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Foreword

João Camilo dos Santos

The organization of this International Colloquium results from a joint initiative of the National Portuguese Discoveries Commission (Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses), the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Luso-American Development Foundation (Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento), the Orient Foundation (Fundação Oriente), and the Center for Portuguese Studies of the University of California, Santa Barbara.

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The Executive Committee for the Colloquium was chaired by Professor João Camilo dos Santos (Director of the Center for Portuguese Studies), and included Professors Francis A. Dutra (History Department), Waldo Tobler (Geography Department), and Harvey L. Sharrer (Spanish and Portuguese Department).

Special thanks to Ana Sofia Ganhão, who assisted in the organization of this volume.

I would like to express my special gratitude to my colleague
Francis Dutra, from the Department of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, for his invaluable help as principal editor of the pages which constitute this publication of the Center for Portuguese Studies.
Introduction

Francis A. Dutra

The International Colloquium on Portuguese Discoveries in the Pacific held at the University of California, Santa Barbara on October 16, 17, 18, 1993 celebrated in part the 450th anniversary of the death of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, the first European known to have visited California. Cabrilho (also known by the Spanish version of his name, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo), arrived in Mexico in 1520 with Pánfilo de Narváez, joined Cortes, and was present at the definitive capture of Tenochtitlan from the Aztecs in 1521. Later that year he served with Francisco de Orozco in Oaxaca. In 1522 he was with Pedro de Alvarado campaigning against the Amerindians in what is now Central America. As an encomendero, he settled in Santiago de Guatemala. In 1542, in an attempt to find a new route to Asia, Cabrilho helped organize a small fleet and sailed northward, reaching the coast of California. He was later described by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, Chief Chronicler of the Indies and Chronicler of the Crown of Castile, as a "Portuguese, a person very skilled in matters of the sea."

Exactly when Cabrilho arrived in the New World is not known for certain, though some authors give the year 1510. At about that time the Portuguese were preparing to move into the Pacific Ocean via the Indian Ocean. Soon after the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India in 1498, the Portuguese learned of the economic and strategic importance of much of Asia. In fact, within fifteen years (1498–1513), almost the entire East African and Asian coastline—including China and Japan—had been visited and described by the Portuguese. Of special importance was Melaka (Malacca), located on the strait of that name, the latter dividing the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Melaka, the gateway to the Pacific, has been described as "one of the key nodes in Asian maritime trade, linked to China and eastern Indonesia, but also to India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea."

Aware of Melaka's importance, King Manuel (r. 1495–1521) instructed D. Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of India, to cement diplomatic and commercial ties with that emporium. Almeida, however, was much too preoccupied with the eastern coast of Africa, western India, and the ocean between to follow those instructions. The same task was given to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in 1508.
when he sailed from Lisbon with four ships. Stopping at Cochin in India and picking up Muslim pilots, Lopes de Sequeira rounded Cape Comorin and continued eastward. He tried to establish a feitoria or trading post in Melaka after his arrival there in September of 1509. However, opposition from Muslim merchants foiled the plan. Some Portuguese were captured and Lopes de Sequeira was forced to abandon the project. But in his short time there, he was able to verify Melaka’s strategic and commercial importance and its great wealth.

In April of 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque, fresh from his victory at Goa where he had defeated the Sultan of Bijapur in the preceding November, sailed for Melaka with a force of 1100–1200 men. He initially demanded the freeing of Portuguese prisoners and commercial concessions. When these ultimatums were refused, Albuquerque captured the city in August of 1511 and established a strong Portuguese military presence there. Tomé Pires, who sailed for Asia in 1511 with D. Garcia de Noronha and who served as a crown factor in Melaka from 1512 to 1515 before continuing on as an envoy to China, enthusiastically described Melaka in his Suma Oriental thus: “No trading port as large as Malacca [Melaka] is known, nor any where they deal in such fine and highly prized merchandise. Goods from all over the East are found here; goods from all over the West are sold here. It is at the end of the monsoons, where you find what you want, and sometimes more than you are looking for.”

As to be expected, the Portuguese presence in Melaka further confirmed the importance of the Spice Islands or Moluccas, the Bay of Bengal, the Indochinese peninsula, and China itself.

Soon after the conquest of Melaka, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered that a small fleet of three ships be prepared to explore the Moluccas to the east, famous for their cloves, nutmeg, and mace. António de Abreu commanded the expedition and Francisco Serrão and Simão Afonso Bisagudo were in charge of the other two boats. Also present was the pilot-cartographer Francisco Rodrigues who mapped out the discoveries of this expedition. With the aid of Malay pilots and merchants, the expedition left Melaka in November of 1511 and sailed along the eastern coast of Sumatra and the northern coast of Java, before reaching Amboina and the Banda Islands. There Abreu loaded two ships with spices and returned to Melaka. Serrão, however, was shipwrecked. He and some of his men managed to reach the Moluccas where they backed the Sultan of Ternate against the Sultan of Tidore. Serrão stayed on, playing an important role in the region’s politics until his death, probably from poison, in 1521. In the meantime, other Portuguese expeditions continued to arrive in the Moluccas. In 1522 António de Brito, newly-named captain-general of
the Moluccas, began to build the fort of São João in Ternate.

However, the Portuguese presence in the Moluccas was threatened by one of their own—Fernão de Magalhães (better known to English-speaking readers as Ferdinand Magellan). Magellan had sailed to India in 1505 with D. Francisco de Almeida. He had also been to Melaka and some think as far east as Amboina before returning to Portugal in 1513. It is important to remember that Magellan was a good friend of the above-mentioned Francisco Serrão. After serving in Morocco, Magellan had a falling out with King Manuel and entered the service of the new king of Castile, Charles I. Magellan's plan was to reach the Moluccas by sailing westward through or around South America. In September of 1519 he sailed from San Lucar de Barrameda with five small ships and an international crew that included more than three dozen Portuguese. After an arduous voyage, he crossed the Pacific Ocean and reached the Philippines early in April of 1521. There on the 27th he was killed. The Basque Juan Sebastian de Elcano eventually took command and reached the island of Tidore in the Moluccas on November 8. After loading the Victoria, one of the two remaining ships, with spices, Elcano returned to Spain via the Cape of Good Hope. Spain soon pressed a claim to the Moluccas. In the meantime, other survivors of Magellan's voyage living in the Moluccas, including the crew of the Trinidad, the other remaining ship, were taken prisoner by the Portuguese.

While the Portuguese were moving southeasterward in search of the Spice Islands, they were also taking an interest in the north—Indochina and China itself. Letters and maps reveal that there were a few probes into the Indochinese peninsula as the Portuguese sought allies and trading partners, although relatively little more was done there until the Habsburg period (1580–1640) when the Crowns of Portugal and Spain were united.

China, however, quickly gained Portugal's attention. In 1508 King Manuel had instructed Lopes de Sequeira to learn all he could about the Chinese. When the Portuguese reached Melaka in 1509, they encountered Chinese junkers, sailors, and traders there. Exactly when the Portuguese arrived in China is clouded in mystery. Some credit Jorge Álvares in 1514 with the honor of being the first, though there may have been earlier Portuguese freelancers sailing on Chinese junks. Álvares was not allowed to touch the Chinese mainland; he did, however, engage in trade. In 1515 King Manuel ordered an embassy to visit China and obtain a formal trade agreement. In 1517 Fernão Peres de Andrade, on the first European ship to sail into Chinese waters, arrived at the mouth of the Pearl River and then visited Canton, where he left behind Tomé Pires, the author of the Suma
Oriental, as ambassador. Though Álvares returned to Melaka, Pires was detained in China and seems to have died there several years later. In the meantime, other Portuguese attempted to trade with the Chinese. Simão Peres de Andrade, brother of Fernão, has been blamed for angering Chinese officials by his high-handedness but he was not alone in this behavior. As Charles R. Boxer has observed: "When they tried to apply in the South China Sea the strong-arm methods which had served them so well in the Indian Ocean, they were decisively defeated by the Chinese coastguard fleets in 1521 and 1522. Though they subsequently gained admission to the coveted China trade, it was on the terms laid down by the Chinese authorities and not on those imposed by themselves." An agreement made by Leonel de Sousa with Cantonese officials in 1554 followed by the acquisition of Macau set the stage for the important ties between Portugal and China. It was via Macau, located on the estuary of the Pearl River and close by Canton, that Portugal would gain access to the China trade. Details of its origins remain sketchy but a trading post and settlement were in existence by at least 1557. Until the nineteenth century, it was the only part of China in which Europeans were allowed to settle. The Portuguese, through Macau, would monopolize much of the trade between China and Japan. Because of frequent raids by Japanese pirates on the coast of China, the Ming emperors prohibited trade between Japan and China. This prohibition enabled the Portuguese to fill the important role of intermediary. The key aspect of this trade was the "exchange of Chinese silks and gold for Japanese silver bullion."

Meanwhile, about 1543, the first Portuguese, with the aid of Chinese pilots, arrived in Japan. The Navarre-born Jesuit Francis Xavier arrived there on 15 August 1549. Both Portuguese traders and the Jesuits were well received and soon a brisk trade developed as Chinese silks and porcelains were exchanged for Japanese silver. Initially the Portuguese traded at various locations on Kyushu but, in 1571, Nagasaki, a small fishing village on that island, was ceded to them. The Portuguese Crown, by appointing a capitão-mor of an annual voyage from Goa to Japan via Macau, tried to gain control over some of the profits.

This is the setting for the twenty-four papers included in this volume. The Colloquium held in Santa Barbara brought together some of the top scholars in the field of Portuguese discoveries from Australia, China, India, Singapore, Macau, Portugal, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States. Their aim was to provide new perspectives and new information from their research to help better understand the role of the Portuguese in the Pacific.
In the papers that follow, two discuss Portuguese who sailed under the Castilian banner while making important discoveries in the Pacific. Martin Torodash, whose magisterial review of the literature on Magellan, his exploits, and his place in history first appeared in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* in 1971, brings his study to the present by assessing attempts in the last quarter century at better understanding the man and his achievements. Alfredo Pinheiro Marques challenges recent efforts to depict João Rodrigues Cabrilho as Spanish-born and carefully re-examines the evidence provided by the chief chronicler of Castile and by Cabrilho's grandson.

Anthony Disney discusses some of the chief differences between the Portuguese experience in South Asia and East Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and thus provides a useful background for better understanding many of the other papers that follow.

Five papers focus on the Portuguese experience in four different regions of Southeast Asia. Manuel Lobato re-examines Portuguese and Spanish accounts to better understand the Portuguese presence in the Moluccan Archipelago. Maria da Conceição Flores, after pointing out that the Kingdom of Siam or Ayuthia was the most powerful state in the Indochinese peninsula when the Portuguese arrived in Southeast Asia, describes Portuguese diplomatic and economic interest in Siam during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Maria Ana Marques Guedes examines the life and career of the Burmese prince D. Martim de Alemão, a pretender to the thrones of Syriam and Arakan, and his experience serving in the Estado da India. Chiefly using cartographic evidence, Jacques Népote traces Portuguese activity in the lower Mekong valley (Cambodia) during the sixteenth century from early contacts to a more serious involvement (beginning in the 1570s) with the Khmers. Leonard Y. Andaya discusses Portuguese influences in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

The search for spices was frequently the driving force of the Europeans in Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Roderich Ptak examines the Asian trade in cloves on the eve of the Portuguese arrival. George Winius looks at the role of early free-lance traders and mercenaries and argues that “they no longer deserve such disparaging labels as freebooters or renegades, but rather as pathfinders and pioneers.” R.J. Barendse examines the effects of European trade on the Indonesian archipelago. With the arrival of the English in India in the seventeenth century, rivalry between Portuguese and English intensified. Kenneth McPherson describes what was, at times, a love-hate relationship between the Portuguese and the English. Not all of the wealth of Portuguese Asia was sent back to Lisbon. Some of it was siphoned off as ships with a variety of excuses stopped
off in Brazil. Bill M. Donovan discusses the role of the Portuguese merchant in the eighteenth century and the efforts of those stationed in Brazil to trade with Portuguese Asia.

During the so-called “Christian Century in Japan” Jesuits played a dominant role in the Portuguese presence in that land.7 Teotonio R. de Souza reassesses the role of the Jesuits in Japan, pointing out that understanding “a conquest approach to missionary expansion overseas is central to this attempt at reassessment.” Elsa Macedo de Lima Penalva carefully examines Jesuit letters written from Japan in the early seventeenth century and discusses the Society’s participation in commerce. Christianity was outlawed in Japan and the Portuguese expelled in 1639. Eugénio Lisboa discusses Shusaku Endo’s novel, translated into English as Silence, which focuses on the period after the apostasy of the Jesuit Cristóvão Ferreira in 1633 during the wave of persecution of Christians in Japan beginning in 1626. John R. Kelly describes Portuguese influence on painting in Japan and surveys the extant Namban screens.

Those serving in Portuguese Asia for long periods of time or with great bravery or distinction were sometimes awarded knighthoods in one of the three prestigious Portuguese military orders of Christ, Santiago or Avis. Francis A. Dutra examines the role of the Order of Santiago with a special focus on Macau and also identifies those born in Asia who became knights of Santiago. Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves examines the early days of Macau’s existence.

Two scholars examine cartography. W.A.R. Richardson critically examines the writings and maps of Manuel Godinho de Erédia and concludes that Erédia’s “increasingly contradictory and far-fetched written and cartographical portrayals of India Meridional” should not be used to prove an earlier discovery of Australia. Jaap R. Bruijn discusses the reasons for the relatively small amount of interest the Dutch East India Company took in exploring and mapping the Pacific Ocean.

Finally, four scholars discuss China and the Portuguese. Haraprasad Ray discusses the Chinese involvement in the geopolitics of the Pacific and Indian Oceans prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Ng Chin-keong takes a fresh look at the clandestine trade along the China coast and discusses the role of the Portuguese or “Fo-lang-chi” as they were called by the Chinese. Deng Kaisong and Yang Renfei discuss the role of the Portuguese in China before the middle of the nineteenth century.

The majority of earlier studies on the Portuguese presence in Asia have focused on India and the rest of South Asia. To a certain extent, the Portuguese in the Pacific, with the exception of Japan,
have been neglected. This volume, celebrating Portuguese voyages and exploits in the Pacific, is part of the growing number of new studies that are correcting this imbalance.

NOTES

1. Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano [Madrid, 1615], Decada 7, libro 5, capitulo 3. The best biography of Cabrillo after he joined Cortes is Harry Kelsey, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo (1986). Kelsey, however, tries—unsuccessfully—to prove that Cabrillo was Castilian-born.


4. Quoted in The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, p. 42.

5. Ibid., p. 49.


A Cartographical Nightmare—
Manuel Godinho de Erédia's
Search for India Meridional

W. A. R. Richardson
The Flinders University of South Australia

Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *Descobridor, docto Cosmographo* and
*astuto Capitam* (Discoverer, learned cosmographer and skilful cap-
tain), as he modestly described himself to Philip III of Spain¹, does not
even rate a mention in some of the standard works on the history of
cartography. Even the authors of the magnificent *Portugaliae Monu-
menta Cartographica*, Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da
Mota, say that “it cannot be claimed that he occupies an outstanding
place in the history of Portuguese cartography.”² However, they also
state that although he “was sometimes influenced by historical-geo-
graphical tendencies which led him into errors and absurdities”, there
are, “wherever he can free himself from the weight of his erudition,
points of real value and interest.”³ Even when his muddled erudition
is very much in evidence, as on those maps in which he portrays his
chaotic ideas about *India Meridional* (Southern India), as he, uniquely
amongst Portuguese writers and cartographers, refers to the area
south of Indonesia, his work is of considerable interest. Professor
Oskar Spate, in his article on Erédia, wrote that “There is little point
in trying to disentangle his confused conflations.”⁴ I beg to differ from
him so far as Erédia’s maps and writings on *India Meridional* are con-
cerned, not least because some writers, by quoting selectively and out
of context from his works, have endeavoured to use them in an
attempt to prove that Australia was in fact discovered just a few years
before the first substantiated arrival of the Dutch in 1606 on the east
coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria.⁵ More importantly, Erédia’s varying
portrayals of *India Meridional* merit a critical examination because it
provides an excellent object lesson to those who, especially in the
field of the history of cartography, too readily accept superficial,
apparent evidence, without adequate research. The use of such evi-
dence has been too frequently used in order to support preconceived
ideas or hypotheses. Erédia himself did precisely this. It should not
really be necessary to point out that close examination of place-names on maps, and of relevant textual material in the original language(s) is essential if an informed study is to be made.

Unfortunately, we have to rely almost exclusively on Erédia’s own works for information on his life, and especially on a very brief, six-page manuscript autobiography. His own evaluation of himself given above makes clear why such information should be treated with caution. He was born in Malacca in 1563, of mixed Portuguese and Macassarese parentage. He received a Jesuit education in Malacca and Goa, becoming, from 1579–1580, a member of the order. He then left it to devote himself mainly to mineral prospecting and cosmography. He drew maps, of Asia and the East Indies in particular, which replaced, in his own words, “the old drawings in the world maps and atlases by new chorographical representations of Cathay and Meridional India.” In pursuance of a fervent desire to become a discoverer, he says that he sent some of these maps to the king of Spain. As a result, he says, a royal order was issued by Philip III on 14th February 1594, instructing him to discover India Meridional. It may be observed that Philip III did not come to the throne until 1598; accuracy, especially with figures, was not Erédia’s strong point. Evidently he made little progress with plans for an expedition to carry out this instruction until 1601 when, with the apparent support of the Viceroy, D. Francisco da Gama and his successor, Aires de Saldanha, he left Goa for Malacca to undertake his voyage of discovery. However, he was unlucky, because revolts by the Malays against Portuguese rule, and Dutch incursions into SE Asian waters caused him to be involved in defence measures in the area. It is clear from his own writings that he never set out on his projected voyage, but spent much of his spare time writing to Philip III in an attempt to get support for his enterprise. He died, undoubtedly a very disappointed man, in 1623, or possibly a year or two earlier.

The first of his three surviving reports, the Informação Verdadeira da Auroa Chersoneso, from internal evidence must date from the late 1590s. It consists of a reasonably level-headed account of the Malay peninsula, Sumatra, Java Major (i.e., Java), Borneo, Macassar (i.e. Sulawesi), the Moluccas etc. However, it also includes a description of Java Minor, derived from Marco Polo’s writings. Until the late 16th century practically nobody realised that Marco Polo, by the name Java Minor, actually meant what we know as Sumatra, but more of that anon.

Erédia also includes in this work at least three accounts which bear witness to what was evidently an outstanding feature of his personality, a naive tendency to accept tall stories at their face value.
Figure 1. "A cartographical nightmare..."
One concerns the discovery, on an island east of Gilolo (i.e. Halmahera), of carbuncle stones, reputedly obtained from the heads of a type of civet cat. They were supposedly so brilliant that they were used widely at night-time for illumination! The truth of this is stated to have been vouched for by numerous people, including a certain Captain Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque. Another tale in the same work gives details of how the king of Bali possessed a Cão de Carbunculos (carbuncle dog) which, besides its own two natural eyes, had two others which shone so brightly at night that lamps and torches could be dispensed with. This is stated to have been vouched for by a certain Paulo de Bale, one of the king’s Christian pages. The third story concerns the finding of an Ilha do Oro [sic.] [Isle of Gold], south of Timor, of which more will be said later.

Erédia’s second work, the Declaracum de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay (1613), is divided into three parts. The first deals in some detail with the Malay peninsula; the second, which concerns us here, deals with the area south of Indonesia; the third is not relevant to our purpose and much of it is sheer nonsense.

Of the third work, the Tratado Ophirico (1616), only the section dealing with India Meridional and Erédia’s autobiography are really worth a second glance.

There are 39 maps in the Declaracum and 11 in the Tratado. Of the remainder of his known surviving ones, 137 are in a privately-owned atlas in Lisbon, 22 are in the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro and one or two are elsewhere.

J. V. Mills, his English translator, proclaimed one map (Fig. 1) to be “a cartographical nightmare”, whence my title, but the same description could fittingly be applied to many of his maps, and not least to those which purport to portray India Meridional. His writings, and more particularly the two later works, are an astounding jumble of ill-digested facts and rumours derived from a variety of sources, with several repetitions and contradictions, all put together in a chaotic style. It is, in fact, almost impossible to make any sense of some of his maps without a close study of the Declaracum and the Tratado.

Some progress was made recently in solving a few of the puzzles presented by Erédia’s texts and maps, in connection with the strange inscription PORTVGVEZES / com Artelharia. ano 1606 (“Portuguese with artillery, in the year 1606”) on a stretch of non-existent coastline on one map (Fig. 2), his account of the Dutch discovery of the descendants of Portuguese wreck survivors there, the voyage of the São Paulo, and the reported discovery of Psitacorum regio [the “Land of Parrots”]. It is the object of this article to solve a few more such
puzzles. The very nature of much of Erédia's "evidence" for the existence of India Meridional, means that some of his enigmas will probably never be solved with any degree of certainty.

Erédia was to all intents and purposes unknown until the latter part of the 19th century. In 1786, the English hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple had first suggested that the landmass of Jave-la-Grande which appeared south of Indonesia, exclusively on some of the French, mid-16th century Dieppe maps, was a representation of Australia.\(^1\) The presence of inscriptions of Portuguese origin suggested that the Portuguese had been responsible for its discovery, even though no surviving Portuguese maps or written records give any grounds for believing that Portuguese navigators had reached Australia in the 16th century.

In 1861, another Englishman, R. H. Major, then curator of maps in the British Museum, and an enthusiastic advocate of the Portuguese "discovery" of Australia, admitted that the case had not been conclusively proved. However, he said he had just found authenticated proof that a Portuguese had reached Australia in 1601.\(^2\) His "proof" consisted of an inscription on what he realised was a poor, modern copy of a much older world map which, from internal evidence, he suggested had been made between 1616 and 1627\(^3\) (Fig. 3). The inscription on the copy reads: \textit{Nvca / antara foi / descuberta o ano de 1601 / por manoel godinho de / Eredia por mandado / do Vico}
Rey Aires / de Saldaha ("Nuca Antara was discovered in the year 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Erédia on the order[s] of the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha"). The inscription is sited on a stretch of coastline very roughly in the vicinity of where Australia’s NW coast really is. Immediately south of it is another inscription, against a north-south trending coastline that does not actually join the other one. This inscription reads: Terra descuberta pelos Holan / deses a que chama-rað Endracht ou / Cócordia ("Land discovered by the Dutch which they called Eendracht or Concord"). Because of the proximity of these two inscriptions, the conclusion seemed obvious to Major: Erédia had discovered Australia’s north coast five years before the Duyfken sailed down the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and fifteen before the Dutch had found the Australian west coast.

By 1873 Major, on the strength of his own incredibly ill-informed and superficial examination of some of the place-names on
the Jave-la-Grande "continent" on the Dieppe maps, decided that that "discovery" had not, after all, been made by the Portuguese, but by French, probably Provençal, navigators. In the same year, having become acquainted with Erédia's Declaracam de Malaca, Major admitted that he had been wrong about Erédia having reached Australia in 1601, and he used very forceful language, concluding that Erédia was a liar and a fraud. Major himself was at fault in having leapt to the sensational conclusion that Erédia had discovered Australia, on the basis of a single, unsubstantiated statement on one particular map, which he himself recognised was a poor copy of an earlier one.

Erédia, intent upon becoming the descobridor of India Meridional, set about gathering all the information he could about the area south of Indonesia. In 1606, his compatriot, Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, was successful in discovering what he declared was part of the southern continent in the South Pacific, though it was actually only Vanuatu. He bombarded Philip III with memoriales, highly exaggerated accounts of his discovery, designed to persuade the king to provide financial and other support to enable him to proceed with further discoveries and to settle the "fourth part of the world." The economic state of the vast joint Spanish and Portuguese empires was such that the Crown had no desire to acquire further territories; it could not adequately defend those it already had, so the support that he sought was not forthcoming. Erédia had even less success. Queirós had at least discovered something, while Erédia had not. He therefore had to rely on any information which could be interpreted as confirming the existence of the India Meridional he sought to discover. As I have already pointed out, he was not exactly judicious in his acceptance of supposed evidence. The possibility that the "facts" provided by his sources might be wrong seems not to have occurred to him, nor did he realise that facts which were originally correct could have undergone radical alteration in the course of transmission. Though at times quite observant, Erédia was on occasions astonishingly unobservant, naive, careless, especially with numbers, illogical and self-contradictory. Moreover, he seems to have been prepared to manufacture "evidence", as can, I think, be demonstrated.

All historians have to rely on the accuracy of their sources, or prove beyond reasonable doubt that their informants are wrong, or themselves misinformed. Some informants, of course, are deliberate liars for one reason or another. Cartographers also had to rely on the information they could glean from a variety of sources. The earlier ones, particularly when dealing with little-known parts of the world, were in a very difficult position, because of the difficulty of checking
the not infrequently contradictory nature of the information at their disposal.

Erédia was not in a position to do so, nor was Gerard Mercator, one of his major sources. Both believed in the age-old theory that there must be a vast landmass in the southern hemisphere to counterbalance that known to exist to the north of the Equator. Both, therefore, were predisposed to accept any information that could be construed as confirming that belief, just as Major had been with regard to the pre-Dutch "discovery" of Australia by other Europeans.

Mercator was the creator of the most famous graphic representation of such a landmass, and it was Major himself who, in 1873, identified Mercator's source for that portion of it south of Indonesia, namely a defective Latin text of Marco Polo's Travels, published in near twin editions of a travel literature compendium, the Novus Orbis Regionum, published in Paris and Basle in 1532. One vital error in a strategic context, the substitution of the word Champa (a kingdom in central Vietnam) by the word Java, caused a number of lands and islands actually in SE Asia, to appear to be situated south of Java, not south of Vietnam, where Marco Polo had originally quite correctly described them as being. Many of the place-names in the area, as derived from Marco Polo, with the exception of Java itself, differed so markedly from the names as known in 16th century Europe from Portuguese sources, that the error was not discovered. Mercator, therefore, on his globe gores of 1541, depicted SE Asia more or less as it was known from Portuguese sources, but also produced imaginative coastal outlines of countries and islands south of Java, and attached Marco Polo's names to them. Jacopo Gastaldi did the same, but his versions of these places south of Indonesia differed significantly from those portrayed by Mercator. Two of the names in particular caused great confusion. Marco Polo had adopted Arab usage, and referred to Sumatra by the name Java Minor; since this was apparently not realised by anyone until the 1590s, there was widespread conjecture regarding the real identity of Java Minor. Some cartographers applied it to Java itself, some to Bali, some to Sumbawa, and at least one, Alonso de Santa Cruz, to Borneo, while Mercator and Gastaldi invented an island with that name south of Indonesia. Marco Polo’s kingdom of Lucach or Locach, probably a kingdom in peninsular Thailand centred on what the Portuguese knew as Ligor (now Nakhon Si Thammarat), was misprinted in the 1532 editions as Boech or Boëach. Mercator simplified the spelling of this name to Beach. Some cartographers did not realise that Lucach, Locach and Beach were really one and the same place, so some maps show more than one version attached to the landmass south of Indonesia. Gastaldi’s portrayal
of the area did not get nearly as extensively publicised as did Mercator's through its appearance on his famous 1569 world map, and especially through Ortelius's adaptation of it in his famous 1570 atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.*

Marco Polo’s description of Java as being a very large island led to its being known as Great Java, Java Major, *Jawa maior, Jave-lagrande* etc. The Portuguese usually referred to it as *Jawa* (modern Indonesian *Jawa*), though it was spelled in an astonishing number of other ways, such as *Iawa, Iahoa, Jaaooa, Jaóa, Iaoa* and *gauaa.* Whenever they used the term *Java maior,* irrespective of its spelling, they consistently applied it to Java itself, with the sole exception of Erédia, who sometimes did and sometimes did not.

Erédia’s at least partial acceptance of Mercator’s Marco Polo-derived southern continent is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of Abraham Ortelius’s version of it (Fig. 4) with two of Erédia’s world maps (Figs. 5 and 6). Erédia also gives explicit descriptions of it both in the *Declaraciam de Malaca* and the *Tratado Ophirico.* Thus in the former he writes:

*India Meridional* is that mainland that extends from the promontory of *Beach,* province of gold, in 16 degrees south latitude, to the Tropic of Capricorn and the Antarctic Circle, with many and very extensive Provinces, *Maletur* and *Lucach* and other unknown ones in that Sea in which is situated the island called *Iawa minor...* with other adjacent islands, like *Petan, Necuran, Agania...*

It is obvious that he did not realise that *Beach* and *Lucach* were one and the same place. In the *Tratado Ophirico* the wording is much the same, but it also contains some additional information, for he says that “the mainland of *Lucach* [which is part of *India Meridional*]... extends as far as the Land of Parrots, the *Pithacorum regio.*” The name of this non-existent land, portrayed on Mercator’s 1541 globe gores, his 1569 world map, and numerous other maps copied or adapted from the former, has been shown to have been due to the transference to his southern continent of an inscription originally applied to Brazil, through a series of misconceptions and misplacements by four different cartographers.

On one of Erédia’s world maps (Fig. 6) which, to judge from internal dating, must have been made in 1609 or later, he incorporates a representation of the area south of Java obviously derived from Mercator, with his Marco Polo names on it, though with the addition of one other, *LVSANTARA,* on the *Beach* promontory. To the east of it is an inscription reading *MANOEL GODINHO / DE EREDIA for / pruido pa. descobrir / esta noua yndia / meridional por o Vizorey ares / de*
Figure 4. Part of Ortelius’s 1570 map

saldanha / ano 1600 [“Manoel Godinho de Erédia was ordered to discover this new Southern India by the Viceroy Aires de Saldanha in the year 1600”].

On another of his world maps (Fig. 2), apparently made slightly
Figure 5. One of Erédia’s world maps

Figure 6. Another Erédia map
later than the previous one, the southern continental outline is likewise derived from Mercator, though it has undergone a few changes. The break in it south of South America probably reflects knowledge of the passage of Schouten and Le Maire to the south of Tierra del Fuego in 1606. The strange inscription PORTVGVEZES com Artelharia. ano. 1606 has been accounted for elsewhere. In the context of INEA. MERIDIONAL, the most interesting feature is the shape of what had been Mercator's Beach promontory, and the fact that it now bears only one name, lucaantara; in addition there is the inscription INEA. MERIDIONAL / descoberta. anno. 1601 ("Southern India discovered in the year 1601"). It should be noted that the "discoverer" is not named. The supposed justification for this inscription will be explained later.

Another of Erédia's maps, his NOVA TAVOA HYDROGRAPHICA DO MAR / DE NOVAS TERAS DO SVL ("New hydrographic map of the sea [and] new southern lands"), dated 1602 (Fig. 1), the one referred to by Mills as "a cartographical nightmare", gives an entirely different and much more detailed representation of part of Indonesia and the area south of it; it does not extend far enough south to include the mainland of Beach. A fictitious version of the Marco Polo island of IAVA. MINOR is there, though it is also given the alternative name of LVCA. ANTARA. This latter name is but a spelling variant of the name we have seen applied to versions of the Beach peninsula on two of his world maps (Figs. 2 and 6), as lucaantara and LUSANTARA respectively. On this 1602 NOVA TAVOA map (Fig. 1), NNE of the inscription IAVA. MINOR / VE L ["or"] / LVCA. ANTARA, is a small island named LVCA. VEA. Below it is an explanatory text: Luca. Vea ou beach he aquella / antiga Provincia de ouro reco / nhecida polios Pescadores de sabo ("Luca Vea, or Beach is that ancient Province explored by the fishermen of Sawu"). Erédia's confusion over the identity of both Beach and Lvsantara etc. is only too clear. His problem is firstly that he has derived his "erudite" information from two different sources, Mercator, as we have seen, and another, apparently hitherto unrecognised source, Jacopo Gastaldi. Erédia's indebtedness to the latter is obvious if one compares his NOVA TAVOA (Fig. 1) with one of Gastaldi's maps of the same area (Fig. 7). Into the resulting muddle of two sources Erédia then tried to fit information derived from a misunderstood and undoubtedly faulty reading of Marco Polo, and other information apparently derived mainly from Indonesian sources about reputed voyages in the area, such as those whose routes he outlines on Fig. 1. But it was, above all, the name Lvsantara, in its various renderings, which presented him with problems, as the identity of Java Minor
did to many other cartographers besides himself.

However, before dealing with Lusantara and local voyages, it is worth examining in some detail both Erédia’s NOVA TAVOA (Fig. 1) and the Gastaldi source on which it was based (Fig. 7), and then Erédia’s personal interpretation of Marco Polo’s narrative. Erédia’s NOVA TAVOA portrays the real islands of IAVA. MAIOR [Java], in an astonishingly inaccurate representation,\textsuperscript{42} bale (Bali), with an extra luça bale south of it, BIMA (Sumbawa), ENDE (Flores), Solor, TIMOR, Sumba, Rajoan (Rajua), and Sabo (Sawu). All the other islands bear Marco Polo’s names transferred from some version of Gastaldi’s portrayal of the area, with a few other names added, P. cambin,\textsuperscript{43} P. ubior and LVCA. VEA (ou beach). As for IAP, to which Erédia has added OVRO (“gold”), crauo e sandalo (“cloves” and sandalwood”), products supposedly obtainable there, he has definitely copied its name and position from Gastaldi. The fact that Erédia put the first of these products in capital letters led several writers to believe that was its name. Despite the fact that Erédia added another inscription below it reading Iap. he aquella ilha de ouro, crauo mapa e sandalo reconhecida pelos chinas (“Iap is that island of gold, clovés, mace and sandalwood reconnoitred by the Chinese”),\textsuperscript{44} it is almost certainly a representation of the island of Yap, mistakenly placed south of the Equator, in just the same way as some version of Cimpeghu (“Japan”) was on so many mid-16th century maps, as a result of misinformation deriving from Antonio Pigafetta.\textsuperscript{45}

The date of Gastaldi’s map (Fig. 7) is not known, but the features on it must be at least as early as his Il disegno della terza parte dell Asia of 1561 on which he had shown a large island named GIAVA MENORE southeast of GIAVA MAGIORE [Java].\textsuperscript{46} He surrounded it with other islands bearing Marco Polo’s names, Malaiur, Petana, Condur, Sondaru, Nocuran, and the twin versions Angaman and Anganian. Their real identities are respectively: the Malay peninsula, Bintan(g) south of Singapore, the Con Son islands off the Mekong delta of Vietnam, and the Nicobar and Andaman islands in the Bay of Bengal. Gastaldi, like Mercator, had also represented several of these places more or less in their correct positions, but with spellings of their names significantly different from those of Marco Polo.\textsuperscript{47}

On his nine sheet world map of ca 1561 Gastaldi gave variant versions of the same places, but this time south of IAVA.MAGIORE, between it and the “mainland” of LVCAHC, his misspelled equivalent of Mercator’s Beach / Lucach.\textsuperscript{48} On all three of these Gastaldi maps there is shown an island named Iap or Lap somewhere to the east of his depictions of Java Minor.

Erédia’s summary of his interpretation of Marco Polo’s voyage
derived from one of the faulty texts of his *Travels* is worth quoting at length, because of its relevance for his conception of *India Meridional*. It will, I think, be obvious that Erédia is interpreting Marco Polo's descriptions of the places on or near his actual route through the South China Sea, the Strait of Malacca and the Bay of Bengal, to India and beyond, in the light of both Mercator's and Gastaldi's quite different graphic representations of their positions. What follows is my own literal translation of the relevant passage in Erédia's *Declara-
cam de Malaca*: "It is to be noted that in 1269, Marco Polo the Venetian...set out with his father from Venice and Constantinople to see the world."⁴⁹ Then, with no indication of the passage of time, he continues:

(f. 50r) from the port of Chinsay he embarked on a junk...for Java Major [Bantan and Sunda], where through the gulf and straits of Bali, between certain islands, Sondur and Condur, he proceeded southwards to the Province of Beach, Land of Gold, where there is such a quantity of this metal that the savage native Jaos [i.e. lit. "Javanese", then more loosely "Indonesians"] use lumps of earth or gold nuggets as money; thence he set out to the island of Petan, producing aromatics; and leaving to the west the shoals of Maletur, a land of spices, he passed to the south till he arrived [f. 50v] in the island of Java Minor, a fertile and fresh land, filled with forests of clove[s], nutmeg, and white and red sandalwood, and a vast quantity of camphor and other aromatics and spices never seen in Europe... This island produces great elephants, and rhinoceroses or badas, and other remarkable and valuable animals, and monkeys of such a shape as to look like human dwarfs.

And the island is governed by eight kings and satraps: Marco Polo the Venetian personally visited the following six kingdoms: Ferlech, Basman, Samara, Dragoian, Fansur and Lambri. The people were idolaters: though in Ferlech he found Mouros [i.e. Moslems]: from which it may be inferred that the sea route to *India Meridional* was open and that the inhabitants of the sea coast are civilized and tractable, but not the people of the interior [who] were savage and cannibals, consumers of human flesh.

Further to the south are situated the islands of Necuran [and] Agania, very prolific in clove[s], nutmeg, sandalwood, and all kinds of spices...

Still further south, running southeast and [south?]west, lies the mainland of Lucach: This must be the same continent on which the peninsula of Beach, Province of Gold, is situated.

And to the west lie the islands of Angaman major and minor, or Lucatambini, inhabited by women, and Lucapiatto, which is uninhabited.

Although Marco Polo the Venetian did not state precisely the degree of latitude of Java Minor, he declares that he could not see the
constellation of Ursa Minor from the point of Samara, by which he shows us that Java Minor is situated more or less on the Tropic of Capricorn...

And also the Lontares and Annals of Java mention India Meridional and its commerce and trade, as is recorded in the poems and popular songs and stories of the Empire of Mattaron [in central Java] in which is mentioned that ancient sea-route from Java Major to Java Minor [f. 51r] where was the greatest trading centre in the world because of gold.

And not only did merchants from Gram Cathay [Great Cathay, i.e. Northern China] frequent those ports, but also from China Man-sim [Manzi, i.e. Southern China], the Archipelago, Indostan and Egypt: as it is noted that those Mouros in the port of Ferlech came long before the arrival of Marco Polo in 1295.

This trade and commerce later ceased because of the outbreak of convulsive wars, so that maritime communication between Java Major and Java Minor ceased for 331 years, and they were not able to communicate with each other until the year 1600. In this year, by the just decision of God, it happened that a boat from Lucaantara in India Meridional, carried out of its course by storms and currents, reached Arenon and arrived at the port of Balambuan in Java (of Bantan and Sunda); where the king of that maritime coast, in the presence of some Portuguese who happened to be there, treated them well and received them hospitably.⁵⁰

This long passage requires a number of comments. Firstly, Marco Polo's account states that he set out from Zaiton, not Quinsay, and makes no mention whatsoever of his having set out for Java [Major]; in fact it is fairly evident that he never went there; nor did he go to Locach/Beach; his information about them is secondhand. Erédia's interpretation of his route is assumed on account of the Cham-pa/Java textual error. Gastaldi (Fig. 7) also records Condur and Sondaru [cf. Erédia's spelling on Fig. 1], but south of GIAVA MI/NORE, not south of Bali, as Erédia's narrative version of Marco Polo places them. Consequently, on yet another of his map interpretations of the India Meridional area, included in his Declaraciam de Malaca [Fig. 8] he places condor and sondur west of the unnamed island of Timor and thus south of Java and Bali [N.B. south is at the top on this map]. His reference to the Province of Beach, Land of Gold appears to be derived from Mercator's 1569 map inscription, Beach provincia aurifera ["Beach, gold-bearing province"], itself based on Marco Polo's description of Locach/Beach. Erédia evidently deduced from this that Beach actually meant "gold", for in narrating an account of a supposed voyage of people from Ende (Flores) to a quite small island named Locus Vea or Beach, (their supposed route is shown on Fig. 1),
he says that it bore that name because *luca significa Ilha, e Veach de Ouro, entre os Naturaes de Ende e Sabbo e Java* ["Luça [i.e. Nuça] means Island, and Veach [i.e. Beach] means Gold amongst the natives of Flores and Sawu and Java"]).\(^{51}\) It will be observed that on this map and in the corresponding text, for some unexplained reason, he spells the name as *Vea*, giving *beach* as an alternative spelling.

*Nuça*, now spelled *nusa*, is in fact the Javanese word for "island", *luça* being a variant version of it which can be seen on numerous Portuguese maps covering parts of Indonesia.\(^{52}\) Extensive research failed to find any word even remotely resembling *Beach* or *Veach* meaning "gold" in a number of SE Asian languages and dialects,\(^{53}\) so Erédia's statement to the effect that *Beach* meant "gold" must be as a result of one of his numerous false assumptions. His reference to the inhabitants of *Beach* as *Jaos* (i.e. Indonesians) he presumably deduced from the erroneous positioning of *Beach/Locach* south of Indonesia.

He clearly did not realise that *Agania* was a misrendering of *āgama*, and was therefore yet another version of what he had elsewhere written as *Angania* and *Angaman* (i.e. Andaman). Marco Polo only mentions one *Angaman* Island; the Indonesian names which Erédia attached as alternative names to two *Angaman* islands, he derived from a local, probably traditional (legendary?) narrative of a

*Figure 8. Another Erédia map, with south at the top*
voyage from Malacca, through the Strait of Bali, between Java and Bima [Sumbawa], first to an island called Lucatambini, inhabited by Amazons, and then to another, supposedly uninhabited island, Lucapiatto, with numerous abandoned brick and stone buildings.\textsuperscript{54} Legendary tales of the separation of men and women on different islands are to be found in several cultures.\textsuperscript{55}

The details concerning Java Minor derive undoubtedly from Marco Polo and possibly, if we are to believe Erédia, from traditional Javanese sources. The interruption in trade between Java Major and Java Minor for 331 years has puzzled many people, but the explanation is ridiculously simple. It provides an excellent example of Erédia's amazing carelessness and the weakness of his logic. If one subtracts 331 from 1600 one gets 1269, the date that Erédia himself gives for Marco Polo's departure from Venice. Erédia had undoubtedly intended to state that between 1295, when Marco Polo had witnessed the involvement of Moslems in Java Minor's flourishing overseas trade, and 1600, all trade between the two islands had ceased. This would have meant that it had ceased for 305 years. However, he confused the date of Marco Polo's presence in Java Minor [1295] with that of his departure from Venice [1269] and subtracted 1269, not 1295, from 1600! Erédia was not aware of this careless slip even in 1616, for in the \textit{Tratado Ophirico} he stated that "Moslems were found at Ferliche [one of the kingdoms in Java Minor mentioned by Marco Polo] in 1269."\textsuperscript{56} Marco Polo had actually reported them there in 1295.

Erédia gives no explanation for his apparent belief that trade between Java Major and Java Minor ceased in 1295 [or 1269], nor for the "fact" that "convulsive wars" were responsible. His selection of 1600 as the year in which trade between them recommenced must be due to his assumption, shown on his 1602 \textit{NOVA TAVOA} map (Fig. 1), that IAVA. MINOR and LVCA. ANTARA were one and the same place. He assumed that the vessel that reached Balambuan in Java in 1600 from "lucaantara in India Meridional" marked the renewal of contact between them.

Astonishingly, no sooner has he dealt with this supposed cessation of contact, than he forgets his basic assumption for making it, namely that LVCA. ANTARA and IAVA. MINOR were one and the same place. How?

The vessel that arrived at Balambuan from "lucaantara in India Meridional" in 1600 is said to have caused such a sensation in Java that a local rajah, Chiaymasiuro, set off to "discover" it. He supposedly returned in 1601 with a detailed account of his voyage and "discovery."\textsuperscript{57} However, his report of the distance between Balambuan and lucaantara did not fit in with Mercator's Marco Polo-derived
conception of where Java Minor was, on the Tropic of Capricorn. He therefore states: “Lucauntara must be the general name for the peninsula on which were situated the Kingdoms of Beach and Maletur ... so lusauntara cannot be the Java Minor of Marco Polo.” Such muddled, self-contradictory logic is typical of much of his work, but his conclusion above does explain the presence of lusauntara on the peninsula on his world map (Fig. 2), but not its presence, together with beach de ouro, maletur and JAVA MAIOR on yet another map (Fig. 9).

Erédia’s confusion over the identity of Java Minor and Beach/Locach is understandable, for many other writers and cartographers were also puzzled by them. But his confusion over the identity of Java Major (Java maior) is less easy to account for. Throughout his Informação da Aurea Chersoneso and his Declaracem de Malaca, whenever he used the term Iawa maior, he applied it, as did all other Portuguese, to the island we know as Java. Sometimes in those two texts he added a selection of the names Bantan, Sunda, Mataron and Surubaya, which are all in Java, to ensure its correct identification.

However, at the beginning of his Tratado Ophirico (1616), in a description of India Meridional which differs somewhat from that given in the Declaracem de Malaca, he states: “India Meridional is that mainland of Lucach which extends southwards via the Tropic of Capricorn and the Antarctic Circle to the Polar Sphere. Since extends to
the Region of Parrots, *Pithacorum regio*, together with *Iava maior* of Beach or lucaantara, and with *Iava menor* of spices and other neighbouring islands like Petan, Necuran, Agania....”  

As in the *Declaracam de Malaca* account of Marco Polo’s voyage, so in the *Tratado Ophirico* version of it, he completely misunderstood his route, mainly because of the Champa/Java and Beach/Locach errors. The relevant part reads: “at the port of Quinsay...he embarked on a junk...for the *Iava of Mataron* port of bantan of sunda [sic., i.e. presumably, “the Java which contains Mataron and the port of Bantan in Sunda”] whence, through the strait and channels of bale between certain islands, sondur and condur he passed into the South Sea, and landed in *Iava maior* of Beach or Veach, land of Gold.”  
Later on he continues: “The *Iava maior* of Beach was of [i.e. “was involved in”] the trade in Gold, being a land with much Gold, called Veach by the native Javanese who inhabit those Islands.”

Now Erédia, like many of his contemporaries, had a fixation upon gold, and his change of mind over the identification of *Iava maior* seems to be associated with it. He appears to have made two false assumptions. As for the first, he says: “This *Iava maior* is called Iauadi or Iauadiua, land of gold, by Ptolemy, as he shows on his map 12.” Versions of the latter two names do figure against islands south of Ptolemy’s *Aurea Chersonesus*, but no indication of their (its) meaning is provided on that map; what is more, in his text, Ptolemy quite correctly states that the name means “island of barley.” Erédia’s second false assumption, as we saw earlier, is that Mercator’s Marco Polo-derived *Beach Provincia Aurifera* implied that Beach actually meant “Land of Gold”. Whence Erédia seems to have applied the following logic. If *Iava maior* is Ptolemy’s *Iauadiua* and means “Land of Gold”, and Mercator’s *Beach* means “Land of Gold”, (neither assumption being correct), then *Iava maior* and *Beach* must be one and the same place. Since he had already concluded that Mercator’s *Beach* and *Maletur* were part of the same landmass as *LVCAANTARA*, then *Iava maior* must be also!

This incredible confusion over *Iava maior* is graphically illustrated on a map included in the *Tratado Ophirico* (Fig. 9), for on it there appear no less than three Javas, *IAVA de Mataron*, *IAVA MAIOR* and *IAVA / MINOR*. The map combines a version of part of Mercator’s *LVCA* with four of Gastaldi’s Marco Polo islands, Petan, Nesuran [sic], Agania and *IAVA / MINOR*, and a large island representation of *LVCAANTARA* which also bears the names *IAVA / MAIOR*, beach. / de ouro (“Beach of gold”) and *maletur*. Against this island there is the inscription “Por ordem do Descobridor Manuel godinho de Heredia / esta descoberta lucaantara: no anno 1610” [“On the order[s] of the
Discoverer Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *lucaantara* is discovered in [the] year 1610”). Incidentally, the title *Descobridor* Erédia bestowed upon himself.

On Erédia’s *LVCAC.* / *Terra firme* [his southern landmass], the two strange inscriptions *Gente branca.* / *agreste malvestida* (“Poorly-dressed white peasants”) and *Gente branca.* / *vestida de chimois* (“White people dressed in chimois”) are connected with the *PORTVGVEZES* / *com Arthariaria anno. 1606* inscription on Erédia’s version of Mercator’s southern continent on Fig. 2. All three derive from Erédia’s imaginative interpretation of the rumoured discovery by a Dutch vessel in 1606 of the descendants of survivors of a Portuguese shipwreck in 1503. Though they were almost certainly found on the coast of Madagascar, Erédia’s wishful thinking seized upon the confused rumour to claim that they had been found on part of the southern continent actually invented by Mercator, but which he, Erédia, dreamed of discovering.64

The inscription on Fig. 9 quoted above, concerning the discovery of *lucaantara* in 1610, makes clear that the map concerned was primarily designed to illustrate the secret journey supposedly undertaken in 1610 by Erédia’s unnamed servant on his specific orders. From the south coast of Java, here called *JAVA de Mataran*, the servant is said to have sailed to *LUCANTARA* and back. His supposed route is marked by a dotted line on Fig. 9. An account of the journey is given twice in the *Tratado Ophirico*, once by Erédia himself, and once in what purports to be a copy of a letter written to him by his servant from the south coast of Java on 14th August 1610, after his return from his expedition. Both accounts follow immediately after Erédia has given an abridged version of the *Declaram de Malaca* version of Chiaymansiuro’s supposed voyage to *lucaantara* in 1600–1601.65 Erédia introduces his own account of his servant’s voyage thus:

and with this information the Discoverer Manuel Godinho de Erédia gave secret orders to a servant of his to proceed in disguise and incognito to *Java of Mataran*, of *Bantar of Sunda* [i.e. Java] to acquire better information about this enterprise [i.e. Chiaymansiuro’s voyage] on the *contracosta* or south coast of *Java* in that great bay of Fishermen.66

Suffice it to say that the servant is reported to have got to *Lucaantara* with some fishermen and “confirmed the truth of Chiaymansiuro’s account” of the place, even though, strangely enough, he found no inhabitants.67 One wonders how he could have confirmed Chiaymansiuro’s account if he found no one to provide him with information.

Several questions arise in connection with this story. Firstly, if
Chiaymiasiuro’s voyage took place in 1600–1601, and Erédia clearly states that his instructions to his servant were given after hearing of Chiaymiasiuro’s voyage, why did the servant’s voyage not take place until 1610? Admittedly Erédia was careless about dates, as we have seen, so one might imagine that 1610 was a slip for 1601. However, whether the servant’s supposed voyage occurred in 1601 or 1610, why is there no mention of it whatsoever in the Declaracam de Malaca of 1613? Most of what Erédia wrote about India Meridional in the Declaracam is repeated in one form or another in the Tratado of 1616. Why the omission from the former of the one piece of “evidence” that reflects most creditably on his personal initiative? He was hardly a self-effacing man, to judge from his description of himself quoted in the opening sentence of this article. One cannot help but suspect that the whole story about his servant’s activities was concocted after 1613 to lend yet further support to his case, and to add to the impact of the account of Chiaymiasiuro’s voyage of “discovery”. In the Declaracam he had given his own account of that voyage, backed up by Chiaymiasiuro’s own account in his supposed letter to the “King” of Pam (Pahang), and by what purports to be a copy of Pedro de Carvalhães’s sworn attestation of having heard Chiaymiasiuro’s account from him personally. One may legitimately wonder how Erédia managed to lay hands on a personal letter from a Javaneous raja to a Malayan sultan! He offers no explanation. As for the Carvalhães document, which is stated to have been drawn up at Erédia’s request, and is dated 4 October 1601, it has been suggested that this must be genuine since a respected government official would hardly put his name to a false one. Maybe, but it might have been done as a joke, to pander to the whim of a man who was so obviously one-track-minded, and decidedly gullible. I have been unable to find out anything about Pedro de Carvalhães, not even whether he really existed. In any case it is strange that the “document”, which Erédia asked for to back up the Chiaymiasiuro story in his Declaracam of 1613, is dated 4th October 1601! If Carvalhães did exist, he may well have been dead by 1613, in which case Erédia could have used his name to vouch for the truth of an event of dubious veracity, without fear of exposure. Name-dropping is not an exclusively modern habit. We have seen that Erédia provided the names of “witnesses” to testify to the “truth” of such tall stories as the source and properties of the carbuncle stones and the nocturnal illumination provided by the Carbuncle Dog in Bali! In the letter said to have been written from Java by his unidentified servant, the name of Bishop João Ribeiro Gaio is dragged in in such a way as to apparently authenticate the story.

Explanations have already been provided for the confusions
involved in the misunderstandings over the identities of Java Minor, Java maior, Beach and Locach. The “Land of Parrots” has been explained elsewhere.\textsuperscript{71} One other vital name remains to be dealt with.

Considerable efforts were made to identify Lucaantara by an examination of Erédia’s muddled texts and its variant locations on his different maps.\textsuperscript{72} It does not seem to have occurred to anyone to look at the name itself. Erédia was quite correct in identifying luça or nuça (mod. Javanese nusa) as meaning “island”. Most of those who are really familiar with Indonesia today can hardly fail to know that Antara is the name of the official Indonesian government newsagency. They will probably also know B. M. Vlekke’s Nusantara, a History of the East Indian Archipelago.\textsuperscript{73} The word antara means “other”. So the combination nusantara means “another island” or “other islands”. If either of the voyages to lucaantara which Erédia mentions actually did take place, and it seems somewhat improbable, it is hardly surprising that it has proved difficult to identify it. Erédia’s own apparent failure to recognise the meaning of this “name” casts further doubt on his already dubious reliability. It seems impossible that a Javanese rajah could really have “discovered” an island, which he reported to be as large as Java, and was, from the description, undoubtedly an Indonesian one, have conversed with its inhabitants and local officials, and then returned triumphantly to Java without even having found out its name! How could Erédia’s servant possibly have known that he had been to the same island when he did not know its name either and encountered no inhabitants to converse with?

When one puts together all the doubts concerning the supposed voyages of both Chiaymashiuro and Erédia’s servant, the conclusion seems inescapable. Both must surely be fictional creations. The servant’s story seems to have been concocted after 1613 to strengthen Erédia’s case, but is so incompetently executed that its fictitious nature is only too obvious to the observant reader. It must also, surely, make one very suspicious of other narratives Erédia provides.

His incredible confusion over the “discovery” of the non-existent southern land called Psitacorum regio and the Dutch discovery of the descendants of Portuguese shipwreck survivors has already been referred to. The related confusion over the voyage of the São Paulo has been explored elsewhere.\textsuperscript{74}

Several of his accounts of supposed voyages are so short on detail that it is impossible to judge their veracity, especially since wishful thinking plays such a large role in the telling of them. Such is the story of the voyage of the Macao “Chinese” ship driven south from Timor by a storm\textsuperscript{75} and which is referred to in connection with IAP on his NOVA TAVOA map. Another is the account of Francisco de
Resende's ship from Malacca which, after loading sandalwood in Timor, was also driven south by a storm to "a land in the south inhabited by Jaos [i.e. Indonesians]...[who] must belong to the port of Beach." Despite the opposition of the locals, the crew, standing waist deep in water, picked up quantities of gold and are said to have got back to Malacca with it.\textsuperscript{56}

Then there is the story of another vessel from Malacca which was carried away by currents through Bali Strait and discovered Lucatambini, whose exclusively female inhabitants would not allow anyone to land. The same vessel, further south, discovered another, uninhabited island with elaborate buildings on it.\textsuperscript{77}

Two other tales are related in more detail. Thus Lamacheres fishermen from the island of Solor are said to have been driven by a storm to the south of Timor, and after five days reached the Ilha do Oro ("Isle of Gold"). While searching for water and food, yams and potatoes, they found so much gold that they filled their boat with it. Another storm drove them north to Ende (Flores) where they unloaded their gold. [Why they unloaded it there, rather than in their home island of Solor is unexplained.] The locals, in any case, were so impressed that they proposed to go back to the Ilha do Oro with the fishermen, but eventually did not go because, "out of ignorance they did not dare cross that Mar de Oro."\textsuperscript{78} Erédia concludes this story thus: "It appears that Almighty God reserved that task for the Cosmographer, Manuel Godinho de Erédia...so...for many reasons the Descobridor should be well provided for in order to undertake the enterprise of Gold."\textsuperscript{79} One could hardly have a clearer exposition of Erédia's motivation.

Another significant story concerns the people of Ende (Flores), who "frequently used the sea route from Ende to Luca Veach, land of gold."\textsuperscript{80} Some of the old locals related the case of one of their boats travelling to Luca Veach. In the vicinity of Sabbo (Sawu, west of Timor), they encountered a storm which did not allow them to put in there, or at Rajaom [Raijua] or Lucachancana [Nusa Chandana, "Sandalwood I." = Sumba]. After they had run some way before the storm, the weather cleared and they sighted Luca Veach. As they had had to jettison all their cargo except for some sivalla fruit, they traded these with the inhabitants who gave them gold in exchange. On their journey home they encountered another storm and had to jettison much of the gold. When they got to Sabbo, even the amount that they still had with them and unloaded there, astounded the inhabitants. [Why they unloaded it there rather than in their home island is not explained.] They proposed to go back to Luca Veach from Sabbo, but were unable to do so "owing to the ignorance of the people of Sabbo,
who did not know the latitude or appearance of Luca Veach."81

There are some obvious similarities between these two stories. Storms took both vessels to the Ilha do Oro or Luca Veach, (it is unclear whether they are meant to be one and the same island), both unloaded their gold in islands other than their own, and neither group was able to return, either from fear or from ignorance. And yet in the second case the inhabitants of Ende (Flores) were stated to have "frequently used the sea route from Ende to Luca Veach"! One may legitimately wonder why one particular ship from Ende was unable to find its way back to Luca Veach! Moreover, if the people of Ende were familiar with the route, why does Erédia himself not seem to have thought of trying to get that information from them?

The obliging Pedro de Carvalhães, who had been able so conveniently to oblige Erédia and "validate" the Chiyamasiuoro story on 4 October 1601, provided Erédia, on the same date, and again at his request, with yet another Certidam ("Certificate") to "validate" the Ende to Luca Veach story, as he just happened to have been the commanding officer of the Ende fortress at the time! The account varies somewhat from the version given by Erédia. For some unexplained reason they unloaded vast quantities of gold in Sabbo, and eventually managed to get back to Ende. Carvalhães, having heard of the voyage from the local Christian community, himself gave orders for the preparation of an expedition to go to Luca Veach, but at the last minute was persuaded by Dominican Fathers to cancel the project. Why? Because the Christians were "unacquainted with the sea route" and would be heading for "certain destruction and death."82 If both certificates are genuine copies of genuine documents, and the stories they purport to substantiate are also genuine, one may wonder why Erédia made no use of them until he came to write the Declaracam de Malaca in 1613? It is, of course, just possible that he did use them earlier in documents that have not survived, and used them again in 1613, but the apparent delay of some twelve years seems somewhat suspicious.

Once again it looks rather as though Erédia was inventing a story, and then providing a "validating" document to "confirm" the truth of it. In any case he seems not to have realised the basic illogicalities and contradictions between the different versions.

If, on the other hand, his accounts (stories?) are not his own inventions, the last two, at least, make it look suspiciously as though the Ilha do Oro is a SE Asian version of El Dorado. The three non-existent islands named de Ouro that are spread out westwards from northern Sumatra towards Sri Lanka on João Teixeira's charts83 are almost certainly the result of stories circulated among the Portuguese
by the inhabitants of Sumatra, to disguise the fact that the major source of gold was actually Sumatra itself. Erédia's inability to obtain any indication of the location of either the Ilha do Oro or Luca Veach would seem to suggest that he was an ambitious, but gullible man who would fall for any tale that appeared to confirm what he wanted to believe.

Opinions regarding Erédia, so far as his *India Meridional* writings and maps are concerned, vary considerably. Major vented his spleen on him, not least because he, Major, had made a fool of himself by too readily accepting uncorroborated evidence attributable to Erédia, to the effect that he had discovered Nuça Antara in 1601; it was, of course, Major's wishful thinking that equated Nuça Antara with Australia. Professor Luís de Albuquerque, in a personal communication dated 11th September 1991, referred to Erédia as um mitómano, which might be translated "an inveterate liar". He even believed his autobiography to be fantasista, presumably meaning that it was not devoid of fictional matter.

Mills, on the other hand, who had carried out a detailed examination of Erédia's works in the late 1920s, was not prepared to believe Major's assertion that Erédia and Pedro de Carvalhães between them had invented the whole story of the Chiaymasiuro voyage to *lucaantara*. He maintained that such a fabrication did not "accord with the character of the man...whose devoutness led to his admission into the Arch-Company of the Most Holy Sacred Conception. Above all, it seems almost inconceivable that a man of Erédia's intelligence should concoct a story, the falsity of which must, if his plans eventuated, inevitably be disclosed by himself."84 Professor Spate, writing in 1957, was also reluctant to believe that Pedro de Carvalhães would have authenticated accounts of two voyages, if he had known them to have been fictitious. Professor Spate was well aware that "His work is in large part a medley of incurable romanticism, mystical credulity, uncriticized fable", yet went on to state that "there can be little doubt that it includes a nucleus of solid fact."85 I wonder what "solid fact" Professor Spate had in mind.

From the evidence examined above, and from the corroborative evidence that has recently been examined elsewhere, "intelligent" seems hardly the adjective that most readily comes to mind to describe Erédia. He was undoubtedly well-read, but his erudition was singularly ill-digested. So obsessed was he with the desire to become the discoverer of the *India Meridional* in whose existence he fervently believed, that he was prepared to accept as evidence the most preposterous tales. His works are riddled with inconsistencies, contradictions and illogicalities. His carelessness over figures has
been demonstrated above. We are never likely to be able to prove or
disprove the truth concerning the voyages of Chiamasiuro and Erê-
dia's servant to Lucaantara (if it ever existed), or the genuineness of
Pedro de Carvalhães's two documents and the events they are de-
signed to confirm. But sufficient doubt has surely been cast about
them and some of his other stories to make any critical reader hesi-
tate before believing too readily in the truth of any of them. Those of
his tales that can be checked on, the ones concerning the Psitacorum
regio ("Region of Parrots"), the voyage of the São Paulo, and the
reported Dutch discovery of the descendants of Portuguese wreck sur-
vivors, show how readily his wishful thinking seemed able to inter-
pret facts, or rumoured facts, in such a way as to provide "evidence"
to "prove" the existence of India Meridional.86

Of course a vast landmass did exist south of Indonesia, but it
was Australia, not India Meridional,87 despite the southern compo-
nent in both their names. Erêdia's India Meridional was a constantly
varying chimera, composed of an astonishing muddle of elements
derived from Marco Polo, Mercator, and Gastaldi, into which were
woven rumours of voyages, Indonesian folk tales, and almost certain-
ly a significant amount of matter from Erêdia's fertile imagination.

It is hardly surprising that, though Erêdia's early appeals to the
Spanish/Portuguese Crown seem to have earned him a certain
amount of credence and support, his increasingly contradictory, and far-
fetching written and cartographical portrayals of India Meridional made
his unreliability only too clear to government authorities. Philip III, in
1610, had evidently been informed by the then Viceroy of India,
Lourenço de Távora, that "the things he [Erêdia] spoke of are of no sig-
nificance."88 In a letter to Philip IV dated 12 March 1623, Dom Francis-
co da Gama, then Viceroy for the second time, announced Erêdia's
death, and commented on the little esteem in which his writings were
held.89 It is ironic that there was renewed interest in his writings in
1629, as is shown by a letter from the then Viceroy, Dom Miguel de
Noronha, to the King.90 This was presumably because the Dutch discov-
ery of Australia's west coast had recently become known. After all, Luis
Teixeira's map of 1630 (Fig. 3) appeared to link Erêdia's Nuça/antara to
the Land of Eendracht, as Major initially believed to his cost.91

Whatever elements of the truth may conceivably exist in Erêdia's
attempts to prove the existence of India Meridional, it is clear that the
authorities of his time did not believe him, and for very good reasons.
The ever-changing "cartographical nightmare[s]" he produced, and the
"information" on which they were based should surely no longer be
regarded as fruitful sources for the selective mining of "evidence" to
prove that he contributed anything to the discovery of Australia.
NOTES

1. Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *Informação Verdadeira da Aureka Chersoneso...* included in *Ordenações da India do Senhor Rei D. Manuel...,* Lisbon, Imprensa Real, 1807, [ed. António Lourenço Caminha], p. 151. This is the earliest of Erédia’s three significant prose works. The others are: *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay...* [1613], Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 7264, and *Tratado Ophirico* [1616], Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. portugais, 44. All of the *Declaração de Malaca* (DM), and part of the *Tratado Ophirico* (TO) were translated into English under the title “Erédia’s description of Malaca, Meridional India and Cathay”, with extensive notes, by J. V. Mills, *Royal Asiatic Society—Malayan Branch Journal*, vol. 8, Pt. 1, September 1930, pp. 1–288. References to Erédia’s works are cited as IV, DM and TO respectively, plus the relevant page or folio number(s), and the corresponding translation as Mills, plus the page number(s). There was also a facsimile of the *Declaração de Malaca* with a French translation, published in Brussels in 1882. The English translation is better than the French one, but there are several serious errors in both.


3. ibid., p. 39.


6. TO, f. 62r–65r; Mills, pp. 265–68; see also PMC. IV, pp. 39–43.

7. ibid., f. 62v, quoted in PMC. IV, p. 40.

8. ibid., referred to in PMC. IV, p. 40.

9. ibid., f. 63r, referred to in PMC. IV, p. 41.

10. In a letter dated 12 March 1623, he is stated to have died, but no date of death is given. See PMC. IV, p. 42.

11. IV, pp. 65–151; Mills, pp. 228–255.


13. IV, pp. 138–140; Mills, pp. 251–52.


17. TO, ff. 55r–65r; Mills, pp. 259–68.

18. PMC. IV, p. 39.

19. Mills, p. 223, note 39. Mills, whose erudite notes are quite remarkable for his time, not
surprisingly failed to identify Gastaldi as the author of the map which Erédia adapted to incorporate "his own surmises based on local information".

20. DM, f. 55r; Mills, p. 67, and TO, ff. 59v–60r; Mills, pp. 263–64. See also notes 37 and 38 below.


23. ibid., pp. 454 et seq. The original map, by João Teixeira I, dates from 1630, see PMC. IV, pl. 464. For the late copy see PMC. IV, p. 117, fig. 20 top.


27. op. cit. in note 25, p. 254.


30. e.g., see his world map of ca 1561 (Brit. Lib., Maps, C.18.n.1), reproduced in Shirley, pl. 92.

31. See note 12 supra.

32. Reproduced in Shirley, pls. 102 and 104 respectively.

33. This usage was completely unknown to, or ignored by those who have maintained that Jave-la-Grande on the Dieppe maps represents Australia.

34. See pp. 334–36 for an explanation of his Isla maior nomenclature confusion.

35. DM, f. 50r, Mills, p. 60. This is the beginning of Erédia's chapter entitled "India Meridional," and it is manifestly a description of part of Mercator's Marco Polo-inspired southern continent, yet one propagandist for an early Portuguese discovery of Australia could refer to it thus: 'The title itself shows that he is writing about Western Australia, as do the contents of the chapter!' See K. G. McIntyre, p. 75.

36. TO, f. 55r, Mills, p. 259.


39. The letter now always rendered ç was frequently written without the cedilla before a, o and u, whence the occasional spelling of the name as lsanata(m)ntara.

40. This inscription's mention of the fishermen of Sawu appears to be a careless reference to the voyage reputedly made by people from Ende (Flores), who are stated to have returned
home via Sabbo [Sawu]; in none of his works does he mention a voyage by the fishermen of Sawu. See pp. 339-40 infra.

41. See the "Il disegno della terza parte dell' Asia" section of his La descrizione dell' Asia (1562), [Brit. Lib., M.T. 11 g.2 (6)] and the relevant map [no. 28] in the G. F. Camocio / Giacomo Gastaldi atlas in the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota [shelfmark 1560/fCa]; see Fig. 7.

42. C.f. Java on Fig. 1, with Erédia's other, very varied representations of it reproduced in PMC, IV., for example pl. 417P.

43. An island called pulo cambin [Coat Island] figures just northeast of Timor on many early Portuguese charts, but it is nowhere near the P. cambin on this map.

44. This is presumably a reference to the merchants from Macao in China who are mentioned in DM, f. 54v; Mills, p. 66, and in TO, f. 55v; Mills, p. 260. They are said to have found sandalwood, cloves, palm trees, deer and other animals, but gold is not mentioned. Erédia equates it with Marco Polo's Petan, even though he did not mention gold as one of its products either. The supposed route of the Chinese is marked with a dotted line. Erédia seems to have forgotten the route of the bales from Java to the non-existent luça bale marked on the NOVA TAVOA map [Fig. 1], for there is no mention of it in any of his texts. Professor Spate, on the endpapers of his Let Me Enjoy, presented a map showing his estimate of the relative positions of Australia, and the real and fictitious islands on Erédia's NOVA TAVOA, emphasising the imaginary nature of the latter. K. G. McIntyre, however, on his Fig. 61, redraw a minute section of the NOVA TAVOA map, carefully omitting all the Marco Polo-inspired islands, and presenting part of the coast of IAP, which he calls OVRO / [Isle of Gold], in such a way as to convey the impression that it actually represents the Brunswick Bay area of Western Australia! He was not aware of the fact that IAP was one of Gastaldi's creations.


46. See note 41.

47. For example, the Nicobar and Andaman Islands can both be seen on Gastaldi's two maps mentioned in notes 30 and 41.

48. This, of course, was due to the Champa/Java confusion in the 1532 editions of Marco Polo included in the Novus Orbis Regionum. For a reproduction of this map see note 30.

49. DM, f. 50r; Mills, p. 60; in the long quotation below, the DM folio refs. have been inserted in my translation.

50. ibid., ff. 50r-51r; Mills, pp. 60-61.

51. ibid., f. 56r; Mills, p. 68. See also, TO, f. 55v; Mills, p. 260. The b / v alternation, as in Erédia's Beach and Veach, illustrates the all but identical pronunciation of those two letters by some Portuguese in his day, and which still persists in Spanish today.

52. PMC, passim.


54. DM, f. 54v; Mills, pp. 66-67.


56. TO, f. 56r; Mills, p. 261.

57. DM, f. 51r & v; Mills, pp. 61-62.

58. ibid., f. 51v; Mills, p. 62.

59. TO, f. 55r; Mills, p. 259. c.f. note 35 supra.
60. ibid., f. 55r; Mills, p. 260.
61. ibid., f. 55v; Mills, p. 260.
62. DM, f. 57r; Mills, p. 70. See also TO, f. 55v; Mills, p. 260. The spelling of this name varies considerably in different editions of Ptolemy's atlas, but he does not indicate the meaning of the word on any of his maps that I have seen.
64. TO, f. 56r; Mills, pp. 263-64. See also the articles cited in notes 37 and 38.
65. ibid., f. 56r; Mills, p. 261.
66. ibid., f. 56v; Mills, p. 262.
67. ibid., f. 56v; Mills, pp. 261-62.
68. He gives 1609 on maps as the date of Queirós's discovery, not 1606, as it should be, confuses Philip II and Philip III, and is incredibly careless over the 331 years cessation of contact between the two Javanese.
69. For Chiaymasuuro's letter to the King [Sultan] of Pam (i.e. Pahang) see DM, ff. 52v and 53r; Mills, p. 63. For Carvalhães's Certidão ('Certificate') see DM, f. 53r & v; Mills, p. 64.
70. TO, f. 56v; Mills, p. 262.
71. See note 37 supra.
72. At least two authorities have stated incorrectly that the name derives from Marco Polo. See Mills, pp. 188-90, note 32, for attempts to identify Lusaantara.
74. See the works cited in notes 37 and 38 supra, and especially the latter. For the voyage of the São Paulo, see W. A. R. Richardson, "An Indian Ocean pilgrimage in search of an island," The Great Circle, vol. 11, no. 2 [1989], pp. 32-51, and especially pp. 36-39.
75. DM, f. 54v; Mills, p. 66.
76. ibid.; f. 54r; Mills, p. 66.
77. ibid., f. 54v; Mills, p. 66.
78. IV, pp. 148-150; Mills, pp. 254-55.
79. ibid., p. 150; Mills, p. 255.
80. DM, f. 55r; Mills, p. 67.
81. ibid., f. 55v; Mills, p. 68.
82. ibid., f. 56v; Mills, p. 69.
83. See, for example, PMC. IV, pls 503B, 504B and 516.
84. Mills, p. 190.
85. Sparte [1957], pp. 119-20 and 122.
86. See the articles cited in notes 37 and 38, especially the latter, pp. 6 et seq.
87. Erédia seems to have been the only person to use the term India Meridional to refer to the region south of Indonesia. On a number of maps in the early 16th century the name was applied to the northern part of Martelius's second SE Asian peninsula, south of Champa (central Vietnam). For example, see Shirley pls 31, 40 and 45.
88. PMC. IV, p. 41.
89. ibid., p. 42.
90. idem.
91. Similarly worded inscriptions appear on another of João Teixeira's maps; see PMC. IV,
pl. 467B. One other undated and anonymous map of Java and the area immediately south of it bears a long inscription on a stretch of southern coastline named NVCA ANTARA. The discovery of a Ilha Nuça Antara ou iava menor [sic] is attributed to Erédia in 1601, and the possibility of its being attached to Endracht is mentioned. See PMC. V, pl. 609A and pp. 117–18.

FIGURES

1. A cartographical nightmare, Erédia’s NOVA TAVOA HYDROGRAPHICA of 1602. It shows Indonesia, and also purports to show the area south of it which he referred to as India Meridional. The latter is primarily an adaptation of Gastaldi’s portrayals of the area, ca 1561. They were imaginative interpretations of SE Asia based on information derived from faulty editions of Marco Polo; note IAVA MINOR etc. Erédia added four almost certainly fictitious islands, P. cambin, P. ubior, LUCA VEA and a duplicate version of Bali, luça bale, and outlined the purported routes of three different vessels, two of which are mentioned in his writings. Note the alternative name LVCA ANTARA given to IAVA MINOR and compare this map with Gastaldi’s map reproduced in Fig. 7. [Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro]

2. One of Erédia’s world maps, featuring a southern continent derived in part from Mercator’s one. Lucaantara, which was attached as an alternative name to the island of IAVA MINOR on Fig. 1, here appears on a peninsula derived in part from Mercator’s Marco Polo-inspired landmass of Beach. Compare with Figs 5 and 6. Note the inscriptions ININDIA MERIDIONAL / descoberta anno. 1601. and PORTVGEZES / com Artelharia. anno. 1606. [Reproduced from PMC. IV, pl. 412A]

3. Part of a world map of 1630 by João Teixeira I. Note the inscription proclaiming the discovery of Nuca/antara by Erédia in 1601, and the one below it announcing the Dutch discovery of the land they called Endracht (i.e. Western Australia). A late, poor copy of this map led R. H. Majer to announce that Erédia had discovered Australia before the arrival of the Dutch. [Reproduced from PMC. IV, pl. 464.]

4. The eastern half of Abraham Ortelius’s world map (1570), showing his adaptation of Mercator’s Marco Polo-inspired landmass of Beach as part of his southern continent, and the two Marco Polo islands of Petao and iava / minor. Note also Psitacorum regio.

5. One of Erédia’s world maps, showing a version of Mercator’s southern continent, the promontory of beach, the islands of petao and iava minor, and pitaco. Regio. An inscription below beach announces that Erédia was ordered to discover iava minor in 1600. [Reproduced from PMC. IV, pl. 414B]

6. Another of Erédia’s maps showing an adaptation of Mercator’s southern continent. The promontory of beach also bears the name LVSANTARA. The inscription below it states that Erédia was ordered to discover esta nova yndia meridional in 1600. Note also PITA-CORVM. REGIO. [Reproduced from PMC. IV, pl. 414A]

7. Map of Indonesia contained in an atlas by Camocio and Gastaldi, probably ca 1561. Note CIAVA MINORE and the islands around it, including lap to the NE of it, and Gimpequa even further east. Compare with Erédia’s adaptation of it in Fig. 1. [Courtesy of the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota]

8. Another of Erédia’s attempts to portray India Meridional, with south at the top. Note part of a southern continent named LVCAC [i.e. BEACH], as well as BEACH on the promontory also named LVCAANTARA. Timor is the large island in the bottom lefthand corner, the islands of condor and sondur to the right of it represent the jub condor [Con Son] Islands off the Mekong delta of Vietnam, utterly misplaced because of Erédia’s misunderstanding of

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Marco Polo's route from China to the Middle East. [Reproduced from PMC. IV, pl. 4121]

9. Yet another version of *India Meridional*, designed primarily to illustrate a journey reputedly undertaken by one of Erédia's servants from Java to *LVCAANTARA* and back. Note the *Terra firme* of *LVCAC* (i.e. *BEACH*), and *beach*: *de ouro* (of gold) on the island also bearing the names *LVCAANTARA* and *IAVA*: *MAIOR*. Erédia has produced no less than three Javas. The inscriptions concerning *Gente branca* (White people) in LVCAC are associated with the *PORTVGVEZES / com Artilharia. ano 1606* inscription on Fig. 2. (Reproduced from PMC. IV, pl. 413A)