
Document 1522B

Espinosa's voyage—Other primary source documents from AGI

B1. Joint letter of Juan Bautista and Leon Pancaldo, to the Emperor, from their prison in Mozambique, dated 20 Oct 1525. [not reproduced]

B2. *Patronato, legajo 34, ramo 24*: 1526 deposition by Captain General Espinosa and others held in prison in Lisbon, 2 pages. [not reproduced]

B3. *Patronato, legajo 34, ramo 16*: 1527 report to the *Casa de Especería* by Captain General Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa upon his return to Spain, 2 pages. [not reproduced]

B4. *Patronato, legajo 24, ramo 27*: 1527 testimony of the survivors from the Moluccas of the flagship Trinidad, 38 pages. [not reproduced]

B5. *Declaraciones que dieron en Valladolid Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Leon Pancaldo y Ginés de Mafra sobre los acontecimientos de la nao Trinidad en las Molucas*. [Declarations made at Valladolid by Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Leon Pancaldo and Ginés de Mafra regarding the happenings of the nao Trinidad in the Moluccas].

Sources for Doc. B5: AGI Seville: Papeles del Maluco de 1519 a 1547. Published by Navarrete, in his Colección de los viajes, tome iv, pp. 378-388. On 2 August 1527, the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo was mandated by the Council of the Indies to interview three of the survivors of the Trinidad shipwreck. The notary Francisco de Briviesca took down their depositions on 5 August 1527, as follows.

The said Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, having been sworn in due legal form, was read the said deed and commission given by the gentlemen President and members of the Council of the Indies to the Lord Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, member of the said Council, and having been reminded to say and declare under oath what he knows and what occurred regarding that, said:

That what he knows and saw is, that this witness, as captain, a post he was elected to after the death of Magellan, arrived with the nao **Trinidad** and the nao **Victoria** at the island of Tidore, which is in the Moluccas, and that there he loaded both naos with clove and other things, and merchandise they bartered for in the said island; and that the nao **Victoria** came to Spain, with Juan Sebastian de Elcano as her captain, and that this witness stayed behind with the nao **Trinidad**, because she was leaking and could not sail, and that he unloaded and careened her, loaded her again, and left with her with a load of cloves. He carried something like a thousand quintals¹ of cloves, more or less, counting what some of those in the nao had brought along. They sailed for about 7 months, more or less, without being able to find a port. On account of the storm² and contrary weather they turned around and sought the Moluccan Islands, and anchored on the coast of Zamafo, near the island of Doy. There he learned that Antonio de Brito, a captain of the King of Portugal, with Portuguese crews was at the island of Ternate, which is next to Tidore Island, about half a league, more or less, and that he was building a fort there.

He wrote him a letter, through the clerk of the said nao **Trinidad** who was called Bartolomé Sanchez [Nº 21], requesting him [i.e. Brito] and asking him in the name of His Majesty to send him some relief and assistance to take the said nao to the said island of Tidore from where he had departed, because the crew of the said nao was sick, and many of them had died, and he did not have a crew to take her in. Seeing that a crew was not coming, for fear of losing the nao upon the coast because he had only one small anchor down and he could not put down more for lack of a crew, he weighed the anchor, and set sail. He came to anchor at the port of Beneconora.³ That is where Simon de Abreu came, with Duarte Rager, the clerk of the factory of the King of Portugal and other people in a *coracora*⁴ and behind them came a *fusta* and a caravel in which came García Manrique and Gaspar Gallo as captains.

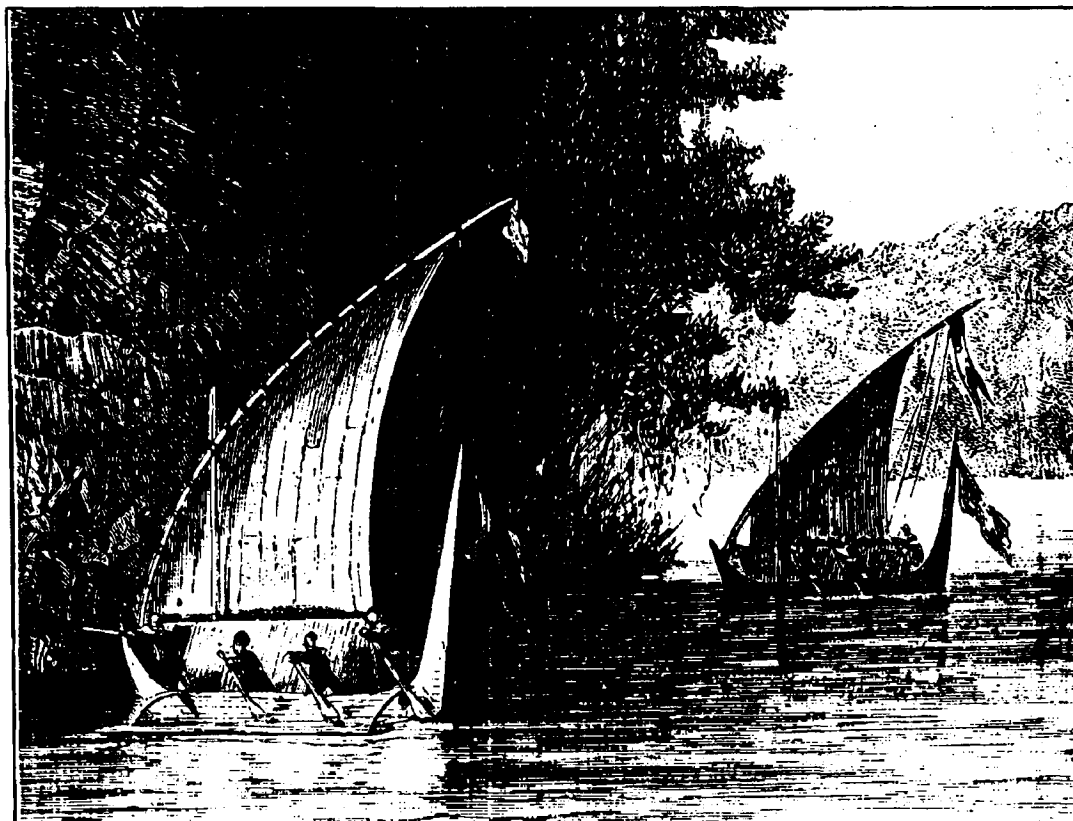
They all came aboard the said nao **Trinidad**, and there the said Simon de Abreu gave him a letter from the said Antonio de Brito in answer to the one this witness had

1 Ed. note: About 50 short tons.

2 Ed. note: The Spanish word "fortuna" is here again used to mean "strong wind" or "storm" and has obviously nothing to do with fortune.

3 Ed. note: This may be a misprint for Gamoconora, which is the name of a nearby volcano.

4 Ed. note: A large native double-outrigger canoe. Sometimes spelled "caracora".



“Coracora” or outrigger canoes used in the Moluccas. (From Davenport Adams’ *The Eastern Archipelago*, London, 1880)

written to him through the clerk of his nao; this clerk did not return because they arrested him. After having given the letter¹, because they had received an order from the said Antonio de Brito, they took from the said witness all the letters, astrolabes, quadrants, reference books, and other things they carried for the navigation. Later on, they began to take over the nao with their crew, and they set sail, and went to anchor at the port of Talangomi between the islands of Tidore and Ternate, and from there they brought this witness in a boat, as well as others who came in the said nao, to the fort that the said Antonio de Brito had in Ternate.

¹ Ed. note: This letter, in Portuguese, was brought to Spain by Espinosa and was also published by Navarrete, *op. cit.*, p. 295. It reads as follows: “*Sir. Before Bartolomeu Sanches arrived, I learned that you had arrived in this nao, and later that same day I sent two ships and a fusta to look for you. Today Bartolomeu Sanches arrived and gave me your letters, in which you request me to send for that nao so that the nao may sail. I have sent this coracora in which goes the Administrator of Ternate and the Chief Warden of this fort with twenty Portuguese men among whom are the sailors that brought her, and also there goes one [blank, another coracora?] of the [blank] with food supplies, to see you later, Sir. They will bring the nao for you, and the ships will be with you shortly with more crewmen [to be made available], if necessary. I trust in your favor. On this day the 21st of October of 1522. António de Brito.*”

This witness asked to be given a certificate listing what came in the said nao when they were unloading her in order to report to His Majesty, and they replied to him that, if he asked [for it] many [more] times, they would give it to him up there in a yardarm... In the said fort, he found the following men in irons:

[1.] Juan de Campos [N° 128];

[2.] Diego Arias [N° 54 or 208]¹, who claims to be from San Lúcar;

[3.] Alonso Ginovés [N° 157]², sick;

[4.] Luis de Molino [N° 155] was at large, and this [witness] had him come to the fort under a safe-conduct, but when he came to the fort they put him in irons. These people were those who had remained at the said island of Tidore with the property and factory of His Majesty in a house they had built there. They told this witness how the said Portuguese had wrecked the house that His Majesty owned in the said island of Tidore, and taken all the merchandises they had to trade and some clove they had, and that they took as well the receipts they had for the clove already paid for, which they would have received at harvest time, and whatever they had by way of rigging from the naos, and other things they had for barter. They had been held prisoners for about five months more or less.

From there they were taken to Banda, where they were four months more or less, and from there they took them to Java, and from there to Malacca, and they delivered them to Jorge de Albuquerque, and from there they took them to Cochin where they stayed a long time until they took this witness, with Ginés de Mafra and Master Hans, to Lisbon where they were kept at the *Limonero* [= Lemon Tree], which is the public jail, and where died the said Master Hans [N° 140], and this witness and Ginés de Mafra were released because of His Majesty's letters. This is what he said that he knew and remembered about the above-mentioned, and that he knows it because he saw it and was present in it, or heard about it as stated.

He was asked by the said Lord Bishop what was in the nao that was taken from them, besides the said clove that he had already mentioned, and how many persons were taken prisoners with this witness to the said fort, and how they were called. He said that they seized from them two bombards of thick iron, one small metal cannon, eleven iron cannon, two iron falconets, and other personal weapons, ordnance, and munitions from the nao, and much iron in bars, much rigging from the other two naos that had been lost, and their chests with a few things and the documents that they carried, and that **the persons who were made prisoners with this witness were seventeen in number**, both the healthy and the sick, and that they were called (those he remembers):

[1.] Juan Bautista [de Poncero, N° 4 in Doc. 1519F],

[2.] Leon Pancaldo [N° 15],

[3.] Ginés de Mafra [N° 14],

[4.] Juan Rodriguez Sordo [i.e. the Deaf, N° 137],

[5.] Master Hans [N° 140],

1 Ed. note: Not Arias, but Dias, says Brito.

2 Ed. note: This Genoese was called Alonso da Costa, says Brito.

- [6.] Diego Martin [N° 23],
- [7.] Malvo [N° 212],
- [8.] San Remo [N° 16],
- [9.] Juan Navarro [N° 151],
- [10.] Francisco de Ayamonte [N° 32],
- [11.] Juan de Sagredo [N° 115],
- [12.] one black man [N° 35], and
- [13.] Bartolomé Sanchez [N° 21]...¹

B6. Another version of the 5 Aug Declarations of Espinosa, Pancaldo and Mafra.

Source: Synopsis of B5 file above, by Muñoz, and reproduced by Navarrete, op. cit., iv, pp. 369-371.

In Valladolid on 2 August 1527, having come to the said court Captain Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Spanish [sic], of 48 years of age, and Ginés de Mafra, of 33 or 34 years of age, and Leon Pancaldo of 45 years of age, a native of Savona in Genoa, who had remained with the nao **Trinidad**, the gentlemen President and members of the Council of the Indies gave a commission to Dr. Beltran, of the said Council, to take their deposition under oath using the questionnaire of Dr. Ribera in Badajoz² before Francisco Briviesca, notary, and on 5 August the said declarations were recorded as follows:

That [out of] the five ships with which Magellan had left, one turned back to Spain, another was taken apart and burned by necessity, and another was lost in a storm off the coasts of Brazil.

That Magellan died after having passed the Strait of All Saints³, and Duarte Barbosa succeeded him after having been elected by all; then he died and Juan Carvallo, who was pilot major, was elected, and, as the people became dissatisfied, they took the post away from him and they elected Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, he who proceeded with the **Victoria** and the **Trinidad** as far as Tidore.

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- 1 Ed. note: The declaration of Leon Pancaldo adds nothing new, except that he specifies that the seized documents and logbooks had contained "the route taken and the islands discovered by them", that "he had written his books in Italian", that the total number of men seized from the **Trinidad** were either 17 or 18 in number, that the black man was named Anton [Moreno] and that those not remembered by Espinosa included "Anton de Bazaza, boatswain [N° 126], Master Antonio, carpenter [N° 9], Gerónimo Garcia [N° 232], and Pedro de Huelva [N° 227, an error, as he had died on 18 Sep 1522]." These men had, of course, visited the Marianas three times. The testimony of Ginés de Mafra adds nothing new, except the name of the 17th (or 18th) survivor of the 1522 voyage is given as Luis de Vaes (transcription error for Veas) [N° 38]. It should be recalled that one of the prisoners was the Portuguese Pedro de Lorosa, who had joined at Tidore; he was judged a traitor and executed by Governor Brito.
 - 2 Ed. note: The same format with 19 questions used with 16 of the survivors from the **Victoria** at the Conference of Badajoz, on 23 May 1524.
 - 3 Ed. note: Soon to become known as the Strait of Magellan.

That the deeds of ownership of Tidore and of the other islands were passed before Martin Mendez [Nº 166], accountant who came in the **Victoria**.

That in imitation of the King of Tidore those of Bachian, Ternate and other islands swore allegiance, offering in tribute a few bahars (a measure of about 4 quintals) of cloves, blankets, parrots and feathers, straw boxes, etc.: they were in Tidore from November 1521 to April 1522.

That having distributed as many as 1,800 quintals of cloves in the ships **Victoria** and **Trinidad**, because the latter leaked a lot, they agreed to send the **Victoria** with her captain Juan Sebastian del Cano by the Portuguese route, and to have the **Trinidad** stay and be made ready to go to New Spain; about 60 people stayed, and as it took as much as 4 months to get the nao ready, they left five men in the house they had built to store the leftover clove, the tools and merchandise, and to continue to buy clove and to represent H.M., and then they set sail. They sailed from 6 April 1522 until the end of October, a little over 6 months, having spent 4 of them in getting up to 43 degrees of latitude North, where they experienced very strong winds and much cold; the other 2 months were spent returning to the Moluccas, near which they anchored at a port of the island of Chirola south of Gilolo.¹ With a favorable wind they later arrived at another port situated about 30 leagues from Ternate, which is called Benaconora. At that time, there were only twenty or so people, and they were very sick, and upon learning that the Portuguese had arrived at Ternate with 7 ships they asked them for help, and within a few days a *coracora* came, and behind it a caravel and a *fusta* with many Portuguese and a few Indians from Ternate (resentful against the Spaniards because they believed that their not having gone to their island had been to think of them as less important than those of Tidore). The said men took them as prisoners to Ternate, the same as they had done to the four who had remained at Tidore, as Master Pedro had died after the house of the Spanish had been destroyed. The Portuguese at Ternate first built a wooden fort, then they began another made of stone, in whose construction they tried to have our people work, and after some time had passed (about 4 months) they sent them to Banda and to Malacca and other parts, from which places they managed to get to Lisbon. There they were prisoners, but in the end they gained their freedom and came back to Spain.

That no Portuguese fleet nor any other Christian prince had been there nor taken possession before our fleet; it was only learned that a certain Francisco Serrano had been there, who was a great navigator and a good friend of Magellan, who, for fear of the King of Portugal and of his people, had fled Malacca in a junk of the type that traded there from the Moluccas. He died in Tidore, to the king of which he had said many times when shaking his hand, that those islands were of the King of Spain.

The Portuguese having learned the whereabouts of Serrão and about the Magellan Expedition, fearing the two might meet, a certain Don Tristão [de Meneses] went from India to look for him with a small *fusta*, something like six months before the fleet of

1 Ed. note: Chirola is perhaps the same as Chaol (= Morotai) in previous documents, but it is north, not south, of Gilolo.

H.M. arrived. When he did not succeed in having him follow him, it is said that he was given poison, and thus he died some 15 to 20 days later. Those of Tidore made war on Don Tristan, and killed about 7 to 8 Portuguese of his, and made him flee. With Don Tristan went a Portuguese named Pedro Alfonso de Lorosa, who returned to India, and fearing that they would take him on account of something that had happened, he fled in a junk to Ternate, where he was found by our people. He embarked with them aboard the **Trinidad**, and at the return he was decapitated by the Portuguese because he had been a protégé of Serrano and had gone to the Indies looking for his friend who had gone with the Spaniards, with the intention of informing the Emperor about the wealth of those islands.

The reason for the recent visit by seven Portuguese ships with up to 700 men, Captain Antonio Brito, they say it was on account of news about Magellan's fleet¹ in which they knew no more than 240 men had gone, and they considered that many of them had [already] died.

B7. List of the people who died aboard the nao Trinidad in 1522, all of whom had been in the Marianas two or three times.

Sources: AGI Seville: Simancas, legajo 1. Published as Document N° 201 in Garrigós' Colección general de documentos, Barcelona, Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1918-23. Summarized by the Viscount of Lagoa, from which the following is taken.

On 10 August 1522 died the Italian caulker Juan García [N° 214].

" 23 " Marcos de Vayabarboso [N° 8].

" 29 " the supernumerary Alberto Sanchez who held the post of master gunner [N° 58].

On 2 September 1522 died Juan Martin of Seville [N° 200].

" 4 " the Portuguese ship's boy Juan [N° 251].

" 5 " Juan de Grisol or Grijól [N° 39].

" 10 " the ship's boy Blas Durango [N° 34].

" 13 " Guillermo Yres [N° 144].

" 15 " the ship's boy Pedro Breton or Arnaot [N° 233].

" 17 " Juan Blas [N° 230 or 252].

" 18 " Pedro Díaz of Huelva [N° 227].

" 19 " Sebastião the Portuguese [N° 192].

" 21 " the ship's boy Juan Gallego or de Rodas [N° 37].

" 25 " the surgeon of the **Trinidad**, Dr. Juan de Morales [N° 71].

" 27 " the supernumerary Fernando Lopez [N° 45].

" 30 " the Genoese sailor Benito [N° 180].

" 5 October 1522 died Ruiz Matamoros or Francisco Ruiz [N° 131].

1 Ed. note: Received by mail from Lisbon to India as a result of the report made to the King of Portugal by his agent Alvarez. See Doc. 1519G.

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| " 5 | " | the sailor Juan Rodriguez of Seville [N° 133]. |
| " 6 | " | Alonso (or Antonio) Hernandez or de Palos [N° 228]. |
| " 13 | " | the Basque sailor Juan de Aguirre [N° 138]. |
| " 14 | " | the Basque carpenter Domingo de Ycaza or Aroca [N° 127 or 240]. |
| " 14 | " | the Portuguese steward Braz Afonso [N° 241]. |
| " 18 | " | the page Andrés de la Cruz of Seville [N° 42]. |
| " 19 | " | the Genoese page Juan Atin [N° 41]. |
| " 20 | " | the page Juan Yres [N° 40 or 153]. |
| " 22 | " | the sailor Sebastian de Huelva or García [N° 134]. |
| " 22 | " | two black slaves belonging, one [N° 229] to [Captain] Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa and one [N° 265] to the pilot Juan Carvallo. |
| " 27 | " | the gunner Juan de Troya [N° 226]. |
| " 29 | " | the ship's boy Pedro de Huelva or Bello [N° 231]. |
| " 30 | " | the ship's boy Jerónimo Sevillano or García [N° 232]. |