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Iberian Sources for the Historiography of Musics in the Early Modern Moluccas (Maluku)

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The Moluccas, or Maluku, featured relatively rarely in musicological research on Indonesia until the 1990s. In that decade, Margaret Kartomi published a number of seminal studies on musics of the region, focusing particularly on the revival of traditional performing arts in the islands of Ternate and Tidore, where the practice of music and dance had fluctuated in its cultivation during the 1980s.[1] In the title of an article from 1994 she asked, "Is Maluku still musicological *terra incognita?*" Addressing this question, she offered a wide-ranging overview of musical knowledge and practice, drawing from Dutch colonial sources and her own fieldwork (conducted over several months in 1989–1990 and 1993), as well as other anthropological and ethnomusicological studies.[2] The earliest historical texts that Kartomi considered were eighteenth-century descriptions of music cultures in north and central Maluku made by Dutch Protestant minister and chronicler François Valentijn (1666–1727) in his five-volume work *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Old and New East Indies).[3] However, she also acknowledged the wealth of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese and Spanish historiography relating to eastern Indonesia as examined by historian Leonard Andaya in his 1993 monograph *The World of Maluku*.[4] Additionally, she made an intriguing reference to Portuguese Catholic church music—introduced to the region from 1512—and its lasting impact on musics of subsequent periods, as noted by Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913) in Ambon in 1869.[5]

These sources are, of course, all of European origin. For any researcher delving into the music history of Maluku a major challenge for the study of the early modern period is the imbalance of surviving records written from different cultural perspectives. Extant indigenous texts from this period and region are rare.

Benjamin Moseley and other historians have pointed out that one of the few examples is the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (Story of the Land of Hitu) by Rijali (1590–1662),[6] which includes a brief description of the sounds of war, giving a list of musical instruments used by the Portuguese.[7] Andaya, commenting that "sources for the study of Maluku before the nineteenth century are almost exclusively European," offered a detailed and useful overview of relevant Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch manuscripts and printed works.[8] Comprising chronicles of events, correspondence, ethnographic observations, records of trade, and other data, many of these texts contain points of interest for the musicologist.

Zooming out, it can be seen that the influence of Portugal on the music cultures of the broader Malay-Indonesian archipelago has been studied extensively.[9] Nevertheless, there remains a musicological lacuna regarding Portuguese primary sources relating specifically to the Maluku region, which some scholars have recently begun to address.[10] As demonstrated by Kartomi, musicologists and historians have drawn mostly from Dutch sources, with some mention of English voyage accounts, for the history of musical practices in Maluku before the nineteenth century.[11] This is because the Dutch became the dominant colonial presence in this spice-producing region from the final third of the seventeenth century. From around 1666, Portuguese and Spanish colonial interests, which had by then existed for approximately one and a half centuries, in the form of incursions, religious missions, and trading factories, were extinguished, although there remained a number of cultural legacies of their presence, especially music.[12] Until recently, the colonialism and religious missions of Spain in Maluku received less attention from historians, compared to those of Portugal.[13] This chapter, inspired by and building on the work of Kartomi and Andaya and informed by a range of recent studies, focuses on both Portuguese and Spanish sources and aims to address the following question: What kinds of musical data can be found in Iberian historiography of early modern Maluku? It aims to contribute to current work in this area, to look afresh at these sources, and to highlight the potential utility of data found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iberian writings that mention musical practices in or of Maluku.

First, some geographical context is necessary. As is well known, this part of the Indonesian archipelago is globally significant as the source of certain spices—cloves, nutmeg, and mace—that were originally endemic to specific islands. Today Maluku consists of three main administrative regions: north, central, and south (Kabupaten Maluku Utara, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah, and Kabupaten Maluku Tenggara). The overall name has undergone changes in meaning over the last half-millennium. Andaya notes that "'Maluku' in this period [sixteenth through eighteenth centuries] referred only to the clove-producing islands of north Maluku, the most powerful of which was Ternate," with Tidore being "equally prominent"; tracing its possible historical meanings, and the way it has been inflected and interpreted in terms of collective regional identity, he notes that "the name Maluku came to be applied to all areas which acknowledge Ternate's or

Tidore's dominance."[14] Jesuit historian Adolf Heuken has also written of varying applications of the term:

> In the narrow sense of the word, Maluku is used for the islands of Tidore, Ternate, Motir, Makian, Bacan, and for a few tiny islets close to them, or for the four ancient kingdoms of Jailolo, Tidore, Ternate, and Bacan. In the wider sense, however, the Moluccas comprise all the islands between Celebes (Sulawesi) and Papua (West New-Guinea), and between Moro Island north of Halmahera, and the Banda Islands in the south.[15]

This chapter takes the latter, broad geographical view of the area. The major polities in the broader region were ruled by sultans, *sangajis* (local rulers), and rajas, while the four kingdoms just mentioned began to be perceived by Europeans as "the 'center' of an expanding Malukan world," in the words of Andaya.[16] Alliances and conversions of rulers and populations variously to Islam, Catholicism, and Calvinism punctuate the complex political picture.

In terms of chronology, the period considered here spans from the arrival of the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century (beginning in 1512) to the Spanish withdrawal from the region in the late 1670s.[17] The Portuguese established forts on Ternate from 1522, Ambon from 1569, and Tidore from 1578.[18] (During this time a number of significant Portuguese chronicles were composed.) In 1570, Sultan Hairun of Ternate—who had begun his reign in 1535 and over succeeding decades interacted intensively with Portuguese and spoke their language—was murdered by Portuguese forces, and his son Baab Ullah (d. 1583) aimed to avenge his death.[19] The Ternate base was captured by Sultan Baab Ullah in 1575, and those of Ambon and Tidore by the Dutch in 1605; in 1606, a Spanish force led by Pedro Bravo de Acuña (d. 1606) then seized the fortress of Tidore, where Spain then maintained a presence until 1663.[20] There were periodic English establishments from the 1590s until the "Ambon massacre" of 1623, when the Dutch executed English factors (a widely reported event with descriptions that include musical details), after which the English withdrew from the area.[21] It was against this complex political and economic backdrop that the Catholic missionaries operated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not only Jesuits but also members of other orders, including Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans.[22] The Jesuits are particularly prominent in the documentation of this part of history, and I focus on them here.[23] By far the most detailed historiography devoted to the Jesuit mission in Maluku during this period is the three-volume set *Documenta Malucensia* (Moluccan documents, 1974–84) edited by Jesuit historian Hubert Jacobs (1909–96), presenting transcriptions of primary source materials from the archives of the Society of Jesus, with extensive introductions and contextual studies, as well as biographies of indigenous and foreign individuals.[24]

In this chapter, I offer interpretations of descriptions made by chroniclers of sonic events, contextualizing them within a broader political, social, and cultural framework. I do not claim any comprehensiveness in the following overview of sources; rather, I will give some brief snapshots of examples that demonstrate the kinds of musical and sonic elements found in Iberian historiography. I concentrate on three main areas: first, musical and other ethnographic information relevant to the performing arts in an account by a secular Portuguese writer whose work preceded the beginning of the Jesuit mission—the ca. 1544 treatise on Maluku by António Galvão (ca. 1490–1557); second, accounts and letters of the Jesuits (in Portuguese and Spanish); and third, an influential book written in Spain and published there in 1609, the *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Conquest of the Moluccan Islands) by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1562–1631).[25] In terms of the kinds of vocabulary that might attract the eyes of a musicologist looking at sixteenth-century Portuguese texts, Maria de São José Corte-Real has provided a useful list of terms and expressions drawn from the *peregrinação* (pilgrimage) of Fernão Mendes Pinto (ca. 1509–83), who visited China and Japan (but not Maluku). She divides them into categories of "the sound environment," "musical performance," and "musical instruments."[26] Many, but not all, of these terms can be found in Portuguese texts regarding Maluku, although orthography of the time is fairly variable. Musical details in Jesuit letters about the region—in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and Latin—are relatively sparse, but a great deal of context can be fleshed out from them. Situated at the geographical frontiers of Spanish and Portuguese colonial ambition, Jesuit missions were shaped by rivalry between the two Iberian nations.[27] However, they were also motivated in their work by religious and cultural competition with Islam and with Dutch Calvinism. Baptism was at the forefront of the aims and ambitions of the Society of Jesus in Maluku, as we will see.[28]

INDIGENOUS MUSICS AND OTHER PERFORMING ARTS OF MALUKU ACCORDING TO GALVÃO

A Portuguese treatise dating from ca. 1544 on Maluku and the customs of their inhabitants was found in 1928 by Jesuit historian Georg Schurhammer (1882–1971) in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville.[29] Some decades later, Jacobs attributed the text's authorship to António Galvão and in 1971 published an annotated edition (with English translation).[30] The treatise offers ethnographic and linguistic information for this era that cannot be found elsewhere.[31] Reading Galvão's treatise in tandem with the letters of missionaries from the late 1540s onward—beginning with Francis Xavier (1506–52), one of the founders of the Society of Jesus—musicologists can gain an increasingly layered understanding of how mid-sixteenth-century Iberians viewed and represented the performing arts and religious sound of local cultures.[32]

At various points in the sixty chapters of Galvão's treatise, he mentions sound-art and dancing in religious practice, warfare, celebrations, entertainment, and travel. He sometimes uses Christian terminology such as "Matins, (canonical)

Hours, Lent, Easter, Our Lady of Candlemas, Pope, to explain Mohammedan customs," as Jacobs notes, to make comparative descriptions of Islamic religious practices.[33] For example, Galvão states, "They usually have fine mosques with no image in them, but with a big drum hung up with which they call to Matins and to the ordinary Hours, which they recite five times a day."[34] The last clause refers clearly to daily Islamic prayers (*salat/salah*). Another point to note is that the mention of the drum, implicitly analogous to church bells in Galvão's sentence, is a clear reference to an instrument known in other parts of the Malay world as *beduk*; Valentijn also writes about it, calling it a *tifa*.[35] Galvão was not alone in making such comparisons; as we see later, another Iberian writer would explicitly liken this drum's function to a church bell.

Galvão has a particular focus on royal ceremonial and cultural practices of the elite, and this goes hand in hand with a discussion of instruments. For instance, he notes the importance of musical ensembles on the boats of rulers as a marker of prestige and royal identity: "When the kings sail in their boats, [bands] play for them on gongs, *tifas*, and sistra; these [bands] are royal insignia because no one else may maintain them. As soon as this *tifa* resounds, those who are on the land gather at the shore to make the *sembahjang* [Islamic prayers, now spelled *sembahyang*] and to ask if something is wanted."[36] He later repeats this observation, adding some extra details: "They carry with them drums, gongs, and sistra, this being a royal privilege, to the music of which they row and sing rhythmically as the people of Galicia do. [In singing] they mention everything they did or hope to do both in peace and in war. They recognize each other by their way of singing."[37]

Galvão's description of the enthronement or installation of a ruler includes information about musical instruments and dancing:

> They make music for him on Javanese gongs; these are like bronze basins with a kind of boss in the middle and holes at the rim, through which they pull cords. Hanging from wooden poles, they are carried along on the shoulders of two men while others beat them with wooden mallets; they produce [the pitches of countertenor and soprano] . . . , for some are larger and others smaller. They have drums similar to tambours, some of which resemble tambourines and are called tifa. Other instruments are like shawms, and they call them *saruni* [*serunai*]; they have flutes and sistrum-like instruments and many others to their liking.[38]

Besides the gongs, *tifa, serunai*, and plucked string instruments, instruments that Galvão mentions elsewhere in the text are the conch trumpet ("buzio") and nose flute ("ffrauta [*sic*] com a vemtana do naris"). The conch is described as being played alongside gongs and *tifa* in alarms or rallying cries for warfare, and the nose flute in solitary settings during periods of mourning after a bereavement.[39] In a slightly offbeat reference, Galvão also recounts an apocryphal tale regarding the insertion of bells between the foreskin and head of the penis, quoting the people of Pegu.[40]

Of dances he writes, "The *alifurus* come with their wives and daughters to the palace gate to sing and to perform a swinging dance called *lego-lego*; it is practised more by night than by day."[41] The term *alifuru* refers to ethnic groups including the Nuaulu and Huaulu, an indigenous group living in mountainous regions who worked for societies on the coasts.[42] Kartomi describes the *lego-lego* as a female court dance in which

> twenty ladies-in-waiting wearing broad European-style green skirts and matching blouses with antique metal headdresses and necklaces and red and yellow dance scarves . . . move gracefully to the accompaniment of a female *tampiang* (small frame drum) player and a female vocalist . . . who sings advice to and even criticism of the Sultan. The present [1990s] Sultan says this is the only time that his people have traditionally been allowed to criticize and advise a Sultan. . . . Such female dances may be centuries old.[43]

In this discussion of the genre, Kartomi cites Valentijn's 1724 description of a female dance.[44] Galvão's use of the name *lego-lego* in his treatise stretches its historiography back to the sixteenth century.

Galvão also describes many aspects of music within feasts. When a king makes a visit to another community for a feast, he is "preceded by a train of men armed with swords and *salawakus* [shields] and accompanied by music on the customary instruments," although Galvão does not specify which instruments.[45] Halfway through feasts the people "sing and play instruments and make jokes, riddles, and pleasantries."[46] In his description of feasts, Galvão also makes a distinction between classes in terms of their performances: "The peasantry appear with their daughters and wives in order to dance the *lego-lego*" but "the courtiers, elegantly dressed, come and perform their tournaments, which they call *carracheo*, to the sound of musical instruments."[47] The tournament is a display of strength in competitive fights. Galvão claims that if a competitor falls, the ground must be ceremonially purified, in a ritual involving gongs, amulets, herbs, and crushed stones.[48] He also notes that "the sultan of Ternate has to marry a daughter of the sultan of Tidore, since he is the most important after him."[49] In this context, he mentions later in the treatise festivities (including music) held for a marriage he claims to have brokered between the sultan of Ternate and the daughter of the sultan of Tidore.[50]

In describing social ranks, Galvão draws from the history of religious conversion and of the introduction of specific cultural practices and objects (including musical instruments). He relates that he was told of their Javanese origins, writing, "They say that they took these titles from the Javanese who made them Muslims and introduced coinage into their country, as well as the gong, the *serunai*, ivory, the *kris* dagger, and the law, and all the other good things they have."[51] He additionally writes of metal currency and other objects—again specifying gongs from Java—that "they treasure these [coins] up, and also jewels, objects of gold, Javanese gongs, copper basins, pieces of ivory, porcelain, fine silk and cotton fabrics; all this comes from abroad in exchange for clove because none of it is natural to the country."[52] The arrival of commodities in the area—including musical instruments such as gongs and *serunai*—is thus attributed to the trade in cloves.

Galvão writes of the origins and history of the inhabitants of Maluku in chapters 12 to 14 of his work.[53] He offers historiographical perspectives and information on how they transmitted their songs and ballads, not only committing them to memory but also using Chinese ink to write them on palm leaves:

> This is what I could find out of their past, because they have no chronicles nor [written] history and they keep no archives. As far as I understood from them, they commit their past to memory by way of aphorisms, songs, and rhyming ballads, of which they are very fond. They make good ones which are handed down from one to another like the Hebrews used to do: when their soldiers returned victorious they sang: "Saul slew thousands and David slew tens of thousands"; and at Caesar's triumph [the soldiers sang]: "Senators of Rome, take care of your wives"; and for Count Fernão Gonsálvez: "While the king stayed in Granada, the knights advanced in the fields of the Mondego"; and other sayings in which literature abounds. They commit their stories to memory, and so one learns but little from them of their past.[54]

Later in the text he adds the extra context that "they write upon *ola*, which are palm leaves, and on paper which is imported from India; and the pens are made of ferns, for those of ducks are not known there. And the ink comes from China."[55]

While the first thirty-six chapters focus on the people, natural history, and cultural practices of Maluku, the remaining ones introduce the Portuguese into the narrative, beginning with a short overview of Portugal's history of navigation and colonialism. The earliest Portuguese and Spanish arrivals to Maluku are described in detail, including the expedition of Juan Sebastián Elcano (ca. 1486–1526), who continued and completed the voyage of circumnavigation that had been started by Ferdinand Magellan (ca. 1480–1521). In describing his own arrival in Maluku (October 1536), a point at which the Portuguese colony was apparently in decline, Galvão gives a heroic account and states that "everyone said that António Galvão had come to rescue them, and they marched out to meet him, in procession behind the cross and [singing] *Te Deum laudamus*."[56] He also mentions trumpets and unspecified instruments of "the common soldiers," although whether the latter refers to Moluccan or Iberian individuals is not clear.[57] In his description of the Portuguese attack on (and seizing of) Tidore, he refers to "the sounding of the trumpets and of all the other instruments," which seems to suggest a binary between Portuguese trumpets and a range of indigenous instruments used in warfare (gongs, *tifa*, and conch trumpets).[58] Toward the end of his treatise, which discusses the events that followed the seizure of Tidore in the establishment of a Portuguese colony and ongoing negotiations with surrounding rulers, Galvão boasts of his work in founding an urban settlement and his support of incipient work in evangelization. Early baptisms—particularly anyone from the Moluccan elite—caused considerable controversy among the local societies, but Galvão asserts that they were celebrated with large ceremonies and feasts.[59]

MUSIC IN JESUIT LETTERS AND REPORTS

Baptisms were a fundamental aim of the Jesuit mission to the region, and music was part of the process of evangelization. The first Jesuit to arrive was Francis Xavier, who was present in Maluku from February 14, 1546, to May 1547. On January 20, 1548, he wrote from Kochi (Cochin), Kerala, to his fellow Jesuits in Rome. In his letter he described aspects of his experiences in the region of Maluku, including the following passage:

> There was reason for thanking our Lord for the fruit which was produced by God in the hearts of his creatures, who sang his praise and glory among a race [*sic*: *gente* (people)] newly converted to his faith. For it turned out in Maluco that the boys on the squares, the girls and women in their homes both day and night, the workers in the fields, and the fishermen on the sea, instead of their vain songs, sang sacred canticles, for example, the Creed, the Our Father and Hail Mary, the Commandments, the Works of Mercy, the *Confiteor*, and many other prayers, all in their own language, so that everyone understood them, both those who had been recently converted to our faith and those who had not. God our Lord willed that within a short time among the Portuguese of this city and the natives of the land, both Christians and infidels, *I found great favor in their eyes*.[60]

Xavier's stay in the Maluku region constituted a pivotal period for mutual engagement between two distinct cultures. The primary sources attesting to his activities are relatively scarce but have been studied in extensive detail. His own writings gloss over local customs and cultural practices giving scanty detail, focusing rather on the transculturative processes of evangelization. Andaya writes that "both Xavier and the other Jesuits quickly realized that it was the ritual of the Church, with its various ceremonies, candlelight, and music, and not the doctrine, which appealed to the local inhabitants. . . . He combined the native love of music with Catholic ritual to create a pleasant and effective way of conveying the Christian message."[61] This tendency was noted by a hagiographer of Francis Xavier, who mentioned his teaching of the singing of the doctrine in Ternate, and his evening walks evangelizing with a small bell (campanilla).[62]

Xavier had no instruments other than his voice and a little bell. Yet it is pertinent to note that in sixteenth-century Portuguese sources, the word *sino* is used to refer not only to gongs but also to bells introduced by the missionaries.[63] By extension, it seems that local gongs themselves occasionally functioned as church bells. On January 8, 1558, Fernão de Osório (ca. 1531–65) wrote to his superior Francisco Vieira (1519–ca. 1560) at Ternate, describing his mission work (in a location that Jacobs identifies as Bacan).[64] On the feast of Epiphany, Osório made a petition to a local ruler who appeared impressed by the church ceremonies performed on the previous day. The missionary asked him for wood to make crosses and for permission to evangelize among the children and women of the local population; he also asked for "a *sino* to ring on Sundays and to signal *Ave Marias*."[65] It seems that *sino* here refers to a gong, for in the next sentence the Osório notes that "I don't have any other means of attracting these children, because they are fearful of this black wolf" (the last comment presumably referring to his black robe).[66] In the letter, it seems that he is justifying to his Jesuit superior the need to use a local instrument. He goes on to say that he intends to win the confidence of the children in this way and then he will punish them.[67]

Another Jesuit who mentioned bells or gongs was Pero Mascarenhas (ca. 1532–81). Writing from Ternate to Jesuits in Goa on March 6, 1569, Mascarenhas reported on his voyage to Kolongan, Sulawesi, where he erected a large cross.[68] He recounts: "Adding more to the joy was that the playing [of gongs?] and pealing of bells started [*comessarem a tanger e a repicar sinos*] throughout the city at the time that we were adoring the cross, and the festivities lasted most of the night."[69] Although the phrase "comessarem a tanger e a repicar sinos" could certainly be interpreted simply as "bells started to be rung and pealed," it is tempting to read "sinos" in its double meaning of gongs and bells, and perhaps imagine the simultaneous playing of local gongs and ringing of imported bells.

Mass baptisms are frequently described in general terms throughout the Jesuit documentation, but on several events the conversion of individuals is emphasized. As Juan Ruiz Jiménez has recently noted, the baptism of a princess of Bacan in 1559 was reported with a number of musical details. According to a letter dated March 9 that year written by Vieira and sent to the Society of Jesus in Portugal, it took place in Ternate. The procession to the church included a "beautiful choir of singers, of whom there are many good ones here"; another version of the text specifies that they sang "canticos de Benedictus" (probably the Song of Zechariah, from the Gospel of Luke, 1:68–79).[70] There were also some players of trumpets, and at the event some boys who were "splendidly dressed" performed a dance.[71]

Additional musical references in the letters concern the singing of the doctrine in Malay and other languages, especially by children.[72] For example, in March 1559, Vieira reported (secondhand) the singing of the doctrine by children on Bacan.[73] In July 1563, Diogo de Magalhães (d. 1573) wrote to Pero Mascarenhas from Manado, Sulawesi, referring to a place he calls "Batachina" (which Jacobs suggests refers to a location in north Sulawesi); he states that the people, old and young, were very fond of singing the doctrine, and sang it continuously, whether on land or water.[74] Some decades later, in the Annual Letter of Tidore for 1602, sent to Goa, Luís Fernandes (1550–1608) wrote of the children in Labuha, Bacan: "This Christianity continued with the daily teaching of the Christian Doctrine to children, sung in church, in the Malay language; and with the Salve [Regina] in Portuguese every Saturday, sung by the boys and girls all with lighted candles in their hands, which inspired much devotion."[75]

In the same letter, he mentions that a procession took place on Maundy Thursday (Jacobs states that this was April 19, 1601), with the *sangaji* (local ruler) of Labuha holding high a cross and the priest singing litanies, which was admired by many onlookers who gathered there.[76] Another letter by Fernandes, written March 31, 1607, to the Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) in Rome, refers to the language of Ternate on the island of Morotai, used by an unnamed Jesuit father who had recently constructed a church and house, and baptized five hundred people:

> With what joy and happiness they attend the church to hear their mass and sermon, which is preached to them in their language, and the children to sing the Christian doctrine, and to discuss [argue] questions about it. All [is] in the Ternate language that all of them know very well and understand, which is something to give many praises to God for and to cry lively tears of happiness and joy.[77]

The Jesuits established their own schools in Maluku, and from the late 1540s they already had systems in place to send students to the College of St. Paul in Goa. As Jacobs and Triyono Bramantyo note, six boys from Maluku and four from Makassar appear to have already been studying there in 1546; the constitutions dating from that year allow for six students from Melaka and six from Maluku.[78] Maria Monteiro cites a letter from this same college in 1558, which mentions the musical curriculum: besides learning to read, write, and count, the boys were taught singing and participated in a *capela* (literally "chapel," but implying a musical ensemble) that sang polyphony (*canto de órgão*), doing so for "the Offices at our house on solemn days and on Sundays, as well as singing at Vespers and officiating at masses."[79] In that year there was a boy from Ambon named Dom João (described as the son of a Muslim ruler) in the college.[80] One wonders if he is the same youth mentioned in 1563 by Baltasar de Araújo (ca. 1524–73), who wrote from Ternate describing devotions in Hatiwi, Ambon, at which "an Ambonese boy who was raised [educated] in the College of St Paul in Goa spoke the litanies and everyone responded."[81]

Mascarenhas, writing on February 10, 1564, to the Jesuits of São Roque in Lisbon, describes the building of a church in Ternate, where he was based, giving details of its measurements. He states that the first mass celebrated there was sung.[82] In 1566, the viceroy of Goa, Antão de Noronha (1520–69), issued a normative document with the requirements for the maintenance of the fortress of Maluku (in Ternate). In this he mandated the employment of two choirboys—who had to be sons of Portuguese—in its church.[83] In February 1569, a stone church was proposed, since the previous one, constructed in 1563, was built of wood (with a roof of woven pandanus leaves); in June 1570, the new church was still being constructed.[84]

At this time, in Ambon, there is one intriguing mention of music in parts: the annual letter dated June 15, 1570, written again by Mascarenhas, reports the singing of litanies in polyphony ("ladainhas de cãoto d'orgão").[85] One wonders if this referred to composed or improvised polyphony. Catholic liturgical polyphony appears to have been a relatively new practice in the Malay world; in 1554, a Jesuit arriving in Melaka (from Goa) claimed that the performance of polyphony there was something "to which this land was unaccustomed."[86] This is a surprising comment, given that by that stage there had been at least four decades of Catholic observances in that Portuguese settlement (after its initial colonization in 1511). If true, it seems that the use of vocal polyphony in liturgical contexts arose in Southeast and East Asia in the second half of the sixteenth century—especially in centers with growing Catholic populations such as Macau, Manila, and Nagasaki—and perhaps not earlier, although monophonic chant (liturgical or devotional) certainly proliferated. In his letter of 1570, which includes a description of the arrival of a Jesuit in another town on Ambon, Mascarenhas also mentions *cantigas* (songs), without mentioning the style: "They sang other *cantigas* in praise of the Christians."[87] Later, he refers to the use of Moluccan instruments to accompany Christian songs, in Ulat on the island of Saparua (east of Ambon): "All [were] dancing and singing God's praises to the sound of the gongs and *tifa* that were being played by people who accompanied the father."[88]

However, some local practices were prohibited by the Jesuits. In the annual letter from Maluku (dated Ternate, April 8, 1612), Jorge da Fonseca (1558–1627) states: "Certain dances that are very popular in all Maluku have also been suppressed, [since] there are usually many offences against God, particularly when they are performed at night, which is most often the case."[89] No further details are given as to why these dances involved "offences," but based on general patterns of the description in missionary writings of this time, it is possible that these dances were perceived to have non-Christian religious connotations or that they displayed lascivious forms of expression.

Negative comments about performing arts arise elsewhere in Jesuit historiography. A visitation report by Manuel de Azevedo (1581–1650), written in Ternate in 1620 and sent to André Palmeiro (1569–1635), Visitor of the India Missions, refers to "excesses" of a number of priests, although Jacobs suggests that these reports were greatly exaggerated.[90] First was João Baptista (ca. 1557–before 1639), a *mestiço* (mixed-race) person born in Kochi. Azevedo claims that Baptista impoverished the house of the Jesuits through his lifestyle and by maintaining a number of boys as servants, "some of whom would sing to him, others to practice [music?] at night when he could not sleep, others as pages and scribes."[91] Then, two Italian Jesuits, Lorenzo Masonio (1555–1631) and Andrea Simi (1580–1634), met with his disapproval. Masonio, he wrote, raised five or six boys and dressed them in costly clothes and even saved money for their dowries.[92] He and Simi were apparently employing two Spaniards to teach boys to dance and sing, and one of these masters was being paid at great expense; the two Jesuits argued as to which of the teachers was better.[93] Azevedo claims that a salary and food were given to the two Spaniards, and that "rehearsals took place most of the day."[94]

Masonio, who later moved to Manila, appears to have been well regarded in the community; the seventeenth-century Jesuit historian Francisco Colín (1592–1660) claims that even the Dutch respected him and offered him gifts ("books, wine for masses, and other things, and gifts from Europe").[95] However, Azevedo described how both Masonio and Simi engaged in commercial trade to carry on paying for this activity.[96] Later, in a disapproving tone, he says that in the house, there were "ten or twelve *violas* and other very expensive [instruments], besides *pandeiros* [frame-drums], *cestros* [sestro, possibly implying another kind of drum] and other similar things."[97] Azevedo suggests that Simi be removed from his post and sent back to India, although Jacobs notes that this missionary remained on Ternate until 1633.[98]

The use of the term *viola* in the documents from Maluku is rare, and its meaning is ambiguous; used in this isolated instance with (as yet) no other examples for comparison in Maluku, it could perhaps mean either a plucked string instrument or a bowed viol. Yukimi Kambe, in her study of references to viols in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese texts relating to the Jesuit missions in Japan, has shown that the terms *viola* and *viola de arco* were both used to refer to the viol but that sometimes *viola* by itself could imply another kind of instrument.[99] In another East Asian context, Corte-Real suggests that the use of the term by Mendes Pinto in the middle of the sixteenth century is "the first known reference to a Western guitar—the Portuguese viola—in China" (involving a musician named Gaspar de Meireles).[100] In the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, however, it could also more directly denote the violin, especially given that *biola* has long been a common Malay word for that instrument, which was adopted into local musical practices from the sixteenth century onward.[101] Thus, in Azevedo's 1620 letter from Ternate, we can only conclude broadly that it could be either a plucked or a bowed instrument, and possibly a violin.

The annual letter for 1623 of the Jesuit Province of Cochin describes festivities held in Maluku to celebrate the beatification of Francis Xavier (however, he was beatified in 1619 and canonized in 1622, and it is likely these festivities were held for his canonization). Although he had left Maluku in 1547, his reputation in the region was lasting and his presence was long remembered there. The author emphasized that these were the very beaches that Xavier himself walked on. A tragic play representing "some stages in the life and death of the Saint was performed with great perfection," with the costs covered by the *mestre do campo* (colonel) and the captain of the infantry. The writer continues, "That day a sung mass [*missa cantada*] was celebrated with the greatest possible solemnity, sung by the Franciscan friars. The poets of Maluku performed their hymns and songs [*letras e canções*] composed in praise of the Saint. Once the mass had finished, there commenced a devotional procession through the streets of Maluku, which had been appropriately adorned."[102] He gives no information about the musical structures of the mass, hymns, or songs; it is likely that the mass was celebrated in plainchant, but it is possible that polyphony was involved in other aspects of this event, given the mention of *cãoto d'orgão* (polyphony) in 1570, as discussed above. The devotional procession would surely also have been accompanied by music, vocal and instrumental, as was usual practice in Catholic missions of the time.

In an annual letter by Baltasar da Costa (1607–73), written from Kochi in November 1648 and sent to Rome, there is mention of activities in the Collegio de Maluco (Ternate). Although a secondhand description, Jacobs states that it "clearly show[s] that . . . some information had reached Cochin from Maluku."[103] The letter mentions penitential exercises and the singing of the Miserere on Fridays during Lent, followed by a "passo" procession (a Lenten procession related to the stations of the cross) "with its motet" ("com seu mutete [*sic*: motete]").[104] The next sentence continues, "There are many good voices; all the natives, soldiers, and the *mestre do campo* with the most captains come along."[105] Whether this singing involved polyphony is not specified; however, given the mention of a motet, the presence of music with multiple vocal parts is a strong possibility.

In this letter, there follows the mention of a confraternity devoted to the Child Jesus.[106] This group celebrated mass every Sunday of the year "with much solemnity of music and wax [candles], attended by all the brothers [members] with their lighted candles, which they also shared with those who were not members of the confraternity."[107] On the Feast of the Circumcision, the confraternity made "as fine, solemn, and lustrous a procession as could be seen in the most prominent cities of India."[108] Mention is made of the use of six richly decorated litters, presumably for images, among which were performed "curious dances and folias[?] etc." (*coriosas dansas e fulias ett*.); the feast concluded with games of skill.[109] Da Costa writes that the devotion of this confraternity was borne out in claims of apparitions of the Child Jesus during fighting with Muslims on Ternate, and he claims that the latter group would swear to seeing these apparitions too.[110]

Following the withdrawal of Spanish forces after 1662, a sizeable group of Christians from Ternate went in exile to the Philippines and took with them the image of the Child Jesus venerated by the confraternity; the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696–1753) made mention of this in 1749, observing that their devotion continued.[111] They settled in a town named Ternate (Murillo Velarde calls it Maragondong, which today is the adjacent municipality) in the province of Cavite, Luzon, where the image is still located.[112] From 1663 until today, there has been the annual tradition of ritually bathing the image on December 31 and changing its clothes on January 5, the eve of the Feast of the Circumcision.[113] The music history of this emigrant community of the Moluccan Catholic diaspora suggests potential for further research.

Even after the Spanish military left the region in 1662, there remained a Jesuit mission in operation in Siau, until 1677.[114] Apparently Francisco de Miedes (1622–74) and Diego de Esquivel (1623–65) composed linguistic treatises (*artes*) and compiled vocabularies (*vocabularios*); Jacobs notes, however, that Esquivel's writings on the language of Siau are lost.[115] According to Murillo Velarde, Miedes had to make shoes out of the covers of his books "so as not to say Mass barefoot";

in the last days of the mission in Siau, his greatest treasures were a few books and a box with papers.[116] A *relación* (report or account) written in Manila in June 1676 regarding the state of this mission the previous year mentions liturgical music, with reference to the lack of religious observance since the last official Jesuit visitation in 1670. The unnamed author points out encouragement for the increase in Catholic practice and refers to the first sung mass being celebrated at this time; from that point, various communities began to increase their religious practices, celebrating "sung masses on Saturdays and Sundays, the singing of the Salve Regina and the rosary on Saturday evenings, processions for [the Feast of] Corpus Christi, [observance of] Lent, services for Holy Week, homilies [*pláticas*], public sermons, and other [forms of devotion] that had not [yet] started."[117]

A *relación* attributed to Manuel Español (1639–84) and written a few months later—probably in Siau during August, but certainly in 1676—recounts the events of the preceding twelve months in the Jesuit mission. It asserts that onlookers had a more positive reaction to Catholic ceremony than to Calvinist rituals. The author states:

> Luckily some of the native heretics [i.e., converts to Calvinism] of these parts, having seen by chance the [Catholic] church ceremonies and the celebration of the feasts and divine offices, the pomp of the altar, and hearing the music (such as it is), have said that the Calvinist law that the Dutch teach them does not have an impression on them because they do not see anything [and the Dutch] teach them in a disorderly way, and [all] this in a strange language that the majority of the people do not understand.[118]

Writing of Talaud, the author also reports on the previous "lack of singers" ("falta de cantores") but mentions that despite this the procession for Holy Week took place, with the "Father singing the litany and his servants responding, concluding with his sermon on the Passion."[119] Intriguingly, he also makes mention of harp playing in Cayuhuse (Kauhise, Siau), in what seems to be the only reference to this instrument in the Jesuit documentation for the Maluku region in its broadest sense. Given that there is no earlier mention of the harp, we may wonder whether its use there was incipient; Español writes that "major feast days did not lack their little bit of harp music."[120] This poignant comment marks the twilight of the first period of Jesuit missions in the area.

MUSIC IN THE *CONQUISTA DE LAS ISLAS MALUCAS* (1609) BY LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA

The manuscript sources just mentioned, produced in the final third of the seventeenth century, present a marked contrast to a triumphalist narrative printed in Spain almost eight decades earlier. In 1609, the book *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1562–1632) was published in Madrid.[121] Leonardo de Argensola had been invited to write it following news of the 1606 conquest of Ternate by Spanish forces led by Pedro de Acuña.[122] This author, however, did not travel to Asia. As John Villiers has pointed out, "Although he had already established a certain reputation as a historian by that date, he had no special knowledge or first-hand experience of the region, or of recent events that had taken place in it."[123] A royally appointed historian, Leonardo de Argensola had access to many manuscript sources sent or carried to Spain and Portugal by eyewitnesses in Maluku, as well as published accounts of voyages and a range of correspondence. Carmen Nocentelli describes his work as "a synthesis of totalizing ambitions—a veritable summa of geographic, historical, and ethnographic information drawn from a vast array of sources including Barros's *Décadas da Ásia*, Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum*, and Linschoten's *Itinerario*."[124] Around a century later, French (1706), English (1708), and German (1710) translations were published.[125]

In early modern Europe, the *Conquista* thus appeared to have functioned as a far-reaching and long-lasting piece of historiography on Maluku. Nocentelli further asserts that "thanks to this wide circulation, Argensola's *Conquista* actively participated in, and contributed to, a transnational discourse that shaped Europe's view of Asia throughout the seventeenth century and beyond."[126] The popularity of this account possibly inspired a number of theater pieces, including the Spanish play *Conquista de las Malucas* (Conquest of the Moluccas) by Melchor Fernández de León (dates unknown), published in Madrid in 1679.[127] This work, which includes numerous musical moments (with *flautas* [recorders] and *panderos* [frame drums or tambourines], and especially *caxas* [drums] and *clarines* [trumpets]), remained sufficiently popular to be republished in 1762, in Valencia, as *Comedia famosa: La conquista de las Malucas* (Famous comedy: The conquest of the Moluccas).[128]

Leonardo de Argensola's text, despite its secondhand nature, provides some intriguing data regarding sound-art practices of Maluku and descriptions of music in interactions between the Moluccans, the Spanish, and the Dutch. His book is historiographically valuable for the study of reception, in terms of demonstrating what kinds of information and discourse about Moluccan cultural practices were available to readers in early modern Europe. It is worth briefly surveying some examples here (and to retain an early modern flavor, I quote from the 1708 English translation). A remarkable level of detail emerges in the descriptions made at a far geographical remove, based on the primary sources available to the author, and reinterpreted by him. For example, Leonardo de Argensola writes: "Instead of a Bell, there hangs up the holy great flat Drum, which they beat with Sticks; tho each Mosque has a great Bell, without a Clapper, which they strike with a Stone, or piece of Iron, when requisite."[129] At the return of the Sultan of Ternate following his victories in Tidore, the text states, "At his Arrival, he was received with Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, and Basons [gongs] they beat on, and with Songs they make for such like Occasions."[130]

Of particular note was music in maritime contexts, especially the ensembles that travelled aboard the watercraft of Maluku. Leonardo de Argensola describes them as follows:

> In the *Philippine* Islands they give the Name of *Carcoas* to a sort of Vessels that use Oars, open, and bigger than our Barks, and are Steer'd by two Rudders, the one ahead, and the other astern. The *Ternates* call'd them [the boats] *Janguas*, which differ from the *Carcoas* only in having two Half-Moons of Wood, Painted, or Guilt, rising above the Keel at the Head and Poop. About 100 Men Row in each of them, to the sound of a Tabor, and a Bell.[131]

He earlier describes this kind of music as "barbarous."[132] Later in the narrative, he mentions similar craft at Ambon and Dutch reactions to Ambonese singing:

> The Admiral of *Amboyna* came with three of these Vessels full of arm'd Men, to see the *Dutch*, with a Noise of Kittle-Drums [*sic*], and Brass Basons hanging on the Musitian's Left-Shoulder, and striking them with the Right-Hand, as they do the Tabors in *Spain*. They sang their set Airs [*sus canciones acordadas*], understood by none but the Native *Amboyneses*, tho' attentively listen'd to by the *Dutch*, for their Strangeness. The Slaves also sang to the Noise of their Oars.[133]

Here the 1708 English translation gives the description "*Musick*" in the margin, although that keyword does not appear in the Spanish original. Clearly the early eighteenth-century translator or publisher thought it a passage worthy to point out to the reader with this keyword.

Later in the narrative, the author mentions a musical incident following the marriage of the Sultan of Tidore to a princess of Bacan: "When they were at Sea, they heard the new marryed King's Bagpipes, Basons, Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums."[134] Here "bagpipes" (*gaytas*) perhaps referred to *serunais*, given that both were reed instruments, with a Spanish eyewitness originally using a familiar term to describe what he heard. On another occasion, the description of the music in the sultan of Ternate's retinue is "the Noise of his Brass Basons, Flat Tabors, Guns, Shouts, and *Persian* Songs" (no explanation is given for the last category).[135] Shortly after, following a show of military strength to the Dutch (which included the firing of guns and "clattering of Bells [gongs]"), "they sang Verses, as they do to denote Peace, in the Malay Tongue, so they call the Language of Malaca, whence it was convey'd to the Moluccos."[136] Citing a Dutch author (possibly Jan Huyghen van Linschoten or a writer associated with the voyage of Jacob Cornelis van Neck and Wybrand van Warwijck), he also describes prayers in the mosque at Banda, even giving a romanized Arabic text and its translation.[137] While it is clear that this is a synthesis of ethnographic material drawn from a number of sources, further intertextual analysis of the book of Leonardo de Argensola may reveal additional points of detail about intercultural observations in this period.

It may also indicate more about the ways that data emanating from eyewitnesses were reformulated, edited, and represented in travel literature and chronicles about Maluku.

CONCLUSION

Writing in 2014, Rein Spoorman noted that "despite the Moluccan archipelago being renowned for its musical richness, to date little substantial research has been carried out on its music in context" and cited Kartomi's 1994 article for this observation.[138] While his mention of scholarly lacunae specifically concerns "music in context," a similar statement could be made about studies of archival sources for the historiography of musics in early modern Maluku, as well as that of adjacent regions. The three types of Iberian sources examined in this chapter not only demonstrate the complexity of intercultural encounters and engagements in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Maluku but also make clear the challenges that musicologists and historians face in interpreting them. Musical practices and the performing arts in general were undergoing rapid change as multiple cultures converged in this part of the archipelago. This was especially the case for the forms of sonic expressions associated with religious devotion and observance, and with ceremonies linked to politics and social status. Further research could shed more light on the story of multiple individuals and communities who moved from Maluku to other parts of Southeast Asia (and even South Asia) in this period, including the town of Ternate in Luzon, the Philippines. The Iberian sources outlined here potentially offer new perspectives and data for ongoing critical interpretation of diverse musical pasts in early modern Maluku.

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NOTES

1. See the following works by Margaret J. Kartomi: "Appropriation of Music and Dance in Contemporary Ternate and Tidore," *Studies in Music* 26 (1992): 85–95; "Revival of Feudal Music, Dance and Ritual in the Former 'Spice Islands' of Ternate and Tidore," in *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia*, ed. Virginia Matheson Hooker (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993), 184–211; "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?* An Overview of the Music-Cultures of the Province of Maluku," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25, no. 1 (1994): 141–71; and "Maluku," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, vol. 4, *Southeast Asia*, ed. Terry Miller and Sean Williams (New York: General Music, 1998), 812–22.

2. Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*" Kartomi also produced a sound recording, *Music of Indonesia: Maluku and North Maluku*, released in 2003 by the CD label Celestial Harmonies (0000DKFZ7). Kartomi referred to publications from the late nineteenth century by Baron G. W. W. C. van Hoëvell (1882) and W. Joest (1892), an encyclopedia article by J. F. Snelleman (1918), and work on the Kai Islands by Jaap Kunst (1945) in "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 144. Tilman Seebass later pointed out another example, an article of 1840 on musics of the islands of Sunda and Maluku in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*: G. W. Fink, "Notizen über Musik und Gesänge der malaiischen Eingebornen auf den sundischen und molukkischen Inseln (Ostindien)," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 52 (December 23, 1840): cols 1057-63. See Tilman Seebass, "Presence and Absence of Portuguese Musical Elements in Indonesia: An Essay on the Mechanisms of Music Acculturation," in *Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music*, ed. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 245 (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997). Seabass lists the authorship of this work as anonymous.

3. François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën, vervattende een naaukeurige en uitvoerige verhandelinge van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten, benevens eene wydluftige beschryvinge der Moluccos, Amboina, Banda, Timor, en Solor, Java, en alle de eylanden onder dezelve landbestieringen behoorende, het Nederlands comptoir op Suratte, en de levens der Groote Mogols*, 5 vols (Amsterdam: J. van Braam en G. Onder de Linden, 1724–26). See Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 144; and Kartomi, "Maluku," 812. The second volume of Valentijn's work contains an extensive description of music on Ambon, based on his first-hand observations—including two engravings of music and dance performance, with detailed depictions of instruments—and some secondhand descriptions of music in north Maluku. He treats "musical instruments, dances and songs" of Ambon in vol. 2, 162–65. The illustrations are in figure 38, on two plates: one between 164–65 and the second at the top of 165. During his two periods of employment with the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company) in 1686–94 and 1705–13, Valentijn was based mostly in Ambon. Leonard Y. Andaya notes that "although he had never been to north Maluku, he relied on travel descriptions, VOC documents, and personal contacts to write his extensive account." Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 20. As Siegfried Huigen has pointed out, Valentijn was an antiquarian and well versed in literature of comparative ethnography; on Ambon, he even related the name of the local drum *tifa* to the Hebrew word *toph*. See his chapter "Antiquarian Ambonese: François Valentyn's Comparative Ethnography," in *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, ed. Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong, and Elmer Kolfin (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 188; Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 2, 162. Ian Woodfield also highlighted that Valentijn was a musician and had a violin with him in Ambon. Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1995), 247–48.

4. Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 144.

5. Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 155. Alfred Russel Wallace writes of the "old Christian population" in Ambon: "Though now Protestants, they preserve at feasts and weddings the processions and music of the Catholic Church, curiously mixed up with the gongs and dances of the aborigines of the country. Their language has still much more Portuguese than Dutch

in it, although they have been in close communication with the latter nation for more than two hundred and fifty years." Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise. A Narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1869), 1:300. Kartomi also wrote of "court arts in times past" on Ternate and Tidore—about which she learnt from her informants that "soldiers who performed military or protocol dances wore yellow coats, white trousers with side stripes, with Portuguese-style plumes in their red-trimmed yellow hats." Kartomi, "Revival of Feudal Music, Dance and Ritual," 191–92.

6. Benjamin L. Moseley, "An Ambonese Account on the Arrival of the Portuguese" (blog post), November 8, 2019, https://benjaminlmoseley.com/2019/11/08/an-ambonese-account-on-the-arrival-of-the-portuguese/. A bilingual Malay-Dutch edition of this is Ridjali, *Historie van Hitu: Een Ambonse geschiedenis uit de zeventiende eeuw*, ed. and trans. Hans Straver, Christiaan van Fraassen, and Jan van der Putten (Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2004). See also G. L. Koster, "How Malay Is the Ambonese Chronicle Hikayat Tanah Hitu?," Research Gate, July 7, 2021, www.researchgate.net/publication/353039754_How_Malay_is_the_Ambonese_chronicle_Hikayat_Tanah_Hitu. On the question of language, Galvão writes in ca. 1544 that "at present the Malayan language has come into vogue; and most of them speak it and avail themselves of it throughout the entire region, where it is like Latin in Europe." Hubert Jacobs, ed., *A Treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544): Probably the Preliminary Version of Antonio Galvão's Lost História das Molucas Edited, Annotated, and Translated into English from the Portuguese Manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville by Hubert Th. Th. M. Jacobs* (Rome; St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute; St. Louis University, 1971), 74 (Portuguese), 75 (English). Ridjali's work has been studied by Zacharias J. Manusama, G. L. Koster, Jan van der Putten, and others; a Dutch translation was published in 2004 (cited above), and an English translation is forthcoming. Zacharias J. Manusama, "Hikayat Tanah Hitu: Historie en sociale structuur van de Ambonse eilanden in het algemeen en van Uli Hitu in het bijzonder tot het midden der zeventiende eeuw" (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 1977); Koster, "How Malay Is the Ambonese Chronicle Hikayat Tanah Hitu?"; Koster, "*Hikayat Tanah Hitu*: A Rare Local Source of 16th and 17th Century Moluccan History," *Review of Culture* 28 (2008): 133–42; Jan van der Putten, "In the Fringe of the Page: The Malay Tale of Hitu from Its Margins," in *Teks, naskah dan kelisanan: Festschrift untuk Prof. Achadiati Ikram*, ed. T. Pudjiastuti, T. Christomy, and A. Ikram (Depok: Yayasan Pernaskahan Nusantara, 2011), 399–416; Jan van der Putten, "A Collection of Unstandardised Consistencies? The Use of Jawi Script in a Few Early Malay Manuscripts from the Moluccas," in *Creating Standards: Interactions with Arabic Script in 12 Manuscript Cultures*, ed. Dmitry Bondarev, Alessandro Gori, and Lameen Souag (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 217–36.

7. "Then he [i.e. Dom Duarte] landed and entered the battlefield as fifes, drums and shawms played a variety of tunes. And [the Portuguese] then hoisted their banners and the Muslim warriors did likewise. Their commanders and paladins took up their positions. And the two sides stood facing each other like people who are praying turned in the direction of Mecca. And then both sides raised a battle-cry which sounded like the rumbling of thunder in the sky." English translation in Koster, "How Malay Is the Ambonese Chronicle Hikayat Tanah Hitu?," 18 (the square brackets and their text are from Koster). For original Malay text see Ridjali, *Historie van Hitu*, Mal. [Malay] 20–29, quoted in Koster, 18n29. It includes a rare use in Malay classical texts of the word *caramela*, which appears to be adopted directly from the Portuguese term for shawm: *charamela*. Ridjali's use of this term seems to be unique within the corpus of pre-modern Malay texts compiled in the Malay Concordance Project, Australian National University: https://mcp.anu.edu.au/, consulted May 29, 2022.

8. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 9–22, "The Sources" (quotation on 9). An earlier survey of Portuguese sources was given by Charles Ralph Boxer, "Some Portuguese Sources for Indonesian Historiography," in *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, ed. Soedjatmoko, Muhammad Ali, G. J. Resink, and G. McT. Kahin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), 217–33.

9. See Seebass, "Presence and Absence of Portuguese Musical Elements in Indonesia"; Margaret Kartomi, "Kapri: A Synthesis of Malay and Portuguese Music on the West Coast of North Sumatra," in *Cultures and Societies of North Sumatra*, ed. Rainer Carle (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1987),

351–93; Kartomi, "Portuguese Influence on Indonesian Music" in *Festschrift Christoph-Hellmut Mahling zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Axel Beer, Kristina Pfarr, and Wolfgang Ruf (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 657–66; and Kartomi, "A influência portuguesa na música da Indonésia e da Malásia," *Revista de Cultura* 26 (1997): 27–38, www.icm.gov.mo/rc/viewer/30026/1846. Seebass's 1997 chapter included a useful bibliography of ninety-eight scholarly and reference works published from 1840 onward that related to "Portuguese influence on Indonesian music": Seebass, "Presence and Absence of Portuguese Musical Elements in Indonesia," 245–51. Studies in the last two decades include a number of essays by Christian Storch; see "The Influence of Portuguese Musical Culture in Southeast Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies, 1511–2011*, vol. 2, *Culture and Identity in the Luso-Asian World: Tenacities and Plasticities*, ed. Laura Jarnagin (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012), 208–22; "Wege portugiesischer Musikkultur nach Südostasien im Kontext der europäischen Expansionspolitik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Migration und Identität: Wanderbewegungen und Kulturkontakte in der Musikgeschichte* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2013), 69–83; and "How the Pagans Became 'Convinced' about Christianity: Four Conclusions on the Relationship between Music and the Missions in Early Colonialism," in *Música discurso poder*, ed. Maria do Rosário Girão Santos and Elisa Maria Lessa (Ribeirão: Ediçoes Húmus, 2012), 221–34.

10. Triyono Bramantyo has pointed to the significance of the area, writing about liturgical music in sixteenth-century Maluku and treating it in comparison with the Jesuit mission in sixteenth-century Japan; see his article "Early Acceptance of Western Music in Indonesia and Japan," *Arts and Social Sciences Journal* 9, no. 5 (2018): 2. Recently, Juan Ruiz Jiménez has discussed music at the baptism ceremony of a princess of Bacan in 1559 as part of his Interconnected Cities series for the website *Paisajes sonoros históricos (c.1200–c.1800)*. See his "Bautismo de la princesa de Bacan en la isla de Ternate (1559)," *Paisajes sonoros históricos (c.1200–c.1800)*, January 8, 2021, http://historicalsoundscapes.com/evento/1256/ternate/es.

11. See Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 144; and Kartomi, "Maluku," 812. Also see Woodfield, *English Musicians in the Age of Exploration*, 247–48. Stretching the historiography of music in the region back to the late sixteenth century, Woodfield examined English sources as well as Dutch texts, considering especially the ways in which music framed Sir Francis Drake's (ca. 1540–96) encounters with the rulers of Ternate in 1579 (see 5–6, 103); he also identified a detail of an engraving from 1601 that shows a trumpeter with the Dutch expedition of Jacob van Neck (1564–1638) to Ternate in 1598 (see 173).

12. As described by Margaret Kartomi in 1993, Ibu Syahrinsad Syah (daughter of the forty-seventh sultan of Ternate) informed her that the name of a hunting dance, *betiado*, "is based on a forgotten Portuguese word." Kartomi, "Revival of Feudal Music, Dance and Ritual," 195, 209n22. This word is yet to be traced.

13. Historians including Antonio C. Campo López, Jean-Noël Sánchez Pons, Jorge Mojarro, Bondan Kanumuyoso, and others, have recently offered new perspectives on primary texts relating to Spanish activities in the "Spice Islands." See chapters and editions of primary source documents in Javier Serrano Avilés and Jorge Mojarro Romero, eds., *En el archipiélago de la especiería: España y Molucas en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Desperta Ferro, 2021).

14. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 7; see also 47.

15. Adolf Heuken, SJ, "Catholic Converts in the Moluccas, Minahasa and Sangihe-Talaud, 1512–1680," in *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, ed. Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 23.

16. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 58.

17. Interestingly, the Bolognese traveler Ludovico di Varthema (ca. 1470–1517) writes of visiting Maluku some years earlier. His travelogue, published in 1510, does not mention music or sound in his brief account of "the Spice Islands," although he does describe music and sound in other places. See Paola Dessì, "L'itinerario sonoro di Lodovico di Verthema," in *Per una storia dei popoli senza note*, Heuresis. XIII: Sezione Di Arti, Musica, Spettacolo, No. 9 (Bologna: Cooperativa Libraria Universitaria

(CLUEB), 2010), 105–11. From 1666, the Dutch, as Andaya states, were "the sole surviving European nation in Maluku." Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 156.

18. Hubert Th. Th. M. Jacobs, *Documenta Malucensia: I (1542–1577)* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1974), 11*–12*.

19. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 58.

20. Jacobs, *Documenta Malucensia*: I, 11*–12*.

21. Kartomi, "Revival of Feudal Music," 186; Woodfield, *English Musicians*, 232.

22. See Heuken's detailed study of the history of Catholic conversion in the Maluku region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Heuken, "Catholic Converts," 23–72. See also his book *Be My Witness* to the Ends of the Earth! The Catholic Church in Indonesia before the 19th Century (Jakarta: Cipta Loka Caraka, 2002).

23. Francisco Colín gave a description of the Maluku region in his *Labor evangelica* (originally published Madrid, 1663). Colín and Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, 1:105–15.

24. Jacobs, *Documenta Malucensia: I; Documenta Malucensia: II (1577–1606)* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1980); *Documenta Malucensia: III (1606–1682)* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1984). From here I will refer to these three volumes as *DM I*, *DM II*, and *DM III*. See also his overview in "Indonesia: Antigua CJ (1546–1677)," in Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático, ed. Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez (Rome and Madrid: Institutum Historicum, S. I. [Societatis Iesu], Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 2015–17.

25. I am not considering here the three French texts and one Italian text that survives of the account of Antonio Pigafetta (ca. 1491–ca. 1531), from his visit in 1521, as I discuss that elsewhere. See David R. M. Irving, "Global Soundscapes from the First Voyage of Circumnavigation, 1519–1522," in *Soundscapes of the Early Modern Hispanophone and Lusophone Worlds*, ed. Victor Sierra Matute (New York: Routledge, 2025), 287–312. Nor will I discuss another well-known sixteenth-century text, the *Boxer Codex* (written in Spanish in 1590s Manila), as it contains only one tiny mention of the music of Maluku, citing gongs (*campanas*) and drums (*tambores*) in festivities for Eid al-Fitr, following Ramadan. See Jorge Mojarro, "Los molucos en el *Códice Boxer*, 1592," in *En el archipiélago de la especiería: España y Molucas en los siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. Javier Serrano Avilés and Jorge Mojarro Romero (Madrid: Desperta Ferro, 2021), 293. For critical studies of the source from various perspectives, see Manel Ollé and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds., *El Códice Boxer: Etnografía colonial e hibridismo cultural en las Islas Filipinas* (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2020). The famous *Suma Oriental* (1512–15) of Tomé Pires (c. 1468–1524/40) contains interesting ethnographic details in his description of the Maluku region but no data specifically on music. Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, ed. and trans. Armando Cortesão, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 1:205–22.

26. Maria de São José Corte-Real, "Music in Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*," in *Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music*, ed. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997), 195–200.

27. See Jean-Nöel Sánchez Pons, "Misón y dimisión: Las Molucas en el siglo XVII entre Jesuitas portugueses y españoles," in *Jesuitas e imperios de Ultramar: Siglos XVI–XX*, ed. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Javier Burrieza, and Doris Moreno (Madrid: Sílex, 2012), 81–101.

28. Maria Odete Soares Martins has distinguished between coerced and voluntary baptisms in her book *A missionação nas Molucas no século XVI: Contributo para o estudo da acção dos Jesuítas no Oriente* (Lisbon: Centro de história de Além-Mar, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Facultade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 2002). See also Brett Charles Baker, "Indigenous-Driven Mission: Reconstructing Religious Change in Sixteenth-Century Maluku" (PhD diss., Australian National University, 2012).

29. See George Schurhammer's preface to Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, viii.

30. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*.

31. Jacobs asserts, for instance, that "the catalogue of Malay and Moluccan words that can be composed [i.e., extracted] from this document may be one of the earliest extant, or even *the* earliest

extant," noting that Pigafetta's earlier wordlist was not representative of vocabulary from the Maluku region; *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 25. Jacobs gives a glossary of "Indonesian and other Asian words" in this source, with cross-references to Galvão's text, on 367–76. Giuseppe Marcocci has pointed out that other chroniclers of the sixteenth century, including João de Barros and Garcia de Orta, clearly relied on the work of Galvão. Giuseppe Marcocci, *The Globe on Paper: Writing Histories of the World in Renaissance Europe and the Americas*, trans. Richard Bates (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 60.

32. Other Portuguese chroniclers who wrote about Maluku include Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, João de Barros (who did not travel to Asia), Gaspar Correia, Diogo do Couto, and Gabriel Rebelo. For a recent overview of these texts, see Baker, "Indigenous-Driven Mission," 15–26. Rebelo, who arrived there after Galvão had left, wrote a report titled "Informação sobre as Malucas," which survives in two manuscript sources. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 15; and Boxer, "Some Portuguese Sources for Indonesian Historiography," 222. The two texts appear in Artur Basílio de Sá, ed. *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente. Insulíndia 3.º vol. (1563–1567)* (Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1955), 192–343 and 345–508. However, there are fewer mentions of music or the performing arts in Rebelo's account. See, for instance, descriptions of festivities and instruments on 356, 357, and 384.

33. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 335n2.

34. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 86 (Portuguese), 87 (English).

35. Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 158.

36. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 149 and 151 (English), 150 (Portuguese). The square brackets are given by Jacobs.

37. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 158 (Portuguese), 159 (English). The square brackets are given by Jacobs. Many decades later, in the 1590s, Francis Drake described a similar kind of waterborne royal greeting on his arrival at Ternate and mentioned that the sultan "seemed to be much delighted" by the English musical performance. See Woodfield, *English Musicians*, 103.

38. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 110 (Portuguese), 111 (English). Insertions in square brackets are mine. The original text regarding the pitch of the gongs states, "ffazem [*sic*] comtratenor e tipre." I differ from Jacobs's speculation on the designation of pitch ranges. He writes: "We suppose that, instead of *contratenor*, *contrabaixo* was meant, this being the opposite of *tipre*; thus the phrase fits in better with the following *mores . . . e menores*" (339).

39. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 166 (Portuguese), 167 (English), 182 (Portuguese), 183 (English).

40. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 118–21. Such a claim was also made by Pigafetta several decades earlier, with reference to Java, in his account of the Magellan/Elcano voyage. See Irving, "Global Soundscapes."

41. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 111 (Portuguese), 112 (English).

42. Kartomi states that they were "known in colonial times as the Alifuru people." Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 141; Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 367.

43. Kartomi, "Revival of Feudal Music, Dance and Ritual," 202. A recording by Kartomi is available on YouTube: "Tari Lego-Lego—Music of the Court of Ternate," YouTube video, September 25, 2014, https://youtu.be/IJBhuUV65nU (accessed June 11, 2022). This is from the album *Music of Indonesia*, cited above.

44. Kartomi, "Is Maluku Still Musicological *Terra Incognita?*," 151.

45. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 142 (Portuguese), 143 (English).

46. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 144 (Portuguese), 145 (English).

47. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 146 (Portuguese), 147 (English).

48. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 146 (Portuguese), 147 (English).

49. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 114 (Portuguese), 115 (English).

50. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 304–7.

51. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 104 (Portuguese), 105 (English). Jacobs notes that "*sinos* generally means *bells*, but here it evidently stands for the famous Javanese *gongs*" (338).

52. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 140 (Portuguese), 141 (English). The point about cloves being exchanged for commodities is also mentioned in chapter 24, 130 (Portuguese) and 131 (English).

53. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 74–85.

54. The square brackets and the text they contain in the English translation are given by Jacobs. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 84 (Portuguese), 85 (English). See also Marcocci, *The Globe on Paper*, 60.

55. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 122 (Portuguese), 123 (English).

56. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 230 (Portuguese), 231 (English).

57. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the* Moluccas, 236 (Portuguese), 237 (English); 242 (Portuguese), 243 (English).

58. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 248 (Portuguese), 249 (English).

59. Jacobs, *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 296–99.

60. English translation from Francis Xavier, *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, trans. and ed. M. Joseph Costelloe (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 171. For original Spanish text, see *DM I*, 35. The last seven words, given in italics in the translation, are originally in Latin ("inveni magnam gratiam coram oculis eorum"). Jacobs suggests that the reader compare this quotation to Genesis 18:3 in the Bible (*A Treatise on the Moluccas*, 35n16).

61. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 127, 128.

62. Francisco García, *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Xavier, de la Compañia de Jesus, apostol de las Indias* (Madrid: Iuan Garcia Infanzon, 1672), 113.

63. This is also noted by Corte-Real, "Music in Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*," 200.

64. *DM I*, 224. For biographies see *DM I*, 31*–32* (Vieira) and 33*–34* (Osório).

65. *DM I*, 226.

66. *DM I*, 226.

67. *DM I*, 226. See also Baker, "Indigenous-Driven Mission," 255n110.

68. For his biography, see *DM I*, 37*–38*.

69. *DM I*, 537.

70. Ruiz Jiménez, "Bautismo." One text reads: "Diante a cruz hia huma boa capella de cantores que aqui hay muyto bons"; the other reads: "mais avante huma capella de boa musica com canticos de Benedictus competente à festa." *DM I*, 272. For a description and critique of the two texts see *DM I*, 250–51.

71. *DM I*, 272. See also Ruiz Jiménez, "Bautismo."

72. For studies of the singing of the Christian doctrine and catechism in early modern Catholic evangelization (especially by the Jesuits), see Daniele V. Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine: Early Modern Jesuits and the Singing of the Catechism," *Early Music History* 34 (2015): 1–43; and Daniele V. Filippi, "'Catechismum Modulans Docebat': Teaching the Doctrine through Singing in Early Modern Catholicism," in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 129–48.

73. Baker, "Indigenous-Driven Mission," 255, citing *DM I*, 268.

74. *DM I*, 416. For a biography of Magalhães see *DM I*, 40*–41*.

75. *DM II*, 547. For a biography of Fernandes see *DM II*, 39*–41*.

76. *DM II*, 547.

77. *DM III*, 64.

78. *DM I*, 122n12; Bramantyo, "Early Acceptance of Western Music," 2. On the roll, Jacobs cites Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica I* (1540–1549) (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1948), 120.

79. Maria Isabel Lopes Monteiro, "Instrumentos e instrumentistas de sopro no século XVI português" (Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010), 99. Monteiro cites Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica IV (1557–1560)* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1956), 191.

80. *DM I*, 216.

81. *DM I*, 387. For a biography of Araújo see *DM I*, 34*.

82. *DM I*, 417.

83. *DM I*, 493.

84. *DM I*, 521, 589; see also 547 (July 1569). For information on the previous church, constructed in 1563, see 417.

85. *DM I*, 597.

86. In Jesús López-Gay, *La liturgia en la misión del Japón del siglo XVI* (Rome: Libreria dell'Università Gregoriana, 1970), 159; for a transcription of the letter see Joseph Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica III (1553–1557)* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1954), 134.

87. *DM I*, 600.

88. *DM I*, 601.

89. *DM III*, 222. Jacobs speculates that this was "presumably a dance after the style of the well-known *wela-wela*" (222n36). For a biography of Fonseca see *DM II*, 48*–49*; *DM III*, 24*.

90. Azevedo was in Maluku from 1620 to 1624. See *DM III*, 32*. Jacobs suggests that criticism of one Jesuit (Lorenzo Masonio, discussed below) was "severe and apparently undeserved," and comments that Azevedo "passed . . . a sharp criticism on nearly every Jesuit." *DM III*, 22*, 32*.

91. *DM III*, 416. For a biography of Baptista, see *DM III*, 27*–28*.

92. *DM III*, 417.

93. *DM III*, 417–18. For a biography of Masonio see *DM II*, 44*–45*; *DM III*, 21*–22*; of Simi, see *DM III*, 26*–27*.

94. *DM III*, 418.

95. Colín and Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, 3:90.

96. *DM III*, 417, 420.

97. *DM III*, 421. On the etymology of sestro see Rafael Bluteau, Vocabulario portuguez, e latino (Coimbra; Lisbon: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesu; na officina de Pascoal da Sylva, 1712–28), vol. 7 (1720), 622. Available at Wellcome Collection, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/qkm8aczp.

98. *DM III*, 426n22.

99. See Yukimi Kambe, "Viols in Japan in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 37 (2000): 31–67.

100. Corte-Real, "Music in Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*," 193–94.

101. See, for example, Kartomi, "A Malay-Portuguese Synthesis on the West Coast of North Sumatra," in Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music, ed. Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997), 313. See also: Brigitta Scarfe and Muhamad Hasbi, "The Significance of Place in the Musical Practice of Two Biola Players in Riau Islands Province," in Performing the Arts of Indonesia: Malay Identity and Politics in the Music, Dance and Theatre of the Riau Islands, ed. Margaret Kartomi (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2019), 152–68; and Kartomi, *Musical Journeys in Sumatra* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 244–45.

102. *DM III*, 453.

103. *DM III*, 560n2.

104. *DM III*, 561. The last word is clearly meant to be *motete*. The tradition of the "Santos Passos and Motets" is still practiced in Goa, India, today. See Deepti Coutinho, "Santos Passos & Motets / Tradition of Christian Sacred Music for Lent," Goa Roots, March 9, 2016. https://goaroots.com/santos-passos-motet-tradition-of-christian-sacred-music-for-lent/.

105. *DM III*, 561.

106. For a discussion of an earlier confraternity in Maluku in the Jesuit documents, that of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in Ternate (mentioned in a letter of February 24, 1563), see *DM I*, 382n3.

107. *DM III*, 561.

108. *DM III*, 561.

109. *DM III*, 561–62.

110. *DM III*, 562.

111. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*: Segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716 (Manila: En la Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, por D. Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1749) f. 284v.

112. *DM III*, 562n9. See also Manuel Lobato, "Os *mardicas* de Ternate e os crioulos de origem portuguesa nas Filipinas: Um olhar interdisciplinar sobre as relações entre identidade e língua," in Tópicos transatlânticos: Emergência da Lusofonia num mundo plural, ed. Silvério da Rocha-Cunha, Noémi Marujo, Cláudia Teixeira, Marco Martins, Paulo Rodrigues and Maria do Rosario Borges (Évora: Universidade de Évora—Escola de Ciências Sociais, 2012), 55–67.

113. See "Santo Niño de Ternate—Ternate's Watchful Patron," *Pintakasi: Chronicles on Filipino Popular Piety and Ecclesiastical History* (September 26, 2017), https://pintakasi1521.blogspot.com/2017/09/santo-nino-de-ternate-ternates-watchful.html, accessed June 10, 2022. See also Esteban A. De Ocampo, *The Ternateños*: Their History, Language, Customs and Traditions (Ermita, Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007).

114. Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 1581–1768 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 438.

115. For biographies of Miedes and Esquivel, see *DM III*, 40*–43*. See also Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia*, ff. 284r, 352v–53r.

116. Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia*, f. 353r.

117. *DM III*, 689–90.

118. *DM III*, 702. For Español's biography, see *DM III*, 45*–46*.

119. *DM III*, 703.

120. *DM III*, 708.

121. Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid: Alonso Martin, 1609). For a contextual overview see Fernando Sánchez Marcos, "*Conquista de las Malucas* (1609): Texto y contexto de una historia marítima," in El mar en los siglos modernos, ed. Manuel-Reyes García Hurtado, Domingo L. González Lopo, and Enrique Martínez Rodríguez (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2009), 685–97.

122. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 19.

123. John Villiers, "'A Truthful Pen and an Impartial Spirit': Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola and the Conquista de las Islas Malucas," Renaissance Studies 17, no. 3 (2003): 449–73.

124. Carmen Nocentelli, *Empires of Love*: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 91. For an overview of the text, see also Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3 vols in 9 books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965–93), 3:311–12.

125. Villiers, "'A Truthful Pen and an Impartial Spirit,'" 454. For example, see Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Molucco and Philippine Islands: Containing Their History, Ancient and Modern, Natural and Political: Their Description, Product, Religion, Government, Laws, Languages, Customs, Manners, Habits, Shape, and Inclinations of the Natives. With an Account of Many Other Adjacent Islands, and Several Remarkable Voyages through the Streights of Magellan, and in Other Parts. Written in Spanish by Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola, Chaplain to the Empress, and Rector of Villahermosa. Now Translated into English: And Illustrated with a Map and Several Cuts* (London: 1708).

126. Nocentelli, *Empires of Love*, 92.

127. Melchor Fernández de León, "La gran comedia, Conquista de las Malucas," in Primavera numerosa de muchas armonias luzientes, en doce comedias fragantes parte quarenta y seis, impressas fielmente de los borradores de los mas célebres plausibles ingenios de España (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1679), ff. 174v–97v; Antonio C. Campo López, "Molucas y España en el siglo XVII," in En el archipiélago

de la especiería: España y Molucas en los siglos XVI y XVII, ed. Javier Serrano Avilés and Jorge Mojarro Romero (Madrid: Desperta Ferro, 2021), 52.

128. Melchor Fernández de León, *Comedia famosa*: La conquista de las Malucas (Valencia: en la imprenta de la Viuda de Joseph de Orga, 1762). For musical indications in the work, see Fernández de León, "La gran comedia, Conquista de las Malucas," ff. 177v–78r, 180v–81r, 182r–83r, 185v–86r, 187v, 188r–v, 191r, 193r–94r, 195r, 196v, 197r; Fernández de León, *Comedia famosa*, 6, 10–14, 18–19, 22, 27, 31, 33, 36–37.

129. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 55; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 80.

130. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 99; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 149.

131. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 17; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 24.

132. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 10; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 14.

133. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 167; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 250.

134. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 241; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 356.

135. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 170; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 255.

136. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 170; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 255.

137. Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest*, 161; Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 240–41. Lach and Van Kley noted that Leonardo de Argensola cites "las relaciones de Hugo" (Jan Huyghen van Linschoten) but that "some of it appears to have come from the published reports of the second Dutch voyage under [Jacob] Cornelis van Neck and Wybrand van Warwijck." Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3:311, 1148, 1399–408, 1427.

138. Rein Spoorman, "Tradition and Creative Inspiration: Musical Encounters of the Moluccan Communities in the Netherlands," in *Recollecting Resonances: Indonesian-Dutch Musical Encounters*, vol. 288 of *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, ed. Bart Barendregt and Els Bogaerts (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 282.