

PHILIPPINIANA RECORDS

The First *Printed* Report on the Philippine Islands

By

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Within two years, that is, in 1993, we shall commemorate the Fourth Centennial of the birth of the Printing Press in the Philippines. It will be a most meaningful event due to the far-reaching consequences that the introduction of the Press has had upon many aspects of the life of the Filipino people. And we hope that such an important event will be considered and commemorated in the way that it really deserves. So we look forward to it.

We, for our part, would like to take part in advance in such celebrations by means of this brief study about what we consider to have been the first printed Report on the Philippines, inasmuch as we are dealing with a document of considerable value, not only from the view-point of its contents but also from its bibliographical aspect. It is, besides, an almost unknown document, as we shall soon see.

1. Description of the Report.

This *Report*, which we believe to have been the first ever printed in the Philippines, bears the following humble title: RELACION DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS. The author, place and date of printing are not indicated. Of it we know three copies: one is preserved in the Library of the British Museum in London – signature 583.d.30;¹ the other in the Lilly Library, Bloomington (Indiana, U.S.A.) signature DS 674 Mendel R. 38 Vault;² and a third one in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, signature 67-6-8.

It measures 19 x 13 centimeters and consists of 11 numbered leaves. It is preceded by a leaf in whose center there is a medallion of the Virgin looking at the Child Jesus Whom she supports with her left arm. The moon is at her feet

and over her head the following inscription: AVE MARIA (the last word is almost illegible). On the lower part are the coat-of-arms of Castile and Leon. The initial letter, worked out with a remarkable ability, portrays a landscape, in which there appears in the foreground a bird, resembling the royal peacock, and a snail. The copy which is found in Lilly Library is bound together with another printed material having characteristics identical to those that we have just described, excepting only the number of pages – as is logical – and the engraving of the initial letter. It bears the following title: *LIBRO Y RELACION / DE LAS GRANDEZAS DEL / Reyno de la China. Hecho por un Frayle des- / calço de la orden de sant Francisco, de seys / que fueron pressos en el dicho Reyno, / en la isla de Haynam, en el / año de 1585.* This apparently insignificant detail will be most interesting, as we shall see later on when we come to the point of shedding light on the authorship of the *Report on the Philippine Islands*. We leave for another occasion the study of the second of the above-mentioned printed materials.

Our *Relación* is fairly well-known. Reference is made to it – I guess for the first time – in the widely publicized *Eptome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental* of Antonio de León Pinelo and later amplified by Andrés González de Barcia.³ In the early years of our century, Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson published it in their monumental work *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898, vol. XXXIV, Cleveland, 1906, 376-391. Approximately half a century later, we find it mentioned by two other prominent bibliographers: Robert Streit⁴ and Antonio Palau.⁵ In 1965, Father Isacio Rodríguez author of the monumental *Historia agustiniana*, summarized the contents of the *Relació*, with which he became acquainted through the English translation of Blair and Robertson, and the copy of the Archives of the Indies of Seville, although he seems to be unaware of those in London and Bloomington.⁶

Strangely enough, the knowledge of the existence of this important material seems to have escaped the fine bibliographical instincts of the illustrious "filipinistas" José T. Medina and Wenceslao E. Retana. The same thing happened to Gabriel A. Bernardo, Natividad P. Verzosa and John N. Schumacher (this last one in his editing role), who do not seem to include it in their exhaustive *Philippine Retrospective National Bibliography: 1523-1699*, (Quezon City, 1974). It is not even mentioned at all by the Franciscan bibliographers, although the author of the *Report* belonged – almost for sure – to their Order.

2. Contents and Characteristics of the Report.

The *Report* contains relatively abundant and original material about the history of the first years of the conquest and evangelization of the Philippines; about the most salient ethnic groups found by the Spaniards, and their culture, industry, trade, etc. Therein, its author shows us a global vision of the Archipelago, although he focuses his attention on what he calls the four main provinces of Luzon, that is to say, the Tagalogs and Pampangos, Ilocos, Cagayan and Camarines.

Although written by a churchman, the narrative is far from being an edificatory history. On the contrary, it stands out for its brevity and absence of value-judgments regarding the customs of the natives, which might be at odds with the western culture of that time.

We have pointed out at the start that the printed material we are dealing with, lacks author, place and date of printing. However, a careful reading of the same allows us, after all, to get acquainted with some bibliographical information regarding its author, on whose usefulness we shall shed some light later on. He belongs, for example, to a Religious group, whose apostolic action is exclusively restricted to the island of Luzon. He writes from the Philippines and says he had always laboured in the province of the Tagalogs, where he claims to have baptized "big and small, all together, more than a thousand." Although he has mastery of the history and geography of the islands – even though these were still going through the process of colonization – he is especially familiar with La Laguna, a place about which he knows very significant details.

Finally, when evaluating the customs of the natives, the author of the *Report* keeps an impartial posture between exaggerated pessimism and optimism. Even if he "identifies" himself with the "conquistadores", at the same time he denounces the abuses committed by the latter against the natives who "are used and abused and compelled to render services not only during the military inroads (*entradas*) which are being made and wars but also in other services, and that they are not taught the Christian doctrine, which they are very well aware of and speak about." When referring to the young Tagalogs and Pampangos he lavishes praises on them, extolling their intelligence and ability in learning how to read and write, and he speaks in ecologic terms of almost all the inhabitants of the Philippines of his admiration for their hard-working habits, personal hygiene and sincerity in embracing the Christian faith.

Two of the most noteworthy pages, from the literary point of view, are those which deal with the manifold uses that the coconut has in the lives of the natives, and with the first armed clash between the Spaniards and the Japanese in the north of the island of Luzon.

3. Author and date of the Report.

Who was the author of the *Report on the Philippine Islands* and when was this written? Blair and Robertson in their brief *Introduction* which precedes the translation of the same, indicate to the reader that the *Report* seems to have been written by an Augustinian, Franciscan or Jesuit religious, probably by the second, and in no way after the year 1587 (the year of the arrival of the Dominicans), in spite of the fact that the copy of the British Museum utilized by them for their English translation, mentions the date 1595, although by way of a question.⁷

The well-known American publicists seem to be right. To begin with, it seems logical to discard the possibility of attributing the authorship of the printed / *Report* / to a Jesuit missionary, bearing in mind that, although the first missionaries of the Society of Jesus already arrived in the Philippine in 1581, only twelve years later (1593) they adopted the policy of spreading their missionary activity beyond the boundaries of Manila, by taking under their charge the "doctrines" (i.e. towns) of Antipolo and Taytay in what today is Rizal province. In fact, all along the *Report* only the name of the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Cabral is mentioned, and this in connection with the mission of Japan, and not of the Philippines.

Not even an Augustinian seems to have been its author. In conformity with what we have stated in the preceding Number (i.e. No. 2) the Religious group to which he belongs, carried out its apostolic commitment only in the island of Luzon, a circumstance only applicable to the Franciscans. As we shall see later, he knows details regarding the founding of cities (i.e. towns) and about the evangelization of some areas in the Philippines with which only the Franciscans could be acquainted.

We are fully aware that the above-mentioned arguments are not sufficiently convincing so as to dispel all doubt concerning the attribution of the authorship of the *Report* to the Franciscans. However, they are solid enough to do so without risk of a grave historiographical error.

Concerning the date of its writing (i.e. of the printing of the *Report*) again we have to say that our opinion coincides with that of Blair and Robertson.* In folio No. 3v of the *Report* its author states that the inhabitants of the Tagalog province are almost all Christians "even though no more that ten years have passed since the preaching began." On the other hand, if we take into account that the Augustinians as well as the Franciscans began their evangelization of the central area of Luzon in a systematic and stable manner towards the year 1578, one cannot fix the date of the writing of the *Report* beyond 1588, but rather some time before.

On the other hand, no mention is made of the conspiracy headed by Agustín de Legazpi against the Spanish conquerors, which took place between the end of 1587 and the beginning of 1588, nor of the arrival of the Dominicans in the Islands, an event that happened in July of 1587.⁸

4. Was Father Juan de Plasencia the author of the "Report?"

Granted that the author of the *Report* ought to have been a Franciscan and taking into account the approximate date of its writing, it seems to us that the remarkable printed material which we are dealing with cannot but be attributed to the very well-known Juan de Plasencia or Portocarrero.

Juan de Plasencia arrived in the Philippines in 1578 as one of the first band of Franciscan missionaries and, soon after he had arrived, he was assigned to the Tayabas (today Quezon) and Laguna provinces, where he spent

long years organizing the towns of Tayabas, Caliraya, Lucban, Majayjay, Nagcarlan, Liliw, Pila, Santa Cruz, Lumbang, Pangil, Paete, Siniloan, Morong, Pililla, Antipolo and even Meycauayan. In a word, as a Franciscan chronicler writes: "Fray Juan de Plasencia was the leader of that whole province, continuously, sometimes alone and at other times aided by Religious assistants."⁹

On May 23, 1584 he was elected Superior ("Custodio", in Franciscan terminology) of the "Custodia" of St. Gregory of the Philippines, a post he held until the spring of 1588. A noted linguist and ethnologist, he discharged his office with a remarkable competency, carrying out important missionary projects, which he had cherished long before, such as the "reducciones", establishment of schools, etc.

His biographers ascribe to him a series of writings of miscellaneous character of which some – very few – are still extant, while others have been lost, perhaps for ever.¹⁰

Shortly after his election, between the days 23 and 27 of June, the new Superior wrote at least three letters to Philip II in order to acquaint him with the needs of the Islands and of his group of Franciscans regarding topics related with the evangelization and social problems which, in his opinion, were very urgent. On the 18th of July, of the following year he wrote again to the King of Spain, insisting once more – although this time is a more concrete form – on the same problems.

No bibliographer – as far as we know – seems to have attributed to him any writing of the characteristics of our *Report*. Yet, taking into account the style of the same, the knowledge that its author seems to possess about the history of the Philippines and, finally, the date of its writing, we hold as very probable that / its author / may have been Juan de Plasencia. All these elements considered, we hope that our hypothesis may rest some day on more solid arguments than those we have set forth in the preceding paragraphs.

5. Place, date and author of its printing.

León Pinelo, Blair-Robertson and Palau, when describing in their Catalogues the *Report on the Philippine Islands*, indicate that they do not know the place, date of printing and author of the same. The same holds true regarding the *Libro y Relación de las grandezas del Reyno de la China*, which, as I have already emphasized in No. 1 of this *Study*, is bound together with a copy of the *Report* in the Lilly Library and printed with identical types. Is it possible to know the place, date and author of these printed materials? We think, yes.

The contemporary Spanish bibliographer Francisco Aquilar Piñal in his Catalogue of the Castilian printed materials that are preserved in the Library of the British Museum, admits not knowing the date of the printing of the *Report*, but not so of the *Libro y Relación* inasmuch as, after having described the latter of these printed matters, he adds: "[s.l.s.a.] [pero 1586]".¹¹ I am sure

that the opinion of Piñal is the result of a cursory reading of the front page, due to which he says that the trip he refers to took place in 1586. On the other hand he keeps silent about the date of its printing.

Much more surprising still is the opinion of the author or authors of another recently published Catalogue in regards to the same bibliographical collection in which, after the description of the *Libro* and the *Report*, we find the following between parenthesis: "Madrid: Luis Sánchez, c. 1590."¹² In a succeeding paragraph, at the end of the card relative to the *Report on the Philippine Islands*, we come across the following: "[Madrid: Guillermo Drury, c. 1590]"¹³ No mention is made in neither of the two cases of the sources that have been used in drawing such conclusions.

We, for our part, opine that both printed materials, the *Report* and the *Libro y Relación*, were printed in the same place, almost certainly in Madrid, on the same date – concretely in 1592 – and by the same printer, whose name is Pedro Gómez. Our opinion is based on the following pay-order, issued at Madrid on the 12th of June of 1592, by the Council of Castile and addressed to the Council of "maravedis:"

"Diego Osorio", His Majesty's treasurer in this Council of the "maravedís", under our charge, "de penas y de estados", give and pay to Pedro Gómez, printer of books, one hundred *reales*, which are equivalent to three thousand and four hundred maravedís, for two books, which he printed on *Relaciones de China y Philipinas* and, in addition to this, eighteen for the binding of the said two books together with them and this pay-order, in consultation with the accountants of His Majesty's invoices, who reside in this council [and] we order them to receive them from you and be charged to your account, without any other prerequisite.

"Given in m. on the twelveth of June of the year onethousand five hundred and ninety two. Stamped with the seal of the Council and countersigned by Juan de Ledesma.

(Marginal Note): To the treasurer of the Council so that from de "penalties and estates" he may give to Pedro Gómez, book-printer, one hundred *reales*, for two books printed by him, and to Pedro Manzano, book-seller, eighteen reales for the binding.¹⁴

To what *Relaciones* does the document which we have just transcribed refer? We logically conclude that to the *Relación de las Islas Philipinas*, and to the *Libro y relación de las grandezas del Reyno de China*. In other words, to the two printed materials that we are dealing with. There are two reasons to support it. First, the fact that the title basically coincides; and secondly, that they seem to have been printed by the same printer. It is not asserted that the printing was done in the same year but it is a matter of supposition. Even more, the fact that they were printed by the same printer and bound by the same binder may lead us to understand why they form only one volume, at least in the Lilly library. Finally, I cannot tell whether on the date referred to in the transcribed pay-order, any other *Relación* on the Philippines and even

on China was printed, excepting the widely known *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reino de la China*, of the illustrious Augustinian Juan González de Mendoza.

Who is the Pedro Gómez referred to in the pay-order? We believe that he was the "madrileño" Pedro Gómez de Aragón, who in 1593 – a year after the *Report* and the *Libro y relación* were printed, also printed the book of Pedro de Moncayo *Flor de varios romances nuevos. Primera, segunda y tercera parte* / . . . /. Madrid, in the house of Pedro Gómez de Aragón; Francisco Enríquez shouldering the expenses, 1593.¹⁵

It is true that there existed two other printers, almost contemporary of the one mentioned above, who bore the same name and surname but belonged to a somewhat later date. We refer to Pedro Gómez de Pastrana,¹⁶ a son of Pedro Gómez de Pastrana, who inherited the trade of his father and practiced in Sevilla between the years 1603 and 1628. The other, bearing the same name, is Pedro Gómez de Valdivieso, who printed in Burgos between the years in 1624 and 1654,¹⁷ although we guess for geographical as well as chronological reasons that he could not possibly be the author of the printed materials relative to China and the Philippines. There is a greater probability in favor of the printer of Seville, considering that this city was then a flourishing commercial center and a nerve center in regards to the trade between the Indies and the Peninsula. On the other hand, the date in which the *Relaciones* seem to have been printed is quite apart from the time during which he seems to have been engaged in his [printing] job.

It is surprising, to say the least, that the above mentioned materials appear anonymously and without place and date of printing, bearing in mind above all that, as it is apparent from the pay-order of the Council of Castile already cited above, the printing of both was financed not by a private person or by any Religious order but by an official agency. The reason behind said anonymity is at this moment beyond our knowledge.

6. Importance of the Report.

Even though we are well aware of the existence of the English translation, we find it convenient to reprint the Report, mainly for two reasons: for its contents and for its value from the bibliographic and typographic viewpoint.

The first printed news on the Philippines appears in the celebrated book of Maximiliano Transilvano *De Molucis Insulis* (1523), which includes some information about the trip of Magellan. Two years later (1525), at it seems, an extensive extract of the book of Antonio Pigafetta is printed in French. From this time on, the histories and reports of the discovery of America would include in its pages a brief narrative of the exploratory travels of the Spanish navigators over the waters of the Pacific. This was, for example, what Pedro Martír de Anglería, López de Gómara, Fernández de Oviedo and others did in their famous *Decadas* in 1530.

Starting from the arrival of Legazpi and his gradual conquest of the Islands, a better knowledge of the land and culture of the natives was developing. But this information would appear in print for the first time in 1585 in the already mentioned *History* of Father González de Mendoza, a work that obtained at that time an amazing success, certainly above the one achieved by Cervantes in his *Historia del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote*. It is necessary to remember, however, that among the reports included in the work, one is about the voyage of the Franciscan Pedro de Alfaro to China, and another to the circumnavigation of the world accomplished by his Franciscan confrere Martín Ignacio de Loyola. It is in the last of these reports where for the first time reports about the Philippines are published. Hence, its importance for us.

However, there are reports about the islands in other parts of the book. Concretely, it speaks about the Philippines in Part Two of the work in its three books, although the information given may be of uneven quality. In the first of the two an ample space is allotted to the encounter which took place in the years 1574 and 1575 between the Spanish conquerors and the Chinese corsaire Li-Ma-Hong. In Book Two the Philippines is mentioned in passing in connection with the trip to China of Fray Pedro de Alfaro and his companions in 1579. Finally, in the third which concerns the *Itinerary* of Martín Ignacio de Loyola, chapters twelve and thirteen are dedicated to the Islands.

We have briefly summarized above the appearance in print of information on the Philippines so as to be able in this way to show more easily the importance of the *Report* with which we have been dealing. It provides us with a dispassionate vision of the newly conquered Islands, all taken together, in a style which is concise, sober but not wanting in beauty, specially in some parts.

The *Report* is the first printed report, totally dedicated to the spreading of information about the Philippines, and as such is the first although unnoticed link between the brief reports from the navigators and the fragmentary items found in the book of González de Mendoza on one hand, and on the other the extensive, dense and highly interesting chronicles and histories of Marcelo de Ribadeneira, Antonio de Morga and others, published at the beginning of the 17th century.

The *Report*, in all likelihood, remained eclipsed and probably forgotten, not because it is not interesting, but because it was amply surpassed by the latter, since these were more extensive and abundant in the information they provided.

7. Transcription of the Report's text.

The text of the *Report*, which we are going to present, has been done having before our eyes the copies in the Library of the British Museum, and in the Lilly Library. Both contain numerous typographical errors, which have been corrected in the first of the [two] copies.

To facilitate the reading and understanding of the text we have endeavored to modernize its punctuation, dividing it into paragraphs, which have been correlatively numbered.

However, we have retained its original orthography, including the typographical errors, in which case the reader's attention is called by means of the word *sic* between brackets inserted immediately after the corresponding typographical errors.

The end of a page is also indicated by a corresponding number also written between brackets.

Finally, to the text we have added a minimal number of explanatory notes in order to help the reader understand better the significance of the transcribed printed material.

Relación de las Islas Philipinas

1. Las islas del Puniente, que comúnmente llaman Philipinas, son tantas que no se pueden señalar número, y las más dellas pobladas. Comiençan casi desde el Maluco y vienen corriendo comúnmente Norte Sur hasta la isla de Luzón que es la postrera de la vanda del Norte y más cercana a la China y Iapón.

2. Esta isla de Luzón, que es donde nosotros estamos, es la pincipal dellas y la más rica y grande, la qual tiene casi 400 leguas de Box. Boxeóla antiguamente el Capitán Iuan de Salcedo, y después, el año de 80, el Capitán don Iuan de Arze¹⁸ por mandado del Gouvernadors (*sic*) Francisco de Sande. Su lugar es Norueste Sueste. Ay en esta isla muchas diferencias de gentes y lenguas muy distintas vnas de otras, pero las principales son los Tagalos, a quien comúnmente los Españoles llaman moros¹⁹ sin razon ni fundamento [h. lv.], porque ni lo son ni lo fueron nunca.²⁰ Otros son los Pampangos, otros Zambales, otros Ylocos, y otros Camarines. Los demás se reduze (*sic*) a estos.

3. Ay en élla quatro ricas y grandes prouincias, donde ay al presente poblaciones de Españoles.²¹

4. La primera es la prouincia de los Tagalos y Pampangos, la qual está en la comarca de la ciudad de Manila, que fundó el Adelantado Miguel López del Gaspi (*sic*) que es donde residen agora los Gouvernadores, que están en catorze grados y dos tercios. Es la gente desta prouincia la mejor de todas estas islas y más política y muy de veras amigos nuestros. Andan más vestidos que los demás, ansi hombres como mugeres. Es gente blanca y de muy buenos cuerpos y rostros y amigos de ponerse muchas joyas de oro, de lo qual tienen mucha abundancia.

Relation of the Philipinas Islands

1. The islands of the West, which are commonly called Philipinas, are so numerous that no number can be assigned to them, and most of them are inhabited. They begin almost at Maluco and run in a general north and south direction to the island of Luzon which is the northernmost and the nearest to China and Japon.

2. This island of Luzon, the one where we are settled, is the principal one of the islands, and the richest and largest. It is about four hundred leguas in circumference. It was formerly circumnavigated by Captain Don Juan de Salzedo and then after the year 80 by Captain Don Juan de Arze¹⁸ at the order of Governor Francisco de Sande. It extends northeast and southeast. This island has many different peoples and languages quite distinct one from the other. The principal ones, however, are the Tagálogs, whom the Spaniards commonly call Moros,¹⁹ though without any right or reason, for they are not nor have ever been Moros.²⁰ Others are the Pampangos, Zambales, Ylocos, and Camarines. The remaining peoples can be reduced to the above.

3. This island has four large wealthy provinces where the Spaniards are colonized at present.²¹

4. This first is the province of the Tagalogs and Pampangos. It is near the city of Manila which was founded by Adelantado Miguel Lopez del Gaspi. The governors [of the islands] now reside here. It is located in a latitude of fourteen and two-thirds degrees. The people of this province are the best of all these islands. They are the most civilized and are truly our friends. They are better clothed than the others, both men and women. They are a light-complexioned people, well-built and even-featured, and are very fond of adorning themselves with jewels, of which they have a great plenty.

5. Tienen también grande cosecha de arroz y de algodón, y hazen mucha ropa, y se lleua a la nueua España²², y ay grande abundancia de cera. Son grandes tratantes, y á muchos años que tienen el trato de China [h. 2]. Antes que los españoles viniessen, nauegauan a Maluco y a Malaca y Hazian²³ y a Patani²⁴ y a Burnei a otros reynos.²⁵

6. Dentro destas islas no tenían estas gentes Rey ninguno, sino el modo de gouernarse hera por pricipales, los quales eran los que más podían y tenían. Estos eran grandíssimos tyranos y trantauan a todos los más como esclauos, y les tomauan sus haziendas y hijos quando se les antojaua. Eran muy amigos de guerras y siempre las tenían vn pueblo con otro, que muy pocos auía que tuuiessen paz. En las quales guerras se gouernauan como Bárbaros. Quando muría algún principal, en vengança de su muerte, hauían de cortar muchas cabeças, con las quales hazían muchas fiestas y danças, y en señal de tristeza no comían en todo vn año arroz blanco, sino solas yeruas y legumbres.

7. Tenían las casas llenas de ydolos de palo y de piedra, los quales llamauan Tao Tao²⁶ y Lichac²⁷, porque templos no tenían ningunos. Y dezían que quando muría alguno de sus padres o [h. 2v] hijos que el alma entraua en vno de aquellos ydolos, y por esso los reuenrenciauan y les pedían vida, salud y riquezas, y aquéllos les llamauan Anito. Quando estauan enfermos echauan suertes para saber cuál de aquéllos les daua la enfermedad y hazíanle grande sacrificio y fiesta, y siempre sus fiestas parauan en borracheras, porque eran muy dados al vicio de beuer, y acontencía estarse dos o tres dias beuiendo. Pero tienen vna cosa particular, que aunque se emborrachan no por esso pierden totalmente el juyzio, y nunca por borrachera vi ninguno que cayesse. Entendemos que la causa es porque el vino, aunque al principio es recio, pierde presto la fuerça.

8. Adorauan ydolos que se llaman Alpriapo, Lacapati²⁸, Meilupa²⁹. Mas ya, por la bondad de Dios, les ha alumbrado con la gracia de su diuino Euangelio y adoran a Dios viuio en Espiritu y han dexado todas estas supresticiones y sólo professan la sancta fee cathólica.

9. De toda esta gente, y a gloria al Señor, los más son Christianos, y los que no lo son no es por otra falta [h.3] sino por falta de ministros, que es vna de las mayores lástimas y miserias que hasta oy se ha visto, que toda esta gente tribute en oro y plata y en otras cosas, ansí al Rey nuestro señor como a otras personas particulares, y que sean lleuados y traydos y compelidos en seruicios, ansí de las entradas que se hacen y guerras como en otros seruicios, y que no tengan doctrina, lo qual ellos muy bien notan y lo dizen.

10. Ay muchas y muy buenas yglesias, y se precian de seruir las. Son los muchachos muy áuiles y agudos y deprenden con gran facilidad a escriuir y leer, cantar, tañer y dançar. Todo lo qual sè les enseña porque las yglesias sean

5. They also reap large harvests of rice and of cotton, and weave considerable cloth which is exported to Nueva España,²² while there is wax in great abundance. They are keen traders, and have traded with China for many years, and before the advent of the Spaniards, they sailed to Maluco, Malaca, Hazian,²³ Parani,²⁴ Burnei, and other kingdoms.²⁵

6. These peoples had no kings in these islands, but their method of government was by chiefs, who were the ones who were most powerful and possessed more property. Those chiefs were tyrannical to a degree, and treated all the other people like slaves, seizing their possessions and children whenever they pleased. They were very much inclined to wars and one village was constantly waging war against another, so that there were very few that were at peace, and they acted like barbarians in those wars. At the death of any chief, they had to cut off many heads in order to avenge his death, and they made many feasts and dances in honor of those heads. As a sign of mourning they ate no cleaned rice for a whole year, but only herbs and vegetables.

7. Their houses were filled with wooden and stone idols (which they called Taotao²⁶ and Lichac²⁷) for they had no temples. They said that the soul entered into one of those idols at the death of any of their parents or children. Consequently, they revered them and asked them for life, health, and riches. Those idols were called anitos. When they were sick they cast lots to ascertain which anito had caused them the sickness, and thereupon made great sacrifices and feasts for that anito. Their feasts always ended in drunken revels, for they were much given to the vice of drinking, and it has happened that they will drink constantly for two or three days. However, they have one characteristic, namely, that although they are drunk, they do not entirely lose their senses, and I have never seen any of them fall down because he was drunk. We believe the reason to be because the wine, although powerful at the beginning, soon loses its strength.

8. They worshipped idols which were called Alpriapo, Lacapati,²⁸ and Meilupa,²⁹ but God has, in His goodness, enlightened them with the grace of His divine gospel, and now they worship the living God in spirit. All these people have abandoned all their superstitions and alone profess the holy Catholic faith.

9. To the glory of the Lord, most of them are Christians, and for those who are not it is for no other lack than that of ministers, which is one of the greatest pities and miseries that has ever been seen. All this people give tribute in gold, silver, and other things, both to the king our sovereign and to others [who are] private persons, by whom they are seized and betrayed and compelled to perform services, both in the raids and wars which are made, and in other services, and do not receive instruction. Those people observe that fully and declare it.

10. There are many excellent churches, and the people are eager to serve them. The boys are very clever and bright, and very easily learn how to write, read, sing, play, and dance. They are taught all those things so that the church

mejor seruidas y se animen a ser buenos Christianos viendo cómo seruimos a nuestro Dios.

11. Yo he siempre asistido en esta prouincia y tengo en ella muchos baptizados de mi mano, que entiendo serán entre grandes y pequeños más de mil. Y espero en el Señor, por lo que de ellos tengo conocido, que se saluan muchos, y principalmente los muchachos han de ser muy buenos Christianos [h. 3v], porque tienen buenos entendimientos y toman muy de ueras las cosas de nuestra sancta fee y la saben, de manera que nuestros Españoles se admiran. Yo he confessado hartos, ansí hombres como mujer (*sic*) que me espantaua de ver con cuánto dolor se confiessan y cuán bien se saben acusar. Harto mejor que muchos Españoles. Ay en esta prouincia muy pocos que no sean Christianos, con no auer más de diez años que se les predica, porque antes harto auía tenido que hazer en apaziguar la tierra. Con el agua bendita tienen gran deuoción. Siempre la tienen en sus casas y la lleuan a sus heredades, y en qualquiera necessidad luego acuden a la yglesia por agua. Hasta las hinchazones la (*sic*) lauan con agua bendita. Y al entrar y salir de la yglesia siempre la toman, de manera que es necessario hinchir las pilas dos o tres vezes cada semana.

12. Es tierra templada y no tan caliente como allá se piensa; principalmente los ocho meses del año no se siente frío ni calor. La ciudad de Manila esta situada junto a la mar, que las olas [h. 4] vaten en las casas, ribera de vn muy grande y caudaloso río, el qual viene de una laguna que está como seys leguas de la Ciudad.

13. Es esta laguna de agua dulce y tiene treynta leguas en redondo, y es muy poblada al rededor y en sus serranías. Ay en el distrito desta laguna doze Conuentos con Yglesias muy grandes y muy bien labradas de madera, los ochos son de fraires descalços, y tienen ya dos destos Conuentos hechos de piedra³⁰. Los otros quatro son de padres Agustinos. Ay otras muchas yglesias en los pueblos que son de visitas en las cabeceras donde están los Conuentos. Está repartida esta laguna entre diez Encomenderos, los quales tienen muy bien de comer porque es tierra rica y muy abundante de todo género de bastimentos, y particularmente de caça y pescado, que parece cosa increyble, ansí de búfanos, venados y puercos, de donde es muy proueyda la ciudad de Manila.

14. La gente desta isla es muy curiosa en el conocer del oro y lo pessan con la mayor sutileza y delicadeza que jamás se a visto. Lo primero que [h. 4v] enseñan a sus hijos es conocer el oro y las pessas con que se pessa, porque entre ellos no ay otra moneda.

15. Ay en esta prouincia y en todas las demás grandísima abundancia de palma de Cocos, que es vno de los árboles más fructífero y prouechoso (*sic*) que para la vida humana hasta agora se á hallado, y ansí parece cosa increyble a quien no lo viere las cosas que deste arbol se saca. Porque, primeramente, la madera aprouecha para hazer casas, y las hojas siruen de texas; la fructa son los Cocos, que son buenos de comer y tienen beuida dentro, y dellos se haze leche para quisar arroz y otras cosas y se saca azeyte que están (*sic*) medicinal

may be better served and so that they may be incited to become good Christians upon seeing how to serve God.

11. I have always lived in this province, where I have baptized many with my own hand more, I believe, counting little and big, than one thousand. I trust, God helping, from what I have learned of them, that many of them are saved. The boys especially will become excellent Christians; for they have lively understanding and take very earnestly to the things of our holy faith and become such that our Spaniards are astonished at it. I have confessed many, both men and women, and I have been astonished to see with what contrition they confess, and how well they know how to accuse themselves – much better than many Spaniards. There are very few in this province who are not Christians although they have not heard the preaching for more than ten years, for before that time there was enough to do in pacifying the land. They hold the holy water in great devotion and always keep it in their houses. They take it to their fields and whatever their necessity, they immediately go to the church for water. They even bathe their swellings with holy water, and always take it on entering and leaving the church so that it is necessary to replenish founts two or three times a week.

12. It is a temperate land and not so hot as it thought there [in Spain]; especially for eight months of the year when no cold or heat is felt. The city of Manila is located near the sea, whose waves beat against the houses, on the shore of a very large and full river. That river flows from a lake located about six leguas from the city.

13. That lake is of fresh water, is thirty leguas in circumference, and its marge and [surrounding] mountains are densely populated. There are twelve convents with their churches which are very large and well built of wood in the vicinity of that lake. Eight of them are of discalced friars (and two of those convents are now built of stone),³⁰ and the other four belong to the Augustinian fathers. There are also many other churches in the villages which are the visitas of the capitals where the convents are located. That lake is divided among ten encomenderos and they live very well, for it is a rich land and abounds in all kinds of food, especially game and fish, more than one would believe possible, and also buffaloes, deer, and [wild] swine. The city of Manila is well supplied from there.

14. The people of this island are very skilful in their handling of gold. They weigh it with the greatest skill and delicacy that has ever been seen. The first thing that they teach their children is the knowledge of gold and the weights with which they weigh it, for there is no other money among them.

15. This province, as well as all the others, has the greatest abundance of cocoa palms. This is one of the most fruitful and profitable trees that has ever been found hitherto for [the sustenance of] human life. The things that are obtained from this tree seem incredible to one who has not seen it. For, first, the wood is used in the construction of houses, and the leaves are used for tiles. The fruit is the coconut which is good to eat. They have a liquor inside, from which is made milk for cooking rice and other things. Oil is obtained from it

como el de Aparicio³¹. De la cáxcara se hacen vasos para beuer, de los quales traen mucha cantidad a España. Házese también vino, y tan bueno que no se echa menos el de España, y agua ardiente, vinagre, miel y conserua, y otras cosas que no me acuerdo. De manera que tienen en la palma todo quanto quieren.

16. Ay en esta prouincia grandíssima cantidad de caça, como son búfanos, los quales [h. 5] no ay en las otras islas, muchos venados, puercos monteses, mucha abundancia de cabras, muchos patos de agua, y en sus casas crían muchos puercos y gallinas, que dan ocho por quatro reales. Y en todas las poblaciones desta isla alcanca en gran manera mucha abundancia de pescados y sardina, lo qual ellos comen mejor que las carnes.

Pronincia (*sic*) de Ylocos

17. La segunda parte de la isla de Luzón es la prouincia de Ylocos, que está de Manila más hazia el Norte. Ay aquí vna población de Españoles, llamada la Villa Fernandina, la qual fundó el Capitán Iuan de Salzedo por mandado del gouernador Guido de Labazares (*sic*). Está 70 leguas de Manila en diez y ocho grados de altura. Es esta prouincia (*sic*) muy poblada y tiene mayores poblaciones que las otras, aunque la gente es más bárbara y no también vestida ni blanca como las otras. Son labradores que tienen muy [h. 5v] grandes sementeras, y assí es tierra de mucho arroz y algodón, y tienen mucho oro, porque las principales minas destas islas están en las serranías desta prouincia, de las quales ellos gozan porque tienen trato con los mineros más que nadie.

18. An prouado los Españoles muchas vezes a poblar las minas para beneficiarlas, pero no á sido possible hasta agora, aunque el gouernador Gonzalo Ronquillo puso en ello mucha diligencia y le costó harta gente por ser la tierra muy áspera y falta de bastimentos. Es esta prouincia de Ylocos tierra muy enferma y por esso está mal poblada de Españoles. Ay en ella muchas yglesias y christianos, y por auer pocos ministros no lo son todos. Ellos lo dessean y piden y son gente muy simple, doméstica y pacífica y de grande cuerpos y fuerças; es gente muy limpia por extremo, principalmente las mugeres, en sus casas, las tienen muy aseadas y limpias. Han de yr tres o quatro vezes al día a labarse al río. [h. 6]

Prouincia de Cagayan

19. Más adelante, como 30 leguas desta Villa Fernandina, passado el cabo que llaman del Boxeador, en diez y nueue grados, está la prouincia y rio de Cagayán, la qual es muy grande y [tiene] muchíssima gente y en extremo bastecida de arroz y algodón y muy grandes gallinas, venados, búfanos, mucha cantidad de cera.

which is medicinal like the oil of *apapricio*.³¹ Drinking vessels are made from the shells and a considerable number of them are taken to Spain. Wine is also made from it (and it is so good that of Spain is no better), as well as brandy, vinegar, honey, preserves, and other things that I do not remember. Consequently from the palm the people get whatever they wish.

16. This province contains a very great abundance of game such as buffaloes (which the other islands do not have), many deer, wild boars, a great abundance of goats, and many waterfowl. Many swine and fowl are raised in the houses, eight of the latter being sold for four reals. A very great abundance of fish including sardines are caught in all the settlements of this island, and those people relish it more than meat.

Province of Ylocos

17. The second part of the island of Luzon is the province of Ylocos, which is located more northerly than Manila. That province contains a Spanish settlement called Villa Fernandina, which was founded by Captain Juan de Salzedo by order of Governor Guido de Labazares. It is seventy leguas from Manila and lies in eighteen degrees of latitude. That province is densely populated and contains larger settlements than the other provinces. The people are however more barbarous, and they are not so well clad or so light complexioned as the others. They are husbandmen and possess very large fields. Consequently, it is a land abounding in rice and cotton. There is also considerable gold, for the chief mines of these islands are situated in the mountains of that province. Those people enjoy it for they have more communication with the miners than anyone else.

18 The Spaniards have endeavored often to colonize the mines in order to work them; but it has as yet been impossible, although Governor Gonçalo Ronquillo was very hot after it, and it cost him many men as the land is very rude and food is scarce. That province of Ylocos is a very unhealthful land and consequently poorly populated by Spaniards. It contains many churches and Christians, and all the people are not wholly Christian because of the lack of ministers. They desire and beg to be made Christians. They are a very simple, domestic, and peaceful people, large of body and very strong. They are a most cleanly race, especially the women in their houses, which they keep very neat and clean. They have a practice of going three or four times a day to bathe in the river.

Province of Cagayan

19. About thirty leguas farther on from that Villa Fernandina and past the cape called Boxeador and in a latitude of nineteen degrees lies the province and river of Cagayan. It is a very large province and very densely populated and exceedingly well supplied with rice, cotton, very large fowls, deer, buffaloes, and a great quantity of wax.

20. Ribera deste río, que se llama Tajo (32), es muy cuadaloso, como dos leguas de la mas (*sic*) está poblada la ciudad de Segovia, la qual pobló el Capitán Iuan Pablos de Carrión por orden del gouernador don Gonzalo Ronquillo³³. Avía deste río a la China cerca de 80 leguas, antes menos que más, de trauesía, y por estar tan cerca y también porque es de muchíssima gente y muy rica y bastecida, se han procurado muchas vezes de acabarla de apaziguar y poblarla, y no ha auido effecto hasta agora, entendiendo que es la causa los pocos Españoles que ay y pocos Religiosos para entrar [h. 6v] de golpe en élla. Está esta tierra muy accomodada para tener comercio con la China por estar tan vezina y tiene muy lindos ríos para galeras y nauíos y en día y medio se atrauiesea, y muchas noches se toma la tierra de la China.

21. Por el mes de Março [de 1582] fue a poblarla el Capitán Iuan Pablo de Carrión, y desde entonces está poblada de mucha más gente que antes. Quando llegó, halló allí vna armada de Iapones cosarios que querían poblar allí y tenían tomado el río, y, passando por en medio dellos sin rescribir daño alguno, subió más arriba y, con grandíssima diligencia, de la madera de vna galera vieja que llebaua, hizo un modo de fuerte y plantó su artillería lo mejor que pudo. Embióle el general de los Iapones vna carta diziendo que bien sabía que eran ladrones como él, pero que él estaba allí primero y que venía por mandado de su Rey y que si quería que se fuese y le dexasse el río y que el dexasse vna grande cantidad de oro. El Capitan le respondió que él no venía sino a fauorescer los naturales y a [h. 7] quitalles a ellos el oro que les auía tomado y echallos de la tierra. Visto [por] los Iapones que no les dauan nada, vinieron vna mañana al quento del alua a dar salto al fuerte más de 600 hombres con muy buenas escopetas y armas. Los nuestros serían como 80, y les pesendieron (*sic*) el fuertecillo de palos viejos y les mataron grande número dellos, sin que de los nuestros muriessen más de solo vno, y aun esse dizen que lo mataron por desgracia los que estauan dentro. Como los Iapones vieren qual mal les yua y gustaron de la destreza de los Españoles, acordaron de recogerse y dexaron no sólomente el fuerte mas tambien el nuestro y boluerse a su tierra. Y a mi me dixo el padre Francisco Cabral, de la Compañía de Iesús, que por entonces era Prouincial en Iapón³⁴, que auía entrado con ellos (*sic*)³⁵ y que yuan espantados de los Españoles y dezían que nunca tal gente auían visto. Y lo que más les espantaua era la presteza y destreza en el disparar, y cierto tenían razón de espantarse, porque entiendo yo que no hay agora mejor solda- [h. 7v.] desca que la de Philipinas, y particularmente los arcabuzeros.³⁶

22. La gente desta prouincia de Cagayám (*sic*) son como los de Ylocos, muy vazos y mal vestidos y grandes labradores. No ay agora allí Christianidad en gran numero mas [hay] allá padres y han començado a edifficar yglesias, por no estar aun de todo punto la tierra sossegada, y será el Señor seruido que la aya presto, como en las demás partes, principalmente si ouiesse Sacerdotes que embiar.

20. The shore of that river which called Tajo³² is very large. About two leguas from the sea is settled the city of [Nueva] Segovia. It was colonized by Captain Juan Pablo de Carrion by order of Governor Don Gonçalo Ronquillo.³³ That river is about eighty leguas distant from China, less rather than more. Inasmuch as it is so near, and also because it contains so many people and is to rich and well supplied with food, the effort has been made often to completely subdue it and settle it, but that effort has not as yet been successful. I believe the cause is the few Spaniards and the few religious that can enter it at one time. That land is very fitting for commerce with China as that country is so near, and has excellent rivers for galleys and ships. One can cross to China in one and one-half days, and the mainland of China is often reached at night.

21. In the month of March of the year, Captain Juan Pablo de Carrion went to colonize that province, and since then many more people than before live there. When he reached that place he found a fleet of Japanese pirates who desire to settle there and had taken possession of the river. Passing through their midst without receiving any harm, he went up higher on the river and with the greatest haste made a sort of fort from an old galley that he had, in which he mounted his artillery as well as possible. The Japanese general wrote him a letter, in which he said that he knew well that they were robbers like himself, but that he was there first, and had come at his king's command; consequently, if Carrion wished him to go away and leave him the river he was to give him a large sum of gold. The captain replied to him that he came only to protect the natives and to take from the Japanese the gold that they had seized from them and drive them out of the country. When the Japanese found that nothing would be giving them, more than six hundred men came one morning at dawn to attack the fort, armed with excellent muskets and weapons. Our men numbered about eighty but they were defended by their small fort of old stakes. A great number of the Japanese were killed while not more than one of our men was killed, and it is even said that he was killed by accident by those who were inside the fort. When the Japanese saw how evilly the day was going for them and tasted of the skill of the Spaniards, they determined to retreat, and leave not only the fort, but also our men and return to their country. I was told by Father Fransico Cabral, of the Society of Jesus, who was then provincial in Japan,³⁴ that he had talked with them³⁵ and that they were afraid of the Spaniards, and said that such people [as the Spaniards] had never been seen. They were astonished above all else at the rapidity and skill with which the Spaniards discharged their weapons. Surely they had good reason to be afraid, for I believe that there is now no better soldiery than that of the Philipinas, especially the arquebusiers.³⁶

22. The people of the province of Cagayan resemble those of Ylocos. They are very vile, and poorly dressed, but are fine husbandmen. Christianity has not entered there to any extent, but there are some fathers there. They have begun to build churches although the land is not entirely quiet. It will be pacified soon, our Lord willing, as in the other parts, especially if there are priests to send.

Pronincia (*sic*) de Camarines

23. La otra cabeça desta isla de Luzón al Sueste se llama Buza y Gan³⁷, que está en treze grados y vn tercio. Y tiene allí vn puetto (*sic*) que suelen algunas vezes tomar las naos que vienen de México, 20 leguas deste cabo de Buza y Gan la tierra adentro, hasta la villa de Cázeres, la qual pobló el Capitán don Iuan de Arze por orden del Gouvernador Francisco Sande.³⁸

24. Llámase esta prouincia de Camarines y es [h. 8] muy grande y de muchíssima gente y contiene en sí muchas prouincias pequeñas. Son gente de buenas faciones, son grandes labradores, y por esta causa tienen mucho arroz.

Y en esta prouincia ay muchas minas de oro y ay muchos plateros muy curiosos en su modo, los quales corren por toda la isla a ganar de comer a su officio, y lleuan a México muchas cosas curiosas labradas de su mano, especialmente la feligrana. Es tierra de muy buenos ayres y bien poblada de Españoles.

25. Ay también en esta prouincia muchos Christianos, y son gente muy dispuesta para recibir nuestra sancta fee y de buenos entendimientos, pero por falta de ministros no son ya todos Christianos. Es cosa de lástima ver en estas islas tanta mies tan sazónada y ver quán pocos obreros aya auiendo tantos en España sobrados en los Conuentos.

26. Esto es lo que sumariamente se me offtesció (*sic*) de dezir de la isla de Luzón y de la ciudad de Manila, la qual es de mucha importancia para qualquier effecto y ha de venir a ser cosa [h. 8v] muy grande y escala muy general para muchas partes.

27. Ay desde esta ciudad de Manila a la ciudad de Macán, en la China, 160 leguas. Están también los Iapones poco más lejos de la postrera punta desta isla, que se llama el cabo del Boxador (*sic*). Está la isla de Burnei de Manila 180 leguas, y córrase el viaje desde Manila Norueste Surueste. Es isla my grande y muy poblada.

28. A esta isla fue el Doctor Francisco de Sande el año de 78 con tres galeras Reales y otros nauíos pequeños y con menos de 400 hombres a requerir al Rey della con la paz y amistad nuestra porque los naturales de Luzón cada día nos amenazauan que hauía de venir el Rey de Bruney. Y, en llegando cerca, le embió dos Indios intérpretes con embaxada, mas el Rey no queriendo oyr el mensaje, mandó con grande furia matar los embajadores, aunque el vno fue el Señor seruido que escapasse milagrosamente, porque hizo voto viéndose en aquel conflicto de hazerse Christiano si el Señor le libraua. Y libróle el Señor y cumplió después su voto y es [h. 9] agora muy buen Christiano y que ha hecho harto fructo en sus naturales, de lo qual yo soy buen testigo. Visto el Gouvernador la injuria que el Rey de Burnei le auía hecho, determinó de ganar por fuerza lo que no quisieron darle de voluntad. Salio el Burneo a la mar con

Province of Camarines

23. The other cape of this island of Luzon lying to the southeast is called Buza y Gan.³⁷ It lies in a latitude of thirteen and one-third degrees. There is a port there which is at times made by the ships from Mexico. Twenty leguas from the cape of Buza y Gan inland in the village of [Nueva] Caceres. That village was colonized by Captain Don Juan de Arze at the order of Governor Francisco Sande.³⁸

24. That province is called Camarines and is very large and densely populated. It contains many small provinces in its confines. The people are well featured and are excellent husbandmen, and therefore they have considerable rice. There are many gold mines in that province and many excellent goldsmiths after their fashion. Those men roam throughout the island in order to gain their living. Many interesting things made by them are taken to Mexico, especially filigree work. It is a very healthful land, has good air, and is well populated by Spaniards.

25. That province also contains many Christians. Its people are very ready to receive our holy faith, and are of considerable intelligence; but they are not all Christians for lack of ministers. It is a cause for pity to see so much ready for the harvest in these islands and to see how few workers there are, although they are full to overflowing in the convents of Spain.

26. The above is what occurs to me to tell briefly of the island of Luzon and of the city of Manila. Manila is of great importance viewed in any light, and must become very great and a general center for many parts.

27. The distance from this city of Manila to the city of Macan in China is one hundred and sixty leguas. The Japanese also are slightly farther away from the upper point of this island, namely, the cape of Boxador. The island of Brunei is one hundred and eighty leguas from Manila and extends northeast and southeast from Manila. It is a very large island and densely populated.

28. Doctor Francisco de Sande went to that island in the year, with three royal galleys and some other small ships and less than four hundred men, to summon the king of the island to make peace and friendship with us; for the natives of Luzon were daily threatening us with the coming of the king of Burney. When Sande arrived near the island he sent two Indian interpreters with a message to the king, but the latter refused to listen to the message, and with great fury ordered the ambassadors to be killed. However, it was the Lord's will that one of them should escape as by a miracle, for he made a vow when he beheld himself in that predicament to become a Christian if the Lord would save him. The Lord saved him and he afterward performed his vow and is now an excellent Christian, and has produced much fruit among his fellow-natives, as I am a good witness. When the governor learned of the insult that the king of Burnei had shown him, he resolved to gain by force what they refused to give him willingly. The king of Burneo sailed out into the sea with a

grande numero de galeras y galeotas y mucha y muy buena artillería pero en disparando la nuestra, como vieron que alcançaua de tan lejos y que la suya no hazía effecto, començaron a voluer las espaldas y huyr. Fueron en su alcance los nauíos pequeños y coxieron las galeras, que las dexaron vacías, y mucha de la artillería, aunque echaro mucha tambien al agua. El Gouernador siguió la victoria y entró en la ciudad y la saqueó de harta riqueza que tenía, y casi toda la gente se huyó al monte.

29. Era esta ciudad muy grande y rica y fundada sobre vn muy ancho y hondo río, que parecia otra Venecia. Los edificios eran de madera, pero muy buenas casas, labradas muchas dellas de maçonería y doradas, y principalmente los palacios del rey, los quales [h. 9v] eran muy grandes. Auía aqui una mezclita (*sic*) muy sumptuosa, de muy grande y curaoso (*sic*) edificio y toda labrada de media talla y dorada, la qual mandó quemar el Gouernador quando boluió a Manila. Es este Rey de Burnay moro venido de Meca y es señor de los puertos de mar y ríos de la isla donde tiene poblaciones de moros, pero los naturales de la isla son gentiles, como todos los demás de las Philipinas. Embió el Gouernador a buscar al Rey para hazer asientos de paz con él, pero no le pudieron hallar ni quiso parecer. Vinieron más de cinco mil Indios de paz y, entre ellos, vn tío del Rey, que era su maestro de campo. En este tiempo fue el Señor seruido que en el Real de los nuestros començaron todos a caer enfermos, de manera que casi no auía hombre en todo el campo que pudiesse hazer centinela, y murieron muchos. Entiéndese que fue yerua que dieron los naturales en los bastimentos o que la echaron en el agua. El Gouernador, forçado, huuo de dexar la población y tornarse a Manila. El Rey moro se tornó [h. 10] a su ciudad y tornó a hazer mezclita y fuerte y tiene ya muchas galeras y artillería, pero todo es nada si los Españoles bueluen allá. Dizen que mandó matar a su tío y a las demás cabeças que vinieron.³⁹

30. Es Burney escala de mucha importancia, porque es camino de Malaca, Amelueo y Manila y es muy buen puerto para las armadas que de Manila fueren a Malaca para Patanisian y otros Reynos.

31. Está el Maluco a 300 leguas de nauegación, y en medio están las más de las islas que llamamos Philipinas, muy pobladas y bastecidas y ricas de oro, de las quales es Mindanao, Sebú, Panay y otras no tan nombradas, aunque grandes. Son todas estas islas de gente pintada, que nosotros llamamos vizayos. Los quales diferencian poco entre sí; gente robusta y briosa y más amigos de guerra y de hurtar que de trabajar; no son tratantes como los de Manila ni tan ricos, poque se contentan con tener vn poco de arroz y vino.

32. Destas es la vna isla de Zebú, que es en la prouincia donde estuuieron los [h. 10v.] Españoles, en la qual fundaron la más antigua pobla-

great number of galleys and galliots and a considerable quantity of good artillery. But when our artillery was discharged, and the Borneans saw that it had so long a range while their own had no effect, they began to turn and flee. The small ships went in pursuit of them and captured their galleys which they had abandoned and a quantity of their artillery, although much of the latter was also thrown into the water. The governor followed up his victory, and entered the city where he pillaged a great part of its wealth. Almost all the people fled to the mountains.

29. That city was very large and rich, and was built on a very broad and deep river, and had the appearance of another Venecia. The buildings were of wood, but the houses were excellently constructed, many of them being constructed with stone work and gilded, especially the king's palaces which were of huge size. That city contained a very sumptuous mosque, a very large and interesting building quite covered with half-relief and gilded. When the governor returned to Manila he ordered that mosque to be burned. That king of Burnay is a Moro from Meca and is the ruler of the seaports and rivers of that island where he has settlements of Moros. The natives of the island however are heathen as are all the other peoples of the Philipinas. The governor sent a message to the king in order to get him to make peace with him, but it was impossible to find him for he refused to put in an appearance. More than five hundred Indians came to make peace, among them an uncle of the king who acted as his master-of-camp. At that juncture it was the Lord's will that all the men of our camp commenced to fall sick so that there was almost no man in the camp who could perform sentinel duty, and many died. It was thought to be caused by an herb which the natives put into the food or which they had thrown into the water. The Governor was, therefore, forced to abandon the settlement and return to Manila. The Moro king returned to his city and rebuilt his mosque and fort. He has many galleys and a quantity of artillery at present, but it will be of no avail if the Spaniards return thither. It is reported that he had his uncle killed as well as the other leaders who came.³⁹

30. Burney is a way-station of great importance, for it is on the way from Malaca to Meluco, and Manila, while it is an excellent harbor for the fleets which sail to Malaca destined for Patan, Sian, and other kingdoms.

31. From Manila toward the south lies Maluco at a distance of three hundred leguas, and in the midst of the way lie the islands called Philipinas. The latter are densely populated, well supplied with food, and rich in gold. Among them are Mindanao, Cebu, Panay, and others which I do not name although they are large. All the above-named islands are inhabited by Pintados, whom we call Vizayos. They exhibit but few differences among themselves. They are a robust and energetic race, and more inclined to war and pillage than to work. They are not traders as are those of Manila nor so wealthy, for they are satisfied if they have a bit of rice and wine.

32. The island of Cebu is one of these islands. It is the province where the Spaniards were stationed, and where they established the oldest colony on

ción, orilla de la mar, en vno de los mejores puertos del mundo. Poblóla el Adelantado Miguel López de Legazpi y llámase la ciudad del Nombre de Iesús, porque quando allí vinieron los nuestros, hallaron allí vn niño Iesús muy hermoso que auía quedado allí quando mataron al famoso Magallanes, el qual los Indios tenían en mucha veneracion y se encomendauan a él en sus necessidades, principalmente quando no llouía, lo lleuauan a vañar al mar, y luego les daua el Señor agua en abundancia. Está agora en el Conuento de los padres Augustinos de aquella ciudad, que fue la primera yglesia destas islas, donde el Señor obra por él el día de oy muchos milagros.

33. En esta isla estauan los Españoles quando vino vna grande armada de Portugueses de galeras y galeones para llevarlos a la India, en la qual venía por Capitán vn Gonçalo Pereira Marromáquez⁴⁰, y con ser los nuestros quatro gatos y sin fuerte, se dieron tan buena maña y el Señor les ayudo, de tal mane [h.11] ra que los portugueses se retiraron mal, pareciendo con las manos en la cabeza. Es esta isla pequeña pero muy sana. Son todos Christianos, y los más antiguos de todas las islas. Está esta isla en el passo y camino de Malaca.

34. De aquí, por ser cosa poca, dexando bastante recado de Españoles en ella, se passó el Adelantado a la isla del Panay e hizo su asiento en vn grande río que se llama del mismo nombre, hasta que se pasó a Manila, donde hasta oy es el asiento de los Españoles y creo que siempre lo será por estar en gran comarca. Es esta isla de Panay la mejor de las que están debaxo del dominio de su Magestad, fuera de la isla de Luzón. Es de gente pintada, como las demás, y muy abudante de todos bastimentos y de mucha ropa de algodón. Ay agora en ella vna muy buena población de Españoles, aunque no donde estuuo primero. Llamase la villa de Aréualo. Es tierra sana y templada. Ay en ella mucha Christiandad, porque ay muchos Conuentos de padres Augustinos. [h. llv]

35. Casi en toda ella otras muchas islas (*sic*) y muy grandes ay de mucha gente sujetas al dominio de su Magestad y que pagan todos los años tributo, pero no ay en ellas poblaciones de Españoles, ni las puede auuer, porque ay hallá muy pocos Españoles y mucho a qué acudir. Y si su Magestad engrosasse estas islas de gente, están en comarca para poder acometer grandes cosas y aun salir con ellas, porque en fin, como dizen, todos son Indios. □

the seashore on one of the finest harbors in the world. It was colonized by Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, and was called the city of *Nombre de Jesus*; for, when our men went thither, they found a very beautiful child Jesus there, which had been there since they had killed the famous Magallanes. The Indians revered that image highly and commended themselves to it in their necessities. Especially at times of drought they took it and bathed it in the sea, whereupon the Lord gave them rain in plenty. It is now kept in the convent of the Augustinian fathers of that city. That was the first church in these islands. The Lord works many miracles at present by means of that image.

33. The Spaniards were living in that islands when a vast Portuguese fleet composed of galleys and galleons came to take them to India. Its captain was a certain Gonçalo Pereira Marromaquez,⁴⁰ and notwithstanding that our men were so few and had no fort, they managed so discreetly and the Lord (who knew the great benefit that must follow from their permanence), aided them so well that the Portuguese retired in confusion seemingly with their hands to their heads. That island [of Cebú] is small but very healthful. All its inhabitants are Christians, being the oldest Christians of all the islands. That island lies on the way and route to Malaca.

34. The adelantado went to the island of Panay from that island as it was inadequate, after leaving a sufficient number of Spaniards there, and settled on a large river called by the same name [of Panay]. He stayed there until he went to Manila where even to this day is the settlement of the Spaniards, and where I believe that it will always be as it is a fine center. That island of Panay is the best of those under his Majesty's dominion except the island of Luzon. Its inhabitants are Pintados like the others. It abounds in all sorts of provisions, and has quantities of cotton cloth. It has an excellent Spanish colony at the present, although it is not in the same location as at first. That settlement is called the city of Arevalo. Panay is healthful and temperate island and contains many Christians, for there are a number of converts of the Augustinian fathers in nearly all parts of it.

35. There are many other islands which are of quite large size and densely populated. They are under the dominion of his Majesty and pay an annual tribute. However, they have no Spanish colonies, and cannot have any, because the Spaniards are few in number and have much to which to attend. If his Majesty should send more men here to these islands, they are located in a center where great things can be undertaken and success assured, for finally as abovesaid all of the inhabitants are Indians. □

NOTES

¹Francisco AQUILAR PIÑAL, *Impresos castellanos del siglo XVI en el British Museum*, Madrid 1980, no. 322; THE BRITISH LIBRARY, *Catalogue of Books printed in Spain and of Spanish books printed elsewhere in Europe before 1601 now in the British Museum*, Second edition, London 1989. I avail myself of this opportunity to thank most sincerely Dr. William H. Scott for having shared with me in the form of a gift in the already distant year of 1980 a photographic reproduction of the *Report* which is preserved in the British Museum. Since that year, I have been ruminating over this modest study.

²I am indebted for the knowledge of the existence of the Lilly's Library copy to Dr. Bruce Cruikshank of whose kindness I wish to express my sincerest recognition.

³Antonio de LEON PINELO, *Epttome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental*, newly amplified and corrected by Andrés GONZALEZ DE BARCIA, Madrid 1737, a facsimile edition by Carlos Sanz, Madrid, 1973, col. 360. Its description tallies most exactly with the characteristics or features of the known copies.

⁴Robert STREIT, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Aachen 1928, 335.

⁵Antonio PALAU Y DULCET, *Manual del librero hispano-americano*, XIV, Barcelona 1964, 12.

⁶Isacio R. RODRIGUEZ, *Historia de la provincia agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús. I*, Manila 1965, 294-296.

⁷Emma Helen BLAIR - James Alexander ROBERTSON, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XXXIV, Mandaluyong, Rizal, 1973, 29.

⁸Diego de ADUARTE, O.P., *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, Madrid 1962, 57-63.

⁹Juan Francisco de SAN ANTONIO, O.F.M., *Chrónicas de la apostólica provincia de San Gregorio, Parte primera*, Sampaloc, 1738, 324.

¹⁰Felix HUERTA, O.F.M. *Estado [. . .] de la santa y apostólica provincia de San Gregorio*, Binondo 1865, 443-444; Eusebio GOMEZ PLATERO, *Católogo de los religiosos franciscanos de la provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas*, Manila 1880, 17-19.

¹¹AQUILAR PIÑAL, *Impresos castellanos*, núm. 319.

¹²THE BRITISH LIBRARY, *Catalogue*, 111. Luis Sánchez certainly printed it in Madrid at the time our *Libro y Relación* were printed. However, it has not been ascertained whether or not he sent such work to the press.

¹³Guillermo Drury (or more appropriately, Drouy) printed also in Madrid at about the same time Luis Sánchez printed his. However, there are doubts whether Luis Sánchez printed the book that was attributed to him.

¹⁴General Archives of the Indies.

¹⁵THE BRITISH LIBRARY, *Catalogue*, 136. It is true that Pedro Gómez de Aragón must have not printed much since his name does not even appear in the best-known lists of printers of Madrid. But despite this, it seems much more probable to us that he ought to be given preference over the other two Pedro Gómezes.

¹⁶Cfr. Francisco ESCUDERO PEROSO, *Tipografía hispalense*, Madrid 1894, 42. In 1628, Pedro Gómez de Pastrana certainly printed a book for the Franciscans as follows: *Relación (Breve) de la vida, muerte de los Protomártires del Japón; Religiosos profesos de la Orden de N.P. San Francisco y de sus 17 compañeros legos [. . .] que con ellos padecieron el mismo martirio*. Sevilla, Pedro Gómez de Pastrana, 1628, 40 fol. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, signature 2165, 820.

¹⁷Cfr. Clara Louisa PENNEY, *List of Books printed 1601-1700 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America*, New York 1938, 744.

¹⁸Don José de Arce Sardonil was born towards the year 1553. He migrated to the Philippines in 1571 and his name, preceded by the title *Don*, appears in the list of "encomenderos" who were still alive in 1576. He accompanied Dr. Sande in his Brunei's expedition in 1579. Cfr. Antonio de MORGA, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, ed. W.E. RETANA, Madrid 1909, 521.

¹⁹Many historians of that period such as Miguel de Loarca and Juan Cobo call the inhabitants of Manila's jurisdictional area as *moros*.

²⁰The reason why the Spaniards called the inhabitants of Central Luzon and of other regions in the Philippines as *moros* is because of the great influence of the Muslims although clearly a minority. Thus, Miguel de Loarca reasons it out in the following text: "... these moros, the chiefs, have literacy while all the others natives lack it." Even more explicit is a Franciscan chronicler whom, quoting Francisco de Montilla when speaking about the natives of Mindoro, notes that although the moros are few they are remarkably influential "and due to this they motivated the Spaniards to call them moros and not only them [the inhabitants of Mindoro] but those of Balayan as well and the ones of the province and region of Manila, inasmuch as all of them spoke one language and because of this the Spaniards call it *Mora* and the natives *Tagala*". (Marcos de ALCALA, O.F.M., *Crónica de la santa provincia de San José*, parte segunda, libro 1, núm 99, Madrid 1736.

²¹The names given to the provinces by the author differs from the one followed by Domingo de Salazar in a contemporary document (Cfr. Isacio R. RODRIGUEZ, *Historia Agustiniiana*, XV, Manila 1981, 343-370).

²²The commercial interchange between New Spain (México) and Perú mainly and the Philippines was so considerable during the first years of the conquest that some thought of it as a serious threat to the prosperity of Spain and other regions of America. Such was the impression, among others, of the Franciscan Martín Ignacio TELECHEA IDIGORAS, *Martín Ignacio de Loyola. Viaje alrededor del mundo* (Colección Crónicas de America, 54, Madrid 1989, 79-80).

²³Probably the state of Achen in Sumatra (Cfr. BLAIR-ROBERTSON, XXXIX, 377).

²⁴Patani was a small kingdom situated in the western coast of Siam, now known as Thailand.

²⁵Concerning the trade between the Philippines and its neighboring countries before the arrival of the Spaniards, we refer the reader to the study of WILLIAM H. SCOTT, "Filipinas and Asia before 1500," an *Asian Studies* (April, August, December, 1983).

²⁶Better Tatak, an idol of the ancient Tagalogs (Cfr. Ferdinand BLUMENTRITT, "Diccionario mitológico de Filipinas", in W.E. RETANA, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, II, Madrid 1896, 449).

²⁷Likha, according to the already quoted Blumentritt, *loc. cit.*, 406.

²⁸Other authors write *lankanpati* and *lankapati* although these two names do not seem to mean the same native deity. (Cfr. BLUMENTRITT, *loc. cit.*, 403).

²⁹Owner of the soil, of the land (cfr. BLUMENTRITT, 419).

³⁰It appears to be difficult, not to say impossible, to find out which were the eight convents the author was referring to. A contemporary chronicler affirmed by then that the "doctrines" or Franciscan convents in the Philippines (besides those of Manila, Santa Ana & Nueva Cáceres were the following:

"Pilana, Ilocensis, Nacharliana, Parigacinunica, Titaina, Lumbana, Valaianica, Moronlica, Taiabensis, Mindorica". And he adds: "Reliquarum vero quattuor domorum, quod earum nomina me omnino praetereunt, meminisse non potui, sed ea omittere coactus sum" (Francisco GONZAGA, O.F.M., *De origine seraphicae franciscanae*, Roma 1587, 1357). Of all the doctrines mentioned by Gonzaga who wrote his work in Latin, it seems relatively easy to identify, as far as those located in Luzon are concerned, to be the ones of Pila, Nagcarlan, Taytay, Lumbang, Balayan, Morong and Tayabas. Only one would be lacking to complete the list of eight. We must bear in mind, however, that the author of the *Report*, while informing us that the Franciscans have already "two of these convents built of stone", says nothing in regard to the churches; a piece of information hypothetically confirms that the *Report* was written before 1588, at which time, the Franciscans had started to build their churches in stone. We have in mind the church in Lumbang.

³¹The "aparicio oil" is a wound-healer invented by Aparicio de Zubia towards the middle of the 16th century and was regularly used in Spain until the start of the present century.

³²"Tajo" is the name given by the Spaniards to the actual river in Cagayan, i.e., the Ibanag river.

³³The Spaniards' "pacification" of Northern Luzon was met with far greater resistance than was expected. It was carried out after several attempts. The Franciscans accompanied the military expeditious although in the role - as was logical - of evangelizers. Already in 1578, Francisco Sande,

the Governor of the Philippines, had issued "Instructions" to Captain Pedro Lucas about what they were going to do in the Ilocos where they were sent. He ordered them to proceed as follows:

"They are going to take along the Franciscan Fathers and regale them well and show to them the same love which the same Fathers use to have for one another (Juan Francisco de SAN ANTONIO, *Crónicas*, Part I, 528). On the 27th of May of the following year Juan Pablo de Carrión received a similar instruction before setting out for Cagayan and Ilocos: "You will reach the town of Vigan in Ilocos where the Father "Custodio" shall designate a Friar of the Lord St. Francis to proceed to the settlement. As far as possible, take special care for him; look after his welfare for he is very important and necessary. In so far as the pacification of the natives is concerned and the peacefulness of all things, you will seek advice from the Father, whom you shall take along (SAN ANTONIO, *Crónicas*, Part I, 529). The missionaries who went with Chaves in this expedition were Juan Bautista Lucarelli and Sebastián de Baeza. The former has left us a refreshing and permanent account of these early stages of evangelization of Northern Luzon in his *Viaggio dell'Indie*, published by Atanasius van den WYGAERT, O.F.M., *Sinica Franciscana*, II, Quaracchi 1933, 42-46.

³⁴Father Francisco Cabral must have informed the author about what is reported here with the narration of something that he might have made to the Philippines since he spent the greater portion of his life evangelizing the Far East. For a more detailed biographical information see: Joseph Franz SCHUTTEM, S.J., *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, I, St. Louis 1980, 188-247, and in *Varones Ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús*, second edition, I, Bilbao 1887, 655-663.

³⁵The expression "aúa entrado con ellos" is equivalent to "había hablado con ellos".

³⁶This first clash between Japanese corsairs and the Spanish conquistadores, a prestage of future conflict between the two superpowers who were already contending at that time for the control of the Philippines, is amply recorded in Gaspar de SAN AGUSTIN, O.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid 1975, 541-543.

³⁷This Buza and Gan may be the Bucaygan of Loarda located at the west of Sorsogon in its outermost area (Cfr. BLAIR-ROBERTSON, XXXIV, 387). The author may also have Bulusan in mind.

³⁸There is a great disparity between the absolute statement of the anonymous author of the *Report* regarding the protagonist in the founding of Nueva Cáceres and the narration that the Philippine historians make, exclusively attributing its founding to Pedro de Chaves. If we were to follow the Franciscan chroniclers, there are two other protagonists: Captain Juan de Guzmán and Captain Juan Arce the Sardonil. To the first of them Governor Sande gave the following instruction on January 4, 1579: "You shall take along the two Fathers of the Order of the Lord of St. Francis from among the discolored and place them in the Bicol river and in the other parts of that province which they may ask from you . . . Churches ought to be built whenever the Fathers tell you in the form and manner that the Fathers ask for . . . You are to notify the Spanish settlers there of the presence of the Fathers" (SAN ANTONIO, *Crónicas*, part I, 529). To the second, the instruction given to him on May 27th of the same year, among other things, was: "Regarding other matters you shall reach a decision in consultation with the religious who are there . . . about establishing a settlement in the province of Bicol and Camarines; and in such a place, he shall lay down the foundations of a town which he shall name in the way most pleasing to him and he will order all the "encomenderos" of those provinces to build their houses and dwell therein and not in any other place. He shall build a church under the advocacy of his choice. The religious must be given full attention because they deserve it and is due them (SAN ANTONIO, *Crónicas*, Part I, 529). The same Father adds immediately after the above-quoted that on September 16, 1579, six aldermen were appointed, a public scrivener and a secretary for the City Council of Nueva Cáceres newly founded by Captain Juan Arce de Sardonil.

³⁹The earliest Philippine Historians like Antonio Morga and Gaspar de San Agustín furnish us abundant information on the expeditions. We have a most reliable document about the subject in the "*Relación de la isla de Burney que allí hizo el doctor Francisco de Sande, gobernador y capitán general de las islas Filipinas* precisamente este año de setenta y ocho [1578]", in Isacio RODRIGUEZ, *Historia Agustiniana*, XIV, Manila 1978, 511-525.

⁴⁰This incident is given ample space in Gaspar de SAN AGUSTIN, *Conquistas*, 270-273; 307-312.