, so those people get everything from that tree. They get wine in the following manner. They bore a hole into the heart of the said palm at the top called palmito [*i.e.*, stalk], from which distils a liquor²⁰¹ which resembles white must. That liquor is sweet but somewhat tart, and [is gathered] in canes [of bamboo] as thick as the leg and thicker. They fasten the bamboo to the tree at evening for the morning, and in the morning for the evening. That palm bears a fruit, namely, the cocoanut, which is as large as the head or thereabouts. Its outside husk is green and thicker than two fingers. Certain filaments are found in that husk, whence is made cord for binding together their boats. Under that husk there is a hard shell, much thicker than the shell of the walnut, which they burn and make therefrom a powder that is useful to them.²⁰² Under that shell there is a white marrowy substance one finger in thickness, which they eat fresh with meat and fish as we do bread; and it has a taste resembling the almond. It could be dried and made into bread. There is a clear, sweet water in the middle of that marrowy substance which is very refreshing. When that water stands for a while after having been collected, it congeals and becomes like an apple. When the natives wish to make oil, they take that cocoanut, and allow the marrowy substance and the water to putrefy. Then they boil it and it becomes oil like butter. When they wish to make vinegar, they allow only the water to putrefy, and then place it in the sun, and a vinegar results like [that made from] white wine.

latte como nui faceuamo gratauamo q̃/ta medola poi la mi/quiauamo cō lacqua /ua mede/ima /trucandola in vno panno et cofi era late como di capra. Que/te palme /onno como palme deli datali ma non cofi nodo/fe /e non li/ce. Vna famiglia de x persone cō dui de que/te /e manteneno fruando octo giorni luna et octo giorni La alt^a p Lo vino p che /e altramenti face/fero Se /echarebenno et durano cento anny.

Grande familliaritate pigliarono cō nui Que/ti populi ne di/cero molte co/fe como le chiamauano et li nomi de algune y/ole q̃ /e vedeuano de qⁱ La /ua /e chiama Zuluan laq^{alle} non etropo grande piglia/cemo grã piacere cō que/ti perche erano a/ay piaceuoli et conuer/abili iL cap^o gñale p farli piu honnore li meno ala /ua naue et li mo/tro tuta la /ua mercadan/ia garofoli cannella peuere gengero no/ce mo/cade Matia oro et tute le co/fe q̃ erano nella naue fece de/caricare algune bombarde hebero grã paura et vol/ero /altar fuora de la naue ne fecero /egni que li doue nuj andauamo na/ce/fe/ uano co/fe Ja dete Quando /i vol/ero partire pigliarono li/entia con molta gratia et gentileza dicendo q̃ tornarebeno /egondo la /ua pme/ffa La y/ola doue eramo /e chiama humunu ma noy p trouarli due fondana de hacqua chiri/ffima la chiamo/emo lacquada dali buoni /e gniali p che fu iL p^{imo} /egno de oro q̃ troua/emo in que/ta

Milk can also be made from it for we made some. We scraped that marrowy substance and then mixed the scrapings with its own water which we strained through a cloth, and so obtained milk like goat's milk. Those palms resemble date-palms, but although not smooth they are less knotty than the latter. A family of x persons can be supported on two trees, by utilizing them week about for the wine; for if they did otherwise, the trees would dry up. They last a century.²⁰³

Those people became very familiar with us. They told us many things, their names and those of some of the islands that could be seen from that place. Their own island was called Zuluan and it is not very large.²⁰⁴ We took great pleasure with them, for they were very pleasant and conversable. In order to show them greater honor, the captain-general²⁰⁵ took them to his ship and showed them all his merchandise – cloves, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, mace, gold, and all the things in the ship. He had some mortars fired for them, whereat they exhibited great fear, and tried to jump out of the ship.²⁰⁶ They made signs to us that the abovesaid articles grew in that place where we were going. When they were about to retire they took their leave very gracefully and neatly, saying that they would return according to their promise. The island where we were is called Humunu; but inasmuch as we found two springs there of the clearest water, we called it Acquada da li buoni Segniali [*i.e.*, “the Watering-place of good Signs”], for there were the first signs of gold which we found in those districts.²⁰⁷

parte. Quii /i troua grã cantitade de coralli biancho et arbori grandi ã fanno fructi pocho minori de La mandola et /onno Como li pignioli et ancho molte palme algune bonne et algune altre catiue in Que/to Locho /onno molte y/ole p ilque Lo chiama//emo larcipelago de s. lazaro de/courendo lo nella /ua dominicha iL quale /ta in x gradi de latitudine aL polo articho et Cento e /esanta vno di longitudine della linea deLa repartitiõe.

Vennere a 22 de marzo venirono in mezo di q'lli homini Secondo ne haueuano pme//o in due barcque cõ cochi naran/i dolci vno va/o de vino de palma et vno galo p dimo/trare que in que/te parte erano gagine se mo/strarono molto alegri ver/o de noi compra//emo tute q'lle /ue cose iL /uo s^{or} era vechio et de pinto portaua due Schione de oro a le oreq'ie li altri molte maniglie de oro ali brazi cõ fazoli in torno Lo capo Ste/emo quiui octo [giorni] neliq'lli eL n^{ro} cap^o andaua ogni di in terra au/itare ly infirmi et ogni matina li daua cõ le /ue mani acqua deL cocho ã molto li confortaua di dietro de que/ta y/ola /tanno homini ã anno tanto grandi li picheti de Lorechie ã portano le braci ficati in loro Que/ti popoli /onno caphri çioe gentili vanno nudi cõ tella de /cor/a darbore intorno le /ue vergonie se nã alguni principali cõ telle de banbazo lauorate neli capi cõ /eda aguchia sonno oliua/ti graffi de pinti et /e ongeno cõ olio de cocho et de giongioli p lo folle et p iL vento anno

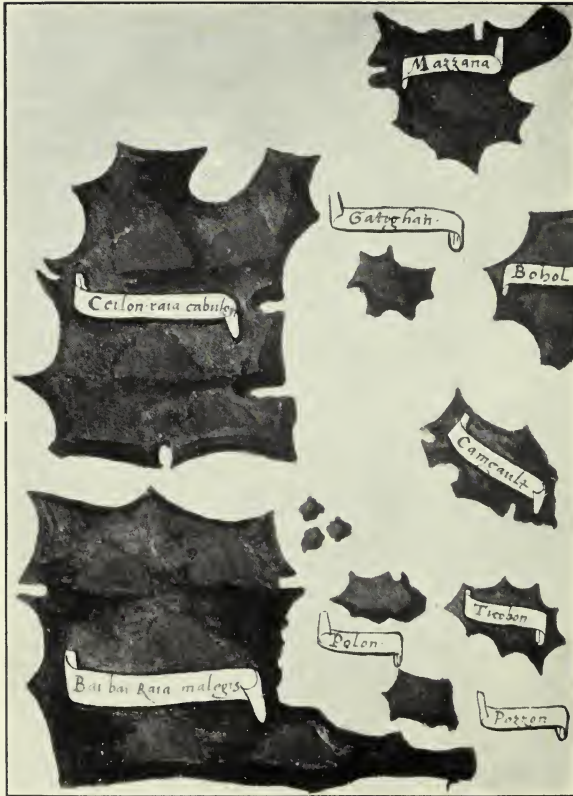
We found a great quantity of white coral there, and large trees with fruit a trifle smaller than the almond and resembling pine seeds. There are also many palms, some of them good and others bad. There are many islands in that district, and therefore we called them the archipelago of San Lazaro, as they were discovered on the Sabbath of St. Lazurus.²⁰⁸ They lie in x degrees of latitude toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-one degrees from the line of demarcation.

At noon on Friday, March 22, those men came as they had promised us in two boats with cocoanuts, sweet oranges, a jar of palm-wine, and a cock,²⁰⁹ in order to show us that there were fowls in that district. They exhibited great signs of pleasure at seeing us.²¹⁰ We purchased all those articles from them. Their seignior was an old man who was painted [*i.e.*, tattooed]. He wore two gold earrings [*schione*] in his ears,²¹¹ and the others many gold armlets on their arms and kerchiefs about their heads. We stayed there one week, and during that time our captain went ashore daily to visit the sick, and ²¹²every morning gave them cocoanut water from his own hand, which comforted them greatly. There are people living near that island ²¹³ who have holes in their ears so large that they can pass their arms through them. Those people are caphri,²¹⁴ that is to say, heathen. They go naked, with a cloth woven from the bark of a tree about their privies, except some of the chiefs who wear cotton cloth embroidered with silk at the ends by means of a needle. They are dark, fat, and painted. They anoint themselves with cocoanut and with beneseed oil, as a protection

li capili negri//imi fina a La cinta et anno dague cortelli lanfe fornite de oro targoni facine arponi et rete da pe/care come Rizali le fue barche /onno como le noſt^e

NeL luni /ancto a vinticinq̃ de mar/o giorno de La n̄a donna paſſato mezo di eſſendo de hora in ora p leuar/ſi anday abordo de la naue p pe/care et metendo li piedi /opra vna antena p de/cedere nela mesa degarni tiōe me slizegarono p che era pioueto et coſi caſtai neL mare q̄ ninguno me viſte et eſſendo quaſi /umer/o me venne ne La mano Sini/tra La /cota de La vella maggiore q̄ era a/coſa ne lacqua me teni forte et Comen/ai agridare tanto q̄ fui ajutato cō Lo batelo nō credo Ja per mey meriti ma p la miſericordia di q̄lla fonte de pieta foſſe ajutato. neL medeſimo Jorno pigliaſſemo tra iL ponente et garbī infra quat° y/olle çioe Cenalo hiunanghan Jbuſſon et abarien

Joue a vinti octo de marzo p hauere viſto la nocte paſſata fuocho in vna y/ola ne la matina /urgiſſemo apreſſo de queſta vedeſemo vna barcha piccola q̄ la chiamano boloto cō octo homini de dent° appincar/e nela naue Ca pitanea Vno /chiauo deL cap° gñale q̄ era de zamatra gia chiamata traprobana li parlo ilq̄alle /ubito inteſeno venero neL bordo de la naue nō volendo intrare dent°, ma /tauano vno pocho di/coſti vedendo eL cap° q̄ nō voleuano fidar/ſi de nui li buto vn bonnet roſſo et altre coſe ligate /up^a vn pezo de taula La pigliorono molto alegri et



against sun and wind. They have very black hair that falls to the waist, and use daggers, knives, and spears²¹⁵ ornamented with gold, large shields, fascines,²¹⁶ javelins, and fishing nets that resemble rizali;²¹⁷ and their boats are like ours.

On the afternoon of holy Monday, the day of our Lady, March twenty-five, while we were on the point of weighing anchor, I went to the side of the ship to fish, and putting my feet upon a yard leading down into the storeroom, they slipped, for it was rainy, and consequently I fell into the sea, so that no one saw me. When I was all but under, my left hand happened to catch hold of the clew-garnet of the main-sail, which was dangling [*ascosa*] in the water. I held on tightly, and began to cry out so lustily that I was rescued by the small boat. I was aided, not, I believe, indeed, through my merits, but through the mercy of that font of charity [*i.e.*, of the Virgin]. That same day we shaped our course toward the west southwest between four small islands, namely, Cenalo, Hiunanghan,²¹⁸ Ibusson, and Abarien.

On Thursday morning, March twenty-eight, as we had seen a fire on an island the night before, we anchored near it.²¹⁹ We saw a small boat which the natives call *boloto* with eight men in it, approaching the flagship. A slave belonging to the captain-general, who was a native of Zamatra [*i.e.*, Sumatra], which was formerly called Traprobana, spoke to them. They immediately understood him, came alongside the ship, unwilling to enter but taking a position at some little distance.²²⁰ The captain seeing that they would not trust us, threw them out a red cap and other things tied to a bit of wood. They

Subito Se partirono p̄ auifare el fuo re deli circa due hore vede//femo vegnire due balanghai /onno barche grande et cu//e le chiamano pienni de huomini neL magioñ era Lo suo re Sedendo /oto vno coperto de /tore Quando eL giun/e a//fo La capitania iL Schiauo li parlo iL re lo inte/e p̄ che in que/te parte li re /anno piu linguagij q̄ li altⁱ comando q̄ alcuni /oi intra//feno nele naue luy /empre /tete neL /uo balanghai poco longi de La naue fin che li /uoi tornoronno et /ubito tornati /e parti. iL Cap^o gñalle fece grande honnore aq^elli q̄ venirono nela naue et donnoli algune co/e per ilche il re inanzi la /ua partita vol/e donnare aL cap^o vna bara de oro grande et vna /porta piena de gengero ma luj rengratiandoL molto nõ volce acceptarle neL tardi anda/emo cõ le naue apre//fo la habitatiõe deL re.

JL giorno /eguate q̄ era eL venerdì /ancto eL cap^o gñale mando lo /quia ua q̄ era lo interprete nõ in tera in vno batello adire aL re /e haueua alguna co/a da mangiare la face//e portañ in naue q̄ re//tariano bene /ati/fati da noi et como amici et nõ Como nimici era venuti a la/ua y/ola eL re venne cõ /ey vero octo homini neL mede/imo batello et entro nela naue abrazando/i col cap^o gñale et donoli tre vazi di porcelanna coperti de foglie piene de rizo crudo et due orade molto grande cõ altre co/e eL cap^o dete al re vna ve/te de panno ro//o et giallo fato a La torche/ca et vno bonnet ro//o fino ali altⁱ Sui aqⁱ

received them very gladly, and went away quickly to advise their king. About two hours later we saw two balanghai coming. They are large boats and are so called [by those people]. They were full of men, and their king was in the larger of them, being seated under an awning of mats. When the king came near the flagship, the slave spoke to him. The king understood him, for in those districts the kings know more languages than the other people. He ordered some of his men to enter the ships, but he always remained in his balanghai, at some little distance from the ship until his own men returned; and as soon as they returned he departed. The captain-general showed great honor to the men who entered the ship, and gave them some presents, for which the king wished before his departure to give the captain a large bar ²²¹ of gold and a basketful of ginger. The latter, however, thanked the king heartily but would not accept it. In the afternoon we went in the ships [and anchored] near the dwellings of the king.

Next day, holy Friday, the captain-general sent his slave, who acted as our interpreter, ashore in a small boat to ask the king if he had any food to have it carried to the ships; ²²² and to say that they would be well satisfied with us, for he [and his men] had come to the island as friends and not as enemies. The king came with six or eight men ²²³ in the same boat and entered the ship. He embraced the captain-general to whom he gave three porcelain jars covered with leaves and full of raw rice, two very large *orade*, ²²⁴ and other things. The captain-general gave the king a garment of red and yellow cloth made in the Turkish fashion, and a fine red cap; and to the others (the king's men), to some knives and to others mirrors. Then the captain-general

cortelli et aqⁱ /pecqⁱ poy le fece dare la Colatiõe et p il chiauo li fece dire q̄ voleua effere cun lui ca/i ca/i cioe fratello ri/pose q̄ coffi voleua effere v̄fo de lui dapoy lo cap^o ge mo/tro panno de diver/i colori tela corali et molta alt^a mercantia et tuta lartigliaria facendola de/cargare alcuni molto /i /pauentorno poi fece armare vno homo cõ vno homo darne et li me/fe atorno tre cõ /pade et pugniale q̄ li dauano p tuto iL corpo p laq^aL co/a eL re re/to ca/i fora di/fe li di/fe p il Schiauo q̄ vno de que/ti armati valeua p cento de li suoi re/pose q̄ era cu/ffi et q̄ in ogni naue ne menaua duzentò q̄ /e armauano de q^{ella} forte li mo/tro Corazine /pade et rodelle et fece fare a vno vna leuata poi Lo condu/fe /up^a la tolda dela naue q̄ he in cima de la popa et fece portare la /ua carta de nauigare et La bu/ffola et li di/fe p linterprete como trouo Lo /treto p vegnire alui et Quante lune /onno /tati /enza vedere terra Se marauiglio in vltimo li di/ce q̄ voleua /e li piace/fe mandare /eco dui homini acio li mo/tra/fe algune de le /ue co/e re/pose q̄ era contento yo ge anday cõ vno alt^o

Quando fui in tera il re leuo le mani aL ciello et

had a collation spread for them, and had the king told through the slave that he desired to be *casi casi*²²⁵ with him, that is to say, brother. The king replied that he also wished to enter the same relations with the captain-general. Then the captain showed him cloth of various colors, linen, coral [ornaments], and many other articles of merchandise, and all the artillery, some of which he had discharged for him, whereat the natives were greatly frightened. Then the captain-general had a man armed as a soldier,²²⁶ and placed him in the midst of three men armed with swords and daggers, who struck him on all parts of the body. Thereby was the king rendered almost speechless. The captain-general told him through the slave that one of those armed men was worth one hundred of his own men. The king answered that that was a fact. The captain-general said that he had two hundred men in each ship who were armed in that manner.²²⁷ He showed the king cuirasses, swords, and bucklers, and had a review made for him.²²⁸ Then he led the king to the deck of the ship, that is located above at the stern; and had his sea-chart and compass brought.²²⁹ He told the king through the interpreter how he had found the strait in order to voyage thither, and how many moons he had been without seeing land, whereat the king was astonished. Lastly, he told the king that he would like, if it were pleasing to him, to send two of his men with him so that he might show them some of his things. The king replied that he was agreeable, and I went in company with one of the other men.²³⁰

When I reached shore, the king raised his hands

poi /e volta cont^a nuy dui face//emo lo /imille
 ver/ò de lui co/i tuti li altⁱ fecero il re me piglio p
 La mano vno /uo principale piglio lalt^o compag^o
 et cu//i ne menorõ /oto vno coperto de cane doue era
 vno balanghai longo octanta palmi deli mey Simille
 a vna fu/ta ne sede//emo /op^a la popa de que/to
 /empre parlando con /egni li suoi ne /tauano in piedi
 atorno atorno cõ /pade dague Lanze et targoni
 fece portare vno piato de carne de porco cõ vno vazo
 grande pienno de vino beueuamo adogni boconne
 vna taffa de vino lo vino q̃ li auan/aua q^{al}que
 volta ben q̃ fo/ceno poche /e meteua in vno vazo da
 p /i la /ua ta/ta /empre /taua coperta ninguno alt^o
 li beueua Se nõ il re et yo Jn anzi q̃ lo re piglia//e
 la taffa p bere alzaua li mani giunte al çielo et v/ò
 de nui et Quando voleua bere extendeu a lo pugno
 dela mano sini /tra ver/ò dime prima pen/aua me
 vole//e dare vn pognio et poi beueua faceua co/i yo
 ver/ò il re Que/sti /egni fanno tuti luno ver/ò de
 Laltro quando beueno cõ que/te cerimonie et altⁱ
 /egni de ami/itia merenda /emo mangiay neL
 vennera /ancto carne p nõ potere fare alt^o Jn anzi
 q̃ veni//e lora de cenare donay molte co/e al re q̃
 haueua portati /cri//e a/ai coffe como le chiamanõ
 Quanto Lo re et li altⁱ me vi/tenno fcriuere et li
 diceua q^{elle} /ue parolle tutti re/forono atoniti in
 que/to mezo venne lora de cenare portoronno duy
 plati grandi de porcelanna vno pienno de rizo et
 lalt^o de carne de porcho cõ /uo brodo cena//emo

toward the sky and then turned toward us two. We did the same toward him²³¹ as did all the others. The king took me by the hand; one of his chiefs took my companion: and thus they led us under a bamboo covering, where there was a balanghai,²³² as long as eighty of my palm lengths, and resembling a fusta. We sat down upon the stern of that balanghai, constantly conversing with signs. The king's men stood about us in a circle with swords, daggers, spears, and bucklers.²³³ The king had a plate of pork brought in and a large jar filled with wine. At every mouthful, we drank a cup of wine. The wine that was left [in the cup] at any time, although that happened but rarely, was put into a jar by itself. The king's cup was always kept covered and no one else drank from it but he and I. Before the king took the cup to drink, he raised his clasped hands toward the sky, and then toward me; and when he was about to drink, he extended the fist of his left hand toward me (at first I thought that he was about to strike me) and then drank. I did the same toward the king. They all make those signs one toward another when they drink. We ate with such ceremonies and with other signs of friendship. I ate meat on holy Friday, for I could not help myself. Before the supper hour I gave the king many things which I had brought. I wrote down the names of many things in their language. When the king and the others saw me writing, and when I told them their words, they were all astonished.²³⁴ While engaged in that the supper hour was announced. Two large porcelain dishes were brought in, one full of rice and the other of pork with its gravy.

cō li mede/imj fegni et cerimonie poi andaffemo aL palatio deL re eLq^{alle} era facto como vna teza da fienco coperto de foglie de figaro et de palma era edificato foura legni groffi alti de terra q^eL fe conuene andare cō fcalle ne fece federe fop^a vna ftora de canne tenendo le gambe atracte como li Sarti deli ameza ora fo portato vno piato de pe/ce bru/tolato in pezi et gengero p allora colto et vino eL figliolo maggiore deL re chera iL principe vene doue eramo il re li di/fe q̄ fedeffe apre/fo noi et coffi fedete fu portato dui piati vno de pe/ce cō lo fue brodo et lalt^o de rizo acio q̄ mangiaffemo col principe il n̄o compag^o p tanto bere et mangiare diuento briaco Vzano p lume goma de arbore q̄ la quiamão anime voltata in foglie de palma o de figaro el re ne fece fegno q^eL voleua andare adormire la/fo cō nui lo principe cō q^{alle} dormiffemo fop^a vna ftora de canne cō coffini de foglie venuto lo giorno eL re venne et me piglio p La mano coffi andaffemo doue aveuamo cenato p fare colatiõe ma iL batelle ne venne aleuare Jn anzi la partita eL re molto alegro ne ba/fo le mani et noi le fue venne cō nui vno fuo fratello re dunalt^a y/ola cō tre homini Lo cap^o gñale lo retenete adi/nare cō nui et donoli molte cofe.

Nella y/ola de que/fo re que conduffi ale nauai fe troua pezi de oro grandi como noce et oui criuelando la terra tutti li vaf^o de que/fo re fonno de oro et

We ate with the same signs and ceremonies, after which we went to the palace of the king which was built like a hayloft and was thatched with fig [*i.e.*, banana] and palm leaves. It was built up high from the ground on huge posts of wood and it was necessary to ascend to it by means of ladders.²³⁵ The king made us sit down there on a bamboo mat with our feet drawn up like tailors. After a half-hour a platter of roast fish cut in pieces was brought in, and ginger freshly gathered, and wine. The king's eldest son, who was the prince, came over to us, whereupon the king told him to sit down near us, and he accordingly did so. Then two platters were brought in (one with fish and its sauce, and the other with rice), so that we might eat with the prince. My companion became intoxicated as a consequence of so much drinking and eating. They used the gum of a tree called *anime* wrapped in palm or fig [*i.e.*, banana] leaves for lights. The king made us a sign that he was going to go to sleep. He left the prince with us, and we slept with the latter on a bamboo mat with pillows made of leaves. When day dawned the king came and took me by the hand, and in that manner we went to where we had had supper, in order to partake of refreshments, but the boat came to get us. Before we left, the king kissed our hands with great joy, and we his. One of his brothers, the king of another island, and three men came with us. The captain-general kept him to dine with us, and gave him many things.²³⁶

Pieces of gold, of the size of walnuts and eggs are found by sifting the earth in the island of that king who came to our ships. All the dishes of that

anche alguna parte de dela caſa ſua coſi ne referite
 Lo medefimo re ſe gondo lo ſue coſtume era molto
 in ordine et Lo piu bello huomo que vedeſſemo fra
 queſti populi haueua li capili negriſſimi fin alle
 ſpalle cō vno velo de ſeta ſop^a Lo capo et due ſquione
 grande de horo tacatte ale orecchie portaua vno
 panno de bombazo tuto Lauorato de ſeta ñ copriua
 dala cinta fino aL ginoquio aL lato vna daga cō Lo
 manicho al canto longo tuto de oro iL fodro era de
 legnio lauorato in ogni dente haueua tre machie
 doro ñ pareuano foſſeno ligati cō oro oleua de
 ſtorac et beligioui era oliuaſtro et tuto depinto.
 Queſta ſua yſola ſe chiama butuan et calagan.
 Quando queſti re ſe voleuano vedere ve neno tuti
 due aLa caza in queſta yſola doue eramo eL re p^{imo}
 ſe q^{ama} raia colambu iL ſegundo raia ſiaui.

Domenicha vltimo de marſo giorno de paſca nela
 matina p tempo eL cap^o gñale mando il prete cō
 alcanti aparechiare p douere dire meſſa cō lo inter-
 prete a dire al re ñ nõ voleuamo diſcendere in terra
 p diſinar ſecho ma p aldire meſſa p ilque Lo re ne
 mando dui porqⁱ morti Quando fu hora de meſſa
 andaſſemo in terra forſe cinquanta huomini nõ ar-
 mati la pſo na ma cō le altre nñe arme et meglio ve-
 tite ñ poteſſemo Jnanzi que aruaſſemo aLa riu a cō
 li bateli forenno ſcaricati ſej pezi de bombarde in
 ſegnio de pace ſaltaſſemo in terra li dui re

king are of gold and also some portion of his house, as we were told by that king himself. According to their customs he was very grandly decked out [*molto in ordine*],²³⁷ and the finest looking man that we saw among those people. His hair was exceedingly black, and hung to his shoulders. He had a covering of silk on his head, and wore two large golden earrings fastened in his ears. He wore a cotton cloth all embroidered with silk, which covered him from the waist to the knees. At his side hung a dagger, the haft of which was somewhat long and all of gold, and its scabbard of carved wood. He had three spots of gold on every tooth, and his teeth appeared as if bound with gold.²³⁸ He was perfumed with storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted [*i.e.*, tattooed] all over. That island of his was called Butuan and Calagan.²³⁹ When those kings wished to see one another, they both went to hunt in that island where we were. The name of the first king is Raia Colambu, and the second Raia Siaui.²⁴⁰

Early on the morning of Sunday, the last of March, and Easter-day, the captain-general sent the priest with some men to prepare the place where mass was to be said;²⁴¹ together with the interpreter to tell the king that we were not going to land in order to dine with him, but to say mass. Therefore the king sent us two swine that he had had killed. When the hour for mass arrived, we landed with about fifty men, without our body armor, but carrying our other arms, and dressed in our best clothes.²⁴² Before we reached the shore with our boats, six pieces were discharged as a sign of peace. We

abraffarono lo cap° gñale et Lo meffeno in mezo de loro andaffemo in ordinanza fino aL locho con/a-crato non molto longi de la riuā Jnāzi se comen/a/ffe la meffa iL cap° bagno tuto eL corpo de li dui re con hacqua mo/ta da Se ofer/fe ala meffa li re andorono abaffiare la croce como nuy ma nō ofer/eno Quando se leuaua lo corpo de nō s^{or}. /tauano in genoquioni et adorauālo cō le mane gionte le naue tirarono tuta La artigliaria in vno tempo quando se leuo Lo corpo de x° dando ge Lo /egnio de la tera cō li /chiopetj finita la meffa alquanti deli no/ti se comunicorono Lo cap° generale fece fare vno ballo cō le /pade deque le re hebenno grā piacere poi fece portare vna croce cō li quodi et la corona alaq^aL /ubito fecero reuerentia li di/fe per Lo interprete como que/to era iL vessilo datoli daLo inperatoř /uo /ignore açio in ogni parte doue anda/ffe mete/fe que/to /uo /egnialle et che voleua meterlo iui p /ua vtilita p che se vene/eno algune naue dele nře /aperianno cō que/ta croce noj effere /tati in que/to locho et nō farebenno de/piacere aloro ne ale cose [*cose: doublet in original MS.*] et se piglia/eno alguno de li /oi /ubito mo/trandoli que/to /egnialle le lafferianno andare et q̄ conueniua meteř que/ta croce in cima deL piu alto monte que foffe açio vedendola ogni matina La adora/eno et /eq̄to faceuano ne troui ne fulmini ni tempe/ta li nocerebe in co/a alguna lo ringratiorno molto et q̄ farebenno ogni co/a volen-

landed; the two kings embraced the captain-general, and placed him between them. We went in marching order to the place consecrated, which was not far from the shore. Before the commencement of mass, the captain sprinkled the entire bodies of the two kings with musk water.²⁴³ The mass was offered up. The kings went forward to kiss the cross as we did, but they did not offer the sacrifice.²⁴⁴ When the body of our Lord was elevated, they remained on their knees and worshiped Him with clasped hands. The ships fired all their artillery at once when the body of Christ was elevated, the signal having been given from the shore with muskets. After the conclusion of mass, some of our men took communion.²⁴⁵ The captain-general arranged a fencing tournament,²⁴⁶ at which the kings were greatly pleased. Then he had a cross carried in and the nails and a crown, to which immediate reverence was made.²⁴⁷ He told the kings through the interpreter that they were the standards given to him by the emperor his sovereign, so that wherever he might go he might set up those his tokens. [He said] that he wished to set it up in that place for their benefit, for whenever any of our ships came,²⁴⁸ they would know that we had been there by that cross, and would do nothing to displease them or harm their property [property: *doublet in original MS.*]. If any of their men were captured, they would be set free immediately on that sign being shown. It was necessary to set that cross on the summit of the highest mountain, so that on seeing it every morning, they might adore it; and if they did that, neither thunder, lightning, nor storms would harm them in the least. They

tieri ancho li fece dire *ſe* erano morj ho gentili o inque credeuão *ri/po/ero* q̄ nō adorauão alt° *ſinon* al/auano le mani giunti et la faza al cielo et q̄ chiamauão Lo *ſua* dio Abba p̄ laq^aL *co/a* lo cap° hebe grande *alegreſſa* vedendo *que/to* eL p̄mo re leuo le mani aL cielo et *diſſe* q̄ voria *ſe* foſſe poſſibile farli vedeſ iL *ſuo* amore verſo de lui Lo interprete ge *diſſe* p̄ q^aL *cagiõe* haueua quiui *co/i* pocho da mangiare *re/po/ſe* q̄ nō habitaua in q̄ſto Locho *ſe* nō quãdo veniua a La caza et a vedere Lo *ſuo* fratello ma *ſtaua* in vna alt^a *y/ola* doue haueua tuta la *ſua* famiglia li fece dire *ſe* haueua Jnimiti Lo *diceſſe* p̄ cio andarebe cõ *que/te* naue *ade/trugerli* et faria lo hoberianno Lo *rengratio* et *diſſe* q̄ haueua benne due *y/olle* nemiche maque *alhora* nō era tempo de andarui Lo Cap° li *diſſe* *ſe* dio *faceſſe* q̄ vnalt^a *fiatta* ritornaſce in *que/te* parte conduria tanta gente q̄ farebe p̄ *for/a* eſerli *ſugette* et que voleua andare *adi/nare* et dapoy tornarebe p̄ far pore la croce in cima deL monte *ri/po/ero* erano Contenti *facendoſſe* vn bata glione cõ *ſcaricare* li *ſquiopeti* et *abra/andoſi* lo cap° cõ li due re *pigliaſſemo* liſentia.

Dopo *di/nare* tornaſſemo tucti in gioponne et *andaſemo* inſieme cõ li duy Re neL mezo di in cima

thanked him heartily and [said] that they would do everything willingly. The captain-general also had them asked whether they were Moros or heathen, or what was their belief. They replied that they worshiped nothing, but that they raised their clasped hands and their face to the sky; and that they called their god "Abba."²⁴⁹ Thereat the captain was very glad, and seeing that, the first king raised his hands to the sky, and said that he wished that it were possible for him to make the captain see his love for him. The interpreter asked the king why there was so little to eat there. The latter replied that he did not live in that place except when he went hunting and to see his brother, but that he lived in another island where all his family were. The captain-general had him asked to declare whether he had any enemies, so that he might go with his ships to destroy them and to render them obedient to him.²⁵⁰ The king thanked him and said that he did indeed have two islands hostile to him, but that it was not then the season to go there. The captain told him that if God would again allow him to return to those districts, he would bring so many men that he would make the king's enemies subject to him by force. He said that he was about to go to dinner, and that he would return afterward to have the cross set up on the summit of the mountain. They replied that they were satisfied, and then forming in battalion and firing the muskets, and the captain having embraced the two kings, we took our leave.

After dinner we all returned clad in our doublets, and that afternoon²⁵¹ went together with the two

deL piu alto monte q̄ foſſe Quando ariuaſſemo in cima Lo cap° genneralle li diſſe como li era caro hauere ſudato p̄ loro p̄ che eſendo iui la croce nō poteua ſinon grandamēte Jouarli et domandoli q̄aL porto era migliore p̄ victuuaglie diceſſero q̄ ne erano tre çioe Ceylon Zubu et calaghann ma che Zubu era piu grande et de meglior trafico et ſe profer/enno di darni piloti q̄ ne inſegnarebbono iL viag° Lo cap° gñale li re gratio et delibero de andarli p̄ q̄ cuſſi voleua la ſua infelice forte. poſta la croce ognuno dice vno pater noſter et vna aue maria adorandola coſi li re fecenno poy deſcendeſſemo p̄ li ſui campi Lauorattj et andafſemo doue era lo balanghai li re feceno portare alquanti cochi açio ſe rinfrecaſſimo Lo cap° li domando li piloti p̄ che la matina ſequente voleua partirſi et q̄ li trattarebe como ſe medefimo Laſandoli vno de li nñj p̄ oſtagio ri/porero q̄ ogni ora li voleſſe erano aL ſuo comādo ma nela nocte iL p̄mo re ſe mudo dopigniōe La matina quando eramo p̄ partirſi eL re mando adire aL cap° genneralle q̄ per amore ſuo aſpectaſſe duj giornj fin q̄ faceſſe cogliere el rizo et alt̄i ſui menuti pregandolo mandafſe alcuni homini p̄ ajutareli açio piu preſto ſe ſpazaſſe et q̄ luy medefimo voleua eſſere lo nño piloto. lo Cap° mandoli alcuni homini ma li Re

kings to the summit of the highest mountain there. When we reached the summit, the captain-general told them that he esteemed highly having sweated for them, for since the cross was there, it could not but be of great use to them. On asking them which port was the best to get food, they replied that there were three, namely, Ceylon, Zubu, and Calaghann, but that Zubu was the largest and the one with most trade. They offered of their own accord to give us pilots to show us the way. The captain-general thanked them, and determined to go there, for so did his unhappy fate will. After the cross was erected in position, each of us repeated a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave Maria*, and adored the cross; and the kings did the same. Then we descended through their cultivated fields, and went to the place where the balanghai was.²⁵² The kings had some cocoanuts brought in so that we might refresh ourselves. The captain asked the kings for the pilots for he intended to depart the following morning, and [said] that he would treat them as if they were the kings themselves, and would leave one of us as hostage. The kings replied that every hour he wished the pilots were at his command, but that night the first king changed his mind, and in the morning when we were about to depart, sent word to the captain-general, asking him for love of him to wait two days until he should have his rice harvested, and other trifles attended to. He asked the captain-general to send him some men to help him, so that it might be done sooner; and said that he intended to act as our pilot himself. The captain sent him some men, but the kings ate and drank so much

tanto mangiorono et beueteno q̄ dormiteno tuto il giorno alcuni p̄ e/cu/arli dicero q̄ haueuano vno pocho de malle p̄ q^eL giorno li no/ti nō fecero niente ma neli altⁱ dui /eguenti lauorono.

Vno de que/ti populi ne porte force vna /cudela de rizo cō octo o dieze figue ligaty in/ieme p̄ baratarli in vno cortello q̄ valeua iL piu tre catrini eL cap^o vedendo que que/to nō voleua alt^o Senon vno cortello lo chiamo p̄ vedere piu co/e mi//e mano a la bor/a et li volce dare p̄ q^elle co/e vno realL lui noL vol/i lui mo/tro vno ducato mancho lo accepto al fine li volce dare vno dopionne de duy ducati nō volce mai alt^o q̄ vn corte lo et cu//i li lo fece dare Andando vno de li n̄i in terra p̄ tore acqua vno de que/ti li volce dare vno coronna pontina de oro ma/içio grāde como vna colona p̄ /ey filce de cri/talino ma iL cap^o non volce q̄ la bara ta//e açio que in que/to principio /ape//ero q̄ pritiauamo piu la n̄a mercantia q̄ Lo /uo oro.

Que/ti populi /onno gentili vanno nudi et de pinti portano vno pezo de tella de arbore intorno le /ue vergonie Sonno grandi//imi beuitori le /ue femi ne vanno ve/tite de tella de arbore de la cinta in giu cō li capili negri fina in terra anno forate le orecchie et piene de oro. Que/ta gente /empre ma/ticanno vno fruto q̄ Lo quiamano Areca e como vno pero lo taglianno in quat^o parti et poi lo volueno nele foglie deL /uo arburo q̄ le nominano

that they slept all the day. Some said to excuse them that they were slightly sick. Our men did nothing on that day, but they worked the next two days.²⁵³

One of those people brought us about a porringer full of rice and also eight or ten figs [*i.e.*, bananas] fastened together to barter them for a knife which at the most was worth three catrini.²⁵⁴ The captain seeing that that native cared for nothing but a knife, called him to look at other things. He put his hand in his purse and wished to give him one real for those things, but the native refused it. The captain showed him a ducado but he would not accept that either. Finally the captain tried to give him a doppione²⁵⁵ worth two ducados, but he would take nothing but a knife; and accordingly the captain had one given to him. When one of our men went ashore for water, one of those people wanted to give him a pointed crown of massy gold, of the size of a colona²⁵⁶ for six strings of glass beads, but the captain refused to let him barter, so that the natives should learn at the very beginning that we prized our merchandise more than their gold.²⁵⁷

Those people are heathens,²⁵⁸ and go naked and painted. They wear a piece of cloth woven from a tree about their privies.²⁵⁹ They are very heavy drinkers.²⁶⁰ Their women are clad in tree cloth from their waist down, and their hair is black and reaches to the ground. They have holes pierced in their ears which are filled with gold. Those people are constantly chewing a fruit which they call *areca*, and which resembles a pear. They cut that fruit into four parts, and then wrap it in the leaves

betre *fonno* como foglie di moraro cō vno poco de calcina et quando le anno bē masticate le *sputano* fora fanno diuentare la boca roci^{ff}ima Tucti li populi de *que/ta* parte deL mondo le vzanno p che rinfrescali molto eL core Se *resta/ffeno* de vzarle morirebenno in *que/ta* izolla *fonno* cany gati porci galine capre rizo gengero cochi figui naranzi limoni miglio panizo *forgo* cera et molto oro *fta* de Latitudine in noue gradi et dui ter^{fi} aL artico et cento et *se/anta* dui de longitudine della linea de La ripartitiōe et vinti cinque legue longi de la acquada et *se* chiama Mazaua

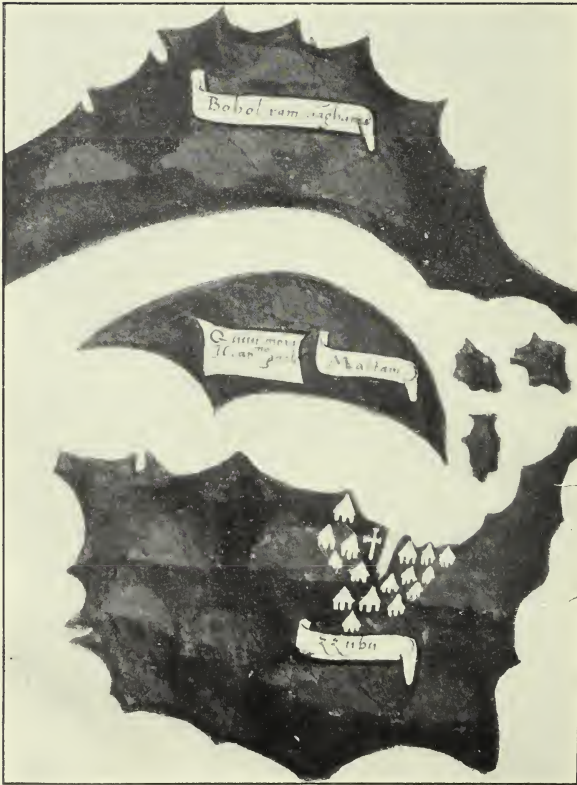
Ste^{semo} sette giorni quiui poi piglia^{ffemo} la via deL mai^{trale} pa^{ff}ando f^a cinq³ y^{olle} cioe Ceylon bohol canighan baybai et gatighan in *que/ta* y^{ola} de gatigan *fonno* barba^{tili} grandi como aquille p q̄ era tardi ne ama^ça^{ffemo} vno era como vna galina aL mangiare ge *fonno* colombi tortore papagali et certi vcelli negri grandi como galine cō la coda lōga fanno oui grandi como de ocquali meteno *foto* la *fabia* p lo grã caldo li crea Quando *fonno* na^{sciuti} alzano la arena et vieneno fora *que/ti* oui *fonno* bony de mangiare. De mazaua agatighan *fonno* vinti leghe partendone da gatighan aL ponente iL re de mazaua non ne puote *seguir* p che lo e^{specta/ffemo} circa tre y^{olle} cioe polo ticobon et pozon quando eL gion^e molte

of their tree which they call *betre* [*i.e.*, betel]. Those leaves resemble the leaves of the mulberry. They mix it with a little lime, and when they have chewed it thoroughly, they spit it out.²⁶¹ It makes the mouth exceedingly red. All the people in those parts of the world use it, for it is very cooling to the heart, and if they ceased to use it they would die. There are dogs, cats, swine, fowls, goats, rice, ginger, coconuts, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], oranges, lemons, millet, panicum, sorgo,²⁶² wax, and a quantity of gold in that island. It lies in a latitude of nine and two-thirds degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-two degrees from the line of demarcation. It is twenty-five from the Acquada, and is called Mazaua.²⁶³

We remained there seven days, after which we laid our course toward the northwest, passing among²⁶⁴ five islands, namely, Ceylon, Bohol, Canighan, Baybai, and Gatighan.²⁶⁵ In the last-named island of Gatighan, there are bats as large as eagles. As it was late we killed one of them,²⁶⁶ which resembled chicken in taste. There are doves, turtle-doves,²⁶⁷ parrots, and certain black birds as large as domestic chickens, which have a long tail. The last mentioned birds lay eggs as large as the goose, and bury them under the sand, through the great heat of which they hatch out. When the chicks are born, they push up the sand, and come out. Those eggs are good to eat. There is a distance of twenty leguas from Mazaua to Gatighan. We set out westward from Gatighan, but the king of Mazaua could not follow us [closely], and consequently, we awaited him near three islands, namely, Polo, Ticobon, and

fe marauiglio deL n̄o nauigare Lo cap° gñale lo fece m̄o tare nela /ua naue cō alguni /oi principali dilque hebero piacere et coffi anda//emo in zubu da gatighan azubu /onno quindice legue.

Domeniga a sete de ap'ille amezo di intra//emo neL porto de Zubu pa//ando per molti vilagij vedeuamo molte caze facte /opra li arbori Apropinquãdone ala cita Lo cap° gñale comando le nauì sinbandera//eno furono Calate le velle et po/te amodo de bataglia et /carico tuta lartigliaria p ilque que/ta populi hebero grandi//ima paura Lo cap° mando vno /uo alieuo cō lo interprete inba//iatore aL re de Zubo. Quando ariuorono nela cita trouorono Jnfiniti huomini in/ieme cō Lo re tuti pauro/i p le bombarde linterprete li di//e que/ta e/ere n̄o co/turne intrando in /imili luogui in /egnio de pace et ami/itia et p honorare lo re deL luogo /caricauamo tuctele bombarde eL re et tucti li /uoi /e a/egurorono et fece dire ali no/ri p lo /uo gouernatore q̄ voleuamo linterprete ri/pose como eL /uo /igniore era cap° deL maggiore re et principe fo//e neL mondo et q̄ andaua adi/courir̄ malucho ma p la /ua bonna fama Como haueua Jntezo daL re de mazaua era venuto /olamente p vizitarlo et pigliare victuuaglia cō la /ua mercha-dantia li di//e q̄ in bonna hora fo//e venuto ma q̄ haueua que/ta vzan/a tutte le nauì q̄ intrauano neL porto /uo pagauão tributu et q̄ n̄o erano quat° gⁱ che



Bobol ram saplana

Quatuor messu
Hic an gustu

Mallan

Zaba

Pozon.²⁶⁸ When he caught up with us he was greatly astonished at the rapidity with which we sailed. The captain-general had him come into his ship with several of his chiefs at which they were pleased. Thus did we go to Zubu from Gatighan, the distance to Zubu being fifteen leguas.²⁶⁹

At noon on Sunday, April seven, we entered the port of Zubu, passing by many villages, where we saw many houses built upon logs. On approaching the city, the captain-general ordered the ships to fling their banners. The sails were lowered and arranged as if for battle, and all the artillery was fired, an action which caused great fear to those people. The captain sent a foster-son of his as ambassador to the king of Zubu with the interpreter. When they reached the city, they found a vast crowd of people together with the king, all of whom had been frightened by the mortars. The interpreter told them²⁷⁰ that that was our custom when entering into such places, as a sign of peace and friendship, and that we had discharged all our mortars to honor the king of the village. The king and all of his men were reassured, and the king had us asked by his governor what we wanted. The interpreter replied that his master was a captain of the greatest king and prince in the world, and that he was going to discover Malucho;²⁷¹ but that he had come solely to visit the king because of the good report which he had heard of him from the king of Mazaua, and to buy food with his merchandise. The king told him that he was welcome [*literally*: he had come at a good time], but that it was their custom for all ships that entered their ports to pay tribute, and that it

vno Juncho de Ciama cargato doro et de /chiaui li haueua dato tributo et p /egnio di questo li mo/tro vno mer chadante de çïama que era restato p merchadantare oro et /quiaui Lo interprete li di//e como eL /uo /igniore p e//ere cap° de tanto grã re non pagaua tributo ad alguno /igniore deL mondo et /e voleua pace pace ha uerebe et /e non guerra guera Alhoro eL moro merchadante di//e aL re Cata raia chita çïoe garba ben /igniore que/ti /onno de q°lli ã anno conqui/tato Calicut malaca et tuta lindia maggiore Si bene /i li fa ben /e a /e male male et pegio como anno facto a calicut et amalaca linterprete Jnte/o lo tuto et di//egli q°L re de /uo /igniore era piu potente de gente et de nauj ã Lo re de portogalo et era re de /pagnia et Jmperatoř de tuttj li xñiani et /e nō voleua e//erli amicho li mandaria vnalt^a fiata tanta gente q°L de/truerião iL moro naro ogni co/a aL re alhora li di//e /e con/igliarebe cō li /ui et nel di /eguento li ri/ponderebe poy fece portare vna colatiōe de molte viuãde tute de carne po/te in piati de porcelane cō molti vazi di vino data La Cola-tiōe li no/ti retornoronno et ne di//ero lo tuto iL re de mazaua ã era lo p^{imo} dopo que/to re et /igniore de alcante y/olle ando in tera p dire al re la grande cortezia deL nño cap° genneralle.

was but four days since a junk from Ciama [*i.e.*, Siam] laden with gold and slaves had paid him tribute. As proof of his statement the king pointed out to the interpreter a merchant from Ciama, who had remained to trade the gold and slaves. The interpreter told the king that, since his master was the captain of so great a king, he did not pay tribute to any seignior in the world, and that if the king wished peace he would have peace, but if war instead, war. Thereupon, the Moro merchant said to the king *Cata raia chita* that is to say,²⁷² "Look well, sire." "These men are the same who have conquered Calicut, Malaca, and all India Magiore [*i.e.*, India Major].²⁷³ If they are treated well, they will give good treatment, but if they are treated evil, evil and worse treatment, as they have done to Calicut and Malaca." The interpreter understood it all and told the king that his master's king was more powerful in men and ships than the king of Portugalo, that he was the king of Spagnia and emperor of all the Christians, and that if the king did not care to be his friend²⁷⁴ he would next time send so many men that they would destroy him. The Moro related everything to the king,²⁷⁵ who said thereupon that he would deliberate with his men, and would answer the captain on the following day. Then he had refreshments of many dishes, all made from meat and contained in porcelain platters, besides many jars of wine brought in. After our men had refreshed themselves, they returned and told us everything. The king of Mazaua,²⁷⁶ who was the most influential after that king and the seignior of a number of islands, went ashore to speak to the king of the great courtesy of our captain-general.

Luni matina iL n̄o /criuão in/ieme cõ linterprete andorono in zubu vene iL re con li /ui principali in piazza et fece /edere li no/ti apre/fo lui li di/fe /e piu duno cap° era in q̄ta compagnia et /eL voleua lui paga/fe tributo aL imperatore /uo S^{or}. ri/po/e de nõ ma voleua /olamente merchadanta/e cõ lui et non con altⁱ di/fe q̄ era contento et /eLo cap° n̄o voleua effere /uo amicho li manda/fe von pocho de /angue deL /uo bracio drito et co/ffi farebe luy p /egno de piu vera ami/itia re/po/e q̄ Lo faria poy Lo re li di/fe como tucti li capⁱ q̄ veniuão quiui se dauano pñti luno cõ lalt° et /e Lo n̄o cap° olui doueua comen/are linterprete li di/fe poy q̄ lui voleua mantegnire que/to co/stume comincia/fe et cu/ffi comen/o.

Marti matina iL re de mazaua con lo moro venne ale naui /aluto lo capitano gñale da parte diL re et di/celli como iLre de Zubu faceua adunare piu victuuaglia poteua p darnela et como mandarebe dopo di/nare vno /uo nepote con dui otre de /ui principali p fare la pace. lo cap° gñale fece armare vno de le /ue pprie arme et feceli dire como tuti nuy combateuamo de q'lla /orta; iL moro molto /i /pauento iL cap° li di/fe nõ /i /pauenta/fe perche le n̄e ar me erano piaceuoli ali amici et

Monday morning, our notary, together with the interpreter, went to Zubu. The king, accompanied by his chiefs, came to the open square where he had our men sit down near him. He asked the notary whether there were more than one captain in that company, and whether that captain wished him to pay tribute to the emperor his master. The notary replied in the negative, but that the captain wished only to trade with him and with no others. The king said that he was satisfied, and that if the captain wished to become his friend, he should send him a drop of blood from his right arm, and he himself would do the same [to him] as a sign of the most sincere friendship.²⁷⁷ The notary answered that the captain would do it. Thereupon, the king told him that all the captains who came to that place, were wont to give presents one to the other [*i.e.*, mutual presents between the king and the captain], and asked whether our captain or he ought to commence.²⁷⁸ The interpreter told the king that since he desired to maintain the custom, he should commence, and so he did.²⁷⁹

Tuesday morning the king of Mazaua came to the ships with the Moro. He saluted the captain-general in behalf of the king [of Zubu], and said that the king of Zubu was collecting as much food as possible to give to him, and that after dinner he would send one of his nephews and two others of his chief men to make peace. The captain-general had one of his men armed with his own arms, and had the Moro told that we all fought in that manner. The Moro was greatly frightened, but the captain told him not to be frightened for our arms were soft

a/perere ali nemici et cōfi como li fazoli a/ciugano yl /udore cōfi le nře arme ateranno et de/trugeno tuti li aduer/arj et maleuoli de La nřa fede fece que/to acio el moro q̄ pareua e//ere piu a/tuto de li altⁱ lo dice//e aL re.

Dopo di/nare vene ale nauì Lo nipote deL re q̄ era principe coL re de mazaua iL moro iL gouernatore et iL barizello magiore cō octo principali p fare La pace con noi Lo cap^o gñale /edendo in vna cadedra de veluta ro//a li prin cipali in /edie de corame et li altⁱ in tera /oura /tore li di//e p Lo interprete /e Lo /uo co//tume era de parlare in /ecreto houero in publico et Se que/to principe col re de mazaua haueuão potere de fare la pace ri/po/ero q̄ parla vano in publico et q̄ co//toro haueuão iL potere de far la pace Lo cap^o di//e molte co/e /oura la pace et q^eL pregaua ydio la confirma//e in cielo di/cero que may nō haueuão aldite cotalle parolle et que pigliauão grã piacere a vdir le Vedendo Lo cap^o q̄ que/to volenti eri a/coltauão et re/pondeuão li comincio dire co/e per indurli ala fede: Domando q^aL dopo la morte deL re /uccede//e aLa s^a. ri/po/fe q̄ Lo re nō haueua figlioli ma figliole et q̄ que/to /uo nipote haueua p moglie la magiore percio era Lo principe et quando li padri et madri erano vequi non /i honorauão piu mali figlioli li comandauão lo cap^o li di//e como ydio fece Lo cielo La terra Lo mare et tucte le alt^e co/e et como inpo//e /e

toward our friends and harsh toward our enemies; and as handkerchiefs wipe off the sweat so did our arms overthrow and destroy all our adversaries, and those who hate our faith.²⁸⁰ The captain did that so that the Moro who seemed more intelligent than the others, might tell it to the king.

After dinner the king's nephew, who was the prince, came to the ships with the king of Mazaua, the Moro, the governor, the chief constable, and eight chiefs, to make peace with us. The captain-general was seated in a red velvet chair, the principal men²⁸¹ on leather chairs, and the others on mats upon the floor. The captain-general asked them through the interpreter whether it were their custom to speak in secret or in public, and whether that prince and the king of Mazaua had authority to make peace.²⁸² They answered that they spoke in public, and that they were empowered to make peace. The captain-general said many things concerning peace, and that he prayed God to confirm it in heaven. They said that they had never heard any one speak such words, but that they took great pleasure in hearing them. The captain seeing that they listened and answered willingly, began to advance arguments to induce them to accept the faith. Asking them who would succeed to the seigniorship after the death of the king, he was answered that the king had no sons but only daughters, the eldest of whom was the wife of that nephew of his, who therefore was the prince. [They said that] when the fathers and mothers grew old, they received no further honor, but their children commanded them. The captain told them that God made the sky, the earth, the sea, and everything else,

doue//eno honnorare li padri et madri et qⁱ altramēte faceua era condempnato neL fuoco eterno et como tuti de/cendeuão de adam et eua no/tⁱ primi parenti et como haueuamo Lanima in mortalle et molte altre co/e pertinenti ala fede tuti alegri li /uplicorono vole//e la/farli dui homini ho aL meno vno acio li amay/tra//e ne La fede et che li farebẽo grande honnore gli re/po/e q̄ alhora nõ poteua la/ciarli alguno ma /e vole uão e//ere x̄piano Lo prete nõ li baptezarebe et q̄ vnalt^a fiata menaria preti et frati quelli in/egniarebẽo la fede n̄a ri/po/ero que pⁱma voleuão parlare al re et poy diuentarebenno x̄piani lagrima//emo tuti p la grande alegreza Lo cap^o li di/ce q̄ non ce facero x̄piani p paura ne p compiacerne ma vo lontariamēte et a coloro q̄ voleuão viuere /econdo la /ua lege nõ li farebe facto di/piacer alguno mali x̄piani /erianno meglio vi/ti et caregiati q̄ li altⁱ Tuti gridaronno aduna voce q̄ nõ /e faceuão x̄piani p paura ne p compiacerne ma p /ua /pontanea volontate Alhora li di//e q̄ /i deuentauão x̄piani gli La//arebe vna armatura p che cu//i li era /tato inpo/to deL /uo re et como nõ poteuão vzare cõ le /ue donne e/endo gentilli /enza grandi/imo peccato et como li a/eguraua q̄ e//endo xⁱani non li aparerebe piu eL domonio /inon neL ponto extremo de la /ua morte dicono q̄ nõ /apeuano re/ponderli p le /ue belle parolle ma /e rimeteuano nele /ue

and that He had commanded us to honor our fathers and mothers, and that whoever did otherwise was condemned to eternal fire; that we are all descended from Adam and Eva, our first parents; that we have an immortal spirit;²⁸³ and many other things pertaining to the faith. All joyfully entreated the captain to leave them two men, or at least one,²⁸⁴ to instruct them in the faith, and [said] that they would show them great honor. The captain replied to them that he could not leave them any men then, but that if they wished to become Christians, our priest would baptize them, and that he would next time bring priests and friars who would instruct them in our faith. They answered that they would first speak to their king, and that then they would become Christians, [whereat] we all wept with great joy. The captain-general told them that they should not become Christians for fear or to please us, but of their own free wills;²⁸⁵ and that he would not cause any displeasure to those who wished to live according to their own law, but that the Christians would be better regarded and treated than the others. All cried out with one voice that they were not becoming Christians through fear or to please us, but of their own free will. Then the captain told them that if they became Christians, he would leave a suit of armor,²⁸⁶ for so had his king commanded him; that we could not have intercourse with their women without committing a very great sin, since they were pagans; and that he assured them that if they became Christians, the devil would no longer appear to them except in the last moment at their death.²⁸⁷ They said that they could not answer the beautiful words of the

manj et faceffe de loro como de foy fideliſſimi feruitori Lo cap° piangendo li abrazo et agiungendo vna mano del principe et vna deL re fra le fue li diſſe p la fede portaua a dio et alimperatoř ſuo ſigniore et p Lo habito q̄ haueua li prometeua q̄ li daua la pace ppe tua col re deſpagnia reſpoſero que lo ſimille prometeuão Coneluſa la pace Lo cap° fece dare vna colatiõe poy lo principe et re preſentarono aL cap° da parte deL ſuo re alquanti ceſtoni de rizo porci capre et galine et li diſcero li perdonaſce p cio taL coſe erano pocque avno ſimille alui Lo cap° dono aL principe vno panno bianco di tella ſotiliſſima vno bonnet rozo aL quante felce de chriſtalino et vno biquier dorato de vetro. li vetri ſonno molto apreciati in queſte parte. AL re di mazaua nō li deto alguno pñte p che gia li aueua dato vna veſte de cambaya con altre coſe et ali altri aq̄ vna coſa aq̄ vnalt°. Mando poy aL re de zubu p mi et vnalt° vna veſte de ſeta gialla et morella aguisa Turcheſca vno bonnet roſo fino alquante filce de criſtalino poſto ogni coſa in vno piato dargento et dui biqui eri dorati in mano Quando focemo nela cita trouaſſemo Lo re in ſuo palatio cō molti homini q̄ ſe deua in tera ſoura vna ſtora di palma haueua ſola mente vno panno de tella de bombazo dinanzi ale fue vgonie vno velo intorno lo capo Lauorato aguchia vna Colana aL colo de grã precio due ſquione grande de oro tachate ale orecquie cō petre precioſe atorno era graſſo et piccolo et depinto cō

captain, but that they placed themselves in his hands, and that he should treat them as his most faithful servants. The captain embraced them weeping, and clasping one of the prince's hands and one of the king's between his own, said to them that, by his faith in God and to his sovereign, the emperor, and by the habit which he wore,²⁸⁸ he promised them that he would give them perpetual peace with the king of Spagnia. They answered that they promised the same. After the conclusion of the peace, the captain had refreshments served to them. Then the prince and the king [of Mazaua] presented some baskets of rice, swine, goats, and fowls to the captain-general on behalf of their king, and asked him to pardon them, for such things were but little [to give] to one such as he. The captain gave the prince a white cloth of the finest linen, a red cap, some strings of glass beads, and a gilded glass drinking cup. Those glasses are greatly appreciated in those districts. He did not give any present to the king of Mazaua, for he had already given him a robe of Cambaya, besides other articles.²⁸⁹ To the others he gave now one thing and now another. Then he sent to the king of Zubu through me and one other a yellow and violet silk robe, made in Turkish style, a fine red cap, some strings of glass beads, all in a silver dish, and two gilt drinking cups in our hands.²⁹⁰ When we reached the city we found the king in his palace surrounded by many people. He was seated on a palm mat on the ground, with only a cotton cloth before his privies, and a scarf embroidered with the needle about his head, a necklace of great value hanging from his neck, and two large gold earrings fastened in his ears set round

lo fuocho a diuer/e maniere mangiaua in tera /oura vnalt^a /tora oui de bissascutelaza poſti in dui vazi de porcelañ et haueua dinanzi quat^o vazi piennj de vino de palma /erati con erbe odiri fere et ficati catro cannuti con ogni vno cõ queſti beueua. Facta la debita reuerentia linterprete li diſſe como lo /uo /igniore lo reſgratiaua molto deL /uo pñte et que li mandaua queſto nõ p il /uo ma p lo trin/icho amore li portaua li ve/te/ſſemo la ve/te gli pone/ſſemo iL bonnet in capo et li de/ſſemo le altre co/e et poy ba/andoli vetri et ponendoli /oura lo capo le li pre/ſentai et facendo lui eL ſimilli li accepto poi iL re ne fece mãgiare de q^elli oui et bere con q^elli canuti li alti fui in queſto mezo gli di/ſſero lo parlam^{to} deL cap^o /op^a la pace et lo exortamento p farli xpiani iL Re ne volce te ner /echo acene li dice/ſſemo non poteuamo aloro re/ſtare pigliata la li/entia iL principe ne meno /eco a ca/a ſua doue /onauano catro fanciulle vna de tamburo amodo nõ ma era po/ta in tera Vnalt^a daua vno legnio facto alcanto gro/ſſo neL capo con tella de palma in due borquia pichate mo in la vna mo in lalt^a Lalt^a in vna borquia grande col mede/ſimo modo. La vltima cõ due brochiete in mão dando luna ne lalt^a faceua vno /uaue /onno tanto atempo /onauão que pareua haue/ſſeno grã racion deL canto Queſte erano a/ay belle et bian que

with precious gems. He was fat and short, and tattooed with fire²⁹¹ in various designs. From another mat on the ground he was eating turtle eggs which were in two porcelain dishes, and he had four jars full of palm wine in front of him covered with sweet-smelling herbs and arranged with four small reeds in each jar by means of which he drank.²⁹² Having duly made reverence to him, the interpreter told the king that his master thanked him very warmly for his present, and that he sent this present not in return for his present but for the intrinsic love which he bore him.²⁹³ We dressed him in the robe, placed the cap on his head, and gave him the other things; then kissing the beads and putting them upon his head, I presented them to him. He doing the same [*i.e.*, kissing them] accepted them. Then the king had us eat some of those eggs and drink through those slender reeds. The others, his men, told him in that place, the words of the captain concerning peace and his exhortation to them to become Christians. The king wished to have us stay to supper with him, but we told him that we could not stay then. Having taken our leave of him, the prince took us with him to his house, where four young girls were playing [instruments] — one, on a drum like ours, but resting on the ground; the second was striking two suspended gongs alternately with a stick wrapped somewhat thickly at the end with palm cloth; the third, one large gong in the same manner; and the last, two small gongs held in her hand, by striking one against the other, which gave forth a sweet sound. They played so harmoniously that one would believe they possessed good musical sense.

ca/i como le no/tre et co/i grande erano nude /inon ã haueuão tella de arbore de la cinta fina aL ginoquio et algune tute nude col pichieto dele orechie grande con vno cerquieto de legnio dentro quello tene tondo et largo cõ li capeli grandi et negri et cõ vno velo piccolo atorno iL capo et /empre di/calce iL principe ne fece balare cõ tre tutte nude merenda//emo et dapoy veni//emo ale nauì Que/te borchie /onno de metalo et /e fanno ne La regiõe deL /ignio magno ã e detta La China Quiui le vzanno Como nuy le campane et le chiamano aghon.

Mercore matina p e//ere morto vno deli no/ri nella nocte pa//ata linterprete et yo anda//emo adomander aL re doue lo poteriamo /e pelire troua//emo Lo re aCompagniato de molti homini acui facta la debita reueren/ia li lo di//e ri/po/e /e io et li mey va/alli /emo tucti deL tuo /igniore Quãto magiorm^{te} debe e//ere la terra et li dice como voleuamo con/acrare il luoco et meterlj vna croce ri/po/e que era molto contento et ã la voleua adorare como nuy altⁱ fu /epolto lo morto nela piazza aL meglio pote//emo p darli bõ exempio et poy la con/acra//emo /ultardi ne sepeli//emo vno alt^o porta//emo molta merchantia in terra et la mete//emo in vna ca/a q^aL el re Latol/e /oura /ua fede et Quatro homini ã eranno re/tati per merchadantare in gro//o. Que/ti populi viueno cõ Ju/itia pe/o et mezura amano la pace lotio et

Those girls were very beautiful and almost as white as our girls and as large. They were naked except for tree cloth hanging from the waist and reaching to the knees. Some were quite naked and had large holes in their ears with a small round piece of wood in the hole, which keeps the hole round and large. They have long black hair, and wear a short cloth about the head, and are always barefoot. The prince had three quite naked girls dance for us. We took refreshments and then went to the ships. Those gongs are made of brass [*metalo*] and are manufactured in the regions about the Signio Magno²⁹⁴ which is called China. They are used in those regions as we use bells and are called *aghon*.²⁹⁵

On Wednesday morning, as one of our men had died during the previous night, the interpreter and I²⁹⁶ went to ask the king where we could bury him. We found the king surrounded by many men, of whom, after the due reverence was made, I asked it.²⁹⁷ He replied, "If I and my vassals all belong to your sovereign, how much more ought the land." I told the king that we would like to consecrate the place,²⁹⁸ and to set up a cross there. He replied that he was quite satisfied, and that he wished to adore the cross as did we. The deceased was buried in the square with as much pomp as possible, in order to furnish a good example. Then we consecrated the place, and in the evening buried another man. We carried a quantity of merchandise ashore which we stored in a house. The king took it under his care as well as four men who were left to trade the goods by wholesale.²⁹⁹ Those people live in accordance with justice, and have weights and measures. They love

laquiete anno bilancie de legnio lo legnio a vna corda neL mezo cõ Laq^aL fetiene duno capo e piombo et delalt^o /egni como carti terci et librẽ Quando voleno pezare pigliano la belan/ia cñ e cõ tre filli como le nñe et la meteno /oura li /egni et cu/ipe/ano Ju/to anno mezure grandi//ime /enza fondo le Jouane Jogano de Zampognia fate Como le nñe et le chiamano Subin le ca/e /onno de legni de taule et de cane edificate /op^a pali groffi alti de terra ã bi/ognia andarui dent^o cõ /calle et anno camare como le nñe /oto le ca/e teneno li porci capre et galine /e trouono quiui corniulli grandi belli aL vedere ã amazano le balene leq^{alle} le Jnguiotano viui Quando loro /onno neL corpo veneno fuora deL /uo coperto et li magiano eL core Que/ta gente le trouano poi viui apre//o deL core dele ballenne morte Quenti anno denti la pelle negra iL coperto bianco et La carne Sonno boni da mangiare et le chiamano laghan.

Vennere li mo/tra//emo vna botega pienna de le nñe merchantie p ilque re/toronno molto admirati p metalle fero et lalt^a merchantia groffa ne dauano horo p le altre menute ne dauão ri/o porci et capre cõ altre vi tualgie Que/ti populi ne dauano x peci de oro p xiiij libre de ferro vno pezo e circo duno ducato emezo Lo cap^o gñale non vol/e /e piglia//e tropo oro perque /arebe /tato alguno marinaro ã hauerebe dato tuto Lo /uo p vno poco de oro

peace, ease, and quiet. They have wooden balances, the bar of which has a cord in the middle by which it is held. At one end is a bit of lead, and at the other marks like quarter-libras, third-libras, and libras. When they wish to weigh they take the scales which has three wires like ours, and place it above the marks, and so weigh accurately.³⁰⁰ They have very large measures without any bottom.³⁰¹ The youth play on pipes made like ours which they call *subin*. Their houses are constructed of wood, and are built of planks and bamboo, raised high from the ground on large logs, and one must enter them by means of ladders. They have rooms like ours; and under the house they keep their swine, goats, and fowls. Large sea snails [*corniolti*], beautiful to the sight, are found there which kill whales. For the whale swallows them alive, and when they are in the whale's body, they come out of their shells and eat the whale's heart. Those people afterward find them alive near the dead whale's heart. Those creatures have black teeth and skin and a white shell, and the flesh is good to eat. They are called *laghan*.³⁰²

On Friday we showed those people a shop full of our merchandise,³⁰³ at which they were very much surprised. For metals, iron, and other large merchandise they gave us gold. For the other smaller articles they gave us rice, swine, goats, and other food. Those people gave us x pieces of gold for xiiii libras of iron³⁰⁴ (one piece being worth about one and one-half ducados). The captain-general did not wish to take too much gold, for there would have been some sailors who would have given all that they owned for a small amount of gold, and would have

et haueria di/conciato Lo trafigo p semper Sabato
 p hauerẽ pmeffo Lo re aL cap° de far/i xþiano ne la
 dominicha se fece ne la piazza q̃ era sacrata vno tribu-
 nalle adornato de tapifferia et rami de palma p
 baptizarlo et mandoli adire q̃ nella matina nõ haue/e
 paure dele bombarde per cio era no/t° co/tume ne le
 fe/te magiore de/caricañ senza pietre.

Domeniga matina a Quatordize de ap'ille anda/-
 femo in terra Quaranta hõj cõ duy homini tucti
 armati denanzi aLa bandiera realle Quante di/mõ
 ta/femo se tira tucta lartigliaria Que/ti populi
 figuião diqua et de la Lo cap° et lo re se abraccio-
 rono lí di/fe q̃ la bandera realle nõ si portaua in terra
 finon cõ cinquanta homini Como erano li dui armati
 et cõ cinquanta /chiopeteri ma p lo /uo grande amore
 co/i la haueua portata poi tuti alegri anda//emo
 preffo aL tribunalle Lo cap° et Lo re /edeuão in
 cathedre de veluto rosso et morello li principalli in
 cuffini li alt' foura /tore lo Cap° di/fe aL re p lo
 interprete ringratia//e ydio p cio lo haueua in/pirato
 a far/se xþiano et que vincerebe piu facilmente li /ui
 nemi/i q̃ prima ri/pose q̃ voleua effere xþiano ma
 alcuni /ui principali nõ voleuano ho bedire p che
 diceuano effere cussi homini como lui alhora lo
 nõ cap° fece chiamare tucti li principali deL re et
 di/fe li /enon hobediũo aL re como /uo re li farebe
 amazare et daria la /ua roba aL re Ri/poseno lo

spoiled the trade for ever.³⁰⁵ On Saturday, as the captain had promised the king to make him a Christian on Sunday, a platform was built in the consecrated square, which was adorned with hangings and palm branches for his baptism. The captain-general sent men to tell the king not to be afraid of the pieces that would be discharged in the morning, for it was our custom to discharge them at our greatest feasts without loading with stones.³⁰⁶

On Sunday morning, April fourteen, forty men of us went ashore, two of whom were completely armed and preceded the royal banner.³⁰⁷ When we reached land all the artillery was fired.³⁰⁸ Those people followed us hither and thither. The captain and the king embraced. The captain told the king that the royal banner was not taken ashore except with fifty men armed as were those two, and with fifty musketeers; but so great was his love for him that he had thus brought the banner.³⁰⁹ Then we all approached the platform joyfully. The captain and the king sat down in chairs of red and violet velvet,³¹⁰ the chiefs on cushions, and the others on mats.³¹¹ The captain told the king through the interpreter that he thanked God for inspiring him to become a Christian; and that [now] he would more easily conquer his enemies than before. The king replied that he wished to become a Christian, but that some of his chiefs did not wish to obey, because they said that they were as good men as he. Then our captain had all the chiefs of the king called, and told them that, unless they obeyed the king as their king, he would have them killed, and would give their possessions to the king. They replied that they would

hebedirebẽo di//e aL re /e andaua in /pagnia
 retornarebe vnalt^a volta cõ tanto potere ã lo faria Lo
 maggior re de q^elle parte per che era /tato pⁱmo a
 voler far/e x^piano leuando li many aL ciello Lo
 rengratio et pregolo alguni de Ly /oy rimane//e a^çio
 meglio lui et li /ui populi focero in/tructi nelafede
 Lo cap^o re/po/e que p Contentarlo li La//arebe duy
 ma voleua menar /eco dui fanciulli deli principalli
 a^çio in para//eno la lingua n^{ra} et poi aLa ritornato
 /ape//ero dire aque/ti altri le co/e de/pagnia /e
 mi//e vna croce grande neL mezo de la piazza Lo
 cap^o li di//e /e/i voleuão far x^piani Como haueuão
 deto nelli giornj pa//ati li bi/ogniaua bru /are tucti
 li /ui ydoli et neL luoco loro metere vna croce et ogni
 di cõ le mane Joncte adorarla et ogni matina neL vzo
 far/i lo /egno de La croce mo/trandoli como li
 faceua et ogni hora al meno de matina doue//eno
 veni re a que/ta croce et adorarla in genoquioni et
 q^eL ã haueuão Ja deto vole/e^r cõ le bonne opere con-
 firmarlo el re cõ tucti li altⁱ voleuão confirmare lo
 tucto lo cap^o g^ñale li di//e como /era ve/tito tuto
 de bianco p mo/trarli Lo /uo /incero amore ver/o
 de loro ri/posero p li /ui dolci paroli nã /aperli
 re/pondere. Con que/te bonne parolle lo cap^o con-
 du//e lo re p la mão /uL tribunalle p baptizarlo et

obey him. The captain told the king that he was going to Spagnia, but that he would return again with so many forces that he would make him the greatest king of those regions, as he had been the first to express a determination to become a Christian. The king, lifting his hands to the sky, thanked the captain, and requested him to let some of his men remain [with him], so that he and his people might be better instructed in the faith. The captain replied that he would leave two men to satisfy him, but that he would like to take two of the children of the chiefs with him, so that they might learn our language, who afterward on their return would be able to tell the others the wonders [*cose*] of Spagnia. A large cross was set up in the middle of the square. The captain told them that if they wished to become Christians as they had declared on the previous days, that they must burn all their idols and set up a cross in their place. They were to adore that cross daily with clasped hands, and every morning after their [*i.e.*, the Spaniards'] custom, they were to make the sign of the cross (which the captain showed them how to make); and they ought to come hourly, at least in the morning, to that cross, and adore it kneeling. The intention that they had already declared, they were to confirm with good works. The king and all the others wished to confirm it thoroughly. The captain-general told the king that he was clad all in white to demonstrate his sincere love toward them. They replied that they could not respond to his sweet words. The captain led the king by the hand to the platform while speaking these good words in order to baptize him. He told the king

di//eli /e chiameria don carlo como alinperatoř /uo /igniore aL principe don fernando como aL fratello delinperatoř al Re de mazaua Johanni a vno principale fernando como iL principale no/t° çioe Lo cap°. Al moro x°foro poy ali alti aqⁱ vno nome et aqⁱ vno alt° forenno baptizati inanzi me//a cinque cento hominj Vdita la me//a lo cap° conuito adi/nar /eco lo re cō altri principali nō vol/ero ne acompagnarono fina ala riuā le nauī /caricorono tutte le bombarde et abrazando/e preffero Combiatto.

Dopo di/nare il prete et alcuni altri anda//emo in terra p baptizar La reyna laq^{alle} venne cō quaranta dame la conduce//emo /op^a lo tribunalle facendola /edere /oura vno coffino et lalt^e Zirca ella fin q^eL prete Sapara li mo/tray vno Jmagine de La nřa donna vno bambino di legnio beli//imo et vna croce p il que li venne vna constrictiōe q̄ piangendo domando lo bate/imo la nomina /emo Johanna como la madre de linperatoř /ua figliola moglie deL principe Catherina la reyna de mazaua lizabeta a le altre ognuna lo /uo nome bap tiza//emo octo cento anime fra homini donne et fanciulli la regina era Jouene et bella tuta coperta duno panno biancho et nero haueua la bocha et le onghie ro/i//ime in capo vno capello grande de foglie de palma amodo de /olana cō vna corona in circa de le mede/me foglie como q^{ella} deL papa ne may va in alguno locho /enza vna de que/te ne demando iL banbino p

that he would call him Don Carlo, after his sovereign the emperor; the prince, Don Fernando, after the emperor's brother; the king of Mazaua, Johanni; a chief, Fernando, after our chief, that is to say, the captain; the Moro, Christoforo; and then the others, now one name, and now another. Five hundred men were baptized before mass. After the conclusion of mass, the captain invited the king and some of the other chiefs to dinner, but they refused, accompanying us, however, to the shore. The ships discharged all the mortars; and embracing, the king and chiefs and the captain took leave of one another.³¹²

After dinner the priest and some of the others went ashore to baptize the queen, who came with forty women. We conducted her to the platform, and she was made to sit down upon a cushion, and the other women near her, until the priest should be ready. She was shown an image of our Lady, a very beautiful wooden child Jesus, and a cross. Thereupon, she was overcome with contrition, and asked for baptism amid her tears.³¹³ We named her Johanna, after the emperor's mother; her daughter, the wife of the prince, Catherina; the queen of Mazaua, Lisabeta; and the others, each their [distinctive] name. Counting men, women, and children, we baptized eight hundred souls.³¹⁴ The queen was young and beautiful, and was entirely covered with a white and black cloth. Her mouth and nails were very red, while on her head she wore a large hat of palm leaves in the manner of a parasol,³¹⁵ with a crown about it of the same leaves, like the tiara of the pope; and she never goes any place without such a one.³¹⁶ She asked us to give her the little child

tenerlo in locho de li /oi ydoli et poy /e parti /ul-
tardi iL re et la reyna cõ a/ayffime per/onne ven-
nerono aL lito lo cap° allora fece tirare molte
trombe de fuocho et bombarde groffe p ilche
pigliarono grandi/imo piaceñ eL cap° et lo re
/e chiamão fratelli Que/to re /e chiamaua raia
humabõ Jn anzi pa/a/ffeno octo giorni forenno
baptizati tucti de que/ta y/ola et dele altre alcuni
bru/a/ffemo vna vila p nõ vollere hobedire aL re ne
a noy la q^{alle} era in vna y/ola vicina aque/ta pone/-
femo quiui la croce p que que/ti populi erano gen-
tilli /e foffero /tato mori li hauere/ffemo po/to
vna colonna in /egno de piu dureza p che li mori
/onno a/ay piu duri p conuertirli cha li gentilli.

Jn que/ti giorni lo cap° gñalle andaua ogni di in
terra p vdir me/ffa et diceua aL re molte co/fe de La
fede La regina vene vno giorno cõ molta pompa
ad vdir la me/ffa tre donzelle li andauão dinanzi
con tre de li /ui capelli in mão eLa era ve/stita de
negro et bianco cõ vno velo grande de /eta trauer-
/ato cõ li/te de oro in capo q̄ li copriua li /palle et
cõ Lo /uo capello a/ayffime donne la /eguiuão
leq^{alle} erão tute nude et di/calce /enon Jntorno le
parte vgonio/fe haueuão vno paniocolo de tella de
palma et atorno lo capo vno velo picollo et tucti li
capilli /par/i La regina facta la reuerentia aL
altare /edete /up^a vno coffino Lauorato di /eta
inanzi /e comen/a/ffe la me/ffa iL cap° la ba gnio cõ
alquante /ue dame de hacqua roza mu/chiata molto

Jesus to keep in place of her idols;³¹⁷ and then she went away. In the afternoon,³¹⁸ the king and queen, accompanied by numerous persons, came to the shore. Thereupon, the captain had many trombs of fire and large mortars discharged, by which they were most highly delighted.³¹⁹ The captain and the king called one another brothers. That king's name was Raia Humabon. Before that week had gone, all the persons of that island, and some from the other islands, were baptized. We burned one hamlet which was located in a neighboring island, because it refused to obey the king or us. We set up the cross there for those people were heathen. Had they been Moros, we would have erected a column there as a token of greater hardness, for the Moros are much harder to convert than the heathen.

The captain-general went ashore daily during those days to hear mass, and told the king many things regarding the faith.³²⁰ One day the queen came with great pomp to hear mass. Three girls preceded her with three of her hats in their hands.³²¹ She was dressed in black and white with a large silk scarf, crossed with gold stripes thrown over her head, which covered her shoulders; and she had on her hat. A great number of women accompanied her, who were all naked and barefoot, except that they had a small covering of palm-tree cloth before their privies, and a small scarf upon the head, and all with hair flowing free. The queen, having made the due reverence to the altar, seated herself on a silk embroidered cushion. Before the commencement of the mass, the captain sprayed her and some of her women with musk rosewater, for they delighted ex-

/e delectauão de talle odore /apendo Lo cap° q°L bambino molto piaceua a la reyna liel dono et li di//e Lo tene//e in Locho de li /ui ydoli p che era in memoria deL figloL de dio ringratiandolo molto lo accepto.

Vno giorno lo cap° gñale inanzi *meffa fesse* venire lo re *vestito cõ la /ua veta de /eta* et li principali de la cita iL fradello deL re padre deL principe Se chiamaua bendara vno alt° fratello deL re Cadaio et alcuni Simiut */ibuaia Sisacai* et maghalibe et molti altⁱ que *lasso p non effere longo* fece tuti q̃/ti *Jurare effere hoberdienti aL /uo re* et li *ba/aronno* la mano poi fece q°L re *de//ere /empre hoberdiente* et *fidelle aL re de/pagnia* *cofi lo Juro* *ahora iL cap° cauo la /ua /pada* inanzi la ymagine de nãa donna et *di//e aL re Quando coffi /e Juraua* piu *pre/to doueria/i morire* que *aromper vno /imiL Juramẽto /iqueL Juraua p que/ta ymagine p la vita* de limperatoĩ */uo s°.* et p il */uo habito de//erle /empre fidelle* *facto que/to lo cap° donno aL re vna cathedra de veluta rosso* dicendoli *ounque anda//e /emp* La *face//e portare dinanzi avn /uo piu porpinque* et *mo/troli* *Como La /i doueua portare re/po/e* Lo farebe *volentierj p amore /uo* et *di/ce aL cap°* *Como faceua far vna Joya p donarlila laq°L era due /chione doro grande p tacare ali oreq̃e due p metere ali brazì Soura li gomedì* et due altre p *pore ali piedi /oura le calcagnie* et altre *petre precio/e p*

ceedingly in such perfumes. The captain knowing that the queen was very much pleased with the child Jesus, gave it to her, telling her to keep it in place of her idols, for it was in memory³²² of the son of God. Thanking him heartily she accepted it.

Before mass one day, the captain-general had the king come clad in his silk robe, and the chief men of the city, [to wit], the king's brother and prince's father, whose name was Bendara; another of the king's brothers, Cadaio; and certain ones called Simiut, Sibuaia, Sisacai, Maghalibe, and many others whom I shall not name in order not to be tedious.³²³ The captain made them all swear to be obedient to their king, and they kissed the latter's hand. Then the captain had the king declare that he would always be obedient and faithful to the king of Spagnia, and the king so swore.³²⁴ Thereupon, the captain drew his sword before the image of our Lady, and told the king that when anyone so swore, he should prefer to die rather than to break such an oath,³²⁵ if he swore by that image, by the life of the emperor his sovereign, and by his habit to be ever faithful. After the conclusion of that the captain gave the king a red velvet chair, telling him that wherever he went he should always have it carried before him by one of his nearest relatives; and he showed him how it ought to be carried. The king responded that he would do that willingly for love of him, and he told the captain that he was making a jewel to give to him, namely, two large earrings of gold to fasten³²⁶ in his ears, two armlets to put on his arms, above the elbows, and two other rings for the feet above the ankles, besides other precious

adornare le orecchie Que/ti sonno li piu belli adornamēti po//fano vzare li re de que/te bande liq^alli /empre vano de/calci con vno panno de tella de la cinta fina aL ginocchio.

JL cap^o gñale vno Jorno di//e al re et ali altⁱ p q^aL cagionne nō bruzauão li /oi ydoli como li haueuão pme//o efendo chri/tiannj et p che /e Ly /acrificaua tanta Carne ri/poro q^eL q̄ faceuão non Lo faceuão p loro ma p vno infermo açio li ydoli li da//e /alute laq^aL non parlaua Ja cat^o giorni era fratello deL principe et Lo piu valente et Sauio de La yolo Lo cap^o gli di//e q̄ bru//a/ero le ydoli et crede//eno in chri/to et /e linfermo /e bapti/a//e /ubito garirebe et /e cio nō foce li taglia//ero Lo capo alhora alhora ri/pose lo re lo farebe p che varamēte credeua in chri/to face//emo vna pce//ione dela piazza fino aLa ca/a de linfermo aL meglio pote//emo oue Lo troua//emo que non poteua parlare ne mouer/e Lo baptiza//emo cō due /ue mogliere et x donzelle poi lo cap^o li fece dire como /taua /ubito parlo et di//e como p la grac^a de n^o s^or. /taua a//ay benne Que/to fu vno manife//imo miraculo nelli tempi no/tⁱ Quando Lo cap^o Lo vdi parlare rengratio molto ydio et aloro li fece beuere vna mandolata q̄ gia laeua facta fare p lui poi mandogli vno matarazo vno paro de len/oli vna Coperta de panno Jallo et vno cu//fino et ogni giorno fin q̄ fo /anno li mãdo mandolattj acqua ro/a oleo

gems to adorn ³²⁷ the ears. Those are the most beautiful ornaments which the kings of those districts can wear. They always go barefoot, and wear a cloth garment that hangs from the waist to the knees.

One day the captain-general asked the king and the other people why they did not burn their idols as they had promised when they became Christians; and why they sacrificed so much flesh to them. They replied that what they were doing was not for themselves, but for a sick man who had not spoken now for four days, so that the idols might give him health. He was the prince's brother, and the bravest and wisest man in the island. The captain told them to burn their idols and to believe in Christ, and that if the sick man were baptized, he would quickly recover; and if that did not so happen they could behead him [*i.e.*, the captain] then and there. Thereupon, the king replied that he would do it, for he truly believed in Christ. We made a procession from the square to the house of the sick man with as much pomp as possible. There we found him in such condition that he could neither speak nor move. We baptized him and his two wives, and x girls. Then the captain had him asked how he felt. He spoke immediately and said that by the grace of our Lord he felt very well. That was a most manifest miracle [that happened] in our times. When the captain heard him speak, he thanked God fervently. Then he made the sick man drink some almond milk, which he had already had made for him. Afterward he sent him a mattress, a pair of sheets, a coverlet of yellow cloth, and a pillow. Until he recovered his health, the captain sent him almond milk, rose-

rozato et algune conferue de zucaro nõ /tete cinque giorni q^eL comincio a andare fece bruzare vno ydolo q̄ tenuião a/co/fo certe vecquie in ca/a /ua in p̄ntia deL re et tuto Lo populo et fece di/ffare molti tabernacoli p̄ la riuã deL mare neliq^alli mangiauão la carne con/acrata Loro medefimi Cridarono ca/tiglia ca/tiglia li rouinãuão et di/feno /e dio li pre/taua vita bru/arebenno quanti ydoli pote/fe trouare et /e benne fu/fero in ca/a deL re. Que/ti ydoli /onno de legnio Concaui /enza li parti de drieto anno Ly brazi aperti et li piedi voltati in /u/fo con le gambe aperte et Lo volto grande cõ quat^o denti grandiffimj como porci cingiari et /onno tucti depintj

Jn Que/ta ysola /onno molte ville li nomi de leq^alle et deli suoi et deli /ui prin cipali /onno que/ti Cinghapola li /ui principali Cilaton Ciguibucan Cimaningha Cimatichat CicanbuL Vna mandau iL /uo principale apanoan Vna lalan iL /uo principale theteu Vna lalutan iL /uo principale Tapan Vna cilumai et vnalt^a lubucun Tucti q³/ti ne hobedião et ne dauão victuuaglia et tributo Apre/fo que/ta yzola de zubu ne era vna q̄ /e chiamaua matan laq^aL faceua Lo porto doue eramo iL nome dela /ua villa era matan li /ui principali zula et Cilapulapu Quella villa q̄ bruza/fero era in que/ta yzola et Se chiama ua bulaia

Açio que v̄ra ilL^{ma} s^a /apia le Cerimonie q̄ vzanno Co/toro in benedire Lo porco primamente Sonano

water, oil of roses, and some sweet preserves. Before five days the sick man began to walk. He had an idol that certain old women had concealed in his house burned in the presence of the king and all the people. He had many shrines along the seashore destroyed,³²⁸ in which the consecrated meat was eaten. The people themselves cried out "Castiglia! Castiglia!" and destroyed³²⁹ those shrines. They said that if God would lend them life, they would burn all the idols that they could find, even if they were in the king's house. Those idols are made of wood, and are hollow, and lack the back parts. Their arms are open and their feet turned up under them with the legs open. They have a large face with four huge tusks like those of the wild boar; and are painted all over.

There are many villages in that island. Their names, those of their inhabitants, and of their chiefs are as follows: Cinghapola, and its chiefs, Cilaton, Ciguibucan, Cimaningha, Cimatichat, and Cicanbul; one, Mandau, and its chief, Apanoan; one Lalan, and its chief, Theteu; one, Lalutan, and its chief, Tapan; one Cilumai; and one, Lubucun.³³⁰ All those villages rendered obedience to us, and gave us food and tribute. Near that island of Zubu was an island called Matan, which formed the port where we were anchored. The name of its village was Matan, and its chiefs were Zula and Cilapulapu. That city which we burned was in that island and was called Bulaia.

In order that your most illustrious Lordship may know the ceremonies that those people use in consecrating the swine, they first sound those large

q^elle borchie grandi poi /e porta tre piati grād^j dui cō roze et fogace de rizo et miglio cote et riuolte in foglie con peche bru/tolato. Lalt^o con panne de Cambaia et due banderete di palma Vno pano de Cambaia /e di/tende in terra poi veneno duy femine Vequi//ime cia/cuna con vno tronbonne de cana in mão Quando /onno montate /uL panno fanno reuerentia aL /olle poi /e ve/tenno cō li pannj Vna /e pone vno faciollo ne La fronte con dui cornj et piglia vnalt^o faciolo ne le manj et balando et /unando con q^ello chiama iL /olle lalt^a piglia vna de q^elle banderete et balla et /uona col /uo trōbonne ballō et chiamāo cu//i vno pocho fra /e dicendo molte co/e aL /olle Quella deL faciolo piglia lalt^a bandereta et la/cio Lo faciolo et ambe due /onando cō li trombonj gran pezo balanno intorno Lo porco ligato Quella dali corni /empre parla tacitamēte aL /olle et q^eLa alt^a li ri/ponde poy aq^ella de li corni li e apre/entato vna taça de vino et balando et dicendo certe parolle et lalt^a re/pondendoli et facendo vista cat^o ho cinque volte de beuere eL vino /parge q^ello /oura eL core deL porcho poy /ubito torna abalare a Que/ta mede/ima vien dato vna lancia Ley vibrandola et dicendo alquante parolle /empre tute due balando et mo/trā do cat^o ho cinque volte de dare [de dare: *doublet in original MS.*] cō la lancia neL core aL porcho con vna /ubbita pre/teza Lo pa/ffa da parte aparte pre/to /i /era la ferita con erba

gongs.³³¹ Then three large dishes are brought in; two with roses and with cakes of rice and millet, baked and wrapped in leaves, and roast fish; the other with cloth of Cambaia³³² and two standards made of palm-tree cloth. One bit of cloth of Cambaia is spread on the ground. Then two very old women come, each of whom has a bamboo trumpet in her hand. When they have stepped upon the cloth they make obeisance to the sun. Then they wrap the cloths about themselves. One of them puts a kerchief with two horns on her forehead, and takes another kerchief in her hands, and dancing and blowing upon her trumpet, she thereby calls out to the sun. The other takes one of the standards and dances and blows on her trumpet. They dance and call out thus for a little space, saying many things between themselves to the sun. She with the kerchief takes the other standard, and lets the kerchief drop, and both blowing on their trumpets for a long time, dance about the bound hog. She with the horns always speaks covertly to the sun, and the other answers her. A cup of wine is presented to her of the horns, and she dancing and repeating certain words, while the other answers her, and making pretense four or five times of drinking the wine, sprinkles it upon the heart of the hog. Then she immediately begins to dance again. A lance is given to the same woman. She shaking it and repeating certain words, while both of them continue to dance, and making motions four or five times of thrusting the lance through the heart of the hog, with a sudden and quick stroke, thrusts it through from one side to the other. The wound is quickly stopped³³³ with

q^ella q̄ amazato iL porcho ponendo/e vna torfa
 acce/a in boca la/morza laq^alle /ta /empre acce/a in
 que/te Ceremonie Lalt^a coL capo deL trombonne
 bagnandolo neL /angue de porcho va /anguinando
 coL /uo dito La fronte pⁱma ali /oi mariti poy ali altⁱ
 ma ñ veñeroño may a noi poy /e di/ue/teno et
 vano amangiare Quelle co/e q̄ /onno nelli piati et
 Conuitano Senon femine Lo porcho /i pella cō lo
 fuecho /ique ni /uno alt^o que Le vequie con/acrano
 La carne di porcho et ñ La magiauaõ /e non fo/fe
 morta de que/ta /orte.

Que/ti populi vano nudi portano /olamente vno
 pezo de tella de palma otorno Le /ue vergonie
 grandi et piccoli hanno pa/ffato iL /uo membro circa
 dela te/ta de luna parte alalt^a con vno fero de oro
 houero de /tanio gro/fo como vna penna de ocha et
 in vno capo et lalt^o deL medefimo fero alguni anno
 Como vna /tella con ponte /oura li capi altⁱ como
 vna te/ta de chiodo da caro a/ai/ffime volte Lo
 vol/i vedere da molti co/i veqⁱ Como Joueni p che ñ
 lo pottea credere neL mezo dil fero e vn buso p
 ilq^alle vrinano iL fero et le /telle fem^ẽ /tanno
 ferme Loro dicono q̄ le /ue moglie voleno cu/ffi et /e
 fo/ffero de altra /orte ñ vzariano cō elli quando
 que/ti voleno vzare cō le femine Loro medi/ime Lo
 pigliano ñ in ordine et Cominciano pian piano a
 meter/i dento^o pⁱmo q^ella /tella de /oura et poy Lalt^a
 Quanto edent^o diuenta in ordine et cu/i /empre /ta
 dent^o fin que diuenta molle perche altramēti ñ Lo

grass. The one who has killed the hog, taking in her mouth a lighted torch, which has been lighted throughout that ceremony, extinguishes it.³³⁴ The other one dipping the end of her trumpet in the blood of the hog, goes around marking with blood with her finger first the foreheads of their husbands, and then the others; but they never came to us. Then they divest themselves and go to eat the contents of those dishes, and they invite only women [to eat with them]. The hair is removed from the hog by means of fire. Thus no one but old women consecrate the flesh of the hog, and they do not eat it unless it is killed in this way.³³⁵

Those people go naked, wearing but one piece of palm-tree cloth about³³⁶ their privies. The males, large and small, have their penis pierced from one side to the other near the head, with a gold or tin bolt as large as a goose quill. In both ends of the same bolt, some have what resembles a spur, with points upon the ends; others are like the head of a cart nail. I very often asked many, both old and young, to see their penis, because I could not credit it. In the middle of the bolt is a hole, through which they urinate. The bolt and the spurs always hold firm. They say that their women wish it so, and that if they did otherwise they would not have communication with them. When the men wish to have communication with their women, the latter themselves take the penis not in the regular way and commence very gently to introduce it [into their vagina], with the spur on top first, and then the other part. When it is inside it takes its regular position; and thus the penis always stays inside until it gets soft, for other-

porianno cauare fuora. Queſti populi vzanno queſto pche ſonno de debille natura anno Quante moglie voleno ma vna principalle Se vno deli nñi andaua in tera coſi dedi Como de nocte ogni uno Lo Conuitaua que mangiaſſe et q^eL beueſſe Le ſue viuande ſonno mezo cote et molto ſalate beueno ſpeſſo et molto con q^elli ſui Cannuti dali valzi et duro cinq³ oſey hore vno ſuo mangiare Le donne amauão a/ay piu noy que queſti atucti da ſey anny in ſu apoco apoco li apreno la natura p cagion de q^elli ſui membrj.

Quando vno deli ſui principali emorto li vzanno queſte Cerimonie pⁱma mente tutte le donne principale de la terra vano ala caſa deL morte in mezo dela caſa /ta lo morto in vna caſa in torno la caſa poneno corde a mo do duno ſtecato neliq^ali atachano molti ramy de arbore in mezo de ogni ramo e vno panno de bombaſo aguiſa de pauigliõe Soto liqualli ſedeanno le donne piu principali tute coperte de panne bianqⁱ de bombaſo per vna donzella p ogni vna q̄ li faceua vento cõ vno ſparauentolo di palma le alt^e ſedeanno intorno la camera meſte poy era vna q̄ tagliaua apoco apoco cõ vno cortello li capilli aL morto vnalt^a q̄ era /tata la moglie principale deL morto giaceua ſoura lui et giungeua la ſua boca le ſue many et li ſui piedi con q^elli deL morto. Quando q^ella tagliaua li capilj queſta piangeua et Quando reſtaua de tagliarli

wise they could not pull it out. Those people make use of that device because they are of a weak nature. They have as many wives as they wish, but one of them is the principal wife.³³⁷ Whenever any of our men went ashore, both by day and by night, every one invited him to eat and to drink. Their viands are half cooked and very salty. They drink frequently and copiously from the jars³³⁸ through those small reeds, and one of their meals lasts for five or six hours. The women loved us very much more than their own men. All of the women from the age of six years and upward, have their vaginas [*natura*] gradually opened because of the men's penises.³³⁹

They practice the following ceremonies when one of their chiefs dies. First all the chief³⁴⁰ women of the place go to the house of the deceased. The deceased is placed in the middle of the house in a box. Ropes are placed about the box in the manner of a palisade, to which many branches of trees are attached. In the middle of each branch hangs a cotton cloth like a curtained canopy. The most principal women sit under those hangings, and are all covered with white cotton cloth, each one by a girl who fans her with a palm-leaf fan. The other women sit about the room sadly.³⁴¹ Then there is one woman who cuts off the hair of the deceased very slowly with a knife. Another who was the principal wife of the deceased, lies down upon him, and places her mouth, her hands, and her feet upon those of the deceased. When the former is cutting off the hair, the latter weeps; and when the former finishes the cutting, the latter sings. There are many

que/ta Cantaua atorno la Camera erano molti vazi di porcelanna con fuoco et /up^a q^llo mira /torac et belgioui ã faceuano olere la ca/ta grande-mēte lo teneno in ca/ta cinque a/ey giorni cō Que/te Cerimonie Credo /ia onto de canfora poi Lo /epeliffeno cō La medefima ca/ta Serata con quiodi de legnio in vno legnio coperto et circondato de legni. ogni nocte in que/ta cita circa de la meza nocte veniua vno vccelo negri/ffimo grande Como vno Coruo et nō era cuf/ffo pre/ffo ne le ca/e cheL gridaua p ilque tucti li canj vrlauāo et duraua quat^o ocinque ore queL /uo gridare et vrlare nō ne vol/eno may dire la cagiō de que/ta.

Vennere a vinti/ey de aqⁱlLe Zula principale de q^lla y/ola matan mando vno /uo figliolo con due capre apre/ffentarle aL cap^o gñale et dicendoli Como li mandaua tuta /ua pme/ffa ma p cagion de lalt^o principale Cilapulapu ã nō voleua hoberire aL re de/ffagnia nō haueua potuto mandarglila et que neLa nocte /eguento li mandaffe /olamente vno battello pienno de homini p che lui li aiutaria et combateria Lo cap^o gñale delibero de andarui cō tre batelli Lo prega/ffemo molto nō vole/ffe vegnire ma lui Como bon pa/ffore non vol/e abandonare lo /uo grege. Ameza nocte /e parti/ffemo /exanta homini armati de cor/eletti et celade in/ieme col re xpiano iL principi et alguni maggiori et vinti o trenta ba languai et tre hore inan/i Lo Jorno ariua/ffemo a matan Lo cap^o non vol/e Combater alhora mali mando adire p lo moro /e voleuano hoberire

porcelain jars containing fire about the room, and myrrh, storax, and bezoin, which make a strong odor through the house, are put on the fire. They keep the body in the house for five or six days during those ceremonies. I believe that the body is anointed with camphor. Then they bury the body and the same box which is shut in a log by means of wooden nails and covered and enclosed by logs of wood.³⁴² Every night about midnight in that city, a jet black bird as large as a crow was wont to come, and no sooner had it thus reached the houses than it began to screech, so that all the dogs began to howl; and that screeching and howling would last for four or five hours,³⁴³ but those people would never tell us the reason of it.

On Friday, April twenty-six, Zula, a chief of the island of Matan,³⁴⁴ sent one of his sons to present two goats to the captain-general, and to say that he would send him all that he had promised, but that he had not been able to send it to him because of the other chief Cilapulapu, who refused to obey the king of Spagnia. He requested the captain to send him only one boatload of men on the next night, so that they might help him and fight against the other chief. The captain-general decided to go thither with three boatloads. We begged him repeatedly not to go, but he, like a good shepherd, refused to abandon his flock. At midnight, sixty men of us set out armed with corselets and helmets, together with the Christian king, the prince, some of the chief men, and twenty or thirty balanguais. We reached Matan three hours before dawn. The captain did not wish to fight then, but sent a message to the natives by the Moro to the effect that if they would obey the king

aL re de spagnia et recognio/cere Lo re x̃iano p̃ suo s̃e. et darne lo ñra tributo li farebe amicho ma se voleuano altramente a/pecta/ffeno como feriuão le ñre Lance r̃i/po/fero se haueuamo lance haueuão lancie de canne bru/tolatte et pali bru/tolate et que nō anda/ffemo alhora ad a/faltarli ma a/pecta/ffemo veni/ffo Lo giorno perche farebenno piu gente. Que/to diceuão açio anda femo aritrouarli p̃ che haueuão facto certi foffi fra le caze p̃ farne ca/care dent°. Venuto Lo giorno /alta/ffemo ne Lacqua fina ale coffie caranta noue homini et cu/ffi anda/ffemo piu de dui trati de bale/t^a inanzi pote/ffo ariuar aL litto li bateli non potereno vegnire piu inanzi p̃ certe petre q̃ erano neL acqua li altⁱ vndici homini re/tarono p̃ guardia de li bateli Quando ariua/ffemo in terra Que/ta gente haueuão facto tre /cadrony de piu de mille cinque cento p̃onne /ubito /entendone ne venirono a do/ffo con voci grandi/ffimi dui p̃ fiancho et Lalt^o p̃ contro. Lo cap^o quã do vi/te que/to ne fece dui parti et cofi comincia/ffemo a Combater li /quiopeti et bale/tieri tirarano da longi ca/ffi meza hora in vano /ola mente pa/ffandoli li targoni facti de tauole /otille et li brazi Lo capp^o gridaua nō tirare nō tirare ma non li valeua niente. Quando que/ti vi/tenno que tirauamo li /quiopeti in vano gridando deliborono a /tar forte ma molto piu gridauão Quando erano de/carigati li /quiopeti

of Spagnia, recognize the Christian king as their sovereign, and pay us our tribute, he would be their friend; but that if they wished otherwise, they should wait to see how our lances wounded.³⁴⁵ They replied that if we had lances they had lances of bamboo and stakes [hardened with fire. [They asked us] not to proceed to attack them at once, but to wait until morning, so that they might have more men. They said that in order to induce us to go in search of them; for they had dug certain pitholes between the houses in order that we might fall into them. When morning came forty-nine of us leaped into the water up to our thighs, and walked through water for more than two crossbow flights before we could reach the shore. The boats could not approach nearer because of certain rocks in the water. The other eleven men remained behind to guard the boats. When we reached land, those men had formed in three divisions to the number of more than one thousand five hundred persons. When they saw us, they charged down upon us with exceeding loud cries, two divisions on our flanks and the other on our front. When the captain saw that, he formed us into two divisions, and thus did we begin to fight. The musketeers and crossbowmen shot from a distance for about a half-hour, but uselessly; for the shots only passed through the shields which were made of thin wood and the arms [of the bearers]. The captain cried to them, "Cease firing! cease firing!" but his order was not at all heeded. When the natives saw that we were shooting our muskets to no purpose, crying out they determined to stand firm, but they redoubled their shouts. When our muskets were discharged, the na-

may nō /tauano fermi /altando dequa et dela coperti con li /ui targonj ne tirauão tante frechie Lance de canna alguno di fero aL cap° gñalle pali pontini bru/tolati pietre et Lo fango apena /e poteuão defendere. Vedendo que/to Lo cap° gñale mando alcuni abru/are le /ue ca/e per /pauentarli Quando que/ti vi/tenno bruzare le /ue caze deuentorono piu fero ci apre//o de le ca/e forenno amazati dui deli nrj et vinti o trenta ca/e li bru/a//emo ne venirono tanti ado//o ã pa//arono cō vna freza ve nenata La gamba drita aL cap° per il que comando ã /e retina//emo a poco apoco ma loro fugirono /ique resta//emo da /ey o octo cō lo capitano Que/ti non ne tirauão in alt° /inon ale gambe per ã erano nude p tante Lancie et pedre ã ne trahevano non pote//emo re/i/tere le bombarde de li batelli p effere tropo longui nō ne poteuão aiutare /iche veni//emo ritirando/i piu de vna bonna bale/trata longi de la riua /empre comba tendo ne lacque fin aL ginoquio /empre ne /eguitoro et repigliando vna medesima Lancie quat° o/ey volte ne La Lanciauano que/ti Connio//endo Lo cap° tanti /i voltorono /op^a de lui ã dui volte li botarono lo celadõe fora deL capo ma lui como bon Cauallero /empre /taua forte cō alcuni alti piu de vno hora co//i combate//emo et non volendo/i piu ritirare vno indio li lancio vna lanza di cana deL vizo lui /ubito cō la /ua Lancia Lo amazo et la/ciolila neL corpo poy volendo dar de

tives would never stand still, but leaped hither and thither, covering themselves with their shields. They shot so many arrows at us and hurled so many bamboo spears (some of them tipped with iron) at the captain-general, besides pointed stakes hardened with fire, stones, and mud, that we could scarcely defend ourselves. Seeing that, the captain-general sent some men to burn their houses in order to terrify them. When they saw their houses burning, they were roused to greater fury. Two of our men were killed near the houses, while we burned twenty or thirty houses. So many of them charged down upon us that they shot the captain through the right leg with a poisoned arrow. On that account, he ordered us to retire slowly, but the men took to flight, except six or eight of us who remained with the captain. The natives shot only at our legs, for the latter were bare; and so many were the spears and stones that they hurled at us, that we could offer no resistance. The mortars in the boats could not aid us as they were too far away. So we continued to retire for more than a good crossbow flight from the shore always fighting up to our knees in the water. The natives continued to pursue us, and picking up the same spear four or six times, hurled it at us again and again. Recognizing the captain, so many turned upon him that they knocked his helmet off his head twice, but he always stood firmly like a good knight, together with some others. Thus did we fight for more than one hour, refusing to retire farther. An Indian hurled a bamboo spear into the captain's face, but the latter immediately killed him with his lance, which he left in the Indian's body. Then, try-

mano a La spada non puote cauarla /enon meza per vna ferita de canna haueua neL brazo Quando vi/teno que/to tuti andorono adoffo alui vno cō vno grã terciado che e como vna /imitara ma piu groffo li dete vna ferita nelagamba /ini/tra p Laq^alle ca/co coL volto inanzi subito li foreno adoffo con Lancie de fero et de cana et con q^elli /ui terciadi fin que iL /pechio iL lume eL conforto et la vera guida nã amazarono Quando lo feriuão molte volte /e volto indrieto p vedere /e eramo tucti dent^o neli bateli poi vedendolo morto aL meglio pote/emo feriti /e ritraffemo ali batelli q̄ gia /e partiuão Lo re xp̄iano ne hauereba ajutato ma Lo cap^o inanzi di/montaffemo in tera li comi/fe non /i doue/fe partire dal /uo balanghai et /te/fe auedere in que modo Combateuão Quando lo re /epe como era morto piance /e non era que/to pouero cap^o niuno de noy Si /aluaua neli bateli p che Quando lui Combateua li altⁱ /e retiravão ali batelli. Spero in v̄a IlL^{ma} s^a La fama duno /i generoso cap^o non debia e/ferre extinta neli tempi no/ri fra le altre vertu q̄ eranno in lui era Lo piu Co/tante in vna grandiffima fortuna q̄ may alguno alt^o foffe /upō taua la fame piu q̄ tucti li altⁱ et piu Ju/tamente q̄ homo foffe aL mondo carteaua et nauigaua et /e Que/to fu iL vero /e ve de aperta mente ninguno alt^o haueñ auuto tanto Jngenio ni ardire de /aper dar vna volta aL mondo como Ja cazi lui haueua dato. Que/ta bataglia fo

ing to lay hand on sword, he could draw it out but halfway, because he had been wounded in the arm with a bamboo spear. When the natives saw that, they all hurled themselves upon him. One of them wounded him on the left leg with a large cutlass,³⁴⁶ which resembles a scimitar, only being larger. That caused the captain to fall face downward, when immediately they rushed upon him with iron and bamboo spears and with their cutlasses, until they killed our mirror, our light, our comfort, and our true guide. When they wounded him, he turned back many times to see whether we were all in the boats. Thereupon, beholding him dead, we, wounded, retreated, as best we could, to the boats, which were already pulling off. The Christian king would have aided us, but the captain charged him before we landed, not to leave his balanghai, but to stay to see how we fought. When the king learned that the captain was dead, he wept. Had it not been for that unfortunate captain, not a single one of us would have been saved in the boats, for while he was fighting the others retired to the boats. I hope through [the efforts of] your most illustrious Lordship that the fame of so noble a captain will not become effaced in our times. Among the other virtues which he possessed, he was more constant than ever any one else in the greatest of adversity. He endured hunger better than all the others, and more accurately than any man in the world did he understand sea charts³⁴⁷ and navigation. And that this was the truth was seen openly, for no other had had so much natural talent nor the boldness to learn how to circumnavigate the world, as he had almost done. That battle was fought

facta aL Sabato vinti/ete de ap'lle 1521. iL cap° La vol/e fare in /abato p̄ q̄ era lo giorno /uo deuoto nelaq'lle foreno morti con lui octo de li n̄fi et cat° Jndij facto xp̄iani dale bombarde, deli bateli q̄ erano da poy venutj p̄ aiutarne et deli nimici Se non Quindici ma molti de noy feriti.

Dopo di/nare le re xp̄iano mando adire cō Lo no/t° con/entimēto aquelli de matan se ne voleuão dare lo cap° con li alt' morti q̄ li dare//emo Quanta merchadantia vole//ero ri/po/ero non /i daua vno taL homo como pen/auamo et q̄ non Lo darebenno p̄ la maggior riche//a deL mondo ma lo voleuano tenere p̄ memoria /ua.

Sabato q̄ fo morto Lo cap° q'elli cat° q̄ /tauano nela cita p̄ merchadantare fecero portare le no/tre merchantie alle nauì poy face//emo dui gu bernatori duarte barboza portugue/e parente deL cap°. et Johã /eranno /pagniolo linterprete n̄o q̄ /e chiamaua henrich p̄ effere vno poco ferito nō andaua piu in terra p̄ fare le co/e n̄e nece//arie ma /taua /empre ne La /quiauina p̄ ilque duarte barbo/a guuernatoř de la naue cap^a li grido et di//egli /e benne e morto Lo cap° /uo s°. p̄ que/to non era libero anzi voleua Quando fo//emo ariuati in e/pagnia /empre fo//e /chiauò de ma dona beatrice moglie deL cap° gñale et minaciandoli /e non anda ua in terra Lo frustaria

on Saturday, April twenty-seven, 1521.³⁴⁸ The captain desired to fight on Saturday, because it was the day especially holy to him. Eight of our men were killed with him in that battle,³⁴⁹ and four Indians, who had become Christians and who had come afterward to aid us were killed by the mortars of the boats. Of the enemy, only fifteen were killed, while many of us were wounded.

6 8) In the afternoon the Christian king sent a message with our consent to the people of Matan, to the effect that if they would give us the captain and the other men who had been killed, we would give them as much merchandise as they wished. They answered that they would not give up such a man, as we imagined [they would do], and that they would not give him for all the riches in the world, but that they intended to keep him as a memorial.³⁵⁰

On Saturday, the day on which the captain was killed, the four men who had remained in the city to trade, had our merchandise carried to the ships. Then we chose two commanders, namely, Duarte Barboza,³⁵¹ a Portuguese and a relative of the captain, and Johan Seranno, a Spaniard.³⁵² As our interpreter, Henrich by name, was wounded slightly, he would not go ashore any more to attend to our necessary affairs, but always kept his bed. On that account, Duarte Barboza, the commander of the flagship, cried out to him and told him, that although his master, the captain, was dead, he was not therefore free; on the contrary he [*i.e.*, Barboza] would see to it that when we should reach Espagnia, he should still be the slave of Doña Beatrice, the wife of the captain-general.³⁵³ And threatening the slave that

Lo /chiauo /i leuo et mo/tro de non far cōto de que/te parolle et ando in tera adire al re x̄piano Como /e voleuão partire pre/to ma /e lui voleua far a /uo modo gadaneria li naue et tucte le n̄e merchantie et cussi ordinorono vno tradimento Lo /quiauo retorno ale naue et mo/tro effere piu /acente que p̄ma

Mercore matina p̄mo de magio Lo re x̄pono mando adire ali gouernatory Como erano preparate le gioie haueua p̄me/fo de mandare aL re de/ /pagnia et que li pregaua cō li alt̄i /oi anda/ero di/finare /echo q̄lla matina q̄ li la darebe andorono 24 homini in tera cō que/ti ando Lo n̄o a/trologo che /e chiamaua s. martin de siuilla yo non li pote andare p̄ che era tuto infiato per vna ferita de freza venenata che haueua nela fronte Jouan caruaio cō Lo bari-zello tornorono indietro et ne di/cero como vi/teno colui re/ta nato p̄ miracolo menare Lo prete aca/ta /ua et p̄ que/to /eranno partittj per che dubitauão de q̄lque malle nō di/fero cofi pre/to le parolle que /enti/ffimo grã gridi et Lamenti /ubito leua/ffemo lanchore et tirando molte bombarde nele ca/e ne appinqua/ffemo piu ala terra et cussi tirãdo vede/ffemo Johã /eranno in camiza ligato et ferito gridare nō doue/ffemo piu tirare per che Lamazarebenno li domanda/ffemo /e tucti li alt̄i con lo interprete erano mōrti di/ffe tucti erano mōrti /aluo linterprete ne prego molto Lo doue/ffemo re/catare cō q̄lque

if he did go ashore, he would be flogged, the latter arose, and, feigning to take no heed to those words, went ashore to tell the Christian king³⁵⁴ that we were about to leave very soon, but that if he would follow his advice, he could gain the ships and all our merchandise. Accordingly they arranged a plot, and the slave returned to the ship, where he showed that he was more cunning³⁵⁵ than before.

On Wednesday morning, the first of May, the Christian king sent word to the commanders that the jewels³⁵⁶ which he had promised to send to the king of Spagnia were ready, and that he begged them and their other companions to come to dine with him that morning, when he would give them the jewels. Twenty-four men went ashore, among whom was our astrologer, San Martín de Sivilla. I could not go because I was all swollen up by a wound from a poisoned arrow which I had received in my face. Jovan Carvaio and the constable³⁵⁷ returned, and told us that they saw the man who had been cured by a miracle take the priest to his house.³⁵⁸ Consequently, they had left that place, because they suspected some evil. Scarcely had they spoken those words when we heard loud cries and lamentations. We immediately weighed anchor and discharging many mortars into the houses, drew in nearer to the shore. While thus discharging [our pieces] we saw Johan Seranno in his shirt bound and wounded, crying to us not to fire any more, for the natives would kill him.³⁵⁹ We asked him whether all the others and the interpreter were dead. He said that they were all dead except the interpreter. He begged us earnestly to redeem him with some of the merchandise;

merchadantia ma Johā caruiao /uo compare non vol/ero p restare loro patronj andaffe Lo batello in tera Ma Johan feranno pur piangendo ne di/fe q̄ nō hauere/ffemo cofi pre/fo facto vella q̄ lauerianno amazato et di/fe q̄ pregaua ydio neL Jorno deL Juditio dimandaffe Lanima /ua a Johan caruiao /uo compadre /ubito /e parti/ffemo nō /o /e morto o viuo lui re/ta/ffe.

Jn que/ta yzola /e troua cani gati rizo millio panizo /orgo gengero figui neranzi limone Canne dolci agio meL cochi chiacare zuche carne de molte /orte vino de palma et oro et e grande y/ola con vno bon porto q̄ a due intrate vna aL ponente lalt^a aL grego et leuante /ta de Latitudine aL polo articho in x gradi de longitudine de la linea de la repartitiōe cento /exanta cat^o gradi et /e chiama Zubu Quiui inanzi q̄ mori/fe lo cap^o genneralle haue/ffemo noua de malucho Que/ta gente /onano de viola cō corde de ramo.

Vocabuli de que/ti populi gentili.

AL homo:	lac
ALa donna	paranpaon
ALa Jouene	beni beni
Ala maritata	babay
Ali capilli	bo ho
AL vizo	guay
Ale palpebre	pilac
Ale ciglie	chilei.
Al ocquio	matta.
AL nazo	Jlon.

but Johan Carvaio, his boon companion, [and others] would not allow the boat to go ashore so that they might remain masters of the ships.³⁶⁰ But although Johan Serrano weeping asked us not to set sail so quickly, for they would kill him, and said that he prayed God to ask his soul of Johan Carvaio, his comrade, in the day of judgment, we immediately departed. I do not know whether he is dead or alive.³⁶¹

In that island are found dogs, cats, rice, millet, panicum, sorgo, ginger, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], oranges, lemons, sugarcane, garlic, honey, cocoanuts, nangcas,³⁶² gourds, flesh of many kinds, palm wine, and gold.³⁶³ It is a large island, and has a good port with two entrances – one to the west and the other to the east northeast.³⁶⁴ It lies in x degrees³⁶⁵ of latitude toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-four³⁶⁶ degrees from the line of demarcation. Its name is Zubu. We heard of Malucho there before the death of the captain-general. Those people play a violin with copper strings.

Words of those heathen people

For Man	lac
for Woman	paranpaon
for Young woman	beni beni
for Married woman	babay
for Hair	boho
for Face	guay
for Eyelids	pilac
for Eyebrows	chilei
for Eye	matta
for Nose	ilon

Ale ma//elle	apin
Ali labri	oloL.
A la bocca	baba.
A li denti	nipin
Ale gengiue	leghex.
Ala lingua	dilla
Alle orecchie	delengan.
Ala gola	liogh.
AL collo	tangip
AL mento	q̄ilan.
ALa barba	bonghot
Ale /palle	bagha.
A la /chena	licud.
AL peto	dughan
AL corpo	tiam
Soto li braci	Jlot
AL bracio	botchen
AL gomedo	/ico
AL pol/o	molanghai
ALa mano	camat
A la palma de la man	palan
AL dito	dudlo
Ala ongia	coco
AL Lombelico	pu/ut
AL membro	vtin
Ali te/ticoli	boto
Ala natura de le donne	billat
AL vzar cõ loro	Jiam
Ale cullate	/amput
Ala co/sa	paha
AL ginocchio	tuhud.
AL Schincho	ba/sag ba/sag

for Jaws	apin
for Lips	olol
for Mouth	baba
for Teeth	nipin
for Gums	leghex
for Tongue	dilla
for Ears	delengan
for Throat	liogh
for Neck	tangip
for Chin	queilan
for Beard	bonghot
for Shoulders	bagha
for Spine	licud
for Breast	dughan ³⁶⁷
for Body	tiam
Armpit	ilot
for Arm	botchen
for Elbow	sico
for Pulse	molanghai
for Hand	camat
for the Palm of the hand	palan
for Finger	dudlo
for Fingernail	coco
for Navel	pusut
for Penis	utin
for Testicles	boto
for Vagina ³⁶⁸	billat
for to have Communi- cation with women	jiam
for Buttocks	samput
for Thigh	paha
for Knee	tuhud
for Shin	bassag bassag ³⁶⁹

ALa polpa de la gamba	bitis
ALa cauechia	bolboL
AL calcagnio	tiochid
Ala folla deL pie	Lapa lapa
AL horo	balaoan
AL argento	pilla
AL Laton	concach
AL fero	butan
Ale canne dolce	tube
AL cuchiaro	gandan
AL rizo	bughax baras
AL melle	deghex
ALa cera	talho
AL /alle	acin
AL vino	tuba nio nipa
AL bere	MinuncubiL
AL mangiare	maCan.
AL porcho	babui
ALa capra	candin
ALa galina	monoch
AL miglio	humas
AL /orgo	batat
AL panizo	dana
AL peuere	mani//a
Ali garofoli	chianche.
ALa Cannella	mana.
AL gengero	luia
AL ayo	Laxuna
Ali naran/i	ac/ua
AL ouo	/ilog
AL coco	lubi.
AL acceto	zlucha
AL acqua	tubin

for Calf of the leg	bitis
for Ankle	bolbol
for Heel	tiochid
for Sole of the foot	lapa lapa
for Gold	balaoan
for Silver	pilla
for Brass	concach
for Iron	butan
for Sugarcane	tube
for Spoon	gandan
for Rice	bughax baras
for Honey	deghex
for Wax	talho
for Salt	acin
for Wine	tuba nio nipa
for to Drink	minuncubil
for to Eat	macan
for Hog	babui
for Goat	candin
for Chicken	monoch
for Millet	humas
for Sorgo	batat
for Panicum	dana ³⁷⁰
for Pepper	manissa
for Cloves	chianche
for Cinnamon	mana
for Ginger	luia
for Garlic	laxuna
for Oranges	acsua
for Egg	silog
for Coconut	lubi
for Vinegar	zlucha
for Water	tubin

AL fuoco	Clayo.
AL fumo	assu.
AL /ofiare	tigban.
Alle balencie	tinban
AL pezo	tahiL
Ala perla	mutiara.
Ale madre de le perle	tipay.
Ala zampognia	Subin
AL mal de s ^{to} Job. portame	Alupalan palatin comorica
Acerte fogacie de rizo	tinapai
buono	main
Nō	ti da le
AL cortello	capol /undan
Ale forfice	catle
A tosare	chunthinch
AL homo ben hornato	pixao
Ala tella	balandan
A li panni q̃ /e copreno	Abaca
AL conaglio	colon colon
Ali pater n̄j dogni /orte	tacle
AL petine	cutlei mi/samis
AL pentinare	monsughud.
ALa Camiza	Sabun.
ALa gugia de cofire	daghu
AL cufire	mamis
A La porcelana	mobuluc
AL cana	aian ydo
AL gato	epos.

for Fire	clayo
for Smoke	assu
for to Blow	tigban
for Balances	tinban
for Weight	tahil ³⁷¹
for Pearl	mutiara
for Mother of pearl	tipay
for Pipe [a musical instrument]	subin
for Disease of St. Job	alupalan ³⁷²
Bring me	palatin comorica
for certain Rice cakes	tinapai ³⁷³
Good	main
No	tidale
for Knife	capol, sundan
for Scissors	catle
To shave	chunthinch
for a well adorned Man	pixao
for Linen	balandan
for the cloth with which they cover themselves	abaca
for hawk'sbell	coloncolon ³⁷⁴
for Pater nosters of all classes	tacle
for Comb	cutlei, missamis
for to Comb	monssughud
for Shirt	sabun
for Sewing-needle	daghu
for to Sew	mamis
for Porcelain	mobuluc
for Dog	aian, ydo
for Cat	epos

Ali /ui veli	gapas
Ali cri/talini	balus
Vien q ⁱ	marica
Ala caza	Jlaga balai
AL legniamè	tatamue
Alle /tore doue dormeno	Tagichan
Ale /tore de palma	bani
Ale cuffini de foglie	Vliman
A li piati de legnio	dulan
AL /uo ydio	Abba.
AL /olle	adlo
ALa luna	/onghot
Ala /tela	bolan bunthun.
ALa aurora	mene
Ala matina	vema
Ala taza	tagha
grande	ba/saL
AL arco	bo/sugh.
ALa freza	oghon.
Ali targoni	cala/san.
A le ve/te inbotide p combater	baluti
Ale /ue daghe	calix baladao
Ali /ui tertiadi	Campilan.
A la Lancia	bancan.
El talle	tuan.
Ali figui	/aghin
Ale zuche	baghin
Ale corde dele /ue violle	gotzap
AL fiume	tau.
AL ri/aio p pe/care	pucat laia

for their Scarfs	gapas
for Glass Beads	balus
Come here	marica
for House	ilaga, balai
for Timber	tatamue
for the Mats on which they sleep	tagichan
for Palm-mats	bani
for their Leaf cushions	uliman
for Wooden platters	dulan
for their God	abba
for Sun	adlo
for Moon	songhot
for Star	bolan, bunthun
for Dawn	mene
for Morning	uema
for Cup	tagha
Large	bassal
for Bow	bossugh
for Arrow	oghon
for Shields	calassan
for Quilted garments used for fighting	baluti
for their daggers	calix, baladao
for their Cutlasses	campilan
for Spear	bancan
for Like	tuan
for Figs [<i>i.e.</i> , bananas]	saghin
for Gourds	baghin
for the Cords of their violins	gotzap
for River	tau
for Fishing-net	pucat, laia

AL batello	/ampan.
A le canne grande	cauaghan.
Ale piccole	bonbon.
Ale fue barche grande	balanghai
Ale fue barque picolle	boloto
Ali granci	Cuban
AL pe/ce	Jcam y//ida
A vno pe/cie tuto depinto	panap /apã
A vno alt° ro//o	timuan.
A vno certo alt°	pilax
A vno alt°	emaluan.
Tuto e vno	Siama siama.
A vno /chiauo	bon/uL
A la forca	bolle
ALa naue	benaoa
A vno re o cap° gñale	raia.

Numero:

Vno	Vzza
duy	dua
tre	tolo.
Quat°	vpat
Cinque	lima
Sey	onom
Sette	pitto
octo	gualu
Noue	Ciam.
Diece	polo.

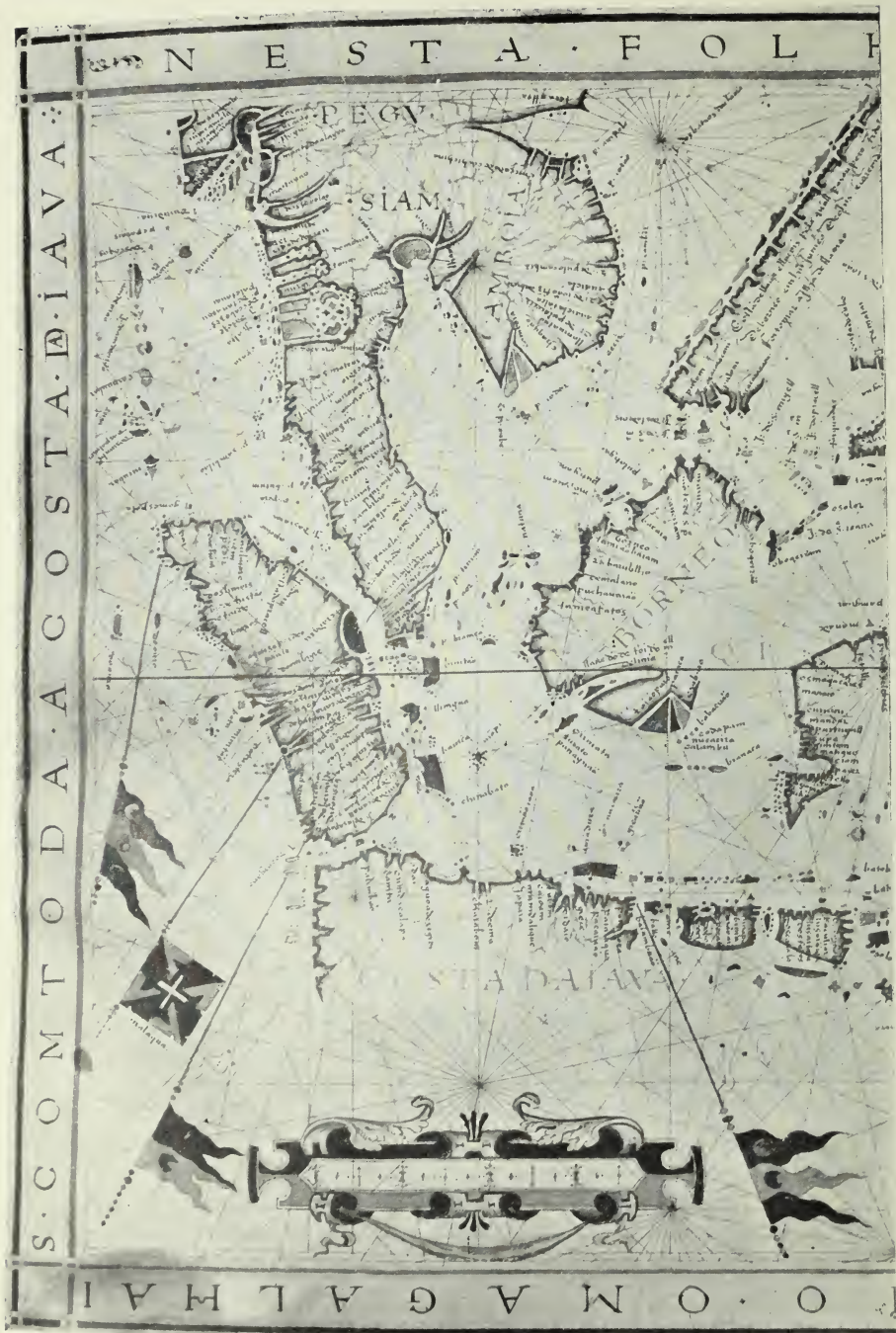
(Continued in Vol. II, page 12.)

for small Boat	sampan
for large Canes	cauaghan
for the small ones	bonbon
for their large Boats	balanghai
for their small Boats	boloto ³⁷⁵
for Crabs	cuban
for Fish	icam, yssida
for a Fish that is all colored	panapsapan
for another red [Fish]	timuan
for a certain other [kind of Fish]	pilax
for another [kind of Fish]	emaluan
All the same	siamasiamas
for a Slave	bonsul
for Gallows	bolle
for Ship	benaoa
for a King or Captain- general	raia

Numbers

One	uzza
two	dua
three	tolo
four	upat
five	lima
six	onom
seven	pitto
eight	gualu
nine	ciam
ten	polo ³⁷⁶

(Continued in Vol. II, page 13.)



Map showing discoveries of
Fernão Vas Dou-
[From original MS. in Archivo



Magalhães, from *Mappamundo*
rado (Goa, 1571)

Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon]

NOTES

[*Note:* In the following notes, citations from Richard Eden are made from Arber's reprint *The first three English books on America* (Birmingham, 1885), from the third book, entitled *The decades of the newe worlde*, first printed in London in 1555; from Mosto, from *Il primo viaggio, intorno al globo di Antonio Pigafetta*, by Andrea da Mosto (Roma, 1894), which was published as a portion of part v of volume iii of *Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana pel quarto centenario dalla scoperta dell'America*, appearing under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction; and from Stanley, from his *First voyage round the world, by Magellan* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1874), which was translated by Lord Stanley in part from the longer French MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in part from the Amoretti publication (Milan, 1800) made from the Italian MS. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.]

[*Note:* References in small capitals throughout these notes (as for instance, VOL. II, p. 26) are to Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*.]

¹ The greater part of the life of Antonio Pigafetta is shrouded in darkness. The Pigafetta family, who resided at Venice, and was formerly of Tuscan origin, dates back before him for several centuries. The Pigafetta escutcheon was white above and black below with a white transverse bar running from left to right. On the lower part were three red roses, one of them on the bar. The old family house is still standing and shows the motto *Il nest rose sans espine*, i.e., "No rose without a thorn," which was probably carved in 1481, when the house was repaired, and not by Antonio Pigafetta after his return from his voyage as some assert. Antonio Pigafetta was born toward the close of the fifteenth century, but the date cannot be positively fixed, some declaring it to be 1491; but HARRISSE who follows MARZARI, gives the date as 1480. It is unknown who his parents were and some have asserted that he was a natural child, although this is evidently unfounded, as he was received into the military order of St. John. At an early age he probably became familiar with the sea and developed his taste for traveling. He went to Spain with the Roman ambassador Chierigato, in 1519, but in what capacity is unknown. Hearing details of Magalhães's intended voyage he contrived to accompany him. Navarrete surmises that he is the Antonio Lombardo mentioned in the list of the captain's servants and volunteers who sailed on the expedition, so called

as his country was Lombardy. After the return of the "Victoria," he journeyed in Spain, Portugal, and France, and returned to Italy probably in January, 1523. The relation presented by him to Cárlos I was probably a draft of his notes taken daily throughout the voyage. His *Relation* as we know it was undertaken at the request of the marchioness of Mantova, but its composition was arrested by an order from Clement VII to come to Rome, whither he went in December, 1523, or January, 1524, meeting Villiers l'Isle-Adam on his journey thither. He remained in the pope's service but a short time, for in April, 1524, he was back in Venice. That same year he was granted a copy-right on his *Relation*, which he intended to print, for twenty years. Pozzo says that he was received into the Order of St. John, October 3, 1524, but it was probably somewhat before that date. Between the dates of August, 1524, and August, 1530, his work was presented to Villiers l'Isle-Adam. Nothing further is known of him, though some say that he fought against the Turks as late as 1536, while others have placed his death in 1534 or 1535 and at Malta. In addition to his *Relation* Pigafetta wrote a *Treatise on the art of navigation*, which follows his *Relation*. This is not presented in the present publication, notwithstanding its importance, as being outside of the present scope. It is reproduced by Mosto. He has sometimes been confused with Marcantonio Pigafetta (a Venetian gentleman), the author of *Itinerario da Vienna a Constantinopoli* (London, 1585); and wrongly called Vincenzo Antonio Pigafetta, the "Vincenzo" being an error for "vicentino," i.e., "Venetian." See Mosto, *Il primo viaggio... di Antonio Pigafetta* (Roma, 1894), pp. 13-30; Larousse's *Dictionnaire*; and *La grande Encyclopédie* (Paris).

² The Order of St. John of Jerusalem. See VOL. II, p. 26, note 2. Throughout this *Relation* Pigafetta's spelling of proper names is retained.

³ Philippe de Villiers l'Isle-Adam, the forty-third grand master of the Order of the Knights of St. John (called Knights of Malta after 1530), was born of an old and distinguished family at Beauvais, in 1464, and died at Malta, August 21, 1534, at grief, some say, over the dissensions in his order. He was elected grand master of his order in 1521 and in the following year occurred his heroic defense of Rhodes with but four thousand five hundred soldiers against the huge fleet and army of Soliman. After six months he was compelled to surrender his stronghold in October, and refusing Soliman's entreaties to remain with him, went to Italy. In 1524 he was given the city of Viterbe by Clement VII, where in June of 1527 he held a general chapter of his order, at which it was decided to accept the island of Malta which had been offered by Charles V. The gift was confirmed by the letters-patent of Charles V in 1530, and Villiers l'Isle-

Adam went thither in October of that year. He was always held in high esteem for his bravery, prudence, and piety. See Moreri's *Dictionnaire*, and Larousse's *Dictionnaire*.

⁴ The four MSS. of Pigafetta's *Relation* are those known as the Ambrosian or Italian, so called from its place of deposit, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; no. 5,650, conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in French; no. 24,224, in the same library, also in French; and the Nancy MS. (also French) so called because it was conserved in Nancy, France, now owned by the heirs of Sir Thomas Phillips, Cheltenham, England. The MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale are both shorter than the Italian MS. The Nancy MS. is said to be the most complete of the French manuscripts. The best bibliographical account of these four MSS. that has yet appeared is by Mosto *ut supra*. A full bibliographical account of both the MSS. and printed books will be given in the volume on bibliography in this series.

There are a number of radical differences between the Paris MS. no. 5,650 (which will be hereafter referred to simply as MS. 5,650) and the Italian MS., these differences including paragraph structure and the division of MS. 5,650 into various chapters, although the sequence is on the whole identical. The most radical of the differences will be shown in these notes. MS. 5,650 contains the following title on the page immediately preceding the beginning of the relation proper: "Navigation and discovery of Upper Indie, written by me, Anthoyne Pigaphete, a Venetian, and knight of Rhodes."

⁵ The emperor Charles V; but he was not elected to that dignity until June, 1519. Pigafetta writing after that date is not explicit.

⁶ Francesco Chiericati was born in Venice, in one of the most ancient and famous families of that city, at the end of the fifteenth century. He attained préeminence at Sienna in both civil and ecclesiastical law. Aided by Cardinal Matteo Lang, bishop of Sion, he was received among the prelates of the apostolic palace. Later he conducted several diplomatic missions with great skill. He left Rome for Spain in December, 1518, on a private mission for the pope, and especially to effect a crusade against the Turks who were then invading Egypt and threatening Christianity. His house at Barcelona became the meeting-place of the savants of that day who discussed literature and science. See Mosto, p. 19, note 3.

⁷ MS. 5,650 adds: "scholars and men of understanding."

⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "so that I might satisfy the wish of the said gentlemen and also my own desire, so that it could be said that I had made the said voyage and indeed been an eyewitness of the things hereafter written."

⁹ See VOL. I, p. 250, note 192 for sketch of Magalhães. The only adequate life of Magalhães in English is that of Guillemard.

¹⁰ That is, the Order of Santiago. See VOL. I, p. 145, note 171. Magalhães and Falero were decorated with the cross of comendador of the order by Carlos I in the presence of the royal Council in July, 1518. See Guillemard's *Ferdinand Magellan*, p. 114.

¹¹ See VOL. I for various documents during the period of the preparation of the fleet; also Guillemard's *Magellan*, pp. 114-116 and 130-134; and Stanley's *First Voyage*, pp. xxxiv-xlvi.

¹² Pope Clement VII, who assumed the papacy November 19, 1523. Pigafetta was summoned to Rome very soon after Clement's election, for he was in Rome either in December, 1523, or January, 1524.

¹³ The Amoretti edition (Milan, 1800; a wofully garbled adaptation of the Italian MS.) wrongly ascribes this desire to Clement VII, instead of Villiers L'Isle-Adam. See Stanley, p. 36, note 3.

¹⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "Finally, most illustrious Lordship, after all provisions had been made and the ships were in readiness, the captain-general, a wise and virtuous man, and one mindful of his honor, would not commence his voyage without first making some good and suitable rules, such as it is the approved custom to make for those who go to sea, although he did not entirely declare the voyage that he was about to make lest those men, through astonishment and fear, should refuse to accompany him on the so long voyage that he had determined upon. In consideration of the furious and violent storms that reign on the Ocean Sea where he was about to sail, and in consideration of another reason also, namely, that the masters and captains of the other ships in his fleet had no liking for him (the reason for which I know not, unless because he, the captain-general, was a Portuguese, and they Spaniards or Castilians, who have for a long while been biased and ill-disposed toward one another, but who, in spite of that, rendered him obedience), he made his rules such as follow, so that his ships might not go astray or become separated from one another during storms at sea. He published those rules and gave them in writing to every master in the ships and ordered them to be inviolably observed and kept, unless for urgent and legitimate excuse, and the proof that any other action was impossible."

¹⁵ A Spanish word, meaning "lantern."

¹⁶ Mosto wrongly derives *strengue* from the Spanish *trenza* "braid" or "twist." Instead it is the Spanish word *estrenque*,

which denotes a large rope made from Spanish grass hemp (*stipa*) – known to the Spaniards as *esparto*. MS. 5,650 reads: “Sometimes he set out a lantern; at other times a thick rush cord which was lighted and was called ‘trenche’ [*i.e.*, ‘estrenque,’ ‘rope of Spanish grass hemp’].” Barcio (*Diccionario general etimológico*) says that the origin of *estrenque* is unknown.

¹⁷ MS. 5,650 reads: “If he wished the other ships to haul in a bonnet-sail, which was a part of the sail attached to the main-sail, he showed three lights. Also by three lights notwithstanding that the weather might be favorable for making better time, it was understood that the bonnet-sail was to be hauled in, so that the mainsail might be sooner and easier struck and furled when bad weather came suddenly in any squall or otherwise.”

¹⁸ MS. 5,650 adds: “which he had extinguished immediately after;” and continues: “then showing a single light as a sign that he intended to stop there and wait until the other ships should do as he.”

¹⁹ MS. 5,650 adds: “that is to say, a rock in the sea.”

²⁰ Stanley translates the following passage wrongly. Rightly translated, it is: “Also when he desired the bonnet-sail to be re-attached to the sail, he showed three fires.”

²¹ This passage is omitted in MS. 5,650.

²² *Hora de la modorra* is in Spanish that part of the night immediately preceding the dawn. Mosto, p. 52, note 8.

²³ *Contra maestro* (boatswain) corresponding to the French *contremaître* and the Spanish *contra maestre*, was formerly the third officer of a ship's crew. *Nochiero* (French *nocher*) was the officer next to *contra maestre*, although the name, according to Littré was applied to the master or seacaptain of certain small craft. The *maestro* (French *maître*) was a sub-officer in charge of all the crew. The pilot was next to the captain in importance. The translator or adapter who made MS. 5,650 confuses the above officers (see following note).

²⁴ The instructions pertaining to the different watches are as follows in MS. 5,650: “In addition to the said rules for carrying on the art of navigation as is fitting, and in order to avoid the dangers that may come upon those who do not have watches set, the said captain, who was skilled in the things required and in navigation, ordered three watches to be set. The first was at the beginning of the night; the second at midnight; and the third toward daybreak, which is commonly called the ‘diane’ [*i.e.*, ‘morn’] or otherwise ‘the star of dawn.’ The above-named watches were changed nightly: that is to say, that he who had stood first watch stood second the day following, while he

who had stood second, stood third; and thus did they continue to change nightly. The said captain ordered that his rules, both those of signals and of watches, be thoroughly observed, so that their voyage might be made with the greatest of safety. The men of the said fleet were divided into three divisions: the first was that of the captain; the second that of the pilot or boatswain's mate; and the third that of the master. The above rules having been instituted, the captain-general determined to depart, as follows."

²⁵ See Guillemard's *Magellan*, pp. 329-336, and Navarrete, *Col. de viages*, iv, pp. 3-11, 162-188, for the stores and equipments of the fleet and their cost. The stores carried consisted of wine, olive oil, vinegar, fish, pork, peas and beans, flour, garlic, cheese, honey, almonds, anchovies, raisins, prunes, figs, sugar, quince preserves, capers, mustard, beef, and rice. The apothecary supplies were carried in the "Trinidad," and the ecclesiastical ornaments in that ship and the "San Antonio."

²⁶ The exact number of men who accompanied Magalhães is a matter of doubt. A royal decree, dated Barcelona, May 5, 1519, conserved in the papers of the India House of Trade in Archivo general de Indias at Sevilla, with pressmark est. 41, caj. 6, leg. 2-25, orders that only two hundred and thirty-five persons sail in the fleet. The same archives contain various registers of the fleet (see Llorens Ascensio's *Primera vuelta al mundo*, Madrid, 1903), one of which is published by Medina in his *Colección* (i, p. 113). Guillemard (*Magellan*, p. 326) says that at least two hundred and sixty-eight men went as is shown by the official lists and "the casual occurrence of names in the numerous and lengthy *autos fiscales* connected with the expedition." Guillemard conjectures that the total number must have been between two hundred and seventy and two hundred and eighty. Mosto (p. 53, note 2) says: "Castanheda and Barros say that the crews amounted to 250 men, while Herrera says 234. Navarrete's lists show a total of 265 men. At least 37 were Portuguese, and in addition to them and the Spaniards, the crews contained Genoese and Italians (thirty or more), French (nineteen), Flemings, Germans, Sicilians, English, Corfiotes, Malays, Negroes, Moors, Madeirans, and natives of the Azores and Canary Islands. But seventeen are recorded from Seville, while there are many Biscayans. (See Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 326-329.) The registers of men as given by Navarrete (*Col. de viages*, iv, pp. 12-26) are as follows.

TRINIDAD
(Flagship of 110 tons)

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Chief captain of the fleet	Hernando de Magallanes	Portuguese, citizen of Oporto
Pilot of his Highness	Esteban Gomez	Portuguese
Notary	Leon de Espeleta	
Master	Juan Bautista de Punzorol ¹	Cestre, on the Genoese shore
Alguacil ²	Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa	Espinosa
Contra-maestre	Francisco Albo ³	Axio, citizen of Rodas
Surgeon	Juan de Morales ⁴	Sevilla
Barber	Marcos de Bayas	San Lucar de Alpechin
Carpenter	Master Antonio	Genoese
Steward	Cristóbal Ros <i>or</i> Rodriguez	Lepe
Calker	Felipe ⁵	Genoese, native of Reco
Cooper	Francisco Martin	Sevilla
Sailor	Francisco de Espinosa	De le Brizuela
"	Ginés de Mafra	Jerez
"	Leon Pancaldo ⁶	Saona, in Génova
"	Juan Ginovés ⁷	San Remó
"	Francisco Piora	Saona
"	Martin Ginovés	Cestre
"	Anton Hernandez Colmenero	Huelva
"	Anton Ros, <i>or</i> Rodriguez	Huelva

¹ Called in other lists Juan Bautista, Bautista de Poncero, Ponceron, and by Herrera, Juan Bautista de Poncervera.—NAVARRETE.

² A marine officer above the rank of soldier, but below that of ensign.

³ The pilot who wrote the logbook of the ship "Victoria" from its arrival at the cape of San Augustin in Brazil until its return to Spain. Navarrete says that Herrera calls him Francisco Calvo.

⁴ Called Bachelor Morales in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁵ Called Filipino de Troa in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁶ Called Pancado in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁷ Called Sanremo Ginovés in another register.—NAVARRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Sailor	Bartolomé Sanchez	Huelva
"	Tomas de Natia	Cestre
"	Diego Martin	Huelva
"	Domingo de Urrutia ¹	Lequeitio
"	Francisco Martin	Huelva
"	Juan Rodriguez	Sevilla
Gunner	Master Andres, chief gunner	Bristol, in England
"	Juan Bautista	Mompeller
"	Guillermo Tañegui	Lila de Groya
Common seaman	Antonio de Goa	Loró
"	Anton de Noya ²	Noya in Galicia
"	Francisco de Ayamonte	Ayamonte
"	Juan de Santandres ³	Cueto
"	Blas de Toledo ⁴	Almunia in Aragon
"	Anton ⁵	Black
"	Basco Gomez Gallego	Portuguese
"	Juan Gallego	Pontevedra
"	Luis de Beas ⁶	Beas in Galicia
"	Juan de Grijol	Grijol in Portugal
Boy	Gutierrez	Asturian from Villasevil
"	Juan Genovés ⁷	A port on the Genoese shore
"	Andres de la Cruz ⁸	Sevilla
<i>Servants of the captain and sobresalientes</i> ⁹		
Servant	Cristóbal Rabelo	Portuguese, native of Oporto
Sobresaliente	Joan Miñez or Martinez	Sevilla

¹ Called in other registers, Barruti, Barrutia, Barote, and Domingo Vizcaino.—NAVARRETE.

² Called Anton Gallego and Antonio Varela in other registers.—NAVARRETE.

³ Called Juan de Santander in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁴ Called Blas Durango in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁵ The slave of Gonzalo Gomez de Espinoza, called Anton Moreno in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁶ Said to be a Portuguese in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁷ Called Juan Antonio in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁸ Called Andres Paye in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁹ *Sobresaliente* is thus defined by Las Partiday—the laws of Castilla, compiled by Alfonso X.—part I., tit. 24, ley 6: "Sobresalientes are called otherwise men who are placed over and above the requisite number in the ships, both as crossbowmen and other classes of soldiers. Such men have no other duty than to defend those who might be in their ships when fighting with enemies." Cited by Mosto from A. Jal in *Glossaire*

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Servant	Fernando Portugues ¹	Portuguese, native of Oporto
Sobresaliente	Antonio Lombardo ²	Lombardía
	Peti-Joan	French, native of Angeo [i.e., Anjou]
	Gonzalo Rodriguez	Portuguese
	Diego Sanchez Barrasa	Sevilla
Servant	Luis Alonso, <i>de Gois</i> ³	Portuguese, citizen of Ayamonte
	Duarte Barbosa	Portuguese
	Albaro de la Mezquita	Portuguese
Servant	Nuño	Portuguese, native of Montemayor Nuevo
Servant	Diego	San Lucar
Captain's boy	Francisco ⁴	Portuguese, native of Estremiz
<i>Idem</i> Chaplain	Jorge Morisco	Lombardía
	Pedro de Balderrama	Ecija
	Alberto ⁵ Merino	Cordova
Servant of the alguacil	Pero Gomez	Hornilla la Prieta
	Armorero	Sevilla
	Interpreter, a servant	
	Henrique de Malaca ⁷	Malaca
	Lázaro de Torres	Aracena

nautique. (Paris, 1848). Mosto speaks of them as soldiers or volunteers who were embarked to take part in battles and in boarding. Guillemard says of them: "The young men of good family, who took part in the expedition from love of adventure or desire for advancement in military service, shipped as *sobresalientes*, or supernumeraries" (*ut supra*, p. 328).

¹ Called in another register, Fernan Lopez, volunteer.—NAVARRETE.

² Called Antonio de Plegafetis [*i.e.*, Pigafetta] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

³ Called Luis Alfonso in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁴ Called Francisco de la Mezquita in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁵ Called Albertos, a sobresaliente, in another register.—NAVARRETE.

Merino: A shepherd, and formerly by extension an alguacil, which is its meaning here.

⁶ Called Pedro Sanildes in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁷ Magalhãe's slave, who afterward, according to Pigafetta, plotted the death of the Europeans, by conspiring with the ruler of Cebu.

SAN ANTONIO
(120 tons)

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Captain and su- pervisor of the fleet	Juan de Cartagena	
Accountant	Antonio de Coca	
Notary	Hierónimo Guerra	
His Maj- esty's pilot	Andres de San Martin	
Pilot of his Highness	Juan Rodriguez de Mafra	
Master	Juan de Elorriaga ¹	Guipúzcoa
Boatswain	Diego Hernandez	Sevilla
Barber	Pedro Olabarrieta ²	Bilbao
Steward	Juan Ortiz de Gopegar ³	Bilbao
Calker	Pedro de Bilbao	Bilbao
Carpenter	Pedro de Sabtua	Bermeo
Calker	Martin de Goytisoló	Baquo
Cooper	Joan de Oviedo	Sevilla
Sailor	Sebastian de Olarte	Bilbao
"	Lope de Uguarte	
"	Joanes de Segura	Segura in Guipúzcoa
"	Joan de Francia	Ruan [<i>i.e.</i> , Rouen]
"	Jácome de Mecina	Mesina
"	Christóbal García	From Palos
"	Pero Hernandez	Rivadesella
"	Hernando de Morales ¹	Sevilla
"	Antonio Rodriguez, Cal- derero [<i>i.e.</i> , black- smith]	From Moguer
"	Francisco, Marinero [<i>i.e.</i> , a sailor]	Citizen of Huelva
"	Francisco Ros, <i>or</i> Rodri- guez	From Huelva
"	Pedro de Laredo	Portogalete
"	Simon de Asio	Axio

¹ Called in other registers, Uriaga, Hurriaga, Loriaga, and Elorraga.—NAVARRETE.

² In another register said to be the servant of Antonio de Coca.—NAVARRETE.

³ Called Juan Ortiz de Goperi in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁴ Called Francisco de Morales in another register.—NAVARRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Gunner	Master Jacques, chief gunner	From Tierra Lorena [<i>i.e.</i> , land of Lorraine]
"	Roger Dupict	Monaym
"	Joan Jorge	Silvedrin
Common seaman	Luis, ¹ Grumete [<i>i.e.</i> , a common seaman]	Galicia
"	Martin de Aguirre	Arrigorriaga
"	Columbazo	Bolonia [<i>i.e.</i> , Bologna]
"	Lucas de Mecina	Mesina
"	Lorencio Rodriguez	From Moguer
"	Miguel	Pravia, in Astúrias
"	Joanes de Irun Iranzo	Irun Iranza in Guipúz- coa
"	Joan Ginoves	Saona
"	Joan de Orue	Munguia
"	Alonso del Puerto ²	Puerto de Santa María
Boy	Diego, son of Cristóbal Garcia	From Palos
"	Diego, son of Juan Rodri- guez de Mafra	
<i>Servants and sobresalientes</i>		
Chaplain	Bernardo Calmeta	Laytora in France
Sobresala- liente	Joan de Chinchilla	Murcia
"	Anton de Escobar	Talavera
"	Francisco de Angulo	Moron
Servant to the cap- tain	Francisco de Molino	Baeza
"	Roque Pelea	Salamanca
"	Rodrigo Nieto, a Galician	Orense
"	Alonso del Rio	Búrgos
"	Pedro de Balpuesta	Citizen of Búrgos
"	Joan de Leon	Leon
"	Gutierre de Tuñon ³	Tunon in Astúrias
"	Joan de Sagredo, ⁴ merino	Revenga, in the land of Búrgos
"	Joan de Minchaca, a crossbowman	Bilbao

¹ Luis de Avendano in another register.—NAVARRETE.

² Called Alonso de Palos in another register.—NAVARRETE.

³ Called García de Tunon in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁴ Called Segredo in another register.—NAVARRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Captain's servant	Antonio Hernandez, interpreter	Ayamonte
Servant to the accountant	Juan Gomez de Espinosa	Espinosa
"	Pedro de Urrea	Brujas
CONCEPCION (90 tons)		
Captain	Gaspar de Quesada	
Notary	Sancho de Heredia	
Pilot of his Highness	Joan Lopez Caraballo	Portuguese
Master	Joan Sebastian de Elcano ¹	Gueteria
Boatswain	Joan de Acurio	Bermeo
Barber	Hernando de Bustamente ²	Mérida
Calker	Antonio de Basazabal ³	Bermeo
Carpenter	Domingo de Iraza ⁴	Deva
Steward	Joan de Campos	Alcalá de Henares
Cooper	Pero Perez	Sevilla
Sailor	Francisco Rodriguez ⁵	Sevilla
"	Francisco Ruiz	Moguer
"	Mateo de Gorfo ⁶	Gorfo
"	Joan Rodriguez ⁷	Huelva
"	Sebastian Garcia ⁸	Huelva
"	Gomez Hernandez	Huelva
"	Lorenzo de Iruna ⁹	Socavila in Guipúzcoa
"	Joan Rodriguez, ¹⁰ el sordo [i.e., the deaf man]	Sevilla
"	Joan de Aguirre	Bermeo
"	Joan de Ortega	Cifuentes

¹ In other registers called Del Cano, Delcano, and simply Juan Sebastian.—NAVARRRETE.

² Said to be a native of Alcantara in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

³ Called Anton de Bazaza in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

⁴ Called Domingo de Yarza in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

⁵ Said to be a native of Portugal in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

⁶ Called Mateo Griego in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

⁷ Called in another register Juan Rodriguez de Huelva, native of Mallorca.—NAVARRRETE.

⁸ Called Sebastian de Huelva in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

⁹ Called Lorenzo Duirna in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

¹⁰ Called Juan Roiz in another register.—NAVARRRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Gunner	Hans Vargue, ¹ chief gunner	German
"	Master Pedro	Bruselas
"	Roldan de Argote	Flandes, in Brujas
Common seaman	Joan de Olivar ²	
"	Guillermo de Lole ³	
"	Cristóbal de Costa ⁴	Jerez
"	Guillen	Galvey
"	Gonzalo de Vigo	Vigo
"	Pedro de Muguertegui	Muguertegui
"	Martin de Isaurraga	Bermeo
"	Rodrigo Macias	Sevilla
"	Joan Navarro ⁵	Pamplona
"	Joanes de Tuy	
Boy	Juanillo ⁶	Galbey
"	Pedro de Churdurza ⁷	Bermeo

Sobresalientes

Captain's servant	Luis del Molino	Baeza
"	Antonio Fernandez	Portuguese, of Sevilla
"	Alonso Coto ⁸	Genoese
"	Francisco Diaz de Madrid	Madrid
Merino	Martin de Judicibus	Genoese
	Juan de Silva	Isla Graciosa, in Azores
Blacksmith	Gonzalo Hernandez	Santa María del Puerto
	Martin de Magallayns	Portuguese, of Lisboa
	Joan de la Torre	Almonaster, a boundary of Sevilla

VICTORIA
(85 tons)

Captain and treasurer of fleet	Luis de Mendoza	
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¹ In other registers called Master Ance and Master Otans.—NAVARRETE.

² Called Oliver de Valencia in another register.—NAVARRETE.

³ Called Guillermo Irés in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁴ Called Cristobal de Jerez in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁵ Called Juan Novoro in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁶ In another register called the young son of Juan Caraballo.—NAVARRETE.

⁷ Called Pedro Chindurza in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁸ In other registers called Alonzo Genoves, Cota, and Costa.—NAVARRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Pilot of his Highness	Basco Gallego	Portuguese
Notary	Martin Mendez	Citizen of Sevilla
Master	Anton Salomon	Trápana in Sicilia
Boatswain	Miguel de Rodas	Rodas
Alguacil	Diego de Peralta	Peralta in Navarra
Steward	Alonso Gonzales	Portuguese
Calker	Simon de la Rochela	From La Rochela
Carpenter	Martin de Griate ¹	From Deva
Sailor	Miguel Benesciano	Bresá
"	Diego Gallego	Bayona in Galicia
"	Lope Navarro	Tudela
"	Nicolas Ginoves	Génova
"	Nicolao de Nápoles	Nápoles de Romanía
"	Miguel Sanchez	Rodas
"	Nicolao de Capua	Capua
"	Benito Genovés	Arvenga
"	Felipe de Rodas	Rodas
"	Esteban Villon ²	Troya
"	Joan Griego	Nápoles de Romanía
Gunner	Jorge Aleman [<i>i.e.</i> , the German], chief gunner	From Estric
"	Filiberto de Torres ³	Toriana
"	Hans, a German ⁴	Agan
Common seaman	Joanico, ⁵ a Viscayan	Somorostro
"	Joan de Arratia ⁶	Bilbao
"	Ochote ⁷	Bilbao
"	Martin de Ayamonte	
"	Pedro de Tolosa	Tolosa in Guipúzcoa
"	Sebastian Ortiz	Gelver
"	Antonio	Baresa in Génova
"	Bernal Mahuri ⁸	Narbona
"	Rodrigo Gallego [<i>i.e.</i> , a Galician]	Coruña

¹ Called in other registers Garate, Yarat, and Perez.—NAVARRETE.

² Called in another register Estéban Breton, and a third register says that he was a native of Trosig in Bretaña.—NAVARRETE.

³ Another register says that he was a native of Hourienes in Torayn [*i.e.*, Tourraine.]—NAVARRETE.

⁴ Another register calls him Airés, and says that he was afterward chief gunner in the "Victoria."—NAVARRETE.

⁵ Called in another register Machin Vizcaino [*i.e.*, a Viscayan].—NAVARRETE.

⁶ In other registers called Juan de Sahelices and Saylices.—NAVARRETE.

⁷ Called in another register Ochot de Randio.—NAVARRETE.

⁸ In other registers called Cristóbal Mahuri and Bernardo Mauri.—NAVARRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Common seaman	Domingo Portugues [<i>i.e.</i> , a Portuguese]	Coimbra
Boy	Juan de Zuvileta, the son of Basco Gallego	Baracaldo

Sobresalientes

The captain's servant	Francisco Carvajal	Salamanca
"	Joan Martin ¹	Aguilar de Campo
"	Simon de Burgos	Portuguese
"	Bartolomé de Saldaña	Palos
Blacksmith	Gonzalo Rodriguez	
"	Pero Garcia de Herrero ²	Ciudad Real
	Joan Villalon	Antequera
	Alonso de Mora, <i>or de Ebra</i> ³	Mora, in Portugal
Cooper	Joan de Córdoba	Sanlúcar
	Diego Diaz	Sanlúcar

SANTIAGO
(75 tons)

Captain and pilot of his Highness	Joan Serrano	Citizen of Sevilla
Notary	Antonio de Costa	
Master	Baltasar Ginoves	Ribera de Génova [<i>i.e.</i> , the Genoese shore]
Boatswain	Bartolomé Prior ⁴	San Malo
Steward	Gaspar Diaz	Isla Graciosa, in the Azores
Calker	Joan García	Génova
Carpenter	Ripart ⁵	Bruz in Normandia [<i>i.e.</i> , Normandy]
Sailor	Antonio Flamenco [<i>i.e.</i> , a Fleming]	Enveres

¹ Another register declares him to be a native of Sevilla. — NAVARRETE.² Called Pedro Herrero [*i.e.*, the blacksmith] in another register. — NAVARRETE.³ Called Alonso Portugués [*i.e.*, the Portuguese] in another register. — NAVARRETE.⁴ Called in other registers Malo a Frenchman, Malvo, and Amalo. — NAVARRETE.⁵ Called in other registers Ricarte, Ruxar, and Rigarte; while another says that he was a native of Ebras in France. — NAVARRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Sailor	Luis Martinez	Huelva
"	Bartolomé García	Palos
"	Joan García	Palos
"	Agustin	Saona
"	Bocacio Alfonso ¹	Bollullos
"	Pedro Gascon ² [<i>i.e.</i> , a Gascon]	Burdeos [<i>i.e.</i> , Bordeaux]
"	Domingo ³	
"	Diego García de Trigueros	Trigueros
Gunner	Lorenzo Corrat	Talesa in Normandia [<i>i.e.</i> , Normandy]
"	Joan Macia ⁴	Troya
Common seaman	Pedro Diaz ⁵	Huelva
"	Antonio Hernandez ⁶	Palos
"	Juan, ⁷ a negro	
"	Joan Breton [<i>i.e.</i> , a Breton]	Cruesic in Bretaña [<i>i.e.</i> , Brittany]
"	Pedro Bello ⁸	Palos
"	Hierónimo Garcia ⁹	Sevilla
"	Pero Arnaot	Horrai
"	Pero Garcia	Trigueros
Boy	Joan Flamenco [<i>i.e.</i> , a Fleming]	Enveres
"	Francisco Paxe ¹⁰	

Sobresalientes

Merino	Joan de Aroche	Aroche, boundary of Sevilla
	Martin Barrena	Villafranco in Guipúzcoa
	Hernan Lorenzo	Aroche

¹ Called Socacio Alonso in another register.—NAVARRETE.

² Called Pedro Gaston in another register.—NAVARRETE.

³ Called Domingo Marinero [*i.e.*, a sailor] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁴ Called Juan de Troya in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁵ Called Pedro de Huelva in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁶ Called Alonso Hernandez in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁷ The slave of Juan Serrano.—NAVARRETE.

⁸ Pedro Brito in another register.—NAVARRETE.

⁹ Geronimo Sevillano [*i.e.*, a native of Sevilla] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

¹⁰ Another register calls him Francisco, the son-in-law of Juan Serrano.—NAVARRETE.

The total number of men for the ships as above given is 235. Navarrete made his list from the list conserved in Archivo general de Indias, and notes of Juan Bautista Muñoz, and various other sources. The obstacles in the way of a correct register were the abbreviation of names and places, the custom prevalent of naming people from their native town or province, and the fact that the various registers were made between 1519 and 1525. From some of these registers, it appears that the following men were also in the fleet.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Carpenter	Aroca	Viscayan
Steward	Blas Alfonso	Portuguese
Calker	Juan Gutierrez	
	Maestre Pedro ¹	
Sailor	Bautista Genovés	Génova
Common seaman	Perucho de Bermeo	
"	Domingo Alvarez	
"	Domingo Gonzalez	
"	Domingo de Zubillan ²	Portuguese
"	Andres Blanco	
"	Antonio Gomez	Axio
"	Juan Portugués [<i>i.e.</i> , a Portuguese]	
"	Juan Bras	
"	Gonzalo Gallego	
"	Rodrigo de Hurrira	
	Sebastian Portugués [<i>i.e.</i> , a Portuguese]	
	Juan de Ircepais	
<i>Sobresalientes</i>		
Secular priest	Pero Sanchez de Reina	
	Licentiate Morales	
	Hernando Rodriguez	
	Hartiga	
	Diugurria	

¹ This man was Shanghaied at the island of Teneriffe by order of Magalhães, October 1, 1519, and embarked on the "Santiago," but his occupation or country is unknown. He returned in the "Victoria," and was one of those captured by the Portuguese in the island of Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, as is proved by documents in Archivo General de Indias.—NAVARRETE.

² Named in other registers Domingo, from Tovilla, Portugal, and Domingo, native of Cobillana, Portugal.—NAVARRETE.

<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
Soldier	Diego Arias	Sanlúcar
Blacksmith	Juan Hernandez	Triana
Servant of Luis de Men- doza	Hernando de Aguilar The negro of the pilot Juan Carballo	

In addition there were probably others, this list being still three short of Guillemard's figures, 268. HARRISSE (*Disc. of N. Amer.*, London and Paris, 1892, pp. 714 *et seq.*) gives a partial list.

²⁷ The Moorish name of Guadalquivir (from Arabic *Wâd-al-Kebir*, "the great river"), superseded the Roman name of Bætis. The Romans formed all Southern Spain into one province called Bætica after the name of the Bætis. By the town Gioan dal Farax is meant San Juan de Aznalfarache (from Moorish *Hisn al-Faradj*). Its Gothic name was Osset and its Roman name Julia Constantia. It is a favorite resort of the inhabitants of Sevilla. Coría was once a Roman potters' town and is still celebrated for its jars. San Lúcar de Barrameda was named in honor of St. Luke. It was captured from the Moors in 1264 and granted to the father of Guzman el Bueno. It attained importance after the discovery of America because of its good harbor. The house of Medina-Sidonia was founded by Alfonso Pérez de Guzman, a famous captain.

²⁸ The original of this passage is obscure. The distance given (ten leagues; and both MS. 5,650 and Eden agree substantially with it) is far too short for the distance between San Lucar and Cape St. Vincent, which is over one hundred miles. Pigafetta may have forgotten the actual distance, or it may have been an error of his amanuensis. It is possible to translate as follows: "which lies in 37 degrees of latitude, [that parallel being] x leguas from the said port;" for "longui" may be taken as agreeing with "gradi." In all rendering of distances, the Spanish form will be used in preference to the Italian; and the same will apply to the names of Spanish coins.

²⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "And after passing many small villages along the said river, we at last reached a chateau belonging to the duke of Medinacidonia, and called Saint Lucar, where there is a port with an entrance into the Ocean Sea. One enters that port by the east wind, and leaves by the west. Nearby is the cape of Saint Vincent, which, according to cosmography, lies in a latitude of thirty-seven degrees at a distance of twenty miles from

the said port. From the said city [of Sevilla] to the said port by the river abovesaid, the distance is thirty-five or forty miles." This passage might be cited as a proof that Pigafetta did not translate or write the French version, but that the work was done by another, who takes various liberties with his original.

³⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "furnish the fleet."

³¹ *Ninguna* in original, a Spanish word.

³² MS. 5,650 adds: "otherwise called 'labeiche.'" Labech (Italian libeccio) is simply a name for the southwest wind. This is another instance in which the French adapter adds an explanation to the Italian, thus explaining the Italian term *garbino*, "southwest."

³³ MS. 5,650 reads wrongly: "sixteenth." The so-called Genoese pilot (the author of the "Roteiro," by which name his account will be hereafter designated, and concerning whom, see Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 145, and Mosto, p. 32, and note 4) gives the date of departure as September 21 (with which Barros agrees) and the arrival at Tenerife as the twenty-ninth (see Stanley, p. 1). Peter Martyr, Gomara, and Oviedo agree with Pigafetta, while Castanheda makes the departure in January, 1520. Hughes observes that if one keep in mind the circumstance that the day of the arrival coincided with the day dedicated by the Church to St. Michael, the date September 29 seems more admissible. However, one may reconcile the two dates of the arrival by observing that the ships stopped at Tenerife until October 2; while Herrera says that the ships fetched Montaña Roja (the Monte rosso of the text) on September 29. See Mosto, p. 53, notes 4 and 5. It should be noted that Gomara and Oviedo are not entirely trustworthy authorities, and that many times they have simply copied from authorities, such as Maximilianus Transylvanus, who is not always to be relied upon.

³⁴ The Canaries were known to the ancients under the names of Islands of the Blest, Fortunate Islands, and the Hesperides. The Moors knew of them under the name of Islands of Khaledat, but had no practical acquaintance with them. In the fourteenth century these islands began to be known to Europeans, especially through the Portuguese. In 1402, the Frenchman Jean de Bethencourt went there, and shortly after began their conquest under the auspices of the crown of Castile. In consequence of the settlements made by Bethencourt, the islands were definitely ceded to Spain in 1481 (see Birch's *Alboquerque*, London, 1875-1884, Hakluyt Society Publications, ii, p. vi). The inhabitants of the islands were known as Guanches or Guanchinet, the latter meaning "men of Tenerife." The inhabitants of this island, holding out longer than the others, were not subdued until 1496. See also *Conquest of Canaries* (London, 1877); and *History and De-*

scription of Africa (London, 1896), i, pp. 99-101: both publications of the Hakluyt Society. The island of Tenerife was formerly called Nivana and by some the Island of Hell. Like all the other islands of the Canaries it is volcanic in formation, and its peak, the Teyde, is one of the largest volcanic cones known. Its latitude is 28° 15'.

³⁵ Guillemard conjectures that this is Punta Roxa, located at the south end of Tenerife.

³⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "which is a substance needed by ships." Herrera says that they waited three days at the port awaiting a caravel that was laden with pitch for the fleet (Mosto, p. 53, note 8).

³⁷ MS. 5,650 reads: "water coming from spring or river."

³⁸ Eden (p. 250) adds to this account which he greatly abridges: "The lyke thyng is also seene in the Iland of faynt Thomas, lyng directly vnder the Equinoctiall lyne." Of this island of Hierro, Pory (*History and description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society edition, p. 100) says: "Hierro hath neither spring nor well, but is miraculously furnished with water by a cloud which over-spreadeth a tree, from whence distilleth so much moisture, as sufficeth both for men and cattel. This cloud ariseth an hower or two before the sunne, and is dissolued two howers after sunne rising." This is an old story and is related by Pliny and founded upon fact "for both in Madeira and the Canaries the laurel and other heavy-foliaged evergreens condense abundant water from the daily mists" (Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 149). Gregorio Chil y Naranio (*Estudios históricos . . . de las islas Canarias*, 1879) believes Pigafetta means here the island of Palma, and that the first navigators visited only the coast and so did not see the lake in the interior (Mosto, p. 53, note 9).

³⁹ MS. 5,650 adds: "which the sailors of the east call 'Cyroc.'" This is the Italian *sirocco*, which is the name for the southeast wind instead of the south. Herrera says they left the port October 2 (Mosto, p. 54, note 2).

⁴⁰ Eden (p. 250) reads incorrectly: "In this coaft they had no maner of contrary wynds but a great calme and fayre wether for the space of three score and tenne dayes, in the which they came vnder the Equinoctiall lyne."

⁴¹ MS. 5,650 adds: "and of those persons who have sailed there often."

⁴² MS. 5,650 reads: "And in order that our ships might not be wrecked or broach to (which often happens when the squalls come together)."

⁴³ This last phrase, as well as the two following sentences are missing in MS. 5,650. The third sentence following begins: "During the calm weather, large fish called *tiburoni*," etc. The word *tiburoni*, "sharks" is from the Spanish *tiburón*, which comes from the French *tibéron* (*tiburin*, *tiburón*). — Echagaray's *Diccionario Etimológico* (Madrid, 1889).

⁴⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "The said fish are caught by means of a contrivance which sailors call 'hame' which is an iron fishhook." *Hame* (*ain*) is the French form of the Italian *Amo*, meaning "fishhook."

⁴⁵ MS. 5,650 adds: "because of the bad weather."

⁴⁶ MS. 5,650 reads "a quarter of an hour," and the same duration of time is given by Eden (p. 250).

⁴⁷ MS. 5,650 adds: "It is to be noted that whenever that fire that represents the said Saint Anselme ascends and descends the mast of a ship while in a storm at sea, that the said ship is never wrecked." Herrera (cited by Mosto, p. 54, note 5) says that St. Elmo appeared on the masthead with a lighted candle and sometimes two during the storms encountered along the coasts of Guinea, and that the sailors were greatly comforted thereby, and saluted the saint as is the custom of seamen. When he appeared, he remained a quarter of an hour, and at his departure a great flash of light occurred which blinded all the men. Eden (p. 250) calls it the fire of St. Helen. Continuing, Eden injects into his abridgment of the first circumnavigation a description of St. Elmo's fire by Hieronimus Cardanus in the second book of *De Subtilitate*. He says: "Of the kynde of trewe fyre, is the fyre baule or *starre* commonly cauled *faynt Helen* which is *fumtyme seene* about the *ma/tes* of *shyppes*, beinge of *suche* fyery nature that it *fumetyme* melteth *bra/en* *veffels*, and is a token of *drownynge*, *fora/much* as this chaunceth only in *great tempestes*. For the *vapoure* or *exhalation* whereof this fyre is engendered, can not bee *dryven* *together* or *compacte* in *forme* of *fyre*, but of a *grofe* *vapoure* and by a *great poure* of *wynde*, and is therefore a token of *imminent perell*." The fires called after St. Peter and St. Nicholas are on the contrary, he says, good omens, and are generally to be seen on the cables, after a storm. Being little and swift moving they can do no damage as they could do if massed and of slow movement. St. Elmo's fire is the popular name for the atmospheric electricity that gathers in the form of a star or brush about the masthead of ships and on the rigging. It was sometimes accompanied by a hissing noise and was considered as a good omen by sailors. The Greeks who observed this phenomenon wove it into the Castor and Pollux myth; and the French edition of Pigafetta's relation published by Simon de

Colines has the passage (see Mosto, p. 54): "They saw the fires called Saint Eline and Saint Nicolas like blazing torches (whom the ancients called Castor and Pollux)." "Elmo" is said by some to be a corruption of "Helena," the sister of Castor and Pollux, and the name "Hellene" or "Helen" was often given to the fire when only one light was visible. It is, however, more probably derived from St. Elmo, bishop of Formine who died about 304, and who is invoked by sailors on the Mediterranean. The phenomenon is also called fire of "St. Elias," "St. Clara," "St. Nicolas," and "composite," "composant," and "corposant" (*i.e.*, *corpus sanctum*).

⁴⁸ The second bird mentioned is the stormy petrel (of the family *Laridæ* and genus *Thalassidroma*), which is found along all the Atlantic coasts and on some of the Pacific. The tale of the text was current among sailors (see Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, viii, pp. 402, 403). The cagassela ("cagасelo" in MS. 5,650) is the *Stercorarius parasiticus*, called also the jaeger, and by sailors "boatswain," "teaser," and "dung-hunter." The last name arose from the belief, long held even by scientists, that this bird fed on the dung of gulls and terns. In reality it pursues the latter birds and compels them to disgorge the fish that they have swallowed. The flying-fish is either a species of *Exocoætus*, or the *Scomberesox saurus* of Europe and America, both of which feed in large schools and jump from the water to escape their enemies. See *Riverside Natural History* (Boston and New York).

⁴⁹ MS. 5,650 adds: "which is the collateral wind between the south and the west;" and below reads: "twenty-four and one-half degrees;" while Eden (p. 250) reads: "xxii degrees and a halfe."

⁵⁰ *Verzino*, the etymology of which is unknown (see Varthema's *Travels*, Hakluyt Society edition, p. lxxviii, note, and 205 note), is the Italian name for brazil-wood, from which Brazil, which was first visited by Vicente Pinzon, Diego Lope, Pedro Alvares Cabral, and Amerigo Vespucci, was named. The first names of the country were Vera Cruz and Santa Cruz. Cape Santo Agostinho, mentioned below, lies in 8° 21' south latitude, and is the most eastern headland of South America. It was the first land of that continent to be discovered, being sighted at least as early as 1500 by Pinzon. Before sighting the above cape, Magalhães arrested Juan de Cartagena for insubordination and gave the command of the "San Antonio" to Antonio de Coca (see Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 153). Albo's log begins slightly before the sighting of the point, his first entry being November 29. See Burton's "Introduction" in his *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1874).

⁵¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "veal." The *anta* is the tapir, once very plentiful in South America, but now rare in the well civilized districts. See Burton's *Captivity of Hans Stade*, p. viii. Albo, however, seems to designate the llama by this name, for he says when speaking of the stay at Bay St. Julian: "and many Indians came there, who are clad in certain skins of *antas*, which resemble camels without the hump." (Navarrete, *Col. de viages*, iv, p. 214).

⁵² Stanley mistranslates the French phrase of MS. 5,650 *et est de la longueur dun naveau*, "and is of the length of a shuttle," confusing *naveau* with *navette*, "shuttle." *Naveau* here is equivalent to *navet*, "turnip" or *navette*, "rape," a plant of the turnip class, as is proved by the Italian.

⁵³ MS. 5,650 reads: "And for a king of cards, of the kind which are used to play with in Italy, they gave me five fowls." The four suits of Italian playing cards are called *spade* ("swords"), *bastoni* ("clubs"), *danari* (literally: "money;" "diamonds"), and *coppe* ("cups").

⁵⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "five."

⁵⁵ MS. 5,650 adds: "which is an astrological term. That zenith is a point in the sky, according to astrologers, but only in the imagination, and is in a straight line over our head, as can be seen by the treatise of the sphere, and in Aristotle, in the first book *De caelo et mondo*." By the treatise of the sphere is evidently meant the treatise of Pigafetta which follows his relation, and which is not reproduced here as being outside the scope of the present work. In the flyleaf of the Italian original is the following: "Notices concerning the new world, with the charts of the countries discovered, written by Antonio Pigafeta, Venetian and knight of Rodi. At the end are added some rules for finding the longitude and latitude of places east and west." In the Italian MS. this treatise occupies the last twelve folios. Stanley translates Amoretti's version of the *Treatise*, which is greatly abridged. Mosto (p. 35) conjectures that the treatise is the fruits of his three-years' experience during the expedition.

⁵⁶ Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 210) says that the fleet continued to coast southwest from November 29 until arriving at St. Lucy's bay on December 13 (St. Lucy's day). Of the coast he says: "The mountains are peaked and have many reefs about them. There are many rivers and ports in the said Brasil and San Tomé, and some six leguas down the coast there are many bays running two leguas into the land. But the coast runs northeast and southwest to Cape Frio, and has many islands and rivers. Cape Frio is a very large river. . . . At the entrance of the said bay is a very large bay, and at the mouth a very low island, and inside it spreads out extensively and has many ports . . ."

and is called the bay of Santa Lucía. . . . In the said bay, one finds a well-disposed and numerous race, who go naked and trade for fishhooks, mirrors, and hawk's bells with food. . . . We entered that place on the very day of St. Lucy, and stayed there until the day of St. John, namely, the twenty-seventh of the said month of December. On that day we went and took our course west southwest, and found seven islands. To the right of them is a bay called the bay of Los Reyes [*i.e.*, the Kings] which has a good entrance." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 1) says: "as soon as they sighted the other coast of Brazil, he steered to the south-east [*sic*] along the coast as far as Cabo-frio, which is in twenty-three degrees south latitude; and from this cape he steered to the west, a matter of thirty leagues, to make the Rio de Janeiro, which is in the same latitude as Cabo-frio, and they entered the said river on the day of St. Lucy, which was the 13th December, in which place they took in wood, and they remained there until the first octave of Christmas, which was the 26th of December of the same year." Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 306) says: "Setting sail thence [*i.e.*, from Tenerife], the first land sighted was the cape of the shoals of Ambas. They descended the coast as far as the river called Janeiro, where they stayed 15 or 16 days."

⁵⁷ Eden (p. 251) says: "bygger then all Spayne, Portugale, Fraunce, and Italie."

⁵⁸ MS. 5,650 adds: "more like beasts than anything else."

⁵⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "And some of those people live to the age of one hundred, one hundred and twenty, one hundred and forty, or more." Eden (p. 251) says: "C.xx. and C.xl. yeares." For description of the Brazil Indians, and their manners and customs, see *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 117-169.

⁶⁰ Wrongly transcribed by Stanley as "boy."

⁶¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "You must know that a family of one hundred persons, who make a great racket, lives in each of those houses called *boii*." One of these houses (called Oca, in Tupi) is described by Wilson (*Transactions of Ethnological Society*, new series, vol. i) as being "60 or 70 feet long, divided into rooms for several families by rush mats, and provided with a central fire whose smoke passed through the roof. Some of them contained 200 head." See Burton's *Captivity of Hans Stade*, pp. 59, 60, note. The Indians described by Pigafetta are probably the Tamoyos of the Tupi or Guarani stock (Mosto, p. 56, note 1; see also Burton, *ut supra*, pp. lxi-lxxvi).

⁶² Amoretti makes this passage read: "Their boats, called

canoes, are hollowed out from the single trunk of a huge tree;" understanding *maschize* as *massiccio* "huge." Mosto prefers to read *maschize* as two words *ma schize* (notwithstanding that it is one word in the original), for *ma schiacciate*, "but flattened." Accepting this, the translation would be: "They have boats made from one single tree, only flattened." Amoretti's interpretation is to be preferred.

⁶³ MS. 5,650 reads: "and one would believe them to be enemies from hell."

⁶⁴ MS. 5,650 adds: "of the said country of Verzin."

⁶⁵ MS. 5,650 reads: "daily." Amerigo Vespucci says in a letter (Mosto, p. 55, note 6): "I saw human flesh salted and suspended from the beams, in the same way as we are wont to hang up bacon and swine's flesh." See *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue), for instances of cannibalism among the North American Indians. See also *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 151, 155-159; and Dominguez's *Conquest of the River Plate* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1891), pp. 129, 130.

⁶⁶ For *Carvagio*, as in MS. 5,650, and later in the Italian; an error of the amanuensis. This was João Carvalho (the Juan Lopez Caraballo of the register—see note 26, *ante*). Carvalho was a Portuguese, of none too scrupulous morals, even in his age, as appears later in Pigafetta's narrative. After the fatal banquet in the island of Cebú, he became the leader of the remaining men of the fleet, but was later deposed (see *post*, note 441). He remained behind with the ill-fated "Trinidad," and never returned to Europe. His son, borne to him by a native woman of Brazil, was left behind in Borneo. See Stanley, pp. 252-255, for Correa's account of the actions of Carvalho after the death of Magalhães.

⁶⁷ The early French edition and the Italian edition of 1536 both include the women and children.—STANLEY.

⁶⁸ It is a widespread (perhaps universal) characteristic of the American Indian to pull out the hair of the body. See *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue).

⁶⁹ Eden (p. 45), defines *gatti mammoni* as monkeys. Monkeys of the genus *Cebus* are probably meant (Mosto, p. 55, note 8).

⁷⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "fresh cheese." Pigafetta may here refer to the bread made from the casava or manioc root. See Burton's *Captivity of Hans Stade*, pp. 130-132, for a description of the method of preparing this root.

⁷¹ The swine mentioned by Pigafetta is the Tayasu (Tagaçu), or peccari (*Dicotyles torquatus*), which has quills resembling those

of the porcupine, and is generally of a whitish color. It is tailless and very fierce and difficult to domesticate. The flesh was eaten; and the teeth were worn by some of the chiefs as necklaces. Burton (*ut supra*), p. 160, note.

⁷² The *Platalea ajaja* or rosy spoonbill, belonging to the family of the *Plataleidæ*, whose habitat extends through all of tropical and subtropical America, including the West Indies, south to the Falkland Islands, Patagonia and Chile, and north to the southern part of the United States.

⁷³ Hans Stade (Burton, *ut supra*) testifies to the chastity of the people of Eastern Brazil among whom he lived as a prisoner.

⁷⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "The women attend to the outside affairs, and carry everything necessary for their husband's food in small panniers on the head or fastened to the head."

⁷⁵ MS. 5,650 adds: "and compassion."

⁷⁶ MS. 5,650 reads: "When we departed they gave us a very great quantity of verzin;" and adds: "That is a color which comes from trees which grow in the said country, and so abundantly, that the country is called Verzin from it."

⁷⁷ MS. adds: "which was a piece of great simplicity."

⁷⁸ This sentence is preceded by the following in MS. 5,650: "Besides the abovesaid which proclaims their simplicity, the people of the above place showed us another very simple thing."

⁷⁹ This passage in Stanley reads as follows: "A beautiful young girl came one day inside the ship of our captain, where I was, and did not come except to seek for her luck: however, she directed her looks to the cabin of the master, and saw a nail, of a finger's length, and went and took it as something valuable and new, and hid it in her hair, for otherwise she would not have been able to conceal it, because she was naked, and, bending forwards, she went away; and the captain and I saw this mystery." The matter between the words "length" and "naked" is taken from MS. 24,224 (wrongly declared by Stanley to be the copy of his travels presented to the regent Louise by Pigafetta, the conclusion being based on the fact that some of the details are softened down), as Stanley considered the incident as told in MS. 5,650, the Italian MS. and the first French edition, as unfit for publication. Stanley cites the following (in the original) from the edition of 1536 which omits the above story: "At the first land at which we stopped, some female slaves whom we had brought in the ships from other countries and who were heavy with child, were taken with the pains of childbirth. Consequently, they went alone out of the ships, went ashore, and after having given birth, returned

immediately to the ships with their infants in their arms." He also cites the following passage from the first French printed edition, which also narrates the above story of the girl: "At the first coast that we passed, some slave women gave birth. When they were in travail, they left the boat, after which they immediately returned, and nursed their children." Stanley adds that this story of the slave women is improbable, as women were not allowed to come aboard ship.

⁸⁰ MS. 5,650 gives the words of the Brazil as follows: "maiz, huy, pinda, taesse, chignap, pirame, itenmaraca, tum maraghatom." Amoretti (see Stanley's edition, p. 48) reads *tacse* as *tarse* and *itanmaraca* as *Hanmaraca*. Stanley mistranslates the French *forcette* ("scissors") as "fork."

⁸¹ Eden says (p. 251): "xxxiii. degree and a halfe toward the pole Antartike."

⁸² MS. 5,650 reads: "and to ask whether the others might come."

⁸³ MS. 5,650 reads: "That place was formerly called Cape Sainte Marye and it was thought that one could pass thence to the sea of Sur, that is to say the South Sea, but it has not been ascertained that any ships have ever discovered anything farther on." Eden (p. 251) reads: "Abowt the mouth of this ryuer, are feven ilandes, in the bygge/t whereof, they founde certeyne precious ftones, and cauled it the cape of Saynt Marie. The Spanyardes thought that by this ryuer they might haue paffed into the south fea. But they were decaued in theyr opinion. For there was none other paffage than by the ryuer which is xvii. leagues large in the mouth." This river was the Rio de la Plata. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 2) says that Magalhães left Rio de Janeiro December 26, proceeding to the cape Santa María and the river which was called St. Christopher. There they remained until February 2, 1520. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 211) also mentions the river which he calls the "river of Solís." The ships sent to look for a strait through the river were gone two days, and a careful exploration of the mouth of the river was made. Brito (Navarrete, iv, pp. 306, 307) says: "They left that place [*i.e.*, Rio de Janeiro] and coasted along shore until they reached the river called Solís, where Fernando Magallanes thought that he could find a strait. They stayed there forty days. Magallanes ordered the ship 'Santiago' to sail forward for about 50 leguas to see whether there was any passage. Not finding a passage, he crossed the river which is about 25 leguas wide and found the [opposite] coast which runs northeast and southwest." For early history of this region, see Dominguez's *Conquest of the River Plata*.

⁸⁴ Juan Diaz de Solis, a famous Spanish navigator, was born at Lebrixa, in 1470. He is said, although without sufficient authority, to have discovered Yucatan with Pinzon in 1506. He was appointed chief pilot of Spain after the death of Amerigo Vespucci in 1512. In October, 1515, he sailed in command of an expedition in search of a southwest passage to India. He discovered Rio de la Plata which he explored as far as the region of the Charrua tribe, by whom he and some of his men were killed and eaten before September, 1516. The remnant of the expedition was conducted back to Spain by his brother-in-law.

⁸⁵ Eden adds (p. 251): "which sum thynke to bee thofe fysshes that wee caule pikes." Below, the sea-wolf is described as having a head "of golden colour." They were probably some species of the *Otariidæ* or fur-seals (Guillemard, p. 160, note). The "geese" were penguins. Albo, Herrera, and others, also mention the "sea-wolves and ducks." Kohl (*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, xi, 362) says that this bay where the ships were laden with the seals and penguins is probably Desvelos Bay, but it is more probably Puerto Deseado ("Port Desire;" see Mosto, p. 57, note 2). Drake also secured fresh provisions from these "sea-wolves," calling the bay where he secured them "Seale Bay." See *World Encompassed* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 54, 55.

⁸⁶ Port St. Julian. The "Roteiro" pilot (Stanley, p. 3) says that they reached it on March 31, 1520, and places it in 49° 20' south latitude. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 214) says: "We went to a port called San Julian, where we entered the last day of March, and where we stayed until the day of St. Bartholomew. The said port lies in a latitude of 49 and two-thirds degrees. We pitched the ships in that port." Other writers give slightly different locations (see Mosto, p. 57, note 5). Antonio Brito, the Portuguese, whose MS. is preserved in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, writes in 1523 to the king of Portugal certain news obtained from some of the men of the "Trinidad." His information as might be expected, is at times faulty. Of Port St. Julian, he says: "They coasted along shore until they reached a river called San Juan where they wintered for four months."

⁸⁷ MS. 5,650 adds: "jumping up and down." The only reference made to the Patagonians by Albo is as follows: "Many Indians came there, who dress in certain skins of the *anta*, which resemble camels without the hump. They have certain bows made from cane, which are very small and resemble turkish bows. The arrows also resemble Turkish arrows, and are tipped with flint instead of iron. Those Indians are very prudent, swift runners, and very well-built and well-appearing men." (Navarrete, iv,

pp. 214, 215). Cf. with Pigafetta's account that given by Maximilianus Transylvanus, in VOL. I, pp. 303-337.

⁸⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "he began to marvel and to be afraid."

⁸⁹ Guillemard, who follows the Amoretti edition, translates (p. 180) this passage: "His hair was short and colored white," but this translation is borne out by neither the Italian MS. nor MS. 5,650. Guillemard presents a picture of a Patagonian, as does also Wilkes (*Narrative of U. S. Exploring Expedition*, 1838-1842), i, facing p. 95. The latter describes Indians, whom the officers of the expedition thought to be Patagonians, and who were taller than average Europeans, as follows: "They had good figures and pleasant looking countenances, low foreheads, and high cheekbones, with broad faces, the lower part projecting; their hair was coarse and cut short on the crown leaving a narrow border of hair hanging down; over this they wore a kind of cap or band of skin or woolen yarn. The front teeth of all of them were very much worn, more apparent, however, in the old than in the young. On one foot they wore a rude skin sandal. Many of them had their faces painted in red and black stripes, with clay, soot, and ashes. Their whole appearance, together with their inflamed and sore eyes, was filthy and disgusting." They showed that they had had previous communication with white men. Their food was fish and shellfish, and they carried bows and arrows and had dogs. Brinton (*American Race*, New York, 1891) says that "The Patagonians call themselves Chonek or Tzoneca, or Inaken (men, people), and by their Pampean neighbors are referred to as Tehuel-Che, southerners." Many of them are "from six to six feet four inches in height, and built in proportion. In color they are a reddish brown, and have aquiline noses and good foreheads." Ramon Lista (*Viage al pais de los Tehuel-Ches*) gives the average height of the Patagonians as 1.854 m., and hence the early accounts of their great stature are greatly exaggerated (Mosto, p. 57, note 6). See also the description of the Patagonians in the "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 5); and *World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 40, 56-61 (where the origin of the name "Patagonian" is wrongly given).

⁹⁰ The guanaco, a species of llama. See also VOL. II, p. 34, note 5*.

⁹¹ Hence arose the name "Patagonians" or "men with big feet," given by Magalhães, because of the awkward appearance of the feet in such coverings, which were stuffed with straw for greater warmth.

⁹² The words "somewhat thicker than those of a lute" are lacking in MS. 5,650.

⁹³ This sentence is omitted by MS. 5,650.

⁹⁴ Eden (p. 251) says "two," and following says that Magalhães gave the giant "certeyne haukes belles and other great belles, with also a lookynge glaffe, a combe, and a payre of beades of glaffe."

⁹⁵ MS. 5,650 adds: "on the face."

⁹⁶ MS. 5,650 omits "face."

⁹⁷ "For the smiths" is omitted by MS. 5,650.

⁹⁸ Maximilianus Transylvanus says that only one Patagonian was captured, but that he died shortly from self-starvation (VOL. I, pp. 314, 315). The "Roteiro" says (Stanley, p. 5) that three or four were captured, but all died except one, who went to Spain in the "San Antonio." Pigafetta's account, as given by an eye-witness, is to be preferred.

⁹⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "for otherwise they could have caused some of our men trouble." Below Stanley (p. 53) again mistranslates the French "forces" as "forks."

¹⁰⁰ MS. 5,650 adds: "of malefactors," and reads farther: "and their faces lighted up at seeing those manacles."

¹⁰¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "and they were grieved that they could not take the irons with their hands, for they were hindered by the other things that they were holding." Eden (p. 252) says at the end of his account of the capture: "Being thus taken, they were immediately seperate and put in fundry shyppes."

¹⁰² MS. 5,650 adds: "that is, the big devil."

Arber in his introduction to *The first three English books on America* says that Shakespeare had access to *The decades of the newe worlde* of Eden, and created the character of Caliban (who invokes Setebos) in the *Tempest* from the description of the Patagonian giants. See also *World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 48, for mention of the god Settaboth.

¹⁰³ MS. 5,650 reads: "the wife of one of the giants who had remained behind in irons."

¹⁰⁴ MS. 5,650 makes this plural.

¹⁰⁵ See *ante*, note 103.

¹⁰⁶ This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

¹⁰⁷ MS. 5,650 adds: "in their language."

¹⁰⁸ MS. 5,650 omits this sentence.

¹⁰⁹ MS. 5,650 reads "instead of taking medicine." See *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue) for examples

of medicine and surgery as practiced by the North American Indians.

¹¹⁰ MS. 5,650 reads "two feet or so."

¹¹¹ MS. 5,650 reads "cut short and shaven like religious." Hans Stade also notices the tonsure among the Indians who captured him (see *Captivity of Hans Stade*, Hakluyt Society edition, pp. 136-138, and note, from which it appears that this manner of wearing the hair, was practiced among many Tupi tribes).

¹¹² Stanley (p. 55) does not translate this sentence, but gives the original from MS. 5,650.

¹¹³ In MS. 5,650 this sentence reads as follows: "They seem to be painted, and one of those enemies is taller than the others, and makes a greater noise and gives expression to greater joy than the others."

¹¹⁴ Mosto (p. 59) mistranscribes or misprints "Setebas." Roncagli (*Da punta arenas a Santo Cruz*, in "Bollettino della Società geografica italiana," 1884, p. 775) says that the Patagonians sacrificed to an evil spirit called "Wallichu." Brinton, *ut supra*, p. 328, says: "They are not without some religious rites, and are accustomed to salute the new moon, and at the beginning of any solemn undertaking to puff the smoke of their pipes to the four cardinal points, just as did the Algonquins and Iroquois."

¹¹⁵ See *ante*, note 91. Stanley mistranscribes "Pataghoni" of MS. 5,650 as "Palaghom."

¹¹⁶ A reference to the gypsies who had made their appearance in Italy as early as 1422, where they practiced various deceptions upon the credulous people. The name "Cingani" or Zingari, as they are generally called in Italy, comes from the Greek word ἀτσιγγανοί, by which they were called by Byzantine writers of the ix-xii centuries; the same name appearing also in slightly different forms in Turkey, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany. Their ancestral home was probably in northwestern India, whence they emigrated in successive waves. In many countries extreme and harsh measures were taken against them, especially in Germany, where they had appeared as early as 1417. They were never allowed a foothold in France, but have become a significant part of the population in Russia, Hungary, and Spain. In the latter country, where they are called Gitános (Egyptians), in spite of many severe laws passed against them until the reign of Carlos III, they continued, more fortunate than the Jews, to thrive. They are mentioned by Cervantes in his *Don Quixote* (pt. i, chap. xxx), but the name Gitáno had first appeared in a Spanish document of 1499, where their customs are described.

The few in Italy have been allowed to remain, and those in the Slavic countries and England were generally treated kindly. Their language is Aryan and was highly inflected; and while they have been given many names by the nations among whom they have lived, their own appellation is "Rom" "the man." See *New International Encyclopedia* (New York, 1903).

¹¹⁷ MS. 5,650 reads: "capae;" but Stanley has mistranscribed "capac."

¹¹⁸ Albo (Navarrete iv, p. 215), the "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 4), Transylvanus and Oviedo (Mosto, p. 59, note 3) give the date of departure from Port San Julian August 24, 1520; but the second errs in giving 5½ instead of 4½ months for the period for which the fleet remained there. Peter Martyr places the date of departure as August 21. Castanheda, who gives the same date says that the name "St. Julian" or "of the ducks" was given to that bay which he calls a river. Barros gives the date of arrival as April 2, and says that the place was called "river of São Julião." See Mosto, *ut supra*.

¹¹⁹ A portion of the passage relating to the attempted mutiny reads as follows in MS. 5,650: "However the treason was discovered, and as a consequence the treasurer was killed by a dagger and then quartered. Gaspar de Casada was beheaded and then quartered. The overseer trying shortly after to lead another mutiny, was banished together with a priest and set ashore on that land of Pathagonia." The Italian MS. is badly confused, while the above is more in accordance with the facts, and shows the hand of the translator and adapter. Eden (p. 252) says of the attempted mutiny: "They remained fyue monethes in this porte of Sainte Iulian, where certeyne of the vnder capitaynes confiryng the death of theyr general, were hanged and quartered: Amonge whom the treafurer Luigo of Mendoza was one. Certeyne of the other confpirators, he left in the fayd land of Patogoni." See the short account of the mutiny given by Transylvanus in VOL. I, p. 317, and the account given in the same volume, pp. 297, 299. The *Roteiro* (Stanley, p. 3) says that three of the ships revolted against Magalhães "saying that they intended to take him to Castile in arrest, as he was taking them all to destruction;" but Magalhães subdued the mutiny by the aid of the foreigners with him. Mendoza was killed by Espinosa the chief constable of the fleet, and Gaspar Quesada was beheaded and quartered. Alvaro de Mesquita, Magalhães's cousin, is wrongly reported to have been given command of one of the ships of those killed, but the command of the "San Antonio" that had previously been given to Antonio de Coca, after Magalhães had deprived Cartagena of it, had been given him before the real outbreak of the mutiny.

The narrative of the mutiny as given by Navarrete (*Col. de viages*, iv, pp. 34-38) which was compiled mainly from documents presented in the same volume and from Herrera, is as follows:

"March 31, the eve of Palm Sunday, Magallanes entered the port of San Julian, where he intended to winter, and consequently ordered the rations to be served by measure. In view of that and of the barrenness and cold of the country, the men asked Magallanes by various arguments to increase the rations or turn back, since there was no hope of finding the end of that country or any strait. But Magallanes replied that he would either die or accomplish what he had promised; that the king had ordered the voyage which he was to accomplish; and that he had to sail until he found that land or some strait which must surely exist; that in regard to the food, they had no reason to complain, since that bay had an abundance of good fish, good water, many game birds, and quantities of wood, and that bread and wine had not failed them, nor would fail them if they would abide by the rule regarding rations. Among other observations, he exhorted and begged them not to be found wanting in the valorous spirit which the Castilian nation had manifested and showed daily in greater affairs; and offering them corresponding rewards in the king's name. By such means did he quiet the men.

"April 1, Palm Sunday, Magallanes summoned all his captains, officers, and pilots to go ashore to hear mass and afterward to dine in his ship. Alvaro de la Mezquita, Antonio de Coca, and all the men went to hear mass. Louis de Mendoza, Gaspar de Quesada, and Juan de Cartagena (the latter because he was a prisoner in Quesada's keeping) did not go, however; and Alvaro de la Mezquita alone went to dine with Magallanes.

"During the night, Gaspar de Quesada and Juan de Cartagena with about thirty armed men of the ship 'Concepcion' went to the 'San Antonio,' where Quesada requested that the captain, Alvaro de la Mezquita, be surrendered to him, and told the crew of the ship to seize it, as they had already done with the 'Concepcion' and 'Victoria.' [He said] that they already knew how Magallanes had treated and was treating them, because they had asked him to fulfil the king's orders; that they were lost men; and that they should help him make another request of Magallanes, and if necessary, seize him. Juan de Elorriaga, the master of the 'San Antonio,' spoke in favor of his captain, Alvaro de la Mezquita, saying to Gaspar de Quesada: 'I summon you, in God's name and that of the king, Don Carlos, to go to your ship, for the present is no time to go through the ships with armed men; and I also summon you to release our captain.' Thereupon Quesada replied: 'Must our deed remain unaccomplished because of this madman?' and drawing his dagger stabbed him four times in

the arm, thus overawing the men. Mezquita was kept prisoner, Elorriaga was cared for, Cartagena went to the ship 'Concepcion,' while Quesada remained in the 'San Antonio.' Thus were Quesada, Cartagena, and Mendoza masters of the three ships, 'San Antonio,' 'Concepcion,' and 'Victoria.'

"Thereupon, they sent a message to Magallanes to the effect that they held three ships and the small boats of all five at their disposal in order to require him to fulfil his Majesty's provisions. They said that they had done that in order that he might no longer illtreat them as he had done thitherto. If he would agree to fulfil his Majesty's orders, they would obey his commands, and [said] that if they had thitherto treated him as a superior, they would thenceforth treat him as a master, and would be most respectful to him.

"Magallanes sent word to them to come to his ship, where he would hear them and do what was proper. They answered that they did not dare come lest he illtreat them, but that he should go to the ship 'San Antonio,' where they would all assemble and decide definitely on what the king's orders commanded.

"Magallanes believing that boldness was more useful than meekness in the face of such actions, determined to employ craft and force together. He kept the small boat of the ship 'San Antonio' which was used for those negotiations, at his ship; and sent the alguacil, Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, in the skiff belonging to his ship, to the 'Victoria,' with six men armed secretly and a letter for the treasurer, Luis de Mendoza, in which he told the latter to come to the flagship. While the treasurer was reading the letter and smiling as if to say 'You don't catch me that way,' Espinosa stabbed him in the throat, while another sailor stabbed him at the same instant on the head so that he fell dead. Magallanes, being a man with foresight, sent a boat under command of Duarte Barbosa, sobresaliente of the 'Trinidad' with fifteen armed men, who entering the 'Victoria' flung the banner to the breeze without any resistance. That happened on April 2. Then the 'Victoria' approached the flagship, and they together immediately approached the 'Santiago.'

"On the following day, the 'San Antonio' and the 'Concepcion' which were held by Quesada and Cartagena tried to put to sea, but it was necessary for them to pass close to the flagship which stood farthest out. The 'San Antonio' raised two anchors, and being in danger with one, Quesada determined to free Alvaro de la Mezquita, whom he held a prisoner in his ship, in order to send him to Magallanes to arrange peace between them. Mezquita, however, told him that nothing would be obtained. Finally, they arranged that when they set sail, Mezquita should station himself forward and ask Magallanes as they approached his ship,

not to fire and that they would anchor provided affairs would be settled favorably.

"Before setting sail in the 'San Antonio,' where they were endangered, as it was night and the crew were asleep, the ship dragged and ran foul of the flagship. The latter discharged some large and small shots and men leaped aboard the 'San Antonio' crying, 'For whom are you?' they responding, 'For the king, our sovereign, and your Grace,' surrendered to Magallanes. The latter seized Quesada, the accountant, Antonio de Coca, and other sobresalientes who had gone to the 'San Antonio' with Quesada. Then he sent to the 'Concepcion' for Juan de Cartagena and imprisoned him with them.

"Next day Magallanes ordered the body of Mendoza taken ashore and had it quartered, and Mendoza cried as a traitor. On the seventh, he ordered Gaspar de Quesada beheaded and quartered with a like cry. That was done by Quesada's own follower and sobresaliente, Luis de Molino, in order to save himself from hanging, for that sentence had been passed on him. Magallanes sentenced Juan de Cartagena and the lay priest, Pedro Sanchez de la Reina, who had been active in causing the men to mutiny, to be marooned in that country. He pardoned more than forty men who merited death, as they were needed to work the ships, and so that he might not excite hard feelings by the severity of the punishment."

Brito's account of the mutiny (Navarrete, iv, p. 307) is very brief and unsatisfactory: "In that port the captains began to ask him where he was taking them, especially one Juan de Cartagena, who said that he had a royal cedula naming him as associate with Magallanes, as Rui Falero would also have been, had he been there. Then they tried to rise against Magallanes and kill him, and go back to Castilla or to Rodas. From that point they went to the river of Santa Cruz, where they endeavored to put their plan in execution. But when Magallanes discovered their ill-considered attempt, for the captains said that they would kill him or take him prisoner, he ordered his ship armed and Juan de Cartagena arrested. As soon as the other captains saw their chief arrested they thought no longer of prosecuting their attempt. Magallanes, however, seized them all, for most of the crew were in his favor. He sent the merino or alguacil to kill Luis de Mendoza with his dagger, for the latter refused to be arrested; while he had another named Gaspar Quesada beheaded. When they set sail, he left Juan de Cartagena together with a secular priest ashore at a place where there were no inhabitants."

Correa (Stanley, pp. 247-250) gives a different and imperfect account of the meeting.

Cf. with these accounts the one given by Guillemard (*Magellan*), pp. 162-174. When the "San Antonio" deserted, Esteban

Gomez is said to have rescued Cartagena and the priest. João Serrão (after the loss of the "Santiago") was given command of the "Concepcion," Mesquita of the "San Antonio," and Duarte Barbosa of the "Victoria," all Portuguese (Guillemard, *ut supra*, p. 179). It is rather singular that Sir Francis Drake should also have faced a mutiny in this same port, where Thomas Doughty was executed. That the history of Magalhães's expedition was generally known is evident from the following: "The next day after, being the twentieth of June, wee harboured ourselues againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan *Port S. Julian*, where we found a gibbet standing upon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where *Magellan* did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company." *World encompassed* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 234.

¹²⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "twenty-five leagues."

¹²¹ Instead of this last phrase, MS. 5,650 reads: "and very little of that." The account of the shipwreck and rescue as given here is very confusing and inadequate. Cf. Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 175-179, and Navarrete, iv, pp. 38, 39. One man was lost, namely, the negro slave of João Serrão. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 4) gives the briefest mention of it. Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 307) says: "After this [*i.e.*, the mutiny], they wintered for three months; and Magallanes again ordered the ship 'Santiago' to go ahead in order to explore. The ship was wrecked but all of its crew were saved." Correa's account (Stanley, p. 250) is very short, and mentions that only the hull of the vessel was lost.

¹²² Mosto (p. 60, note 3) derives this word from the Spanish *mejillon*, a variety of cockle, which he thinks may be the *Mytilus* or common mussel.

¹²³ See VOL. II, p. 34, note 5*.

¹²⁴ Eden (p. 252) says: "52. degree . . . lackynge a thyrde parte."

¹²⁵ MS. 5,650 omits: "and the holy bodies," and has in its place: "by His grace."

¹²⁶ MS. 5,650 omits these last two words. The Italian form *braccio* is retained in view of these words; for the Spanish *braza* is a measure about equivalent to the English fathom, while the *braccio*, although varying in different cities, is near three palmos (spans) in length. The term is, however, translated *brasse* ("fathom") in MS. 5,650. Mosto (p. 60, note 8), conjectures this fish to be the *Eliginus maclovinus*. Of this fish, Theodore

Gill, the well-known ichthyologist, says in a letter of May 22, 1905: "The Italian editor gave a shrewd guess in the suggestion that the fish in question was what was formerly called *Eliginus maclovinus*. The only vulgar name that I have been able to find for it is 'robalo,' and this name is applied to it by the Spanish-speaking people of both sides of South America. Like most popular names, however, it is very misleading. 'Robalo' is the Spanish name for the European bass, which is nearly related to our striped bass or rock bass. To that fish the robalo of South America has no affinity or real resemblance, and belongs to a very different family peculiar to the southern hemisphere—the *Nototheniids*. The so-called *Eliginus maclovinus* (properly, *Eliginops maclovinus*) is the most common and widely distributed species and probably the one obtained by the fleet of Magalhães."

¹²⁷ Of the river Santa Cruz and the stay there, Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 215) says: "We left that place [*i.e.*, Port San Julian] on the 24th of the said month [of August] and coasted along to the southwest by west. About 30 leguas farther on, we found a river named Santa Cruz, which we entered on the 26th of the same month. We stayed there until the day of San Lucas, the 18th of the month of October. We caught many fish there and got wood and water. That coast extends northeast by east and southwest by west, and is an excellent coast with good indentations." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 4) places the river Santa Cruz twenty leagues from San Julian and in about 50°. That narrative says that the four remaining boats continued to pick up the wreckage of the "Santiago" until September 18. The name Santa Cruz was said to have been given to the river because they entered it on September 14, the day of the exaltation of the holy cross (see Stanley, p. 4, note 4, and Mosto, p. 60, note 7), but Kohl (Mosto, *ut supra*) attributes the name to João Serrão who was near that river on May 3, 1520, the day on which the church celebrates the feast of the finding of the holy cross. Navarrete (iv, p. 41) cites Herrera as authority for an eclipse of the sun that happened while at this river on October 11, 1520. Guillemard (*ut supra*, pp. 187, 188) is disinclined to believe the report, although he mentions an annular eclipse of the sun on October 20, 1520, which was however not visible in Patagonia. Navarrete (*ut supra*) says that Magalhães gave instructions to his captains here "saying that he would follow those coasts until finding a strait or the end of that continent, even if he had to go to a latitude of 75°; that before abandoning that enterprise, the ships might be twice unrigged; and that after that he would go in search of Maluco toward the east and east northeast, by way of the cape of Buena Esperanza and the island of San Lorenzo."

A new chapter begins at this point in MS. 5,650, being simply headed "chapter."

¹²⁸ The anonymous Portuguese who accompanied Duarte Barbosa says 53° 30'; Barros, 52° 56'; Elcano, 54°; and Albo, 52° 30'. Mosto, p. 60, note 9.

¹²⁹ MS. 5,650 has the words in brackets.

¹³⁰ Eden (p. 252) says of the strait: "they founde the *straight* nowe cauled the *straight* of Magellanus, beinge in *sum* place C.x. leagues in length: and in breadth *sum*where very large and in other places lyttle more than halfe a league in bredth." Stanley (p. 57) is uncertain of the French *et quasi autant de largeur moins de demye lieue*, which is (translated freely) simply "something like almost a half-league wide." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 7) says that the channel "at some places has a width of three leagues, and two, and one, and in some places half a league." Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 320) gives the width as two, three, five, or ten Italian miles; Gomara, two leagues or so; Barros, one league at the mouth, and the strait, from a musket or cannon shot to one and one and one-half leagues; Castanheda, at the mouth as wide as two ships close together, then opening up to one league; Peter Martyr, a sling-shot's distance in places. (Mosto, p. 61, note 2.)

¹³¹ *Proise* or *Proi* (*proy*, *proic*) is an ancient Catalonian word meaning the "bow moorings;" Cf. Jal, *Glossaire nautique* (Mosto, p. 61, note 3). The old Spanish word is "proís," which signifies both the thing to which the ship is moored ashore, and the rope by which it is moored to the shore.

¹³² This passage is as follows in MS. 5,650: "The said strait was a circular place surrounded with mountains (as I have said), and the majority of the sailors thought that there was no exit from it into the said Pacific Sea. But the captain-general declared that there was another strait which led out, and that he knew that well, for he had seen it on a marine chart of the king of Portugal. That map had been made by a renowned sailor and pilot, named Martin de Boesme. The said captain sent two of his ships forward — one named the 'Saint Anthoine,' and the other the 'Conception' — in order that they might look for and discover the exit from the said strait, which was called the cape de la Baya."

Martin de Behaim (Beham, Behem, Behemira, Behen, Bøhem, Bøhm) was born about 1459 (some say also in 1430 or 1436) of a family originally from Bohemia, in Nuremberg, Germany, and died at Lisbon, July 29, 1506. He was a draper in Flanders, 1477-1479, after which he went to Lisbon (1480) where he be-

came acquainted with Columbus. In 1484 he was chosen geographer of Diego Cam's expedition to Western Africa. On his return, he received the order of knighthood in the military order of Christ of Portugal; after which he went to the island of Fayal in the Azores where he became interested in colonization and agriculture, and married the daughter of the governor. In 1491 he returned to Germany, where he lived at Nuremberg until 1493, and where, at the request of his townsmen, he constructed an immense globe on the information of Ptolemy, Strabo, and others, which contains many errors (see facsimile in Guillemard). In 1493 he returned to Lisbon, and in 1494 to Fayal, where he remained until 1506, when he went to Lisbon. Many myths sprung up about him, such that he had visited America before Columbus and the straits of Magellan before Magalhães, the latter of whom he may have known at Lisbon. See Rose, *New Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1848); *Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, Lamirault et Cie.); and Guillemard, pp. 73, 74.

See Guillemard (*ut supra*, pp. 189-198) for a discussion of knowledge regarding the existence of a strait to the south of the American continent, prior to Magalhães's discovery and passage of it. Guillemard, after weighing the evidence for and against, decides that there may have been a "more or less inexact knowledge of the existence of some antarctic break" that would allow access to the eastern world.

¹³³ Possession Bay, according to Mosto, p. 61, note 5, but Guillemard (pp. 199, 200) thinks it may have been Lomas Bay.

¹³⁴ Probably Anegada Point to the northwest of Cape Orange.

¹³⁵ The "First Narrows" or Primera Garganta, just beyond Anegada Point.

¹³⁶ Lago de los Estrechos, St. Philip's Bay, or Boucant Bay.

¹³⁷ The "Second Narrows" and Broad Reach.

¹³⁸ MS. 5,650 does not mention the smoke signals.

¹³⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "When near us they suddenly discharged a number of guns, whereat we very joyously saluted them with artillery and cries."

¹⁴⁰ The first is the passage east of Dawson Island, which extends to the northeast into Useless Bay and to the southeast into Admiralty Sound. The second opening was the passage between the western side of Dawson Island and Brunswick Peninsula.

¹⁴¹ Esteban Gomez was an experienced Portuguese navigator and pilot with ambitions only less than those of Magalhães, his kinsman (Guillemard, p. 203). His desertion occurred probably

in the first part of November, and was perhaps directly due to pique at what he considered lack of appreciation from Magalhães. Conspiring with Gerónimo Guerra, the notary, who was elected captain of the "San Antonio" they made off with that ship, and after imprisoning Alvaro de Mezquita, returned to Spain, anchoring at Sevilla May 6, 1521. There Gomez was imprisoned after the return of the "Victoria," but was liberated, and in 1524 proposed an expedition to discover a northwest passage. An expedition having been fitted out by Cárlos I, he coasted Florida and the eastern coast as far as Cape Cod, and returned to Spain in 1525. See *Grande Encyclopédie*; Navarrete, iv, pp. 42-45, and 201-208; and Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 203-205.

Brito's story of the exploration of the strait and the loss of the "San Antonio" (Navarrete, iv, pp. 307, 308) is as follows: "They left that place [*i.e.*, the river of Santa Cruz] on October 20, and went to enter a strait of which they had no knowledge. The entrance of the strait extends for about 15 leguas; and after they had entered, it seemed to them that it was all land-locked, and they accordingly anchored there. Magallanes sent a Portuguese pilot named Juan Carballo ashore with orders to ascend a mountain in order to ascertain whether there was any outlet. Carballo returned saying that it appeared land-locked to him. Thereupon Magallanes ordered the ships 'San Antonio' and the 'Concepcion' to go in advance in order to explore the strait. After having gone ahead for about 30 leguas, they returned to tell Magallanes that the river went farther but that they could not tell where it would take them. Upon receiving that information Magallanes weighed anchor with all three ships, and advanced along the strait until reaching the point to which the others had explored. Then he ordered the 'San Antonio' of which Alvaro de Mezquita, his cousin, was captain, and Esteban Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, to go ahead and explore a southern channel that opened in the strait. That ship did not return to the others and it is not known whether it returned to Castilla or whether it was wrecked. Magallanes proceeded with his remaining ships until he found an exit." Correa's account of the desertion of the "San Antonio" is as usual with him, inadequate, and evidently based on hearsay evidence (see Stanley, p. 250).

¹⁴² Literally "brother;" but to be understood probably as the expression *cugino germano*, "cousin german."

¹⁴³ MS. 5,650 begins this sentence as follows: "But that ship lost its time, for the other."

¹⁴⁴ Guillemard (p. 206) conjectures from the records of Albo, Pigafetta, and Herrera that the river of Sardines is Port Gallant which is located on the Brunswick Peninsula, opposite the Charles Islands. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 215) says that after taking the

course to the northwest they sailed about 15 leagues before anchoring.

¹⁴⁵ Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 216) says that the two capes at the exit of the strait were called Ferosa and Deseado, this latter being Cape Pillar (see Guillemard, map facing p. 198).

¹⁴⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "which were on the other side."

¹⁴⁷ João Serrão, the brother of Magalhães's staunchest friend Francisco Serrão, and a firm supporter of the great navigator. Pigafetta errs in calling him a Spaniard (see p. 179), though he may have become a naturalized Spaniard, since the register speaks of him as a citizen of Sevilla. One document (Navarrete, iv, p. 155) calls him a Portuguese pilot, and Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 308) a Castilian. He was an experienced navigator and captain, and had served under Vasco da Gama, Almeida, and Albuquerque. Vasco da Gama (on his second voyage, 1502-1503) made him captain of the ship "Pomposa" which was built in Mozambique where he was left to attend to Portuguese affairs. On this expedition he saw the coast of Brazil for the first time, for Vasco da Gama's fleet, ere doubling the Cape of Good Hope, crossed to the Brazilian coast, which they followed as far as Cape Santo Agostinho. He fought bravely in the battle of Cananor under Almeida (March 16, 1506, in which Magalhães also participated). He was chief captain of three caravels in August, 1510, in Eastern water, and was in the Java seas in 1512, but must have returned to Portugal soon after that, for he was there in 1513; although he seems to have been appointed clerk at the fortress of Calicut in the latter year. He embarked with Magalhães as captain and pilot of the "Santiago," but after the wreck of that vessel near port San Julian was given command of the "Concepcion," in which he later explored the strait. Failing to dissuade Magalhães from attacking the natives of Matan, he became commander, with Duarte Barbosa, of the fleet at Magalhães's death, and was murdered by the Cebuans after the treacherous banquet given by them to the fleet. See Guillemard (*ut supra*), and Stanley's *Three voyages of Vasco da Gama* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1869).

¹⁴⁸ MS. 5,650 reads as follows: "Such was the method ordered by the captain from the beginning, in order that the ship that happened to become separated from the others might rejoin the fleet." Then it adds: "Thereupon the crew of the said ship did what the captain had ordered them and more, for they set two banners with their letters," etc.

¹⁴⁹ The island of Santa Magdalena (Mosto, p. 62, note 11).

¹⁵⁰ According to Guillemard the river of Isleo (or "of Is-

lands") is located on Brunswick Peninsula, and is identified with the port of San Miguel, just east of the "River of Sardines;" the island where the cross was planted would be one of the Charles Islands.

¹⁵¹ The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 3) mentions that the day at the port of San Julian was about seven hours long; while the anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 30) says that the sun only appeared for some "four hours each day" in June and July. Transylvanus says the nights in the strait were not longer than five hours.

¹⁵² MS. 5,650 adds: "which is the collateral wind between the east and south."

¹⁵³ MS. 5,650 adds: "and anchorages."

¹⁵⁴ Various kinds of these umbelliferous parsley plants are still to be found in Patagonia, where they are highly esteemed (Mosto, p. 63, note 3).

¹⁵⁵ MS. 5,650 reads: "I do not believe that there is a more beautiful 'country or a better strait than that." See Albo's description of the strait, in VOL. I, pp. 264-265; that of Transylvanus, VOL. I, pp. 319-321; and that in *World encompassed* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 236, 237 (this last account also mentioning the difficulty of finding water sufficiently shallow for anchoring). The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) says that the strait was called the "Strait of Victoria, because the ship 'Victoria' was the first that had seen it: some called it the Strait of Magalhaens because our captain was named Fernando de Magalhaens." Castanheda says that Magalhães gave it the name of "bay of All Saints" because it was discovered on November 1; and San Martin in his reply to Magalhães's request for opinions regarding the continuance of the expedition calls it "channel of All Saints:" but this name was first applied to only one gulf or one branch and later extended to the entire channel. This name is found in the instructions given for the expedition of Sebastian Cabot in 1527, and in the map made that same year at Sevilla by the Englishman Robert Thorne. Sarmiento de Gamboa petitioned Felipe II that it be called "strait of the Mother of God." It was also called "strait of Martin Behaim." The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) says that the strait is 400 miles long. The "Roterio" (Stanley, pp. 7, 8) says that it is 100 leagues in length, and that in traversing it, they "sailed as long as it was daylight, and anchored when it was night." Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 320) gives the length as 100 Spanish miles; Oviedo, 100 or 110 leagues; Herrera, 100 leagues, and twenty days to navigate; Gomara, 110 to 120 leagues; Peter Martyr, 110 leagues. See Mosto, p. 60, note 10, and p. 62, note 2; and *ante*, note 130.

¹⁵⁶ These fish are: a species of *Coryphæna*; the *Thymnus albacora*, and the *Thymnus plamys*.

¹⁵⁷ From the Spanish *golondrina*, the sapphirine gurnard or tubfish (*Trigla hirundo*).

¹⁵⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "one foot or more."

¹⁵⁹ At this point in the original Italian MS., which ends a page, occurs the heading of the following page *Sequitur Vocabuli Patagoni*, that is, "Continuation of Patagonian words."

¹⁶⁰ Literally: "for the nature of women."

¹⁶¹ MS. 5,650 presents the following differences in the list of Patagonian words from the Italian MS.

Eyes	ather
Eyelashes	occhechl
Lips	schiane
Hair	ajchir
Throat	ohumer
Shoulders	peles
Penis	scachet
Testicles	scaneos
Rump	schiachen
Arm	mar
Pulse	ohon
Legs	choss
Feet	teche
Heel	there
Sole of the foot	cartscheni
Fingernails	colini
To scratch	ghecare
Young man	calemi
Water	oli
Smoke	jaiche
We	chen
Yes	zei
Petre lazure	secheghi
Sun	calexcheni
To eat	mecchiere
To look	conne
To walk	rhei
Ship	theu
To run	haim
Ostrich eggs	jan
The powder of the herb which they eat	capae
Red cloth	terechai

Black	amel
Red	theiche
To cook	jrecoles
A goose	chache
Their little devils	Cheleult

In the above list, *chen* corresponds in the Italian MS. to *ehen*, the equivalent of "no;" *theu* is "ship" in the above, and "snow" in the Italian; *courire* (the equivalent of *covrire* or *coprire*, "to cover") in the Italian, becomes *courir* ("to run") in MS. 5,650. All are to be regarded as errors of the French. Certain words are left in Italian in MS. 5,650, which are as follows: *la copa*; *alcalcagno*; (Italian MS. *al calcagno*); *homo squerzo* (Italian MS. *sguerco*); *a la pignate* (Italian MS. *pigniata*); *alstruzzo ucelo* (Italian MS. *al seruzo ucelo*); and *alcocinare* (Italian MS. *al coçinare*). Stanley offers this as proof that MS. 5,650 was written by Pigafetta, and not translated from his Italian, but it furnishes no evidence that Pigafetta even saw the French version of his relation. It must be remembered that Stanley did not himself see the Italian MS. but only the Amoretti mutilation of it (from which, and from MS. 5,650, he reproduces the vocabulary, without English translation), and hence bases his observations on that and the conjectures of its editor. Stanley points out the fact that Amoretti has omitted several words of this list, but they are all in the Italian MS. A sad blunder has been made by Stanley in his transcription of *La pouldre dherbe qui mangent* whose Patagonian equivalent is *capac*. He transcribes as follows: *la pouldre d'herbe* with Patagonian equivalent *qui* (which it is to be noted is only the wrong form of the French relative), and *mangent* with Patagonian equivalent *capac*, explaining *mangent* in a footnote as "Food, the root used as bread." Stanley also makes the following mistranscriptions: *orescho* for *oresche* ("nostrils"); *canneghin* for *caimeghin* ("palm of the hand"); *ochy* for *ochii* ("bosom"); *scancos* for *scaneos* ("testicles"); *hou* for *hoii* ("buttocks"); *ohoy* for *ohon* ("pulse"); *cartschem* for *cartscheni* ("sole of the foot"); *chol* for *thol* ("heart"); *om* for *oni* ("wind"); *aschame* for *aschanie* ("earthen pot"); *oamaghei* for *oamaghce* ("to fight"); *amet* for *amel* ("black"); and *ixecoles* for *jrocoles* ("to cook"). Amoretti has also made many errors (see Stanley's *First Voyage*, pp. 62, 63). Mosto, who is on the whole a faithful transcriber, has *sacancos* as the Patagonian equivalent of *a li testiculi*; *om jani* for *a li sui*, the correct forms of the latter being *jani* and *a li sui oui*; and *tcrechai* for the equivalent of "red cloth." Eden (p. 252) gives only the following words: "breade, Capar: water, Oli: redde clothe, Cherecai: red colour, Cheiche: blacke colour, Amel."

Mosto (p. 63, note 8) gives the following words from the

vocabulary of the Tehuel-ches compiled by the second lieutenant of the ship "Roncagli," which correspond almost exactly with those given by Pigafetta.

<i>English</i>	<i>Roncagli</i>	<i>Pigafetta</i>
Nose	or	or
eye	óthel	other
hand	tzén	chene
ear	sha	sane
ostrich	óyue	hoi hoi

Brinton (*American Race*, p. 328) cites Ramon Lista (*Mis exploraciones y descubrimientos en Patagonia*, Buenos Ayres, 1880) in proof that the language of the Patagonians has undergone but slight change since the time of Pigafetta. See also lists of words in Brinton (*ut supra*), p. 364, from the Patagonian and Fuegian languages. The vocabularies given by Horatio Hale (*Wilkes's U. S. Exploring Expedition*, 1838-1842, Philadelphia, 1846, viii, pp. 651-656) bear no resemblance to Pigafetta's vocabulary. Hale says that guttural sounds are frequent among the Indians of the Patagonian district.

¹⁶² MS. 5,650 reads: "capae."

¹⁶³ Cf. with the methods of fire-making used by the North American Indians in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue); see also *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 126.

At this point (folio 14a) in the original Italian MS. occurs the first chart, representing the straits of Magellan (see p. 82). The cardinal points in all of Pigafetta's charts are the reverse of the ordinary, the north being below and the south above. MS. 5,650 precedes this chart (which there occupies folio 21a) by the words: "Below is depicted the strait of Patagonie." Immediately following this chart in the Italian MS. (folio 15a) is the chart of the *Ysole Infortunate* ("Unfortunate Isles;" see p. 88). These islands are shown in MS. 5,650 on folio 23a, with the following notice: "Here are shown the two islands called 'Unfortunate Islands.'" The charts in the Italian MS. are brown or dull black on a blue ground.

¹⁶⁴ The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 9) says that Magalhães left the strait November 26 (having entered it October 21); the anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) and Peter Martyr (Mosto, p. 65, note 1), November 27.

¹⁶⁵ MS. 5,650 reads: "And we ate only biscuits that had fallen to powder, which was quite full of worms, and stank from the filth of the urine of rats that covered it, and of which the good had been eaten." Eden (p. 252) reads: "And hauynge in

this tyme consumed all theyr byfket and other vyttales, they fell into /uche neceffitie that they were inforced to eate the poudere that remayned therof beinge nowe full of woormes and /tynkynge lyke pyffe by reason of the /alte water." Herrera (Navarrete, iv, p. 51) says that the rice was cooked with salt water.

¹⁶⁶ A curious coincidence in view of Magalhães's answer to Esteban Gomez at a council called in the strait to discuss the continuance of the voyage that "although he had to eat the cow-hide wrappings of the yardarms, he would still persevere and discover what he had promised the emperor" (Navarrete, iv, p. 43; cited from Herrera). At that council André de San Martín, pilot in the "San Antonio," advised that they continue explorations until the middle of January, 1521, and then return to Spain; and urged that no farther southward descent be made, and that navigation along so dangerous coasts be only by day, in order that the crew might have some rest (Navarrete, iv, pp. 45-49).

¹⁶⁷ MS. 5,650 reads: "enough of them."

¹⁶⁸ This was the scurvy. Navarrete (iv, p. 54) following a document conserved in Archivo general de Indias, says that only eleven men died of scurvy during the voyage from the strait to the Ladrões.

¹⁶⁹ The anonymous Portuguese says (Stanley, p. 31) that after sailing west and northwest for 9,858 miles, the equator was reached. At the line ("Roteiro," Stanley, p. 9), Magalhães changed the course in order to strike land north of the Moluccas, as "he had information that there were no provisions" there.

¹⁷⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "It is well named Pacific."

¹⁷¹ MS. 5,650 adds: "which is a large fish called tiburoni." The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31), says that the Unfortunate Islands were met before the line was reached and were eight hundred miles distant from one another. One was called St. Peter (in 18°) and the other the island of Tiburones (in 14°). Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 321), Herrera, and Oviedo, say that the three vessels stopped two days at those islands for supplies, but Albo's journal (Navarrete, iv, p. 218) indicates that no stop was made there. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 9), gives the latitude of these islands as 18° or 19° and 13° or 14°. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 218) says that the first was discovered January 24 in 16° 15', and was called San Pablo, because that was the date of St. Paul's conversion; and the island of Tiburones was discovered February 4, in 10° 40', at a distance of 9° (*sic*) from the former. Eden (p. 253) says that the second island lay in 5°. These two islands were probably Puka-puka (the Honden Eyland of the Dutch atlases) of the Tuamotu group, located in latitude

14° 45' south, and longitude 138° 48' west; and Flint Island of the Manihiki group, located in latitude 11° 20' south and longitude 151° 48' west. The latter is still uninhabited, but the former contains a population of over four hundred. See *ante*, note 163. See Guillemard, p. 220, and Mosto, p. 65, note 6.

¹⁷² MS. 5,650 reads: "now at the stern, now at the windward side, or otherwise." Amoretti changes this passage completely, reading: "According to our measurement of the distance that we made with the chain astern, we ran from sixty to seventy leagues daily." Many basing themselves on this passage of Amoretti, have believed that the log was in use at the time of the first circumnavigation. Dr. Breusing (*Die Catena a poppa bei Pigafetta und die Logge*, in "Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin," 1869, iv, pp. 107-115) believes that the "stern chain (*eatena poppa*) is not the log properly so-called, but an instrument for determining the angle of the ship's leeway, an opinion accepted also by Gelcich in his *La scoperta d'America e Cristoforo Colombo nella letteratura moderna* (Gorizia, 1890). L'Vzielle (*Studi bibliogr. e biogr. sulla storia della geogr. in Italia*, Roma, 1875, part ii, introduction, pp. 294-296), combats that opinion, as well as the idea that the log is meant. The difficulty of the passage, he says, hinges on the word *ho* and whether it is interpreted as a verb or a conjunction. If it be a conjunction then the passage means "estimating by sight, the rate of the ship from the 'bow catena,' or 'at the stern' ('catena' being a beam perpendicular to the ship's axis at the point near the bow where it begins to curve inward; that is, at such a point that from that place to the stern, the direction of the apparent way is parallel to the longitudinal axis of the ship) his ship made fifty, sixty, or seventy leagues." One might suppose, if *ho* be regarded as a verb, that Pigafetta called *catena* a cross beam of the stern (the passage reading "the catena that was at the stern"); or that the disjunctive *ho*, "or" is used in place of *e*, "and," and that Pigafetta, dividing the distance between the stern and the bow catena by the time necessary for a fixed point of the sea to pass from the elevation of the bow to that of the stern, thus deduced the ship's rate. See Mosto, p. 66, note, 1. L'Vzielle's opinion is the most probable, for although the log is mentioned by Purchas as early as 1607, its use did not become general until 1620. An instrument used to measure the rates of vessels is mentioned as early as 1577, but it was very deficient.

¹⁷³ The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 6) says that this cape, which he calls "cape of the virgins" was discovered on October 21, 1520, and lay in latitude about 52° south. Barros says that it was discovered on October 20; and Transylvanus and Oviedo, on November 27. See Mosto, p. 61, note 1.

¹⁷⁴ Regarding the reckonings Eden says: "In so much that it was necessarie to helpe the needle with the lode stone (commonly cauled the adamant) before they could faile therwith, bycause it moued not as it doothe when it is in these owre partes." Eden also gives a cut of the "starres abowt the pole Antartike." The same author also (pp. 277-280) compiles from Amerigo Vespucci and Andreas de Corsali a treatise entitled "Of the Pole Antartike and the stars abowt the same and of the qualitie of the regions and disposition of the Elementes abowt the Equinoctiall line. Also certeyne secretes touching the arte of saylinge." The former says: "The pole Antartike hath nother the great beare nor the lyttle as is seene abowte owre pole. But hath foure starres whiche compasse it abowt in forme of a quadrangle. When these are hydden, there is seene on the lefte syde a bryght Canopus of three starres of notable greatnesse, whiche beinge in the mydde of heauen, representeth this figure." The latter says: "Here we sawe a marueylous order of starres, so that in the parte of heauen contrary to owre northe pole, to knowe in what place and degree the south pole was, we tooke the day with the sonne, and obserued the nyght with the astrolabie, and saw manifestly two cloudes of reasonable bygnesse mouynge abowt the place of the pole continually nowe ryfynge and nowe faulynge, so keepynge theyr continuall course in circular mouynge, with a starre euer in the mydde which is turned abowt with them abowte. xi. degrees frome the pole. About these appeareth a marueylous crosse in the mydde of fyue notable starres which compasse it abowt. . . . This crosse is so fayre and bewtiful, that none other heuently gne may be compared to it. . . ." These are the Magallanic clouds (Nubecula major and Nubecula minor) and the constellation of the Southern Cross or Crux. The Magallanic clouds resemble portions of the milky way, Nubecula major being visible to the naked eye in strong moonlight and covering about two hundred times the moon's surface, while the Nubecula minor, although visible to the naked eye, disappears in full moonlight, and covers an area only one-fourth that of the former. They were first observed by the Arabians. The Portuguese pilots probably called them at first "clouds of the cape." (Mosto, p. 66, note 2). The Southern Cross, which resembles a lute rather than a cross, was first erected into a constellation by Royer in 1679, although often spoken of before as a cross. Only one of its five principal stars belongs to the first magnitude. The cross is only 6° in extent north and south and less than that east and west.

The second chart of the plate at p. 88 represents the Ladrone Islands and occurs in the Italian MS. at this point (folio 16b). This chart is found on folio 25b in MS. 5,650, and is preceded by the inscription: "The island of the robbers and the style of their boats."

¹⁷⁵ MS. 5,650 reads: "During that time of two months and twelve days."

¹⁷⁶ Amoretti reads: "three degrees east of Capo Verde." If the cape is meant, the correction is proper, but if the islands, the MS. is correct. See Mosto, p. 67, note 4.

¹⁷⁷ Cipangu is Japan, while Sumbdit Pradit may be the island of Antilia, called "Septe citade" on Martin Behaim's globe (Mosto, p. 67, note 5). The locations given by Pigafetta prove that they did not see them, but that he writes only from vague reports. Europe first learned of Japan, near the end of the thirteenth century, through Marco Polo, who had been told in China fabulous tales of the wealth of Zipangu. This word is derived by Marco Polo from the Chinese Dschi-pen-Kuë or Dschi-pon, which the Japanese have transformed into Nippon or Nihon. See *Travels of Marco Polo*, book iii, ch. ii; and Rein's *Japan*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁸ See VOL. I, pp. 208, 209, 210, 312, 336.

¹⁷⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "sixty." Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 322) names two islands of the Ladrões Inuagana and Acacan, but says that both were uninhabited. Guillemard (*ut supra*, p. 223) conjectures these names to be identical with Agana in Guam and Sosan in Rota. Hugues (Mosto, p. 67, note 7) believes the first island visited to have been Guam, and his conjecture is undoubtedly correct.

¹⁸⁰ MS. 5,650 adds: "called skiff."

¹⁸¹ MS. 5,650 adds: "of the said island."

¹⁸² MS. 5,650 has a new unnumbered chapter heading before the following paragraph.

¹⁸³ This phrase is omitted in MS. 5,650, as is also all the following sentence; but that MS. adds: "We left the said island immediately afterward, and continued our course." This was on March 9, on which day the only Englishman in the fleet, "Master Andrew" of Bristol, died (Guillemard, *ut supra*, p. 226).

¹⁸⁴ Eden (p. 254) says: "two hundredth of theyr boates."

¹⁸⁵ MS. 5,650 has a new chapter at this point, although the chapter is unnumbered.

When Loaisa's expedition reached the Ladrões, they found still alive a Galician, one of three deserters from Espinosa's ship (see VOL. II, pp. 30, 34, 35, 110). See the reception accorded Legazpi, and a description of one of those islands in 1565, VOL. II, pp. 109-113. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 9) says that the expedition reached the Ladrões, March 6, 1521 (with which Albo, Navarrete, iv, p. 219 agrees); and that after the theft of the

skiff, Magellan landed with fifty or sixty men, burned the whole village, killed seven or eight persons, both men and women; and that supplies were taken aboard. The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) says that the Ladrones (which lay in 10° - 12° north latitude, were 2,046 miles by the course traveled from the equator. Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 308) says: "Thence [*i.e.*, the Unfortunate Islands] they laid their course westward, and after sailing 500 leguas came to certain islands where they found a considerable number of savages. So many of the latter boarded the vessels that when the men tried to restore order in them, they were unable to get rid of the savages except by lance-thrusts. They killed many savages, who laughed as if it were a cause for rejoicing."

¹⁸⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "or superior."

¹⁸⁷ MS. 5,650 reads: "cloth."

¹⁸⁸ At this point, MS. 5,650 begins a new sentence, thus: "There are found in that place."

¹⁸⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "Those women."

¹⁹⁰ MS. 5,650 makes use of the Italian word *store* for *stuoje* or *stoje* meaning "mats," and explains by adding: "which we call mats."

¹⁹¹ They also (according to Herrera) received the name *Las Velas*, "the sails" from the lateen-rigged vessels that the natives used (Mosto, p. 67, note 7). See also VOL. XVI, pp. 200-202.

¹⁹² In MS. 5,650 this sentence reads as follows: "The pastime of the men and women of the said place and their sport, is to go in their boats to catch those flying fish with fishhooks made of fishbone."

¹⁹³ Mosto (p. 68, note 5) says that these boats were the *fsolere*, which were small and very swift oared-vessels, used in winter on the Venetian lakes by the Venetian nobles for hunting with bows and arrows and guns. Amoretti conjectures that Pigafetta means the *fusiniere*, boats named after Fusine whence people are ferried to Venice.

¹⁹⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "The said boats have no difference between stern and bow." Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 219), in speaking of the boats of the Chamorros, uses almost identically the same expression: "They went both ways, for they could make the stern, bow, and the bow, stern, whenever they wished." The apparatus described by Pigafetta as belonging to these boats is the outrigger, common to many of the boats of the eastern islands.

¹⁹⁵ In the Italian MS., the chart of *Aguada ly boni segnaly* ("Watering-place of good signs"), Zzamal (Samar), Abarien,

Humunu, Hyunagan, Zuluam, Cenalo, and Ybusson (*q.v.*, p. 98) follows at this point. It is found on folio 29b of MS. 5,650 and is preceded by the following: "Here is shown the island of Good Signs, and the four islands, Cenalo, Humanghar, Ibusson, and Abarien, and several others."

¹⁹⁶ "The tenth of March" in Eden, and the distance of Zamal from the Ladrones is given as "xxx. leagues." Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 220) says that the first land seen was called Yunagan, "which extended north and had many bays;" and that going south from there they anchored at a small island called Suluan. At the former "we saw some canoes, and went thither, but they fled. That island lies in 9° 40' north latitude." The "Robeiro" (Stanley, p. 10) says that the first land seen was in "barely eleven degrees," and that the fleet "went to touch at another further on, which appeared first." Two praus approached a boat sent ashore, whereupon the latter was ordered back, and the praus fled. Thereupon the fleet went to another nearby island "which lies in ten degrees, to which they gave the name of the 'Island of Good Signs,' because they found some gold in it."

¹⁹⁷ This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

¹⁹⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "more than one foot long."

¹⁹⁹ Since rice is an important staple among all the eastern islands, it is natural that there are different and distinctive names for that grain in the various languages and dialects for all stages of its growth and all its modes of preparation. Thus the Tagalog has words for "green rice," "rice with small heads," "dirty and partly rotten rice," "early rice," "late rice," "cooked rice," and many others. See also *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, pp. 70, 71.

²⁰⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "In order to explain what manner of fruit is that above named, one must know that what is called 'cochi' is the fruit borne by the palm-tree. Just as we have bread, wine, oil, and vinegar, which are obtained from different things, so those people get the above named substances from those palm-trees alone." See Delgado's *Historia*, pp. 634-659, for description of the useful cocoa palm; also, *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, pp. 72, 73, 75.

²⁰¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "along the tree." Practically the method used today to gather the cocoanut wine. See *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, p. 75.

²⁰² In describing the cocoanut palm and fruit, Eden (p. 254) reads: "Vnder this rynde, there is a thicke shell whiche they burne and make powder thereof and v/e it as a remedie for certeyne diseases." He says lower, that the cocoanut milk on congealing "lyeth within the shell lyke an egge."

²⁰³ MS. 5,650 reads: "By so doing they last a century."

²⁰⁴ Called "Suluan" by Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 220). It is a small island southeast of Samar. See *ante*, note 196. Dr. David P. Barrows (*Census of the Philippines*, Washington, 1905, i, p. 413), says that the men from Suluan "were perhaps not typical of the rest of the population which Magellan found sparsely scattered about the coasts of the central islands, but . . . were almost certainly of the same stock from which the present Visayan people are in the main descended." These natives had probably come, he says, "in successively extending settlements, up the west coast of Mindanao from the Sulu archipelago. 'Sulúan' itself means 'Where there are Suluges,' that is, men of Sulu or Joló."

²⁰⁵ MS. adds: "seeing that they were thus well dispositioned."

²⁰⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "into the sea."

²⁰⁷ Albo calls it (Navarrete, iv, p. 220) the island of Gada (*i.e.*, *Aguada*, "watering-place") "where we took on water and wood, that island being very free of shoals" (see *ante*, note 196). This island is now called Homonhón, Jomonjol, or Malhón. Its greatest dimensions are ten miles from northwest to southeast, and five miles from northeast to southwest. It is eleven miles southwest from the nearest point in Samar. It is called "Buenas Señas" on Murillo Velarde's map.

²⁰⁸ The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 11) says that the archipelago was also called "Vall Sem Periguo," or "Valley without Peril." The name "Filipinas" was not applied to them until 1542 by Villalobos (see VOL. II, p. 48).

²⁰⁹ Probably the jungle-fowl (*Gallus bankiva*) which is caught and tamed in large numbers by the natives of the Philippines and still used for crossing with the domestic fowl. See Guillemard (*ut supra*, p. 228, note 1).

²¹⁰ This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

²¹¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "In his ears he wore pendants of gold jewels, which they call 'schione.'"

²¹² MS. adds: "whom he had put ashore on that island that they might recruit their strength."

²¹³ MS. 5,650 reads: "There is another island near the above island, inhabited by people." Mosto says (p. 70, note 6) that *picheti* is from the Spanish *piquete*, "a small hole made with a sharp pointed instrument." This custom of piercing the ears is quite general among savage, barbarous, and semi-barbarous peoples.

²¹⁴ Eden (p. 254) reads: "*caphranita* that is gentyles." See VOL. III, p. 93, note 29.

²¹⁵ This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

²¹⁶ Our transcript reads *facine*, and MS. 5,650 *fascine*, both of which translate "fascines." Mosto reads *focine*, which is amended by Amoretti to *foscine*. This latter is probably the same word as *focina*, a "harpoon" or "eel-spear," and hence here a "dart."

²¹⁷ Stanley failed to decipher this word in MS. 5,650, which is the same as the word in the Italian MS. Mosto, citing Boerio (*Dizion. veneziano*), says of *rizali*: "*Rizzagio* or *rizzagno*, 'sweepnet' a fine thickly woven net, which when thrown into rivers by the fisherman, opens, and when near the bottom, closes, and covers and encloses the fish. *Rizzagio* is also called that contrivance or net, made in the manner of an inverted cone, with a barrel hoop attached to the circumference as a selvage. It has a hole underneath, through which if the eels in the ponds slyly enter the net, there is no danger of their escape."

Fish are caught in the Philippines by various devices—in favorable situations by traps, weirs, corrals of bamboo set along the shore in shallow waters. Various kinds of nets and seines, the hook and line, and also the spear, are also used. See *Census of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1905), iv, p. 533.

²¹⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "Hiunanghar." Stanley has mistranscribed "Huinanghar." It is difficult to identify the four islands of Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien with certainty. Mosto (p. 71, notes) suggests that they may be Dinagat, Cabugan, Gibuson, and Cabalarián. The first three are evidently correct, as those islands would naturally be sighted in the course followed. The last island is shown in Pigafetta's chart to be north of Malhón, and the probability is that he names and locates it merely from hearsay, and that they did not see it. Its position seems to indicate Manicani rather than Cabalarián.

After this paragraph in the Italian MS. (folio 21a) follows the chart of the islands of Pozzon, Ticobon, Polon, Baibai and Ceilon (together forming the island of Leyte), Gatighan, Bohol, and Mazzana (*sic*) (*q.v.*, p. 108). This chart in MS. 5,650 (on folio 36a) is preceded by: "Below is shown the cape of Gatighan and many other islands surrounding it."

²¹⁹ Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 220) says: "We departed thence [*i.e.*, from Malhón] and went toward the west in order to strike a large island called Seilani [*i.e.*, Leyte] which is inhabited and has gold in it. We coasted along it and took our course to the west southwest in order to strike a small island, which is inhabited and called Mazava. The people there are very friendly.

We erected a cross on a mountain in that island. Three islands lying to the west southwest were pointed out to us from that island, which are said to possess gold in abundance. They showed us how it was obtained. They found pieces as large as chick-peas and beans. Masava lies in latitude 9 and two-thirds degrees north." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 11) says: "They ran on to another island twenty leagues from that from which they sailed [*i.e.*, Malhón], and came to anchor at another island, which is named Macangor [*i.e.*, Masaua], which is nine degrees; and in this island they were very well received, and they placed a cross in it." See also VOL. I, pp. 322, 323.

²²⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "But they moved off immediately and would not enter the ship through distrust of us." The slave who acted as interpreter is the Henrique de Malaca of Navarrete's list.

²²¹ *Bara*: the Spanish word *barra*.

²²² MS. 5,650 reads: "to ask him to give him some food for his ships in exchange for his money."

²²³ MS. 5,650 reads: "The king hearing that came with seven or eight men."

²²⁴ For *dorade*, *i.e.*, the dorado. MS. 5,650 adds: "which are very large fish of the kind abovesaid."

²²⁵ The ceremony of blood brotherhood. *Casicasi* means "intimate friends." See Trumbull's *Blood Covenant* (Philadelphia, 1898), which shows how widespread was the covenant or friendship typified by blood.

²²⁶ MS. 5,650 reads: "After that the said captain had one of his men-at-arms armed in offensive armor." Stanley has translated *harnois blanc* literally as "white armor."

²²⁷ This passage may be translated: "Thereby was the king rendered almost speechless, and told the captain, through the slave, that one of those armed men was worth a hundred of his own men. The captain answered that that was a fact, and that he had brought two hundred men in each ship, who were armed in that manner." Eden so understood it, and reads: "wherthat the Kynge marualed greatly, and *ſayde* to th[e] interpretoure (who was a *ſlaue borne* in Malacha) that one of thofe armed men was able to encounter with a hundreth of his men." MS. 5,650 agrees with the translation of the text.

²²⁸ Instead of this last phrase MS. 5,650 has: "and he made two of his men engage in sword-play before the king."

²²⁹ MS. 5,650 says only: "Then he showed the king the sea-chart, and the navigation compass." Eden says (p. 348) that the first to use the compass was one "Flavius of Malpha, a citie in

the kingdom of Naples. . . . Next vnto Flavius, the chiefe commendation is dew to the Spanyardes and Portugales by whose daylye experience, the same is brought to further perfection, and the v/e thereof better knowen; althowghe hytherto no man knoweth the cause why the iren touched with the lode stone, turneth euer towarde the north starre, as playnely appeareth in euery common dyall." He also says: "As touchynge the needle of the compasse, I haue redde in the Portugales nauigations that saylynge as farre south as Cap. de Bona Speranza, the poynt of the needle styll respected the northe as it dyd on this syde the Equinoctiall, saynge that it sumwhat trembeled and declyned a lyttle, whereby the force seemed sumwhat to be dimini/shed, so that they were fayne to helpe it with the lode stone." (See *ante*, p. 89). The compass was known in a rough form to the Chinese as early as 2634 B.C., and first applied to navigation in the third or fourth century A.D., or perhaps earlier. It was probably introduced into Europe through the Arabs who learned of it from the Chinese. It is first referred to in European literature by Alexander Neckam in the twelfth century in *De Utensilibus*. The variations from the true north were observed as early as 1269.

²³⁰ Stanley says that the Amoretti edition represents the king as making this request and Magalhães as assenting thereto; but the Italian MS. reads as distinctly as MS. 5,650, that Magalhães made the request.

²³¹ MS. 5,650 omits the remainder of this sentence.

²³² MS. 5,650 adds: "that is, a boat."

²³³ The following passage relating to the meal reads thus in MS. 5,650: "Then the king had a plate of pork and some wine brought in. Their fashion of drinking is as follows. First they lift their hands toward the sky, and then take with the right hand the vessel from which they drink, while extending the fist of the left hand toward the people. The king did that to me, and extended his fist toward me, so that I thought that he was going to strike me. But I did the same to him, and in such wise did we banquet and afterwards sup with him using that ceremony and others." See Spencer's *Ceremonial Institutions*, especially chapter I.

²³⁴ Eden reads (p. 255): "When the kynge sawe Antonie Pigafetta write the names of many thinges, and afterwarde re-hear/e them ageyne, he marualed yet more, makyng/syngnes that /uche men descended from heauen." Continuing he confuses the eldest son of the first king with the latter's brother, the second king.

²³⁵ A tolerably good description of the native houses of the

present day in the Philippines. Cf. Morga's description, VOL. XVI, pp. 117-119.

²³⁶ MS. 5,650 begins a new unnumbered chapter at this point.

²³⁷ This sentence to this point in MS. 5,650, is wrongly made to refer to the house of the king. The passage there reads: "All the dishes with which he is served, and also a part of his house, which was well furnished according to the custom of the country, were of gold."

²³⁸ MS. 5,650 omits this sentence.

²³⁹ Butuan and Caraga in the northeastern part of Mindanao.

²⁴⁰ This name is variously rendered: Mosto, *Siain*; MS. 5,650, *Siaui*; Stanley, *Siani*; and Amoretti and Eden, *Siagu*.

²⁴¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "the captain sent the chaplain ashore to celebrate mass."

²⁴² MS. 5,650 says that they took only their swords; but the Italian MS. says distinctly that a signal was given to the ships from the shore by means of muskets, and again that the musketry was fired when the kings and Magalhães separated, both of which references are omitted by MS. 5,650. Eden reads: "The Capitaine came alande with fyftie of his men in theyr beft apparel withowte weapons or harneffe, and all the refydue well armed."

²⁴³ In Eden (p. 255): "dama/ke water."

²⁴⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "but they offered nothing."

²⁴⁵ MS. 5,650 says: "every one did his duties as a Christian and received our Lord."

²⁴⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "for the people."

²⁴⁷ The Italian MS. reads literally and somewhat ambiguously: "they made immediate reverence;" MS. 5,650 says "to which these kings made reverence," which is scarcely likely, as the latter would, until told by Magalhães, see nothing in the ceremony. Rather it was the Spaniards who made the reverence.

²⁴⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "whenever any ships came from Spain."

²⁴⁹ Cf. Morga, VOL. XVI, p. 132.

²⁵⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "men and ships to render them obedient to him."

²⁵¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "to the middle of the highest mountain," evidently confusing *mezo di* ("afternoon") of the Italian MS. with *mezo* (*mezzo*; "middle"); for the cross was set up on the summit of the mountain. The passage in MS. 5,650 continues: "Then those two kings and the captain rested, and while conversing, the latter had them asked [*not* "I had them asked"]

as in Stanley, who mistranscribes *jl (il)* as *je]* where the best port was for getting food. They replied that there were three, namely, Ceylom, Zzubu, and Galaghan, but that Zzeubu was the largest and the best trading place." These are the islands of Leyte (the Seilani of Albo, Navarrete, iv, p. 20; and the Selani of Transylvanus, VOL. I, p. 322), Cebú, and Mindanao (the Caraga district).

²⁵² MS. 5,650 reads simply: "Then we descended to the place where their boats were."

²⁵³ This account is very much shortened in MS. 5,650, where it reads as follows: "As the captain intended to leave next morning, he asked the king for pilots in order that they might conduct him to the ports abovesaid. He promised the king to treat those pilots as he would them themselves, and that he would leave one of his men as a hostage. In reply the first king said that he would go himself to guide the captain to those ports and that he would be his pilot, but asked him to wait two days until he should gather his rice, and do some other things which he had to do. He asked the captain to lend him some of his men, so that he could accomplish it sooner, and the captain agreed to it." At this point MS. 5,650 begins a new unnumbered chapter.

²⁵⁴ The billon and afterward copper coin *quattrino*, which was struck in the mints of Venice, Rome, Florence, Reggio, the Two Sicilies, etc. The quattrino of the popes was often distinguished as "quattrino Romano." The Venetian copper quattrino was first struck in the reign of Francesco Foscari (1423-57). See W. C. Hazlitt's *Coinage of European Continent* (London and New York, 1893), p. 226.

²⁵⁵ *Doppione*: a gold coin struck by Louis XII of France during his occupation of the Milanese (1500-1512). Hazlitt, *ut supra*, p. 196.

²⁵⁶ *Colona*: possibly the name of some coin of the period.

²⁵⁷ This entire paragraph is omitted in MS. 5,650. That MS. has another chapter division at this point.

²⁵⁸ Stanley mistranslates the French *gentilz* as "gentle."

²⁵⁹ Probably the abacá, although it may be the cloth made from the palm. See Morga's description of the Visayans, VOL. XVI, p. 112.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Morga's *Sucesos*, VOL. XVI, pp. 80, 81.

²⁶¹ MS. 5,650 greatly abridges this account, reading as follows: "They cut that fruit into four parts, and after they have chewed it a long time, they spit it out and throw it away." Cf. the account in Morga's *Sucesos*, VOL. XVI, pp. 97-99.

²⁶² MS. 5,650 omits this product. Cf. Morga's *Sucesos*, VOL. XVI, pp. 84-97.

²⁶³ In MS. 5,650, "Mazzaua;" in Eden, "Meffana;" in Mosto, "Mazana," while in the chart it appears as "Mazzana;" Transylvanus, "Massana;" and Albo, "Masava." It is now called the island of Limasaua, and has an area of about ten and one-half square miles.

²⁶⁴ Mosto mistranscribes the Italian word for "among" *fra* as *prima* "first." The error arises through the abbreviation used, namely *f^a*, Mosto mistaking it for *p^a*, which would be *prima*.

²⁶⁵ Stanley mistranscribes "Gatighan" from MS. 5,650 as "Satighan." The names of the five islands as given by Eden are: "Zeilon, Bohol, Canghu, Barbai, and Catighan." These are the islands of Leite, Bohol, Canigao (west of Leyte), the northern part of Leyte (today the name of a town, hamlet and inlet in Leyte), and possibly Apit or Himuquitan, or one of the other nearby islands on the west coast of Leyte. See chart of these islands on p. 108.

Albo (Navarrete, iv, pp. 220, 221) says: "We left Mazava and went north toward the island of Seilani, after which we ran along the said island to the northwest as far as 10 degrees. There we saw three rocky islands, and turned our course west for about 10 leguas where we came upon two islets. We stayed there that night and in the morning went toward the south southwest for about 12 leguas, as far as 10 and one-third degrees. At that point we entered a channel between two islands, one of which is called Matan and the other Subu. Subu, as well as the islands of Mazava and Suluan extend north by east and south by west. Between Subu and Seilani we spied a very lofty land lying to the north, which is called Baibai. It is said to contain considerable gold and to be well stocked with food, and so great an extent of land that its limits are unknown. From Mazava, Seilani, and Subu, on the course followed toward the south, look out for the many shoals, which are very bad. On that account a canoe which was guiding us along that course, refused to go ahead. From the beginning of the channel of Subu and Matan, we turned west by a middle channel and reached the city of Subu. There we anchored and made peace, and the people there gave us rice, millet, and meat. We stayed there for a considerable time. The king and queen of that place and many of the inhabitants readily became Christians." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 11) says that the king of Macangar (*i.e.*, Mazaua) conducted the Spaniards "a matter of thirty leagues to another island named Cabo [*i.e.*, Cebú], which is in ten degrees, and in this island Fernando de Magalhães did what he pleased with the consent of

the country." Brito says merely (Navarrete, iv, p. 308): "After that, after passing amid many islands, they reached one called Mazaba, which lies in 9 degrees. The king of Mazaba conducted them to another large island called Zubó."

²⁶⁶ MS. 5,650 reads: "only one of them." *Barbastili* is a Venetian word for *pipistrelli*. These bats are the Pteropi or "flying foxes," the large fruit-eating bats of which so many species inhabit the Malay Archipelago. Bats are especially found in Guimarás, Siquijor, and Cebú, and the skins of some are used as fur. See Guillemard (*ut supra*, p. 235). See also Delgado's *Historia*, pp. 842, 843; and *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*.

²⁶⁷ Stanley mistranslates as "tortoises." The "black birds with the long tail" are the tabón "mound-building *Megapodes*, gallinacious birds peculiar to the Austro-Malayan subregion" (Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 235). See also VOL. V, p. 167, note 14, and VOL. XVI, page 198, note 43; also VOL. XVI, p. 81, note 84.

²⁶⁸ These are the Camotes, which lie west of Leyte, and their names are Poro, Pasijan, and Pansón. See Pigafetta's chart showing these islands on p. 108.

²⁶⁹ Following this point in the Italian MS. (folio 26a) is the chart of the islands of Bohol, Mattam, and Zzubu (*q.v.*, p. 132).

MS. 5,650 presents this chart on folio 51a, preceded by the words: "Below are shown the islands of Zzubu, Mattan, and Bohól."

²⁷⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "But the interpreter reassured them by telling them."

²⁷¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "and he was going, by the orders of the said sovereign, to discover the islands of Mallucque."

²⁷² MS. 5,650 reads: "Thereupon the abovesaid merchant said to the king in their language," etc., without giving the original Malay words. Eden gives the phrase as *catacaia chita*.

²⁷³ Calicut, properly Kálíkot (said to be derived from two words meaning cock-crow, because the territory granted to the first king of Kálíkot was limited to the extent over which a cock could be heard to crow; or from Káli, one of the names of the goddess Gauri) is the name of a district and city on the Malabar coast. The king of all the Malabar coast from Goa to Cape Comorin, Samari Perymal, having adopted the Mahometan faith divided his kingdom into the kingdoms of Calicut, Cochín, Cananor, and Coulão, and gave them to his friends, on condition that the king of Calicut be termed "Zamorim" or "Samorim," *i.e.*, "Supreme emperor and God upon earth" (although the proper form is said to be "Tamurin" which is conjectured by some to be a modification of the Sanskrit "Samunri," "seaking.")

The city of Kálíkot, a noted emporium of trade, was built perhaps as early as 805 A.D., although the date 1300 A.D. is also given as that of its founding; and is described by Ibn Batuta in 1342 as one of the finest ports in the world. It was visited by Covilham in 1486, and Vasco da Gama's ships were freighted there in 1498. The latter attacked the city in 1503 and 1510, and the Portuguese built a fortified factory there in 1513 which was destroyed by the governor in 1525 to avoid its falling into the enemy's hands. The English established a factory in the city in 1616, which was captured in 1766 by Haidar Ali; but after a further series of capture and recapture, the city and district was permanently turned over to the British (1792). See Stanley's *Vasco da Gama* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1869); Birch's *Albuquerque* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1875-1884); Jones and Badger's *Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1863), pp. 135-177; also Grey's *Travels of Pietro della Valle* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1892), pp. 344, 345, note.

Malacca, or more correctly Málaka is the name of an ancient territory and city, which was probably first settled by Javanese, and is possibly derived from "Malayu" meaning in Javanese "to run" or "fugitive." At an early period Malacca fell under the sway of the Siamese. The city, located on both sides of the Malacca River, and only one hundred and thirty miles northwest of Singapore (which has usurped the great volume of trade once centering at Malacca) was founded about 1250 A.D. The first European to visit the city was Varthema, about the year 1505. It was captured by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1511, and they held it (1580-1640 under Spanish control) until 1641 when it was captured by the Dutch, who had unsuccessfully besieged it, with the aid of the king of Jahor, in 1606. The English obtained possession of it in 1795, and still hold it, although the Dutch possessed it from 1818-1825. For descriptions and history of Malacca, see the following Hakluyt Society publications: Stanley's *East Africa and Malabar* (London, 1866), pp. 190-195; Birch's *Albuquerque*, iii, pp. 71-90 (and other citations); Burnell and Tiele's *Linschoten* (London, 1885), i, pp. 104-106; Gray's *Voyage of François Pyrard* (London, 1888), part i, p. ii. Also see Crawford's *Dictionary*, pp. 238-249.

The terms India Major (Greater India) and India Minor (Lesser India) are differently applied by different authors. Schiltbergen applied the term Lesser India to the northern portion of the peninsula on this side of the Ganges, while the southern portion of the peninsula was termed Greater India. Marco Polo's Lesser India extended from Makran to and including the Coromandel coast, and his Greater India extended from the Coromandel coast to Cochin China, while Middle India was Abyssinia.

Mosto wrongly identifies India Major with the present Indian empire. See Telfer's *Johann Schiltberger* (Hakluyt Society publications, 1879). Friar Jordanus (*Wonders of the East*, Hakluyt Society edition, London, 1863), describes (pp. 11-45) India the Less, India the Greater, and India Tertia. Yule points out that Jordanus's Lesser India embraces Sindh, and probably Mekran, and India along the coast as far as some point immediately north of Malabar. Greater India extends from Malabar very indefinitely to the eastward, for he makes it include Champa. India Tertia is the east of Africa below Abyssinia. Thus Jordanus just reverses the Lesser and Greater Indias of Marco Polo. Ramusio who gives the *Summary of Kingdoms* of an old Portuguese geographer, ends First India at Mangalore, and Second India at the Ganges. Benjamin of Tudela speaks of "Middle India which is called Aden." Conti divides India into three parts: the first extending from Persia to the Indus, the second from the Indus to the Ganges, and the third all the land beyond. Pliny discusses whether Mekran and other lands belonged to India or Ariana.

²⁷⁴ MS. 5,650 adds: "and treat his subjects well."

²⁷⁵ This phrase is omitted in MS. 5,650.

²⁷⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "who was in the captain's ship."

²⁷⁷ MS. 5,650 reads: "Thereupon the king told them that he was willing, and that as a greater token of his love, he would send the captain a drop of his blood from his right arm, and [asked] the captain to do the same."

²⁷⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "Consequently they should ask their captain whether he intended to observe the custom."

²⁷⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "he should commence by giving a present, whereupon the captain would do his duty." This MS. begins another chapter at this point.

²⁸⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "so do our arms destroy the enemies of our faith."

²⁸¹ MS. 5,650 adds: "of the ships."

²⁸² MS. 5,650 reads: "and whether that prince who had come with them, was empowered to make peace."

²⁸³ MS. 5,650 omits these last two clauses.

²⁸⁴ This phrase is omitted in MS. 5,650.

²⁸⁵ MS. 5,650 adds: "and for love toward God."

²⁸⁶ MS. 5,650: "he would leave them the arms that the Christians use."

²⁸⁷ These last two clauses are omitted in MS. 5,650.

²⁸⁸ MS. 5,650 adds: "of Saint Jacques [*i.e.*, Santiago]."

²⁸⁹ This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

²⁹⁰ Called "drynking glaffes of Venice woorke" in Eden (p. 257).

²⁹¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "He had his face painted with fire in various designs." Eden reads: "and had the residue of his body paynted with dyuers coloures whereof /um were lyke vnto flamynge fyre."

²⁹² MS. 5,650 reads: "he had four jars full of palm-wine, which he was drinking through reed pipes."

²⁹³ MS. 5,650 reads: "We made the due reverence to him while presenting to him the present sent him by the captain, and told him through the mouth of the interpreter that it was not to be regarded as a recompense for his present which he had made to the captain, but for the love which the captain bore him." This MS. omits the following three sentences.

²⁹⁴ The "Sinus Magnus" of Ptolemy, today the Chinese Gulf (Mosto, p. 76, note 3).

²⁹⁵ This passage is considerably abbreviated in MS. 5,650, where it reads as follows: "The prince, the king's nephew, took us to his house, where he showed us four girls who were playing on four very strange and very sweet instruments, and their manner of playing was somewhat musical. Afterward he had us dance with them. Those girls were naked except that they wore a garment made of the said palm-tree cloth before their privies and which hung from the waist to the knee, although some were quite naked. We were given refreshments there, and then we returned to the ships." These gongs are used in many parts of the Orient.

²⁹⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "by the captain's order."

²⁹⁷ MS. 5,650 reads: "we told him of the death of our man, and that our captain requested that he might be buried."

²⁹⁸ MS. 5,650 adds: "according to our manner."

²⁹⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "The king took it under his charge, and promised that no trickery or wrong would be done the king. Four of our men were chosen to despatch and to sell the said merchandise."

³⁰⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "They have wooden balances like those of Pardeca to weigh their merchandise." *Pardeca*, as Stanley points out, is for *par de ça de Loire* which is equivalent to *Langue d'oil*, and denotes the region in France north of the Loire. *Par de la* meant Languedoc. This passage was adapted to the French

understanding by the person who translated and adapted the Italian manuscript.

³⁰¹ This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650. As Mosto points out the measure here mentioned would be one of capacity, and must have been the common measure for rice, perhaps the ganta.

³⁰² *Lagan* is a shellfish found in the Philippines which has a shell resembling that of the *Nautilus pompilius* that is used for holding incense or as a drinking vessel. This shell is very white inside, while the exterior is spotted a pale yellow color. It resembles mother-of-pearl, and is very common. Delgado says that most of the shellfish are indigestible but highly esteemed. See Delgado's *Historia*, p. 928.

³⁰³ MS. 5,650 adds: "Which was of various strange kinds."

³⁰⁴ Eden says: "xvi. poundes weyght of iren."

³⁰⁵ MS. 5,650 reads: "The captain-general did not wish to take too great a quantity of gold, so that the sailors might not sell their share in the merchandise too cheaply, because of their lust for gold, and so that on that account he should not be constrained to do the same with his merchandise, for he wished to sell it at as high a price as possible."

³⁰⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "or any other balls."

³⁰⁷ MS. 5,650 makes the two armed men follow instead of precede the royal banner.

³⁰⁸ MS. 5,650 adds: "and the natives of the country for their fear of it, fled hither and thither," which is in place of the following sentence.

³⁰⁹ This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

³¹⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "One covered with red and the other with velvet."

³¹¹ MS. 5,650 adds: "in the manner of the country."

³¹² The account of the baptism of the king is considerably abridged in MS. 5,650 where it reads as follows: "Then the captain began to address the king through the interpreter, in order that he might incite him to the faith of Jesus Christ. He told him that if he wished to become a good Christian (as he had signified on the preceding day), that he must have all the idols of his country burned and set up a cross in their place, which they were all to adore daily on both knees, with hands clasped and raised toward the heaven. The captain showed the king how he was to make the sign of the cross daily. In reply the king and all his men said that they would obey the captain's commandment, and do all that he told them. The captain took the king

by the hand, and they walked to the platform. At his baptism the captain told the king that he would call him Dom Charles, after the emperor his sovereign. He named the prince Dom Fernand, after the brother of the said emperor, and the king of Mazzaua, Jehan. He gave the name of Christofle to the Moro, while he called each of the others by names according to his fancy. Thus before the mass fifty men [*sic*: but an error of the French adapter for five hundred] were baptized. At the conclusion of mass, the captain invited the king and the others of his chief men to dine with him, but he would not accept. However, he accompanied the captain to the shore, where, at his arrival, the ships discharged all the artillery. Then embracing they took leave of one another." Eden gives the number baptized as five hundred men.

³¹³ MS. 5,650 reads: "On seeing that, she expressed the greatest desire to become a Christian, and asking for baptism, she was baptized and given the name of Jehanne, after the emperor's mother."

³¹⁴ There are many cases of this wholesale baptism in the history of the Catholic missions in various countries, and it cannot be condemned entirely and regarded as devoid of good effects, for many instances reveal the contrary. See *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland reissue).

³¹⁵ Those last six words are omitted in MS. 5,650. Mosto conjectures that *solana* means *solecchio* or *solicchio* signifying an apparatus to protect one from the sun. Pigafetta may have misapplied the Spanish word *solana*, which signifies a place bathed by the noontide sun or a place in which to take the sun.

³¹⁶ This last clause is omitted in MS. 5,650.

³¹⁷ MS. 5,650 adds: "and we gave it to her." This was the image found by one of Legazpi's soldiers in Cebú in 1565 (see VOL. II, pp. 120, 121, 128, 216, 217; and VOL. V, p. 41). Encarnación (*Dic. bisaya-español*, Manila, 1851), says: "The Cebuan Indians, both past and present, give the name of *Bathála* [God] to the image of the Holy Child, which is supposed to have been left by the celebrated Magallanes."

³¹⁸ MS. 5,650 reads: "evening."

³¹⁹ MS. 5,650 mentions only the artillery. The "tromb" or "trunk" was a kind of hand rocket-tube made of wood and hooped with iron, and was used for discharging wild-fire or Greek-fire (see Corbett's *Spanish War*, 1585-87 [London], 1898, p. 335). At this point Stanley discontinues the narrative of MS. 5,650, and translates from Amoretti's version of the Italian MS.

³²⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "to better instruct and confirm him in the faith."

³²¹ Eden says the queen was preceded by "three younge damo-felles and three men with theyr cappes in theyr handes."

³²² MS. 5,650 adds: "and presentation."

³²³ MS. 5,650 reads simply for this last clause: "and several others," omitting all the names.

³²⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "and they all so swore."

³²⁵ MS. 5,650 reads from this point: "Then they swore, and thus the captain caused the king to swear by that image, by the life of the emperor his sovereign, and by his habit, to ever remain faithful and subject to the emperor," thus ascribing this oath to the king instead of to Magalhães. The words "by his habit" can refer only to Magalhães, who wore that of Santiago, and not to any habit worn by the barbaric ruler of Cebú.

³²⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "and hang."

³²⁷ MS. 5,650 adds: "and deck."

³²⁸ MS. 5,650 adds: "and demolished."

³²⁹ MS. 5,650 adds: "and overthrew."

³³⁰ There is a strange difference between the Italian MS. and MS. 5,650 in regard to these names. The latter reads to this point: "There are a number of villages in that island, whose names and those of their chiefs are as follows: Cinghapola, Cilation, Ciguibucan, Cimaningha, Cimaticat, and Cicambul; another, Mandau, and its chief and seignior, Lambuzzan; another Cot-cot, and its chief, Acibagalen; another, Puzzan, and its chief, Apanoan; another, Lalan, and its chief, Theteu; another, Lulutan, and its chief, Tapan [Amoretti, followed by Stanley, says Japau, and Mosto, Iapan]; another Cilumay; and also Lubucun." Amoretti, who places this list after the disastrous battle and consequent treachery of the Cebuans, and Stanley, have "Lubucin: its chief is Cilumai." Mandau is Mandaue; Lalan may be Liloan; Cot-cot is on the east coast; Lubucun may be Lubú, but Mosto (p. 78, note 3) conjectures it to be Lambusan. An examination of the Nancy MS. may reveal the source of this difference.

³³¹ MS. 5,650 adds after the word *borchies*: "instruments so called."

³³² Probably cotton cloth. See Stanley's *East African and Malabar Coasts*, p. 65: "They make there [*i.e.*, in Cambay] many cloths of white cotton, fine and coarse, and other woven and colored fabrics, of all kinds and colours."

³³³ MS. 5,650 adds: "and closed."

³³⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "She who has killed the hog, puts a

lighted torch in her mouth, which she extinguishes, and which she holds constantly alight with her teeth during that ceremony."

³³⁵ Cf. the ceremonies of the *baylanes* described by Loarca, VOL. V, pp. 131, 133, and by Chirino, VOL. XII, p. 270.

³³⁶ *Otorno*: Mosto, p. 79, mistranscribes *otoro*, and queries *Attorno* in a note.

³³⁷ MS. 5,650 omits the description of this custom, giving only the first and last sentence to this point. Stanley omits the translation to this point. See VOL. V, p. 117, and VOL. XVI, p. 130, where Loarca and Morga describe this custom.

³³⁸ *Valzi*: Mosto queries *vasi*, "jars," which appears probable.

³³⁹ MS. 5,650 adds: "made in the manner abovesaid;" but this was crossed out, showing that the writer or adapter of that MS. had at first intended to narrate the custom that is given in the Italian MS.

³⁴⁰ This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

³⁴¹ MS. 5,650 reads: "The other women sit about the dead chamber sadly and in tears."

³⁴² Pigafetta uses the present and imperfect tenses rather indiscriminately throughout this narration, but we have translated uniformly in the present. Cf. Loarca's description of burial and mourning customs among the Visayans, VOL. V, pp. 129, 135, 137-141; Plasencia's description among the Tagálogs, VOL. VII, pp. 194, 195; and Morga, VOL. XVI, p. 133.

³⁴³ MS. 5,650 reads: "five or six hours."

³⁴⁴ Eden in describing the island of Matan confuses the Pigafetta narrative. He says: "Not farre from this Ilande of Zubut, is the Iland of Mathan, who/e inhabitauntes v/e maruelous ceremonies in theyr *facrifices* to the *foone* and burying the deade. They were rynges of gold abowt theyr priuie members." In the description of the battle in Matan, Eden says that each of the three divisions of the islanders contained "two thou/and and fiftie men armed with bowes, arrowes, dartes and iaelins hardened at the poyntes with fyer."

³⁴⁵ To this point the Italian MS. and MS. 5,650 agree approximately. The story of the battle in the latter MS., however, is much abridged and much less graphic. It is as follows: "They replied that they had bamboo spears and stakes burned and hardened in the fire, and that we could attack them when we wished. At daybreak, forty-nine of us leaped into the water, in the place whither we had thus gone, at a distance of more than three [*sic*] crossbow flights before we could reach shore, for the boats could

not approach nearer because of the rocks and reefs which were in the water. Thus we reached land, and attacked them. They were arranged in three divisions, of more than one thousand five hundred persons. We shot many arrows at them from a distance, but it was in vain, for they received them on their shields. They leaped hither and thither in such a way that scarce could we wound one of them. On the other hand, our artillery in the boats was so far away from us that it could not aid us. Those people seeing that, and that the captain had had some of their houses burned in order to inspire them with terror, and having become more enraged, threw so many iron pointed spears at us, and shot so many arrows even at the captain himself that we could defend ourselves with difficulty. Finally, having been driven by them quite down to the shore, and while our captain was fighting bravely although wounded in the leg with an arrow, one of those Indians hurled a poisoned bamboo lance into his face which laid him stiff and dead. Then they pressed upon us so closely that we were forced to retire to our boats and to leave the dead body of the captain-general, with our other killed." The eulogy on the dead commander is approximately the same in both MSS., except at the end, where MS. 5,650 reads: "Eight of our men died there with him, and four Indians, who had become Christians. Of the enemy fifteen were killed by the artillery of the ships, which had at last come to our aid, while many of us were wounded."

Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 308) says of the stay at Cebú and the death of Magalhães: "They stayed there about one month, and the majority of the people and the king became Christians. The king of Zubó ordered the kings of the other islands to come to him, but inasmuch as two of them refused to come, Magallanes, as soon as he learned it, resolved to go to fight with them, and went to an island called Mathá. He set fire to a village, and not content with that, set out for a large settlement, where he, his servant, and five Castilians were killed in combat with the savages. The others, seeing their captain dead, went back to their boats."

³⁴⁶ *Terciado*: a Spanish word.

³⁴⁷ *Carteava*: a Spanish word.

³⁴⁸ The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 12) dates the battle April 28. The account of the battle is as follows: "Fernan de Magalhães desired that the other kings, neighbours to this one, should become subject to this who had become Christian: and these did not choose to yield such obedience. Fernan de Magalhães seeing that, got ready one night with his boats, and burned the villages of those who would not yield the said obedience; and a matter of ten or twelve days after this was done, he sent to a village about

half a league from that which he had burned, which is named Matam, and which is also an island, and ordered them to send him at once three goats, three pigs, three loads of rice, and three loads of millet for provisions for the ships; they replied that for each article which he sent to ask them three of, they would send to him by twos, and if he was satisfied with this they would at once comply, if not, it might be as he pleased, but that they would not give it. Because they did not choose to grant what he demanded of them, Fernan de Magalhães ordered three boats to be equipped with a matter of fifty or sixty men, and went against the said place, which was on the 28th day of April, in the morning; there they found many people, who might well be as many as three thousand or four thousand men, who fought with such a good will that the said Fernan de Magalhães was killed there, with six of his men, in the year 1521."

³⁴⁰ Navarrete (iv, pp. 65, 66) gives the names of the men killed with Magalhães on April 27 as follows: Christóbal Rabelo, then captain of the "Victoria;" Francisco Espinosa, a sailor; Anton Gallego, a common seaman; Juan de Torres, sobresaliente and soldier; Rodrigo Nieto, servant of Juan de Cartagena; Pedro Gomez, servant of Gonzalo Espinosa; and Anton de Escovar, sobresaliente, wounded but died April 29.

³⁵⁰ See VOL. I, pp. 325, 326, note 215*.

³⁵¹ MS. 5,650 gives this name as Duart Bobase, although lower it is spelled Barbbase. Duarte or Odoardo Barbosa, the son of Diogo Barbosa, who after serving in Portugal, became alcaide of the Sevilla arsenal, was born at Lisbon at the end of the fifteenth century. He spent the years 1501-1516 in the Orient, the result of that stay being his *Livro emque dà relação do que viu e ouviu no Oriente*, which was first published at Lisbon in 1813 in vol. vii of *Collecção de noticias para a historia et geographia das nações ultramarinas*, and its translation by Stanley, *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1866). He became a clerk in the Portuguese factory at Cananor under his uncle Gil Fernandez Barbosa, and became so expert in the Malabar language that he was said to speak it even better than the natives. On account of his facility in the language he had been appointed commissioner by Nuno da Cunha to negotiate peace with the Zamorin. He was commissioned in 1515 to oversee the construction of some galleys by Alboquerque. While at Sevilla, Magalhães lived in the household of Diogo Barbosa, where he married Duarte's sister Beatriz. Duarte embarked on the "Trinidad" as a sobresaliente, and it was he who captured the "Victoria" from the mutineers at Port St. Julian, after which he became captain of that vessel. Failing to recover Magalhães's body from the natives of Mactán, he was

himself slain at Cebú at the fatal banquet May 1, 1521. Besides the above book, which is a most valuable contribution to early Oriental affairs, there is extant in the Torre do Tombo a letter written by him from Cananor, January 12, 1513, complaining of the Portuguese excesses. See Guillemard's *Magellan*; Stanley's *Vasco da Gama*; Birch's *Albuquerque*; and Hoefler's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1855).

³⁵² See *ante*, note 147.

³⁵³ Magalhães married Beatriz Barbosa, daughter of Diogo Barbosa in Sevilla, probably in the year 1517. One son Rodrigo was born of the union, who was about six months old at the time of the departure. Rodrigo died in September, 1521, and in the March following Beatriz died. See Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 89-91, 322.

³⁵⁴ MS. 5,650 adds: "and to advise the Christian king."

³⁵⁵ Mosto transcribes this word wrongly as *facente*, "busy." MS. 5,650 reads: "wiser and more affectionate than before."

³⁵⁶ MS. 5,650 adds: "and presents."

³⁵⁷ The constable was Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, who was left behind with the "Trinidad" and was one of the four survivors of that ill-fated vessel, returning to Spain long after.

³⁵⁸ This sentence is confused in MS. 5,650, reading: *jehan Caruaie auèques le barifel sen retournerêt qui nous dirent comment jlz auoyent veu mener celluy quy fut guery par miracle et le prestre a sa maison et que pour cela jlz sen estoyent partiz eulx doubtans de quelque male aduanture*. By dropping the first *et* this becomes equivalent to the text.

³⁵⁹ MS. 5,650 reads: "for we would kill him."

³⁶⁰ MS. 5,650 reads: "But Jehan Carvaie, his comrade, and others refused, for fear lest they would not remain masters there if the boat went ashore."

In regard to João Serrão's death, Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 309) says: "As soon as the men in the ships saw that slaughter, they hoisted their anchors, and tried to set sail in order to return to Burneo. At that juncture, the savages brought Juan Serrano, one of those whom they wished to ransom, and asked two guns and two bahars of copper for him, besides some Brittanias or linens such as they carried in the ships as merchandise of trade and barter. Serrano told them to take him to the ship and he would give them what they asked, but they, on the contrary, insisted that those things be taken ashore. But [the men in the ships] fearing another act of treachery like the past, set sail, and abandoned that man there, and nothing more was heard of him."

³⁶¹ The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 13) says nothing about the banquet, but says that the men, twenty-eight in number, counting the two captains, went ashore to ask pilots to Borneo, whereupon the natives, who had determined upon their course of action attacked and killed them. Peter Martyr (Mosto, p. 81, note 5) asserts that the violation of the women by the sailors was the cause of the massacre. Concerning the number killed, Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 309) says that thirty-five or thirty-six men went ashore, and Castanheda and Gomara say thirty, the last asserting that a like number were made slaves, of whom eight were sold in China. Peter Martyr places the number of the slain at twelve. Navarrete (iv, pp. 66, 67) gives the names of those massacred as follows:

Duarte Barbosa	captain of the "Trinidad"
Juan Serrano	captain of the "Concepcion"
Luis Alfonso de Gois	captain of the "Victoria"
Andres de S. Martin	pilot of his Majesty
Sancho de Heredia	notary
Leon de Ezpeleta	notary
Pedro de Valderrama	priest
Francisco Martin	cooper
Simon de la Rochela	calker
Cristóbal Rodriguez	steward
Francisco de Madrid	sobresaliente and soldier
Hernando de Aguilar	servant of Luis de Mendoza
Guillermo Fenesi <i>or</i> Tanagui	gunner of the "Trinidad"
Anton Rodriguez	sailor
Juan Sigura	sailor
Francisco Picora	sailor
Francisco Martin	sailor
Anton de Goa	common seaman
Rodrigo de Hurrira	common seaman
Pedro Herrero	sobresaliente
Hartiga	sobresaliente
Juan de Silva, Portuguese	sobresaliente
Nuño	servant of Magallanes
Henrique, from Málaga	servant of Magallanes and interpreter
Peti Juan, French	servant of Magallanes
Francisco de la Mezquita	servant of Magallanes
Francisco	son-in-law of Juan Serrano

All of these names are to be found in Navarrete's list. See *ante*, note 26.

³⁶² *Chiacare*: the nangca; see vol. ii, p. 149, where Pigafetta describes and names this fruit. Mosto confuses it with the *durio zibethenus*, which is abundant in the western islands of the Indian

archipelagoes, Mindanao being the only one of the Philippines where it is found (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*); but it is the *Artocarpus integrifolia* (see VOL. XVI, p. 88, note 72). MS. 5,650 makes this "capers."

³⁶³ MS. 5,650 omits mention of the panicum, sorgo, garlic, and nangcas.

³⁶⁴ MS. 5,650 reads: "one to the east northeast, and the other to the west southwest."

³⁶⁵ MS. 5,650 adds: "and eleven minutes."

³⁶⁶ Stanley says wrongly 154°.

³⁶⁷ This word ends a page in the original Italian MS. On the following page is a repetition of the title: *Vocabili deli populi gentilli*, that is "Words of those heathen peoples." MS. 5,650 does not contain this list, and it is also omitted by Stanley.

³⁶⁸ See *ante*, note 160.

³⁶⁹ *Bassag bassag* does not correspond to "shin," but to "basket for holding clothes, etc.," or "cartilage of the nose;" or possibly to *basac basac*, "the sound made by falling water."

³⁷⁰ The equivalent of Pigafetta's *dana* is *daoa* or *daua*, "millet." *Mais*, probably the equivalent of *humas* is the word for "panicum."

³⁷¹ *Tahil* is found in the Tagalog dictionaries, and is the name of a specific weight, not weight in general. It is the Chinese weight called "tael," which was introduced by the Chinese into the East Indies, whence it spread throughout the various archipelagoes. See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*; and VOLS. III, p. 192, note 57; IV, p. 100, note 11; and VII, p. 88.

³⁷² See Note 582, *post*.

³⁷³ Tinapay (used also by the Bicolos to denote any kind of bread) denotes a kind of cake or loaf made with flour and baked about the size of a chocolate-cup saucer. Two of these are put together before baking with some sugar between. The word is extended also to wheat bread and to the hosts. See Encarnación's *Diccionario*.

³⁷⁴ Amoretti's conjectured reading of *sonaglio* ("hawk's-bell") for *conaglio* (see Mosto, p. 83), proves correct from the Visayan dictionaries.

³⁷⁵ *Baloto* signifies a canoe dug out of a single log. One of twenty varas in length is termed *bilis*, while the hull alone is called *dalámas*.

³⁷⁶ Most of the words of Pigafetta's Visayan vocabulary can be distinguished in the dictionaries of that language, although

it is necessary to make allowance at times for Pigafetta's Italian phonetic rendering. Following is a list of the words that can be distinguished from *Diccionario bisaya-español y español-bisaya* (Manila, 1885), by Juan Félix de la Encarnación, O.S.A. (Recollect); and *Diccionario Hispano-bisaya y bisaya-español* (Manila, 1895) by Antonio Sanchez de la Rosa, O.S.F. See also *Pocket dictionary of the English, Spanish and Visayan languages* (Cebu, 1900) by H. M. Cohen; and Mallat's *Les Philippines* (Paris, 1846), ii, pp. 175-238. The words queried in the following list are simply offered as conjectural equivalents.

<i>English</i>	<i>(Pigafetta)</i>	<i>Visayan</i> <i>(Encarnación)</i>	<i>(Sanchez)</i>
man	lac	————	lalaqui (?)
woman (married)	babay	babaye	babaye
hair	boho	bohóc	bohoc
face	guay	————	bayhon (?)
eyebrows	chilei	quilay	quiray
eye	matta	matà	mata
nose	ilon	ilong	irong
jaw	apin	aping	aping
mouth	baba	bá-ba	bábá
teeth	nipin	ngipon	ngipon
gums	leghex	lagos	lagus
tongue	dilla	dila	dila
ear	delenghan	dalonggan	doronggan
throat	liogh	liog	————
chin	queilan	solang (?)	sulang (?)
beard	bonghot	bongot	bongot
shoulder	bagha	abaga	abaga
spine [back-bone]	licud	licod	licod
breast	dughan	doghan	dughan
body	tiam	tian	tian
armpit	ilot	iloc	iroc
arm	botchen	bocton ; botcon	butcon
elbow	sico	sico	sico
hand	camat	camot	camut
palm of hand	palan	palad [sa camot]	palad [sa camut]
finger	dudlo	todlo	tudlo
finger nail	coco	coco	coco ; colo
navel	pusut	posad	posud
penis	utin	otin	otin

<i>English</i>	<i>(Pigafetta)</i>	<i>Visayan</i> <i>(Encarnación)</i>	<i>(Sanchez)</i>
testicles	boto	boto	boto
vagina	billat	bilat	bilat
buttocks	sampot	sampot	_____
thigh	paha	paa	paa
knee	tuhud	tohod	tohud
calf of leg	bitis	bitiis	bíti-is
ankle	bolbol	bool bool	boco boco
heel	tiochid	ticód	ticud
sole of foot	lapa lapa	lapa lapa	_____
gold	balaoan	buláoan	bulauan
silver	pilla	pilác	_____
brass	concach	calonggáqui	_____
iron	butan	pothao	puthao
sugarcane	tube	tobó	tubo
honey	deghex	dogos	dugos
wax	talho	talo	talo
salt	acin	asin	asin
wine	tuba nia nipa	toba nga nipa	tuba nga nipa
to eat	macan	pagcaon (?)	pagcaon (?)
hog	babui	baboy	babuy
goat	candin	canding	canding
chicken	monoch	manóc	manuc
pepper	manissa	malisa	_____
cloves	chianche	sangqui	sangqui
cinnamon	mana	mana	mana
ginger	luia	loy-a	luy-a
garlic	laxuna	lasona	lasona
egg	silong	itlog	itlug
cocoanut	lubi	lobí	lubi
vinegar	zlucha	suca	suca
water	tubin	tobig; tubig	tubig
fire	clayo	calayo	calayo
smoke	assu	aso	aso
balances	tinban	timbangan	timbang; tim- bangan
pearl	mutiara	mutia	mutia
mother-of- pearl	tipay	tipay	tipay
pipe	subin	sobing	subing
rice cakes	tinapai	tinapay	tinapay
good	main	maayo	maopay
knife	capol; sundan	sipol; sondang	sipol; sundang
scissors	catle	catli	catli
to shave	chunthinch	gunting	_____
linen	balandan	balantan	_____

<i>English</i>	<i>(Pigafetta)</i>	<i>Visayan</i> <i>(Encarnación)</i>	<i>(Sanchez)</i>
their cloth [<i>i.e.</i> , hemp]	abaca	abacá	abacá
hawk's bell	coloncolon	colongcolong	goronggorong
comb	cutlei	surlay	sabong (?)
shirt	sabun	————	[<i>i.e.</i> , orna- ment]
sewing-needle	daghu	dagom	dagum
dog	aian; ydo	————; iro	ayam; ———
scarf [veil]	gapas	gapas [<i>i.e.</i> , cotton]	————
house	ilaga; balai	————; balay	————; balay
timber	tatamue	tatha (?) [<i>i.e.</i> , to split] or pata (?) [<i>i.e.</i> , a piece of wood or bamboo]	tahamis (?)
mat	tagichan	tagicán	taguican
palm-mat	bani	banig	banag
cushion	uliman	olnan, and al- lied forms (?)	olonan (?)
wooden plat- ters	dulan	dolong	dulang
sun	adlo	arlao	adlao
star	bunthun	bitoon (?)	bitoon (?)
morning	uema	ogma; odma (?)	————
cup	tagha	tagay	tagay
bow	bossugh	bosog	bosog
arrow	oghun	odyong	odiong
shield	calassan	calasag	calasag
quilted armor	baluti	baloti	————
dagger	calix; baladao	calis; baladao	caris; baladao
cutlass	campilan	campilan	campilang
spear	bancan	bangcao	bangcao
like	tuan	————	to-ang
banana	saghin	saguing	saguing
gourd	baghin	bagong	————
net	pucat; laia	————; laya	raya
small boat	sampan	sampan	sampan
large canes	cauaghan	caoayan	cauayan
small canes	bonbon	bongbong	bongbong

<i>English</i>	<i>(Pigafetta)</i>	<i>Visayan</i> <i>(Encarnación)</i>	<i>(Sanchez)</i>
large boats	balanghai	balañgay	barangay
small boats	boloto	baloto	baloto
crabs	cuban	coboa	_____
fish	icam; yssida	_____ ; isda	_____ ; isda
a colored fish	panapsapan	panapsápan	panapsapan
a red fish	timuan	_____	tiao (?)
another fish	pilax	_____	pilas
ship	benaoa	bángca	_____
king	raia	hari	hadi
one	uzza	usá	usa
two	dua	doha	duha
three	tolo	toló	tolo
four	upat	opát	upat
five	lima	limá	lima
six	onom	onóm	unum
seven	pitto	pitó	pito
eight	gualu	oaló	ualo
nine	ciam	siám	siam
ten	polo	napoló	napolo

Some of the words present difficulties however, due probably to error on Pigafetta's part and the obstacles in the method of communication between peoples the genius of whose respective languages is entirely distinct. The general Visayan word for "man" is *tao* or *tauo*, although Mallat gives a form *dala*, which may correspond to the *lac* of Pigafetta (but see VOL. V, p. 123, where the origin of the words *lalac*, "man," and *babaye*, "woman," are given by Loarca). *Babaye* (*babae*) is the general word for "woman" or "married woman;" while *binibini* is given by Mallat as the Tagalog equivalent of "girl," and by Santos in his *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Manila, 1835) as the equivalent of "influential woman." *Liog* is used for both "throat" and "neck." *Tian* is properly "belly," and the mistake would arise naturally in Pigafetta pointing to himself when desiring the word for "body," which would be construed by the natives to that particular part toward which he happened to point. *Boto* is used for both the male and female generative organs, especially the latter, as well as for the testicles. *Britiis* corresponds to both "shin" and "calf of the leg." *Iro* denotes also the civet cat. *Bulan* the equivalent of Pigafetta's *bolon* is the word for "moon" instead of "star." The occurrence of what are today Tagalog forms in Pigafetta's list shows how the various dialects shade into one another and how the one has retained words that have sunk into disuse in the other.



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