
An unexpected excursion:

The first account of Spaniards in Ayutthaya (1585)



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Abstract

Although the Portuguese established contact with Thailand soon after their conquest of Melaka in 1511, it was thought that Spaniards did not go there until the disastrous expedition of Diego Beloso in 1596. However, in a little-known manuscript from about 1600 there is an account of an inadvertent visit by a small group of Spaniards in 1585, after they had been blown off course trying to return to Manila from Macao. This includes a description of Ayutthaya, presented here, together with an account of the trials and tribulations they endured in getting back to Manila. The Spaniards had gone to Macao with the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez, ostensibly to sort out a mutiny on a galleon bound for Acapulco, but Sánchez also wanted to pursue his agenda of converting China to Christianity and his reports do not mention this extraordinary adventure of some of his companions.

Keywords: Alonso Sanchez; Ayutthaya; Diego Beloso; Christianity in China

Introduction

Although there are reports that the Gallegan Pero Díaz or Diez, visited Pattani in 1540, it is not entirely clear whether he was Spanish or Portuguese.¹ He came from Monterrei, Ourense, less than 10 km from the present Portuguese border, and was discovered by the Villalobos expedition in Maluku that had left Nueva España (Mexico) in 1542. He simply recounted “that last May of 1544 he left Pattani in a Chinese junk”.² Pattani was part of the Ayutthaya kingdom in the sixteenth century, but there is no mention of Ayutthaya in early sixteenth-century Spanish reports. The other earliest Spanish records we have of Spaniards in Siam cover the disastrous expedition of the Portuguese Diego Beloso and the Spaniard Blas Ruíz with many other Spaniards in 1596; a story recounted in de Morga’s *Sucesos* and

¹Carlos-Luis de la Vega y de Luque, “Pero Diaz, el primer español que llegó a China”, *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, XI (1975), 79–90 at p. 80. See also Florentino Rodao, “The Castilians discover Siam: Changing Visions and Self-Discovery”, *Journal of the Siam Society*, 95 (2007), 1–23, at pp. 11–12.

²“que el mayo pasado de mill e quinientos e quarenta e quatro años partió de Patan en un junco de chinos.” (De la Vega, “Pero Diaz”, p. 80.)

elsewhere.³ In the Spanish language we also have the letter about Siam to King Philip II written by João de Gaio, the Portuguese bishop of Melaka, and dated Melaka, 27 December 1584, which was later translated into Spanish and preserved in the *Boxer Codex*.⁴ Chapter 11 of this letter appears to describe Ayutthaya since it describes the “city of Siam” while the earlier Chapter 5 says that the city of Siam is thirty-five to forty leagues from the sandbar.⁵ By contrast there are many Portuguese reports from the early sixteenth century, which is after Portugal started exploring the Far East. As early as 1498 Vasco da Gama learnt about Siam on his expedition but “...real Portuguese contact was established after the conquest of Malacca in 1511”.⁶ This victory brought to an end the strife between Melaka and Ayutthaya. Portuguese contact with Thailand started at this point and visits continued apace. Soon Portuguese merchants were established in Ayutthaya. João de Barros writing between 1550 and 1560 described Ayutthaya and in particular records that the highest Buddha image in Siam “which is of metal among many others in that kingdom, which is in a temple in the city of Socotai [Sukothai], which they say is the oldest in the kingdom, which idol is eighty handspans [or 17 metres]”.⁷ It was “cast on the orders of King Rama Tibodi in about 1500, and erected in Wat Srisanphet, was forty eight feet high, and the pedestal was twenty-four feet”.⁸ In 1584, “the Burmese King attacked Ayuthia, [but] the invasion was resisted by [Prince] Naresuen who displayed great courage and military tactics”.⁹ This was a year or more before the Spaniards arrived in Ayutthaya.

In Melaka the Portuguese learnt about the Spice Islands and subsequently they strove to maintain their dominance in the region and a monopoly on the spice trade, an aim that continually piqued the Spaniards when they arrived to settle the Philippines from 1565.

The present report of Spaniards getting to Ayutthaya comes from a manuscript, the Lilly *Historia*, the original text was probably written in the late 1590s.¹⁰ It occurs in a report of the mission of the royal factor Juan Bautista Román and the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez to China, ostensibly to address a mutiny that had taken place on a galleon but Sánchez hoped this would provide an opportunity to get into China and proselytise there. The Spaniards on

³See e.g. Chapter 7 of Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Vol. 140, Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, translated and edited by J. S. Cummins, 1971. (First published in 1609 Mexico: in the house of Geronymo Balli by Cornelio Adriano Cesar.)

⁴João Ribeiro Gaio’s account may be found in George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey S. Turley (eds and translators), *The Boxer Codex: Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning the Geography, History and Ethnography of the Pacific, South-east Asia and East Asia*, (Leiden and Boston, 2015), pp. 492–501 and Isaac Donoso, (transcriber and ed.), Ma. Luisa García, Carlos Quirino and Mauro García (translator), *Boxer Codex: A modern Spanish Transcription and English translation of 16th century exploration accounts of East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific*, (Quezon City, 2016), pp. 214–225.

⁵This is an exaggeration as the distance is about 70 km.

⁶Joaquim de Campos, “Early Portuguese Accounts of Thailand”, *Journal of the Siam Society*, 32 (1940), 1–27, p. 3.

⁷João de Barros, *Ásia da Joam de Barros dos factos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente. Tercera Decada*, Venice, 1563, 6a edição... por Hernani Cidade. Notas historicas... por Manuel Múrias, Divisão de publicações e biblioteca agência general das colónias, 1946, Book II, Chapter V, p. 80: “que têm de metal entre outras muitas que há naquele reino, é ãa, que está em um templo da cidade Socotai, que êles dizem ser a mais antiga do reino, o qual idolo é de oitenta palmos”.

⁸See n. 22, p. 12, of Campos, “Early Portuguese”.

⁹Campos, “Early Portuguese”, p. 24.

¹⁰[Anonymous], *De la historia De las Philipinas, que trata de la conquista de las yslands philipinas desde el gouiermo de el adelantado Miguel lopez de legazpi que la començo*, Bloomington, Indiana, Lilly Library, Philippine MSS II, [n.d.]. An edition and translation are being prepared by Clive Griffin and John N. Crossley..

the expedition eventually left Macao, but a large group was soon to split from the rest, and found themselves in Ayutthaya. Ultimately, and only after many travails for all concerned, all but one of the Spaniards were reunited almost within sight of Manila. Sánchez's own accounts make no mention of Ayutthaya, and scarcely any of Siam, presumably because he was not with the group that visited Ayutthaya. When both parties did get back together they swapped stories of their encounters but, prolific writer though he was, Sánchez chose not to record anything about the visit to Ayutthaya.

The report occupies little more than one folio and occurs three-quarters of the way through the Lilly *Historia*, which comprises 314 folios. The manuscript is in the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana, and recounts the history of the Spanish Philippines from the arrival of Legazpi in 1565 until it breaks off in the Cambodia campaign in 1596. It appears to be the earliest Spanish history of the colonial Philippines and does not seem to have been written by a cleric. The author, who reveals little about himself, states that he was in the Indies for thirty years, but that may include time in the Americas. At times he explicitly says that he gets information from eyewitnesses. Short extracts from the manuscript were published by the Franciscan archivist Lorenzo Pérez in the 1930s in two articles that described the manuscript as "Un código desconocido", viz. unknown. Charles Boxer knew about it, but only wrote one page of notes on it and does not seem to have referred to it otherwise.¹¹

The 1584–5 trip to Macao

The description of events on the protracted journey is complicated and includes a flashback. In 1583, only twelve years after Manila had been taken by the Spaniards as their headquarters, and only eighteen years after their arrival in the Philippines, the fourth Spanish governor, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa (governed 1580–3), died and a disastrous fire, started by candles round his bier, destroyed most of Manila including the gunpowder store. News was sent off to New Spain in June 1583 in two galleons,¹² but the shipmaster and pilot of one had other plans. Because of stormy weather, instead of leaving as usual through the Embocadero (San Bernardino Strait), the ship sailed along the east of Luzon past Cape Bojeador up towards Taiwan. The galleon first went to Xiamen and then, having acquired permission in the form of a *chapa* i.e. a permit, it went to Macao.¹³ There the crew mutinied against the captain Francisco de Mercado. Word got back to Manila and the interim governor, Diego Ronquillo (governed 1583–4),¹⁴ sent the Spanish royal factor

¹¹Lorenzo Pérez, O. F. M., "Un código desconocido, relativo a las Islas Filipinas, descubierto y estudiado por el P. Lorenzo Pérez, O. F. M.", *Erudición ibero-ultramarina: Publicación trimestral consagrada a la tradición histórica de España y demás naciones de su raza y lengua*, 4 (15–16, 1933), pp. 502–529, and 5 (17, 1934), pp. 76–108. Boxer's manuscript one-page note is preserved in the descriptive folder of Philippine MSS II in the Lilly Library.

¹²Bishop Salazar says two ships went. See Domingo de Salazar, "Carta del obispo de Manila, Domingo de Salazar al Rey Felipe II. Manila, 8 de abril de 1584", AGI, [Archivo General de Indias, Seville], Filipinas 74, 25, transcribed in Manel Ollé Rodríguez, *Estrategias filipinas respecto a China: Alonso Sánchez y Domingo Salazar en la empresa de China (1581-1593)*, PhD thesis, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 1998, Vol. II, pp. 190–196 at p. 190.

¹³See p. 250 of Alonso Sánchez, "Relación brebe de la jornada que hizo el P. Alonso Sánchez la segunda vez que fué a la China el año 1584", reproduced in Ollé, *Estrategias filipinas*, Vol. II, pp. 239–268, at p. 263. Ollé's sources are AGI, Filipinas 79, ARAH [Archivo Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid], Jesuitas, tomo VII and AMN [Archivo del Museo Naval, Madrid], Colección Fernández Navarrete, II, fol. 253, dto. 80. This will be referred to as Sánchez, 1585.

¹⁴A kinsman of Gonzalo Ronquillo.

Juan Bautista Román, to sort things out. He was accompanied by the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez who would negotiate with the Chinese authorities using the good offices of the Portuguese Jesuits in Macao. This he did, deftly avoiding the diplomatic difficulty of administering Spanish law against the mutineers on Chinese soil by trying and hanging the ringleaders on board before the galleon left for Acapulco, where it arrived safely.¹⁵ As noted above Sánchez had other reasons for wanting to go to Macao. China was the great potential prize for Christianisation and Sánchez used everything in his power in pursuit of “La empresa de China”—The China Venture, which Ollé, with great justification, describes as “un espejismo”—an illusion.¹⁶ Sánchez’s endeavours in Macao were unsuccessful and eventually Bautista, Sánchez and their men set sail back to Manila on 4 October 1584 expecting a reasonably quick journey back.

Hardly had they departed when they encountered fierce storms and landed on Hainan without a *chapa*. The ship was left in bad shape: the poop damaged and the mainmast topgallant broken. Román, a sailor and a Malay youth went to a town a few kilometres inland to find an interpreter. The local people welcomed them but warned them they could not leave without a *chapa*. To get this they should send two people to the “king”, who was not far away, with suitable presents. They took fine dishes and four pieces of damask. They were turned back by officials who came back to the ship and were entertained there. However the local “queen” arrived in a ship and they were obliged to give her a present and told to go to the king of Sinua (Annam).¹⁷ They travelled six days¹⁸ to see her husband “king” Tutan¹⁹ who scoffed at their presents as too meagre for the great king of Sinua and wanted an artillery piece from their ship. He then kept them, sending a letter back to the ship, and the piece was sent, but then the king became aware of a better piece so kept some men hostage till he should receive it. The queen continued her demands but the factor said he would fulfil them later. One of the natives emerged with a machete and there was a brief encounter in which a certain Diego Maldonado was killed. The factor could not get all of the Spaniards aboard but he had the rowers ready and they pulled away from the shore leaving many behind.

Sánchez says nothing about trying to get a *chapa* but does mention the local king and queen, whom he describes as “vile”.²⁰ He was distraught about leaving his companions

¹⁵In fact both galleons arrived safely as will become evident. It is not clear by what route and exactly when the other galleon travelled.

¹⁶Manel Ollé Rodríguez, *La empresa de China: De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila*, (Barcelona, 2002), p. 1.

¹⁷It is generally said that Sinua or Sinoa was a kingdom in Cochinchina, surrounding the mouth of the Hue River in present day northern Vietnam. However Brian Zottoli has suggested that is more plausible that the reference is to the former Champa royal centre in Trà Kiệu, in today’s Quảng Nam province, which was where Mạc princes resided by the turn of the 17th century (email of 21 April 2019).

¹⁸The text also says “five leagues” but that is only about 30 km.

¹⁹Called “Tusan” in the Lilly *Historia*. 都堂, pronounced “Dū táng” in Hokkien, the variety of Chinese the people in Manila used. This is the title of the viceroy of Guangdong (Canton). See Charles R. Boxer, *South China in the sixteenth century: being the narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O. P., Fr. Martin de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550-1575)*. (London, 1953), p. 371 and the references on p. 387. However Brian Zottoli has pointed out that this term was used at the time by Vietnamese regimes to refer to their own viceroys (email of 21 April 2019).

²⁰See p. 263 of Sánchez, 1585. This is reproduced partly in Francisco Colín, SJ, *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas*, Nueva edición. Ilustrada con copia de notas y documentos para la crítica de la Historia general de la soberanía de España en Filipinas por el Padre Pablo Pastells, S. J., 3 vols, Barcelona: Henrich y Compañía, 1900–04, I, pp. 325–328.

and says so twice in his report.²¹ The twentieth-century account by de la Costa that the men on the ship were “bored” seems to have no justification whatsoever.²² Sánchez says that they went to look for food, but does not mention all the negotiations about the *chapa*.

When the Tutan returned from the giving of the present of artillery, etc., to the “great king”, he released the twenty-three prisoners. The Spaniards then went overland for a couple of days to a bay in Cachan²³ where Portuguese ships came and a Chinese interpreter told them that a Portuguese called Costantino Fariña²⁴ had come from Siam and wanted to have news of Macao (where he had a house). They found him ten kilometres away. Fariña then sent Geronimo de Cuellar²⁵ to the king of Cachan, another fifteen kilometres away, with a present and instructions to tell him all that had happened to the Spaniards. There they got sympathy and were told that Queen Bac was an evil woman.²⁶ When they rejoined Fariña his boat had been lost but they managed to hire a *soma*—a junk.²⁷ Now they were all off to Siam coasting Cochin China and entering the Gulf of Siam.²⁸ After passing several small islands they entered the river of Bancosey²⁹ by which time they were very short of food and water. Fariña and a few others then went fourteen leagues (80 km)³⁰ to a walled city called Perperi (Phetchaburi) where they learnt that the king of Siam was at war with the king of Pegu (Burma). Although a pirate who had robbed many ships passed close by, they were not seen and remained safe.

The Lilly *Historia* description of Ayutthaya

The manuscript then gives an account of just under 1,000 words of going up river to Ayutthaya and what they saw there, which we now give in translation.

²¹Sánchez, 1585, pp. 263 and 265.

²²Horacio Villamayor de la Costa, SJ, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768*, (Cambridge, MA, 1961), p. 56.

²³Identified by Antoine Cabaton, translator and annotator, 1916, *Le mémorial de Pedro Sevil á Philippe III sur la conquête de l'Indochine (1603)*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale. (Extract from *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine, 1914–1916*), p. 86, as “La partie orientale qui regarde la Chine et le Japon, comprend les royaumes de Jor, et ceux de Pan, Pathania (2), Cambodge, Champa, Sinoa (3), Cachan (4) et Tonkin : ces trois derniers s'appellent en général et communément, Cochinchine.” Footnote (4): Ke-cham, province de Quang Nam, other footnotes omitted. See also p. 122 of Brian A. Zottoli, *Reconceptualizing Southern Vietnamese History from the 15th to 18th Centuries: Competition along the Coasts from Guangdong to Cambodia*, PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2011.

²⁴The Spanish spelling of Farinha.

²⁵Cuellar had been in the Philippines for some time and was recommended to the later governor, Gómez Peerez Dasmariñas (governed 1590–3), by Philip II, see “Instructions to Gomez Perez Dasmariñas”, Felipe II, San Lorenzo, 9 August 1589, vol. VII, 141–172, at p. 150, of Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898*, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co. Translated from the originals, edited and annotated. 55 vols, 1903–1909, republished as 55 vols in 19, (Mandaluyong, 1973).

²⁶Perhaps this is really “Queen of Mạc”, since the phonemes “b” and “m” are easily interchanged. The Mạc were a powerful clan in the region, see Zottoli, *Reconceptualizing*, p. 84.

²⁷*Soma* is the Portuguese word for a junk, in Chinese: 船, Chuán. See Geoffrey Gunn, *World Trade Systems of the East and West: Nagasaki and the Asian Bullion Trade Networks*, (Leiden, 2017), p. 77.

²⁸Brian Zottoli has suggested that the route followed the shipping lanes to Quảng Nam where the ensuing action occurred on and near the Thu Bồn river (i.e. Hôi An and Trà Kiệu). (Email of 21 April 2019.)

²⁹Bancosey is probably Bang Khun Sai at the old mouth of the Phetchaburi River. It appears as Bancosey on 17th century maps. Today it is a small fishing village but may have been more important in an age of coastal trade.

³⁰Many of the measurements in this account seem to be gross overestimates.

[fol. 226v]³¹ Costantino Fariña set off from there over land to the city of Siam that is called Odia³² having said to the companions who were there that he would send light boats in which they could get there. And, having waited there more than forty days with great trials and tribulations, there being good weather, they passed the bar of the Siam River in the *soma*.³³ The river is very wide and deep and the ships of the city, which is more than seventy leagues up river, go there. Most of the riverbanks are inhabited and have many coco-palms and other trees and, further up before arriving at the [fol. 227r] city, there are very beautiful and pleasant flowery fields in view. And on the tide the *soma* went as far as the city, which is very large and is on a good site as follows. The city of Ayutthaya, where the court of the King of Siam is, is on a wide and spacious plain on a large lake of water that surrounds it,³⁴ where there is a very large number of boats travelling on all of it. There are many monasteries, which they call *varelas*,³⁵ that are richly worked and very large. All are very gilded inside and out and there are many images of idols of various forms, which they have and hold in great veneration. The principal monastery, where most of the city attends for conjunctions and oppositions of the moon,³⁶ is very large and has a large number of idols. In this temple there are more than fifty priests preaching from their stools, where they preach simultaneously in different parts of the monastery, teaching their law without intruding on each other. In their language they are called *bicos*.³⁷ They are very charitable and are mendicants, and they survive on the offerings that they seek each day in the city. They keep nothing left over from one day to the next, giving it in charity to the poor. Apart from other temples there is one that they call the monastery of the god of the fields.³⁸ It is made of stone and stucco³⁹ and is so high and big like a tower with a circumference of sixteen *brazas*.⁴⁰ The local people say that when this idol was made then there were thirteen *calizes*⁴¹ of stone alone, not counting other materials— there is another temple of the god of the *sumo* in which there is another very large idol that seems to be asleep.⁴² All these monasteries are made of brick and stone, highly gilded both inside and out, and with expensive and elegant materials. Beside the ring of water that surrounds this city there is another

³¹The year is 1585.

³²Ayutthaya. Odia is the spelling in the original. The city was probably originally named Ayodhya, after King Rama's capital, which Europeans often shortened to Yodaya or Odia. The Ayutthaya form, meaning roughly "invincible", may be a defiant innovation after the fall of the city in 1568.

³³See note 27 above.

³⁴The Spanish is *lago*, but presumably the text is referring to the network of rivers that surrounds Ayutthaya.

³⁵วัด วารวราม, *wat wa aram*, from Pali-Sanskrit *arāma* meaning pleasure, a pleasant place, and hence the grounds of a temple. "La forma Varela o Barela acostumbra a designar un templo o ídolo budista", Ollé, *Estrategias filipinas*, vol. II, p. 22, n. 2.

³⁶I.e. the new and full moon. Cf. Barros, *Ásia. Terceira Decada*, (1946 edition), Book II, Chapter V, p. 81: Têm algũas festas principais, e tôdas são no princípio da lũa nova, ou quando está chea, e o reزار dêles é en côro, de dia e de noite, a certas horas. (There are some major feasts, and all are at the beginning of the new moon, or when it is full, and they chant their prayers in chorus, day and night, at certain hours.) We have not seen any other reference to a particular Ayutthaya temple for such gatherings.

³⁷*Bhikkhu*, Pali-Sanskrit for a monk, but not very commonly used in Siam.

³⁸They did not understand Buddhism and believed the Buddha images were various gods, so they are asking the wrong question ("What god is this?") and getting answers that are meaningless. This may refer to the massive Phananchoeng image that used to stand in the open air at the southeast corner of the city (and is now enclosed in a building).

³⁹The Spanish is *arena*, which usually means "sand".

⁴⁰About 30 metres.

⁴¹1 *caliz* is 12 *fanegas* each of which is about 55 litres, so a *caliz* is about 660 litres (see François Cardarelli, *Scientific Unit Conversion: A Practical Guide to Metrication*, (London and New York, 1997), Table 3-79 p. 71.

⁴²Possibly Wat Lokayasutharam, which has a large (42 metre) reclining Buddha believed to date from the early days of Ayutthaya. It is unclear what *sumo* means.

very beautiful one of brick braced by broad timbers⁴³ and four *brazos* high,⁴⁴ with a hundred gates,⁴⁵ through which one goes in and out of the city and has many bastions that are in the mouths of the rivers. Between one entrance and another [fol. 227v] on top of the wall are two or three stone structures in which sentinels keep watch by day and night. On top of the walls there are great quantities of throwing sticks⁴⁶ with places to throw them. Between one gate and another there is a space of three hundred and twenty-four paces. They have a large amount of artillery that is positioned in the bastions at the entrances of the rivers.⁴⁷ They make and have very good *harquebuses* and good gunpowder. The people are little skilled in war. The common people use thin canes with iron points and a dagger in their belt. The city seems to have more than 100,000 inhabitants. The ordinary houses are small, each enclosed by itself. The houses of the king are very large with many courtyards and buildings and elephant houses. Throughout the city there are many shops in which they sell foodstuffs of which there is great supply. The king is treated with great majesty and respect. All his commanders and officers serve him with great obedience and fear. It is not permitted to see or speak to him except with great difficulty and then, most times, through a glazed window.⁴⁸ He is very cruel and vengeful and, with little provocation, goes and kills people and inflicts other indignities and torments and therefore he is greatly feared.⁴⁹ At this time, the king of Siam was at war with the king of Pegu⁵⁰ who was very rich and powerful and they say he came upon this city with 1,800,000 men.⁵¹ The king of Siam has an army of 2,000,000 men and 4,000 war-elephants that go into battle to fight with *howdahs* on top with eight or ten men inside. Having stayed several days in this city of Ayutthaya they managed to leave it and return to the Philippines, and although they had many difficulties in getting permission because of the [fol. 228r] war, when they finally got it, having acquired some arms and ship gear for the voyage, though little enough of it, they left the city and river of Siam in a not-very-well rigged, nor seaworthy, *fusta*,⁵² that a Portuguese, Simon Ravelo, had, since they did not want to spend any more time in new persecutions and travails.

Getting back to Manila

First they went back down the coast of Siam past Pajan (Pahan), Hube and Condore (Côn Són) islands and then sailed out of sight of land for fifteen days driven by fierce winds

⁴³“... de los bracas de m<ader>^a de ancho.”

⁴⁴About eight metres. This seems too high, but then most numbers seem exaggerated.

⁴⁵“The sheer number of gates betrays the city’s sense of security in this era”, Chris Baker, “Final Part of the Description of Ayutthaya with Remarks on Defence, Policing, Infrastructure, and Sacred Sites”, *Journal of the Siam Society*, 102 (2014), pp. 179–210, at p. 179, which mentions eighty-nine gates of various kinds.

⁴⁶“varas tossadas” seems strange. They kept braziers on the walls for heating sand and gravel to pour on assailants. Although the writing is clear perhaps this is a scribal error for “valas tostadas” (*sc.* balas tostadas).

⁴⁷Probably referring to Pomphet, “diamond fort”, at the southeast corner.

⁴⁸Probably not of glass but some translucent material, perhaps like the *capiz* shell commonly used in windows in the Philippines.

⁴⁹The king is clearly Naresuan. Although there may be some orientalism in the several European accounts of his cruelty, there is clearly also some truth. The most credible account is from Van Vliet, written 4 to 5 decades later, but drawing on indigenous documents. The more dramatic account is by Jacques de Coutre, who was in Siam around the same time as this account; see Peter Borschberg, *The Memoirs and Memorials of Jacques de Coutre*, (Singapore, 2014).

⁵⁰Naresuan was engaged in wars with Pegu intermittently from the 1580s until his death in 1605.

⁵¹A massive exaggeration, as found in most European accounts of this era. Cf., for example, p. 172 of Ralph Fitch, “An account of Pegu in 1586–1587”, *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, 2 (2004), pp. 167–179, where he recounts that the King of Pegu went to war in Ayutthaya “with three hundred thousand men, and five thousand Elephants”. The total population of Siam may have been around two million in the late seventeenth century.

⁵²Caravel.

(*vendavales*). They knew they were at eleven degrees north (Manila is in fourteen degrees north) and found they were near the Calamianes Islands in the Philippines so it was then plain sailing to the Island of Mindoro and on to Manila.

The Lilly *Historia* then flashes back to Román and his ship and the description is close to that of Sánchez.⁵³ They went along the coast of Cochin China and were almost lost in a storm near Cambodia but they succeeded in getting as far as the Singapore Strait and then to Melaka. Sánchez knew there were fellow Jesuits there and news of his arrival brought a welcoming party a league out to sea to greet them.⁵⁴ They stayed there for a few months getting the ship ready for the return to the Philippines.⁵⁵ Setting sail they had good weather across to Borneo and then Paragua, one of the Calamianes Islands, and then to Mindoro, taking over forty days for the whole voyage to Manila.

Not many kilometres (8 to 10 leagues = 40 to 50 km) from Manila, Román's ship spotted a caravel with lateen sails, a vessel that was clearly not Iberian and, on getting closer they saw tall people some of whom were dressed in Portuguese clothes. Eventually they realised they were their very own companions and there was great rejoicing. Almost miraculously only one of their number had died.⁵⁶ Sánchez reports that they swapped stories but he does not say what they said.⁵⁷ He makes no mention of Ayutthaya.

To cap it all, on the same day, the galleons *San Juan* and *San Martín* also arrived from Acapulco, having safely completed their round trip to Acapulco, causing great "general contentment" for all concerned.⁵⁸ The date was 6 June 1585.

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⁵³Sánchez, 1585, p. 265.

⁵⁴Sánchez, 1585, p. 267.

⁵⁵The Lilly *Historia* gives no detail but Sánchez, 1585, p. 267, has a paragraph saying they stayed three or four months in Melaka getting ready for the return to Manila and that they were financially assisted by the royal factor (Román).

⁵⁶The one deceased was Maldonado, see above.

⁵⁷"mezclámonos del uno en el otro: aquí los abrazos, las alegrías, las lágrimas, las preguntas, las voces, los cuentos de subcesos de una parte y de otra", Sánchez, 1585, p. 267.

⁵⁸"mucho contentamiento", Lilly *Historia*, fol. 228v.