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# The double nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Portuguese-born, naturalized Castilian. Part I – A much needed review

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# The double nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Portuguese-born, naturalized Castilian.

## Part I – A much needed review

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### ABSTRACT

This is a series of three papers revealing many important new connections between known historical documents and Alta California's early maritime discovery. It brings new data about the complex network of individuals and events leading to this epic voyage, while focusing on the nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho and other Portuguese shipowners in Alvarado-Mendoça's 1540-1543 fleet.

Remarkably, Part I presents Bartolome Ferrer's unpublished 1547 testament, where Cabrilho's pilot-major declares to be natural (likely as in being born, not naturalized) of Albissola, near Savona. Ferrer was Genoese, not Spanish, correcting what is frequently accepted in current literature.

Furthermore, Part I critically reviews Cabrilho's epoch international context, and gives many examples of naturalized foreigners who were not Spanish-born, seriously questioning the simplistic and premature conclusions about Cabrilho being Spanish-born based on W. Kramer's 2015 important documental findings.

Part II details categoric evidence about Alvar Nunes, a Portuguese pilot, co-owner of the *Santa María de Buena Esperança*, very likely Cabrilho's fleet second largest ship (perhaps rebaptized as *Santa María de La Victoria*). Noticeable, António Fernandes may have been the Portuguese owner of another ship in Alvarado's fleet - the *Anton Hernandez*, alternatively indicated as Cabrilho's fleet second largest ship.

Most crucially, supporting Cabrilho's Portuguese nationality, new, diversified, and strong circumstantial evidence is documented regarding Juan Rodríguez(s) portugués (who was Cabrilho, in all verisimilitude) in Honduras and Nicaragua. While António Fernandes was a Portuguese neighbor of Granada (Nicaragua), Alvar Nuñez portugués and Juan Rodríguez portugués (their names in Castilian written documents) met in León de Nicaragua, at least by November 1529.

Part II also presents Cabrilho's parish (Montalegre, north of Portugal) ecclesiastic archive records of a Rodrigues family from the 1520's. Part II ends by discussing remarkable new Carbon-14 radioisotope chronological data strongly supporting early 1530's as the time when Cabrilho offered a crucifix to his Rodrigues family in Lapela (de Cabril), in agreement with their ancestral oral tradition.

Part III addresses homonymous of Juan Rodríguez(s) português (like Panama's rich Portuguese merchant) who were not Cabrilho, and homonymous of other key individuals in many of Cabrilho's life events, including Francisco López português, perhaps also naturalized in nowadays Palma del Río. Finally, Part III also discusses what likely is the very first evidence about the existence of Cabrilho's own testament.

## Resumo em português:

Esta é uma série de três artigos que revela muitas conexões novas e importantes entre documentos históricos conhecidos e o dealbar da descoberta marítima da Alta Califórnia. Traz novos dados acerca da complexa rede de indivíduos e acontecimentos que culminaram nesta viagem épica, focando-se na nacionalidade de João Rodrigues Cabrilho e outros portugueses donos de navios na frota de Alvarado-Mendoça, em 1540-1543.

Na parte I destaca-se a apresentação do testamento inédito de *Bartolome Ferrer* (datado de 1547), onde o piloto-mor de Cabrilho declara ser natural (provavelmente como nascido, não como naturalizado) de Albissola, perto de Savona. Ferrer era genovês e não espanhol, corrigindo o que é frequentemente aceite na literatura actual.

Na parte I faz-se ainda uma revisão crítica do contexto internacional à época de Cabrilho, dando-se muitos exemplos de estrangeiros naturalizados que não eram nascidos em Espanha, questionando-se assim seriamente as conclusões simplistas e prematuras acerca do nascimento de Cabrilho em Espanha, com base nas importantes descobertas documentais de W. Kramer em 2015.

A parte II detalha as provas categóricas acerca de Alvar Nunes ser um piloto português e coproprietário do *Santa María de Buena Esperança*, muito provavelmente o segundo maior navio na frota de Cabrilho (talvez rebaptizado como *Santa María de La Victoria*). Notoriamente, António Fernandes poderá ter sido o português dono de ainda um outro navio na frota de Alvarado - o *Anton Hernandez*, alternativamente indicado como sendo o segundo maior na frota de Cabrilho.

Crucialmente, na parte II, dando suporte à nacionalidade portuguesa de Cabrilho, documentam-se ainda novas, diversificadas e fortes provas circunstanciais acerca de Juan Rodríguez(s) português (que seria Cabrilho, com toda a verossimilhança) nas Honduras e Nicarágua. Enquanto António Fernandes era um vizinho português de Granada (Nicarágua), *Alvar Nuñez português* e *Juan Rodríguez português* (os seus nomes, como escritos em documentos castelhanos) conheceram-se em León da Nicarágua, pelo menos em Novembro de 1529.

Na parte II apresentam-se também documentos dos arquivos eclesiásticos da freguesia de Cabril (Montalegre, norte de Portugal) relativos a uma família Rodrigues em torno de 1520. A parte II termina discutindo novos dados cronológicos de suprema relevância, baseados no radioisótopo carbono-14, que permitem validar os anos iniciais da década de 1530 como sendo aqueles em que Cabrilho ofereceu um crucifixo à sua família Rodrigues em Lapela (de Cabril), em concordância com a sua tradição oral ancestral.

Na parte III discutem-se homónimos de Juan Rodríguez(s) português (como o rico comerciante português do Panamá) que não eram o Cabrilho, e homónimos de outros indivíduos de destaque em muitos dos acontecimentos da vida de Cabrilho, incluindo *Francisco López português*, tendo-se talvez naturalizado igualmente na actual Palma del Río. Finalmente, a parte III discute ainda o que muito provavelmente se tratará da primeira prova da existência do próprio testamento de Cabrilho.

**Keywords: Cabrilho, Cabrillo, Portuguese, nationality, Alvar Nunes, Antonio Fernandes, Bartolome Ferrer, Pedro de Alvarado, ships, California, maritime, discoveries, naturalization, fleet, foreigners, testament, carbon-14, crucifix, New World, XVI century, history, Spain, Guatemala, Nicaragua, New Spain, Genoese, homonymous, viceroy, Antonio de Mendoça, Portugal, colonial, USA, Mexico, Genoa**

**Palavras-chave: Cabrilho, português, nacionalidade, Alvar Nunes, António Fernandes, Bartolome Ferrer, Pedro de Alvarado, navios, Califórnia, marítima, descobrimentos, naturalização, frota, estrangeiros, testamento, carbono-14, crucifixo, Novo Mundo, século XVI, história, Espanha, Guatemala, Nicarágua, Nova Espanha, genovês, homónimos, Vice-rei, Antonio de Mendoça, Portugal, colonial, EUA, México, Génova**

## **The double nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Portuguese-born, naturalized Castilian.**

### **Part I – A much needed review**

#### ***1 – Introduction and scope***

This set of three papers<sup>1</sup> starts by revisiting Wendy Kramer’s remarkable<sup>2</sup> work and documental findings, presented since 2015, stating that Cabrilho was natural of the present city of Palma del Río, in Spain. Next, I discuss several examples supporting why too many scholars reached premature conclusions about Cabrilho being, therefore, Spanish-born. Paying critical attention to Kramer’s discovered documents, intriguingly, not in a single instance do they ever state that Cabrilho was born in Spain - they always read instead “natural of”. This subtle, but extremely important difference means probably that Cabrilho, like many other foreigners, was naturalized Castilian given the peculiar context of Castile’s sixteenth-century citizenship and naturalization laws.

I have developed an inquiring and deconstructive review of other arguments found in the literature favoring Cabrilho’s Castilian (“Spanish”) nationality. Cabrilho was certainly Castilian, only in the sense of the Roman proverb “*Ubi bene, ibi patria*”, meaning “where you feel good, that is your motherland”, and since he spent most (or all?) of his adult life serving Spain, he likely got naturalized there, having nothing to do with the Portuguese Crown’s maritime exploration achievements. Cabrilho never served under Portuguese kings’ orders, which may partially explain modern Portuguese historians’ lack of interest about his life. This

is somewhat unfortunate though, since he was most likely a Portuguese-born citizen, and his remarkable life and voyages surely deserve a proper modern study under Portuguese lenses.

Most importantly, in Part II of this work I present newfound strong circumstantial evidence supporting that Cabrilho was indeed Portuguese by following his steps in Honduras and Nicaragua.

Cabrilho was mostly known as Juan Rodríguez in Guatemala, or as Juan Rodríguez de Palma in Spain for legal matters with the local authorities. In Nicaragua and Honduras, Cabrilho was most probably known as Juan Rodrigues(z)<sup>3</sup> português (JRP), as many documents consistently suggest. Surprisingly, such documents have never been properly studied, showing how much is yet to be uncovered regarding California's earliest maritime discovery history!

Following the hypothesis of Cabrilho being the same person as JRP in Nicaragua revealed at once to be quite rewarding! Several documents categorically identify Alvar Nunes, a Portuguese pilot (*vecino* or citizen of León, Nicaragua), as the co-owner of one of the ships in Alvarado-Mendoza's 1540-1543 fleet, namely the *Santa María de Buena Esperança*, or *Alvar Nuñez*. In his masterpiece book, Harry Kelsey suggests<sup>4</sup> that Alvar Nunes' ship may have been the other major ship (rebaptized as *Santa María de la Victoria*) in Cabrilho's discovery of California, though nobody can attest so. These are deeply revealing news: Portuguese seamen possibly owned the two largest ships in the discovery of California!!

This JRP-Cabrilho hypothesis brought yet another potential revelation, with other documents suggesting (but not categorically proving it, as in Alvar Nunes' case) that António Fernandes (Portuguese *vecino* of Granada, Nicaragua), could have been the owner of the *Anton Hernandez*, yet another ship in Alvarado's fleet – also considered<sup>4</sup> at times (alternatively with the *Alvar Nuñez*) as possibly the second largest ship in Cabrilho's exploration of California.

However, before discussing all these new data in detail in Part II, it is imperative to show here first why Cabrilho's Spanish birth nationality is in fact quite far (!) from being unquestionably settled, as Kramer<sup>5</sup> and many others now sustain. I hope readers may also question Kramer's fragile assertion, concluding the opposite, as I did.

After several works by Portuguese historians appeared in the 1950-1960s, somewhat skewed by that Portuguese fascist-nationalism period, no major in-depth reviews or new major evidence about Cabrilho have been published by Portuguese historians, other than a few summarizing publications<sup>6,7</sup>. Thus, an updated review of Cabrilho's origins, from a Portuguese perspective, is overdue and much needed, especially considering how much of Cabrilho's life has been uncovered, based on the extensive works of Kramer and Kelsey, among others.

Constructive and healthy patriotism differs from blind nationalism, and surely all serious modern scholars want to find the truth about Cabrilho's origins, whichever they may be. In fact, not all Portuguese past generations historians were convinced that Cabrilho was Portuguese, namely António Machado de Faria who was quite critical<sup>8</sup> of Visconde de Lagoa's work. Among other possibilities for Cabrilho's name origin, Faria even mentioned (decades before Kramer's findings) a small river called Cabrilla, near Almodóvar del Río (province of Córdoba, just 30 kilometers from Palma del Río). Like many other historians, though, Faria also totally missed Lagoa's critically important 1536 reference<sup>9</sup> about the Portuguese Cabrilho in Honduras.

Cabrilho's first son (born in Guatemala around 1535-1536), was called Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, probably reflecting Cabrilho's original name, which was not "de Palma". In the documents known hitherto, indeed Cabrilho's American family never declared he was Portuguese-born, but neither did they declare that Cabrilho was born in Spain, or even acknowledge he was natural of Palma del Río - a remarkable omission regarding a supposedly Spanish-born!

In another major revelation presented in this paper, Bartolome Ferrer declares in his testament (unpublished, surprisingly!) to be natural of Albissola<sup>10</sup>, a little town in the Riviera

of Genoa. In Ferrer's case, being "natural of" most certainly means being in fact born near Genoa. Ferrer was Cabrilho's pilot-major (most likely also Cabrilho's testament executor – see this work's Part III) leading the expedition after Cabrilho's death (January 1543). Seemingly, the Genoese pilot was never very open (judging by the lack of other documentation...) about his birthplace or hypothetical Spanish naturalization, with most historians defending hitherto that Ferrer was born somewhere in the Spanish *Levante*, along the Mediterranean coast. No, Ferrer was not a born Spaniard!

Like Ferrer, Cabrilho too may have had reasons to prefer to be quiet (when and if possible...) about his birthplace and naturalization process, to avoid any potential problems with the ever-changing Spanish laws. In a simple, but paradigmatic example of such potential situations (though not directly related to Cabrilho), a 1643 judicial document<sup>11</sup> from Mexico City (New Spain's capital) reads: "May the commission against foreigners' justice and judges proceed not against Francisco de Barros Carvalhido, for saying he is Portuguese; instead, support him as a vassal of his Majesty, as natural of the kingdom of Galicia." In another insightful example, interestingly much closer both to Cabrilho's lifetime and putative birthplace (Lapela de Cabril) in Portugal, we learn about Lourenço Álvares' life (probably his original name), born in the village of Tabarca, Cabreiro parish, district of Viana do Castelo (Portugal's northwest region). In his 1579 testament<sup>12</sup>, Lorenzo Alvarez (as shown in the Mexican document, probably written at Puebla de Los Angeles) named his Portuguese parents, from the county of Arcos de Valdevez. However, during the eighteen years he lived in New Spain, he adopted the name Juan Gallego (interestingly the same nickname, "the Galician", by which Cabrilho was supposedly known in Lapela de Cabril), saying instead to be natural of Galicia, since the Portuguese were not allowed in New Spain. Parts of Álvares' testament say: "I declare that I came from the kingdom of Portugal... from where I am natural... Juan Gallego is another name I have been known for... the purpose of being known as of Galician nation and not accused of being Portuguese. Ever since I left my fatherland, I had no news about my family...".

Naturalization was indeed often a major requirement for foreigners to live in the Spanish Americas, both for common citizens (as in the examples above) and famous navigators, as discussed ahead.

Finally, this work's Part III is dedicated to compare and disentangle homonymous of JRP and of other individuals in Cabrilho's life context, including "Francisco López portugués", perhaps also natural of Palma del Río. Particular attention is given to "Juan Rodríguez portugués" of Panama, who was not Cabrilho. I will prove and/or strongly suggest that, at least in a few instances, this homonymous rich Portuguese explorer of Panama also could not be the JRP-Cabrilho.

## ***2 – Cabrilho: natural of Palma del Río, but not necessarily born there!***

In 1601, Juan de Oñate led a large expedition searching for the mythical Quivira and the Seven Cities of Cibola/Gold, following friar Marcos de Niza and Vázquez de Coronado's past failed quests. Like Coronado before him, instead of seven cities with golden roofs, Oñate found no major treasures in the plains of nowadays southwest USA. New Mexico's colonization was starting by then and among Oñate's soldiers there was a Portuguese sea pilot, called João Rodrigues Neto<sup>13,14</sup>, declaring he was natural of the village of Crestuma, near Porto (north of Portugal). Like in many other similar cases, one reasonably assumes this João Rodrigues was therefore born in Crestuma. However, this was not always necessarily the case

in Spain, as discussed below, given the flow of many foreigners becoming naturalized Spaniards, and heading to the New World. Let us discuss a couple of famous examples.

The first circumnavigation of the world (1519-1522) was led by the Portuguese Fernão de Magalhães (Magellan, in English). After serving the Portuguese Crown from Malacca to North Africa, Magalhães later became a naturalized Spaniard, as a legal requirement of his job: searching for the southwest passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans (the latter baptized after Magalhães' comments, for being supposedly calmer than the Atlantic).

Likewise, Amerigo Vespucci was born in Florence (nowadays Italy), sailing initially for Portugal along Brazil's coast. As a result of these navigations, the American continent gained its name, following the publication of Amerigo's famous account letters titled *Mundus Novus* ("New World", 1503-1504). After leaving Portugal, Vespucci served Spain, receiving later a Spanish royal naturalization letter (April 24, 1505), containing this critically important sentence<sup>15</sup>: "...from now on, I make you a **NATURAL** of these kingdoms of mine...**AS IF YOU WERE BORN** and raised in them...and you shall be allowed to hold any royal or local public office...that may be given to you." Vespucci was natural of Spain, but not born there! This subtle, but fundamental difference likely applies to Cabrilho too. Incomprehensibly, practically nobody ever systematically addressed Kramer's documental findings under this perspective.<sup>16</sup>

Further examples exist, a particularly notorious one being Christopher Columbus' Genoese<sup>17</sup> nationality. Those still defending<sup>18</sup> the Catalan-born Columbus (who always self-identified as a foreigner to the Catholic Kings!), argue twistedly about Columbus' naturalization being unknown or nowhere explicitly documented<sup>19</sup>, unlike Magalhães' or Vespucci's.

Not only famous navigators got naturalized Spanish. Many foreign common citizens did the same. As an impressive example, in 1680, Madrid's Catholic Inquisition accused many Jews, during a public penance ritual called *Auto de Fe*, attended by the Spanish King Carlos II. The list<sup>20</sup> of 118 Jews includes a vast number of Portuguese, of which 30 are simultaneously identified as Portuguese and natural of some Spanish locality! Avoiding exhaustiveness, these six examples are quite illustrative: medical doctor Rafael de Paz, natural of the city of Zamora, originally from Portugal; Antonio Rodrigues, natural and neighbor of Madrid, originally from Portugal; Ana Maria de Orobio, natural of Seville, Portuguese; Francisco Manuel Dias, natural of Seville, Portuguese; João Baptista Pereira, natural of Monforte de Lemus, in Galicia, originally from Portugal; João de Espanha Sotomayor, natural of Lucena (in Córdoba, not far from Palma del Río) and neighbor of Málaga, of Portuguese nation... died in the secret prisons of Granada's Inquisition.

Portuguese common citizens, naturalized Spaniards, were also found in New Spain. Adding to Barros Carvalhido and Lourenço Álvares previous examples, for instance, Juan Fernandez Portugues (his original Portuguese name probably was João Fernandes), natural of Chinchón (near Madrid), was an apothecary and got in trouble with the Mexican Inquisition<sup>21</sup> in 1580.

Cabrilho likely spent some time in Palma de Micer Giglio, to become naturalized there, but it seems the municipality of Palma del Río and the USA's National Park Service should consider changing the non-necessarily factual (therefore embarrassing...) wording of the commemorative plaque installed on September 28, 2018, at San Diego's Cabrilho National Monument, from "born in Palma del Río", to instead "natural of Palma del Río".

The same applies to a similar plaque installed with the same mistake in Mexico's Cabrilho statue, on September 17, 2019, celebrating Cabrilho's discovery of San Mateo's Bay (as nowadays Ensenada was baptized then) on the same day in 1542.

It is thus very proper and ironic to quote<sup>22</sup> Prof. Iris Engstrand in her W. Kramer's book review: "National Park Service officials accepted plaques and a statue identifying him as the

Portuguese navigator João Rodrigues Cabrilho without any proof or even a proper in-depth investigation. This new work by Dr. Kramer (...) solves a mystery that the National Park Service has perpetuated by accepting incorrect plaques, a statue, and other misleading information.”

It seems, rather, that a proper in-depth investigation was not done this time regarding the plaque installed in 2018, promoted by Palma del Río’s municipality and continuous political pressure of Jesus Benayas, president of the House of Spain in San Diego. This is History repeating itself – as in the famous example of João Dias de Solis, a Portuguese pilot who later became Spain’s pilot-major in 1512. During more than four centuries (!) Spanish historians insisted that Solis, being natural of Lebrija (near Seville), was therefore Spanish-born. He was not. Solis was clearly Portuguese, as shown in a proper in-depth investigation, by the late nineteenth-century Chilean historian Toribio de Medina, even before more categorical documents came to light in the twentieth century. Astonishingly, too many historians embarked in this “unquestionable” evidence of Cabrilho being Spanish-born, disingenuously insisting in a totally speculative “error” done by Antonio de Herrera about Cabrilho being Portuguese.

### ***3 – How to become a Spaniard? The naturalization processes***

Why did all these people, from famous navigators to common citizens, become Spanish? To answer this question, a couple of paradigmatic examples are given in documents<sup>23</sup> dated of December 7, 1643, part of Mexico’s vice-royal administration naturalization procedures, one of which stating: “Concedes a naturalization letter to the Portuguese Manuel Mendes de Miranda, so that he may benefit from the Spaniards’ privileges and rights”. In the same day, another<sup>23</sup> naturalization letter was given to the Portuguese “Antonio Mendez Chillon” (*sic*) so that he could enjoy all the preeminences and honors belonging to naturals.

Focusing on Castile’s naturalization processes, and following Yasmina Garfia’s work<sup>24</sup>, a naturalized person, unlike a foreigner, could apply to ecclesiastic or public offices, use common land, and trade with the Spanish Indies. Foreigners could become naturalized either by a royal letter of naturalization or by acquiring neighborhood status (becoming *vecino*, “neighbor” in Castilian) in a local community. Naturalization by integration, by *vecindad*, showing willingness to integrate a community (and by extension a kingdom) was often more important than complying with all the legal requirements, since these changed from time to time, e.g., needing either five or ten years as a *vecino* to become Spanish. Laws changed, e.g., in 1560, 1566, 1580, etc.

To better understand the evolution of naturalization processes in Spain’s sixteenth and following centuries, Tamar Herzog’s book<sup>25</sup> (titled as “Becoming a Spaniard” in its Castilian translation), is mandatory reading regarding the relations between being a community *vecino* and becoming naturalized. Her book’s introductory chapter contains the following revealing statement: “membership in local communities defined the relationship linking individuals to the kingdom and that a ‘law of domicile’ was as important, if not more important, than the law of birth (*ius soli*) and descent (*ius sanguinis*)”.

Studying thousands of cases, Herzog mentions that some foreigners would integrate into Spanish communities by the castilianization of their names, by actively participating in communal life, or by marrying a Spaniard. Reputation alone, more than the existence of defined legislation, often established if a person had integrated a community, behaving as a *vecino* should. According to Herzog: “Exercising the rights of *vecindad*, for example, taking one’s goats to the common pasture, was both a claim and a confirmation of membership. There was no need for official declarations, and indeed, *vecindad* was generated largely by what could be described as reputation.” Since the definition of *vecindad* lacked clear criteria (having

significant disparity from city to city) and was very flexible and open to reputation interpretations, this sort of nationalization (association to a kingdom) of residence (belonging to a community) meant that issuing formal letters of naturalization or residence was exceptional, not the rule.

While giving many examples of naturalization letters, María Jimeno's master thesis<sup>26</sup> makes a very important final point, stating that both being natural and *vecino* of a community were status that could be lost, for not complying with the conditions of residence, e.g., or integration in society. By contrast, if you are born in a place that is unchangeable. Therefore, it was above all the community integration's level that would define an individual's juridical status.

According to Fabricio Salvatto<sup>27</sup>, even when King Felipe V tried to centralize and reinforce the Crown's power, extending and imposing Castile's laws into Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia (Nueva Planta decrees of 1707-1717), local communities still preserved a certain autonomy in deciding who was a *vecino* and/or natural of the community and thus (to a certain extent) who was a natural of the kingdom. In conclusion, the peculiarity of being natural from a Spanish city is that such status is not exclusive for Spanish-born, defining instead a community who could enjoy the Spaniards' rights.

Kelsey's encyclopedic work about Cabrilho acknowledges this reality<sup>28</sup>: "Juan Rodríguez doubtless came from Seville, but might not have been born there." Seville was the Spanish Americas' gate, with many colonizers claiming to be natural or coming from Seville without being really born there. Kramer discovered that Cabrilho left for Castilla del Oro (present Panama) in Pedrarias' 1514 armada, departing from Sanlúcar de Barrameda, not far from Seville.

Spanish colonies' ever-changing naturalization laws, likewise, did not bring tranquility to foreigners. Mena García's excellent book<sup>29</sup> about sixteenth-century Panama's society illustrates this very well, one example being a May 1520 decree revoking the license given to Genoese merchants and foreigners of other nations, ordering them to abandon the land in three months! However, the economic reality and necessity of populating these colonies brought reversing decrees in 1524, 1525, and 1526, allowing foreigners to trade freely. This inconsistency went on: by 1538, only foreigners with a royal permit could travel to the Spanish Americas. The Spanish Crown quickly learned how to profit from the situation. In 1596, foreigners arriving illegally to the Americas started paying to become naturalized. Consulting Mena García's list of those paying for naturalization in Panama, the vast majority was by far Portuguese, followed by Sicilians, Genoese, and Corsicans.

#### ***4 – Was Cabrilho Spanish-born? Not a single document says so.***

Beyond Kramer's findings about Cabrilho's naturalization, there are no other documents indisputably showing or suggesting that Cabrilho was Spanish-born. Kelsey, Mathes, and others presented fragile and non-convincing interpretations, with unjustified and undocumented high bias towards Cabrilho being Spanish-born.

Kelsey mentions<sup>30</sup> a passage in Cabrilho's grandson Gerónimo Cabrillo de Aldana's sworn testament (December 4, 1617), saying: "My paternal grandfather, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo came [to the New World] from the Kingdoms of Spain in company with Pánfilo de Narváez." This passage has been used in several publications<sup>31</sup> sustaining that Cabrilho was Spanish-born. However, Magalhães and Vespucci, e.g., also came from Spain to the New World, but they were not Spanish-born. Therefore, this is a totally useless argument proving nothing regarding Cabrilho's birth nationality!

Kelsey further suggests<sup>28</sup> that since Narváez preferred to lead men from Cuéllar (Province of Segovia, Spain), maybe Cabrilho was born there – a blatant syllogistic fallacy. Vasco da Gama, e.g., was born in Sines, land of brave sailors and fisherman. That does not mean Vasco da Gama’s entire crews were from Sines!

In another publication<sup>32</sup>, Kelsey strangely states that “Cabrilho’s family and friends always insisted he was from Spain. Members of his family swore this under oath, as did his friends”. Cabrilho surely navigated from Spain to the Americas, but Kelsey has yet to provide (!?) documents supporting this totally unsubstantiated claim, if referring to Cabrilho being Spanish-born. Paradoxically, Kelsey seems less Spanish biased in the first lines of his major book’s foreword<sup>33</sup>, writing: “Anyone who reads this book will learn that I have not given a fully conclusive answer to one of the most intriguing questions about Juan Rodríguez Cabrilho: Where was he born?”

Michael Mathes was another historian with unjustified bias favoring a Spanish-born Cabrilho. One of Mathes’ most quoted works<sup>34</sup> says: “The nationality of Juan Rodríguez Cabrilho (João Rodrigues Cabrilho as he is called in Portuguese) has usually been readily accepted as having been Portuguese; however, an analysis of sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts and imprints, as well as modern works, tends to indicate the contrary.”

Mathes correctly criticized some Portuguese authors’ blind nationalism induced errors, during Salazar’s fascist dictatorship. However, Mathes absolutely failed in providing robust evidence of the analysis and tendency he refers to as supporting Spanish Cabrilho. For instance, Mathes wrote: “The mere fact that he served the Spanish Crown for over two decades without a single mention during his lifetime that he was Portuguese should be sufficient to negate Herrera<sup>35</sup>.” This argument, trying to negate the (until now) oldest known reference to Portuguese Cabrilho, is quite invalid though, because, e.g., for more than 400 years Spanish historians staunchly (but erroneously!) defended that João Dias de Solis, their once pilot-major (as of 1512), was Spanish-born. In 1508, Solis and Pinzón explored the Gulf of Honduras and Veragua’s proximities, searching for a non-existing strait connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Later, in 1516, the same goal led to Solis’ death, cannibalized by the La Plata River Indians, in nowadays Uruguay. Many Spanish historians, including Herrera<sup>36</sup>, said Solis was natural of Lebrija, and at least until the 1920s they were still convinced that Solis was Spanish-born.

In 1897, the Chilean historian Toribio de Medina, defending academic truth despite being hispanophile, was among the first to admit<sup>37</sup> that Solis was indeed Portuguese. Medina had access to many Portuguese and Spanish historic documents supporting his conclusion, but not yet all of them - notably the *Comments of Afonso de Albuquerque* (from 1557) and the “checkmate” letter from the Portuguese King Manuel I to the Spanish King Fernando II (September 22, 1512). The sequence of previous letters from João de Vasconcelos (Portugal’s ambassador to Spain in 1512) to King Manuel I is mandatory reading, eliminating alternative interpretations and categorically proving Solis’ Portuguese nationality, in the context of the Spanish planned expedition to Malacca (canceled that same year by Fernando II). This 1512 letter was, however, only rediscovered in 1907, as explained in Luciano Pereira da Silva’s detailed<sup>38</sup> work about the intrepid stories of “brandy’s breath” (*bofes de bagaço*), which likely was Solis’ nickname in Portugal (he overenjoyed liquor)! Just the day before leaving for India, as a pilot in Tristão da Cunha’s Portuguese armada, Solis killed his wife. Escaping the Portuguese justice (April 1506) and hiding in Spain, he became first *vecino* of Lepe and later of Lebrija.

A similar situation occurred with João Afonso, a Portuguese pilot from Algarve, exiled in France, naturalized French by a letter<sup>39</sup> of King Francis I (around 1541) and famous for the 1559 publication of his *Adventurous Voyages*. Known for long as Jean Alphonse Saintongeois (or Jean Fonteneau), he was Roberval’s pilot in France’s exploration of Canada. King João

III's letter offering pardon to João Afonso and inviting him to return to Portugal was only published in the nineteenth century by the Brazilian historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen. This and other documents finally proved<sup>40</sup> (after the mid-twentieth century) that João Afonso was not French.

These two paradigmatic examples totally derail Mathes' over-simplistic fallacy about lack of mentions to Cabrilho's Portuguese nationality during his lifetime. In fact, documents stating that both João Dias de Solis and João Afonso were Portuguese existed during their lifetimes – but they were only found much later or neglected and ignored for too long. Kramer's documental findings and those from Colección Somoza<sup>3</sup> I firstly rediscovered and properly contextualize, strongly suggest Cabrilho's case may be analogous.

Among other errors, like the dates of Cabrilho's travel to Spain and marriage with Beatriz Ortega, Mathes presents<sup>41</sup> yet (!) another invalid argument regarding Cabrilho's putative grave marker. This stone slab was found<sup>42</sup> on Santa Rosa Island, in 1901, having the letters “J Rs” carved on it. Mathes defends the “Rs” engraving represents the Castilian paleographic abbreviature for “Rodriguez” (with a “z”). This is, however, quite incorrect, since many Castilian books show “Rs” instead as the paleographic abbreviature for the Portuguese name “Rodrigues” (with an “s”) – see, e.g., Muñoz y Rivero's manual<sup>43</sup> of Spanish paleography with several such examples. Spanish records across centuries make an inconsistent usage of the “Rs” abbreviature, for names written extensively at times as “Rodriguez” or as “Rodrigues”. Furthermore, Cabrilho's signature as one of Santiago de Guatemala's founding neighbors (July 25, 1524), shows<sup>44</sup> the abbreviation “Rodz”. To make things even more complicated, the Portuguese paleographic abbreviature for “Rodrigues” can be “Rs” or “Roiz”, etc. Therefore, the “Rs” grave carving argument is obviously inconclusive, and surely cannot be presented categorically in favor of Cabrilho being either Spanish or Portuguese.

Mathes further criticized<sup>34</sup> the Portuguese writer Celestino Soares, for lacking supporting evidence regarding his claim about António Correia and Bartolome Ferrer being Portuguese. It was total nonsense for Mathes to question António Correia's robustly established Portuguese nationality. He was one of Cabrilho's expedition ships' captains, and natural of Viana de Caminho (nowadays Viana do Castelo), according to his own testimony<sup>45</sup>.

As to Ferrer's Portuguese nationality, the only relevant reference<sup>46</sup> I located (an encyclopedia with highly unreliable sources), indicates he was born in Coimbra (central Portugal), supposedly according to Mexico's archbishop Lorenzana. A few other authors<sup>47</sup> briefly mentioning Ferrer as Portuguese add no further useful information. References<sup>48</sup> to Bilbao as Ferrer's birthplace seem fragile too.

Based on Cabrilho's voyage “*Relación*”<sup>49</sup>, written by Juan Paez, where Ferrer is said to be “*natural levantisco*”, most historians assumed therefore that Ferrer was born somewhere in the Spanish Mediterranean coast. As to Mathes, he too did not document his conclusion<sup>34</sup> about Ferrer's birthplace being Valencia. Since the Spanish *Levante* is not just Valencia, why not, say, Alicante, or Murcia instead? Another possible interpretation is that Ferrer was natural from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, if understanding *levantisco*, broadly, as someone from a rising Sun region.

Lockhart's great book<sup>50</sup> “Spanish Peru”, says Ferrer was a Genoese seaman, owning a ship in Nicaragua, and trading along different harbors from Mexico to Peru, in 1547. Is Lockhart identification of Ferrer as a Genoese at odds with being natural from the Spanish *Levante*? There may be nothing strange here, considering a similar situation with Cabrilho's naturalization: perhaps Ferrer was indeed Genoese-born and naturalized somewhere in the Spanish *Levante*? Locating Ferrer's testament in Peru's national archives allowed me to confirm that indeed Cabrilho's main pilot was natural of Albissola, near nowadays Savona, west of Genoa.

Healthy skepticism imposes a question: was this a different person, homonymous of Bartolome Ferrer? Most probably not. As indicated in Ferrer's testament (see Annex I primary fragments), notably, Ferrer co-owned a trading ship in Nicaragua, with Jeronimo of Sant Remo, who was<sup>51</sup> in Cabrilho's fleet, probably as one of his ships' captains<sup>52</sup>!

Jeronimo of Sant Remo was probably from Sanremo, relatively close to Genoa. Among other "San Remo" surnames from that period, when Cortés sent the ship *Trinidad* to Baja California (1539), two of its mariners were Genoese: Pedro and Juan de San Remo<sup>53</sup>.

Unlike Sanremo, with an history of long conflicts under Genoa's protectorate, Corsica belonged to Genoa across centuries. Noting that Lorenzo Fernandez Barreda was Corsican<sup>54</sup>, then the most important (all?) pilots and captains of Cabrilho's expedition were foreigners: Portuguese, Genoese, and Corsicans! No surprise here. Spain had too many *conquistadores* and not enough skilled pilots, as dramatically exemplified in Cortés' 1538 letter<sup>55</sup>, begging for more pilots to be sent from Spain, since he had nine ships ashore waiting to continue his pioneering exploration of Baja California! Noticeably, Martin de Acosta (his Castilianized name), a Portuguese pilot natural of Porto<sup>56</sup>, served Cortés before, during Hernando de Grijalva's 1533 expedition<sup>57</sup> to "California/Revillagigedo", dying<sup>58</sup> later (like almost all crew, including some Genoese) in the 1536-1539 Grijalva's "Pacific/Moluccas" expedition.

So much, thus, for Mathes' "thorough and dependable"<sup>59</sup> work - the discussion above being in total disagreement with Kelsey's opinion. One final critical mistake must be mentioned: of the 124 identified "Juan Rodríguez" immigrating into the Americas, Mathes failed<sup>34</sup> to properly account for a "Juan Rodrigues/z portugues" in Honduras and Nicaragua, missing Lagoa's pivotal hint<sup>9</sup>. Disproving, thus, Kelsey's statement, Mathes did not destroy entirely Lagoa's arguments. In fact, Mathes totally missed (*inter alia*) the details of Cabrilho "becoming" resident in Gracias a Dios (Honduran city), only founded by December 1536, when Cabrilho probably was already back to Santiago de Guatemala, as discussed in this work's Part II. Despite receiving the Indian settlement of Teota and Cotela as an *encomienda* (around Gracias a Dios, as decreed by Alvarado, in July 1536) for his Honduras campaign services, Cabrilho took no immediate possession of it.

"Johan Rodryguez portugès" (*sic*), man in a horse (*honbre de caballo*), was spearheading the mutiny<sup>60</sup> of April 29, 1536, in Buena Esperanza del Naco, against Honduras' governor Andrés de Cereceda. In those times, being rich meant having horses, a major social distinction from foot soldiers. Cabrilho likely had an income far<sup>61</sup> superior to other equally honorable Guatemalan citizens. Lagoa wrote this "*honbre de caballo*" was obviously Cabrilho, but identifying this JRP was far from obvious. Ultimately from Honduras we can trace back in time, with a very high likelihood (not absolute certainty), some of Cabrilho's life steps in Nicaragua.

As discussed in Part II, adding to Herrera's source, Lagoa's Honduras reference is the tip of the iceberg when searching for Cabrilho's Portuguese origins. Kelsey wrote that Lagoa's work was fatally flawed<sup>59</sup> by assuming Cabrilho was Portuguese. Documents suggest the opposite: instead, Kelsey's work fatal flaw is assuming Cabrilho was Spanish-born!

## **5 - João Rodrigues Cabrilho: a Portuguese, honored, valiant, and skillful seaman.**

In 1537, Jiménez de Quesada located the Somondoco emerald rich mines, in the Muisca's land, not far from today's Bogotá (Colombia's capital), founded by Quesada in 1538. The door was opened for subsequent searches of *El Dorado*, the Muisca's mythical land. After getting his emeralds, Quesada explored the vast flat cattle lands called *Llanos Orientales*, and this is where the Portuguese soldier Diego Gomes deserves a small passage in Piedrahita's

kingdom of New Granada conquest history. In face of a strong river current, “Diego Gomez, of Portuguese<sup>62</sup> nation, a determined man and skilled swimmer”, risked his life, jumping into the river’s rapids with a rope, and, despite almost dying, he finally saved the day managing to lead Quesada’s troops, horses and supplies safely across the river. This is a typical example of history chroniclers describing an event or person they knew well, mentioning their nationality and qualities. Similar writings portrayed Cabrilho.

Until now, the oldest (*circa* 1615) known reference to Portuguese Cabrilho is from Herrera, stating: “Juan Rodriguez Cabrilho Portuguese<sup>35</sup>, a person very skillful in sea matters.” Herrera further described Cabrilho’s death while exploring California: “because of the death of captain<sup>63</sup> Juan Rodriguez Cabrilho of disease, a good man, and very skillful in navigation”. What were his sources about Cabrilho being a good man? Perhaps the judicial proofs of merit (*probanzas*) done by Cabrilho’s son, where many testimonies mentioned how highly honorable Cabrilho was.

Despite many errors in his work, like still showing an insular California, Jesuit Father Miguel Venegas is another important source about California’s history. Regarding Cabrilho’s voyage, Venegas<sup>64</sup> wrote “Juan Rodriguez Cabrilho, honored Portuguese, valiant and skillful in the sea”, further adding: “Ruy-Lopez de Villalobos, natural of Málaga, man of quality, and talents... departed later than the Portuguese, from Navidad’s harbor.” Venegas surely had access to Bernal del Castillo’s earlier work<sup>65</sup>, where (in some slightly different editions) almost the same exact words were used to describe Cabrilho’s qualities. Other than also living in Santiago de Guatemala, Bernal knew Cabrilho since the Aztecs’ conquest, referring to Cabrilho’s critical importance in finding resin and making pitch for Cortés’ invading ships. Likely, Venegas was just echoing Bernal regarding Cabrilho’s qualities, and Herrera regarding his Portuguese nationality. Alternatively, the original documents about California that Venegas claimed to have<sup>66</sup> received directly from New Spain’s vice-kingdom (maybe those written by Mendoça’s scribe Juan de León?), contained perhaps relevant information about Cabrilho’s qualities and nationality. Despite major omissions, like ignoring Cabrilho’s death in his voyage short summary, Venegas writes with some authority, asserting<sup>67</sup> he needed to address in detail Cabrilho’s voyage because many other authors were confused or forgot about it. Perhaps Venegas’ “authority” anchored directly in Mexico’s viceroy. This because, initially, it was Juan de Alvarado (Pedro de Alvarado’s nephew) and Ruy Villalobos (viceroy Mendoça’s relative) who were supposed to lead the two great 1541 expeditions – family members, trusted people they knew well. Likewise, afterwards with Hernando Alarcon, a member of Mendoça’s personal horse-guard and his “chamberlain” (*maestresala*). Mendoça, one reasonable supposes, may also have known Cabrilho quite well, as the major organizer of these expeditions and California’s 1542 fleet commander.

Until now, this summarizes the very little publicly known, from Spanish sources, regarding Cabrilho’s Portuguese nationality.

Given the high number of Portuguese (among the largest communities of foreigners) in the Spanish Americas (as further discussed ahead), the unsubstantiated bias of Kelsey and others against Cabrilho’s Portuguese nationality is quite unreasonable – even invoking an unproven error in Herrera’s work! Mistakes are possible. Herrera seemingly ignored, e.g., that Solis was Portuguese, writing that he was natural of Lebrija (other Spanish authors say of Lepe instead), among other confusions<sup>68</sup> relative to Solis’ voyages. Speculating about a typographer “line-switch” error, or that Herrera “confused” António Correia’s well documented Portuguese nationality, assigning it instead erroneously to Cabrilho, did Kelsey truly find an error<sup>69</sup> in Herrera’s Cabrilho description, or invented an error instead?

Incorrectly attributing errors to ancient cartographers or historians happened before, despite modern ones being those really lacking critical data. As a paradigmatic example, I proved<sup>70</sup> Mercator was not mistaken when locating the mythical *Psitacorum Regio*, the Land

of the (giant) Parrots, nearly 2000 kilometers southeast of Cape of Good Hope, in *Terra Australis Incognita*.

Herrera took nineteen years to finish his<sup>71</sup> work, having access to a plethora of documentation, surely unavailable today.

Focusing on facts, instead of speculation, despite briefly mentioning<sup>72</sup> Alvar Nunes as a ship owner in Alvarado-Mendoza's fleet (supervised by Cabrilho), it was Kelsey who failed to acknowledge that Nunes was also a Portuguese<sup>73</sup> pilot – an extremely relevant piece of information, discussed firsthand in this work's Part II.

## ***6 - Cabrilho's lifetime context: the Portuguese in the Spanish Americas, global trading, and the centuries-old Iberian worldwide bitter rivalry.***

Kelsey further speculates about Cabrilho's hypothetical ragged childhood in Seville. Nobody knows if that was factual. Considering Cabrilho knew how to read and write (relatively uncommon by then), if anything, hints otherwise. Giving context to the presence of so many Portuguese in the Spanish Americas, note that there was a large Portuguese community around Seville, quite earlier in the exploration of the New World. The Azorean highly profitable pastel (plant) ink commerce, and later the black slaves trade, increased even more the Portuguese presence. Some of these Portuguese were famously rich, living in Seville's central San Salvador's parish. Contrasting with Kelsey, one could speculate about a very young Cabrilho, working and learning sea skills as a page or cabin boy in Portuguese trading ships coming from the Azores or Algarve to Seville. Cabrilho surely stayed longer in Spain, becoming naturalized and embarking later to Panama, when being 17-18 years old. There is no solid information about his possible earlier working and formative life in Portugal (how many years?), depending on how long Cabrilho may have lived in Spain before departure. In those centuries, hard work at sea or privileged formation in the royal courts could start quite early in a boy's life, at 14, 12 or even earlier ages, as it happened to Magalhães, Columbus, João Afonso, and Patagonia's Portuguese pioneer José Nogueira<sup>74</sup>.

Although coming from all over Portugal, Algarve provided the largest Portuguese<sup>75</sup> contingent in Seville, like the Conquero family, sea traders from Tavira, with the second generation already Sevillian-born, including Antonio Conquero and other family members who later became (by mid/late sixteenth century) pilots and captains of the Spanish Indies' fleets. Although legislation tried to keep foreigners out of the Spanish Americas, the lack of ships, qualified sailors, and even naval carpenters in Seville brought some flexibility, particularly in the relationship with the Portuguese neighboring region of Algarve<sup>76</sup>.

Portuguese pastel ink trade (for the Andalusian textile industry, in Córdoba, e.g.) started as earlier<sup>77</sup> as 1500. Other Portuguese can be found in Seville trading in naval, wood, and agricultural goods, among which were: Álvaro Rodrigues<sup>78</sup>, João Rodrigues, and Garcia Rodrigues, as early as 1509, or Sebastião Rodrigues<sup>79</sup> in 1529. Five Portuguese got royal permission in Seville to embark in Nicolas de Ovando's great colonizing armada (1502), among which were another João Rodrigues and another Álvaro Rodrigues<sup>80</sup>. Arriving to La Española (present Dominican Republic and Haiti), more than five Portuguese were accounted among Ovando's fleet foreigners. The illegal ones received permission to stay. Could any of these Portuguese Rodrigues from Seville have some connection with Cabrilho, or with his cousin Joana Rodrigues?

The Portuguese pilot Nicolas Peres had less luck, ending excluded<sup>81</sup> (for being a foreigner) from Rodrigo de Bastidas, Juan de la Cosa, and Vasco Núñez de Balboa's 1501 expedition to nowadays Colombia and Panama. However, explicit forbiddance of Portuguese pilots was quite exceptional. Paradigmatically, the Portuguese pilots Francisco Coto<sup>82</sup> (one of

Solis' brothers) and João Henriques (a goldsmith!<sup>83</sup>) were hired in 1513, and King Fernando II ordered later (December 28, 1513), that, given the scarcity of good Spanish pilots, Portuguese pilots (who had meritorious solid prestige) should be well treated and offered optimal working contracts if visiting Seville<sup>84</sup>.

This scarcity meant Pedrarias' 1514 armada (with three caravels<sup>85</sup> bought in Portugal, a Portuguese Jewish surgeon<sup>85</sup>, and Cabrilho aboard) had two pilots hired just before departure<sup>85</sup>, when Juan Rodríguez Serrano (homonymous of Magalhães's expedition pilot; probably the same person<sup>86</sup>) replaced Vicente Pinzón (who became sick) as pilot-major.

Interestingly, King Manuel I, attempting to deter Magalhães' treason, received a very detailed letter (July 18, 1519) from his envoy in Seville (Sebastião Álvares) listing<sup>87,88</sup> a "Serrão" amongst Magalhães' reliable Portuguese pilots. Several authors<sup>89-91</sup> suggest this was João Serrão (a Portuguese Royal House's knight<sup>92</sup>) who sailed<sup>93</sup> to India in viceroy Francisco de Almeida's armada (March 1505; Magalhães being in the crew<sup>94-97</sup>).

This João Serrão hypothesis is only possible, though, if Magalhães' and Pedrarias' pilots are different persons, since (very likely the same<sup>98</sup>) João Serrão<sup>92</sup> left Lisbon again in April 1514, to explore the Red Sea, and thus cannot be Pedrarias' pilot-major. Furthermore, (presumably the same<sup>99-103</sup>) João Serrão was likely one of the captains<sup>104-106</sup> in the Portuguese fleet disaster in Mamora (July-August 1515), making it hard to be the pilot Juan Rodríguez Serrano discussing the location of Cape *Santo Agostinho*, in Seville (November 1515), when Serrano declared<sup>107</sup> he was a young man in the crew of Vélez de Mendoza's 1500-1501 expedition to Brazil. This means Pedrarias' Serrano was at most<sup>108-110</sup> 40 years old in 1514, making it hard to conciliate with the elderly<sup>90</sup> age suggested for Magalhães' pilot by Mena García, who defends they are the same person<sup>111</sup>!

On the other hand, both João de Barros<sup>112</sup> and the 1523 letter of António de Brito (Portuguese Moluccas' governor) say<sup>113</sup> Magalhães' Serrano was Castilian; plus, Martin d' Ayamonte (Spanish survivor of Magalhães' expedition) testified<sup>114</sup>, in the Portuguese fortress of Malacca, that "João Serrão" was Castilian and natural of Freixinal (Spain; alongside Portugal's border). Pigafetta further wrote<sup>115</sup> that Serrano was Spanish, adding that João Carvalho (another of Magalhães' Portuguese pilots) was Serrano's *compadre* (meaning he was a good friend and/or godfather of Serrano's children<sup>116-121</sup>).

Despite Pinzón sickness, considering Gomara's reference<sup>122</sup> to Pedrarias' Serrano pre-1514 voyage(s?) to Cartagena and Urabá (in agreement with d'Anghiera's statement<sup>123</sup> about Serrano having navigated often in those parts), it is still mind-boggling why during such scarcity would a well-known experienced Castilian-born (?) pilot be hired only at the very last-minute<sup>85,124?</sup>

When Magalhães' Serrano/Serrão died, before reaching the Moluccas (never meeting Francisco Serrão<sup>94</sup>, Magalhães' Portuguese friend), he was married to the Spanish Juana Durango<sup>86</sup>. However, a few years earlier, in 1514, Pedrarias' Serrano was married to Juana Rodriguez del Castillo<sup>86,125</sup>. Either Magalhães and Pedrarias' Serrano were different pilots (with different ages and wives), or, if being the same person, and still trying to validate Sebastião Álvares information, did a very young Portuguese Serrão (not the knight) sailing in early exploratory Spanish missions, married later perhaps an old Juana Rodriguez del Castillo (dying maybe before 1519?) to become the naturalized Serrano? This is a reasonable supposition, since such was the case of the other pilot also hired at last-minute for Pedrarias' armada: the foreigner<sup>124</sup> António Mariano, naturalized by spousing a Spanish. Despite some doubts about Mariano's Portuguese nationality, Mena García, though, robustly documented his Roman origin!

Another foreign pilot who married a Spanish woman (from Ayamonte<sup>126</sup>), probably also for naturalization, was Lope Martin de Ayamonte (his Castilianized name). This excellent afro-Portuguese pilot was also known in Spanish documents as Lope Martin de Lagos<sup>127</sup> (a city

in southern Portugal), reflecting his Portuguese origins, as confirmed by his own sailing companions<sup>128</sup>. Piloting the *San Lucas* ship, Lope Martin accomplished the first cross-Pacific returning route to Mexico (1564-1565), initiating the Spanish exploration of the Philippines (located in Portugal's hemisphere), in total dishonorable violation of the Tordesillas (1494) and Zaragoza (1529) treaties signed with Portugal. In yet another example of crude appropriation of Portuguese mariners' birth-nationality, several authors (not just Spanish) still defend that Lope Martin, natural<sup>129</sup> of Ayamonte, was therefore born there<sup>130-132</sup>.

Despite being difficult to disentangle all the homonymous (as detailed in the endnotes), the above examples further reinforce that around Cabrilho's lifetime many foreign pilots served Spain, and he was not alone in claiming to be a Spanish natural, even if not Spanish-born.

Giving a broader context to the Portuguese-Hispanic historic relations, the throat-cutting rivalry between the Iberian empires was deeply rooted across centuries, but the geographical proximity promoted business among the neighbor nations. For instance, the constant open hostility between the Portuguese and Spanish sailors during Magalhães' expedition (even before departure), reflected this unescapable reality. For more than 850 years, the ancient Portuguese nation saw Castile, first, and Spain, later (founded in 1492), militarily invading Portugal eighteen times<sup>133</sup> – eighteen, no typo! For centuries, Spain was the major enemy of Portugal, waging us war even in the Moluccas, almost at Earth's antipodes - farther away was impossible!

When Villalobos' 1542-1544 expedition (co-organized by Cabrilho) baptized the Philippines, the Spanish blatantly violated the Treaty of Zaragoza, with Villalobos dying in a Portuguese Ambon Island's jail. This treaty redefined the antipodes meridian dividing the world's exploration between Portugal and Spain, pushing the anti-Tordesillas line further East of the Moluccas by impressive seventeen degrees, a significant<sup>134</sup> buffer assuring these islands were indeed in Portuguese territory (and, likely, most of Australia too).

Astonishingly, today, under the European Union and Euro shared currency, Spain still criminally<sup>135</sup> occupies the Portuguese city and territories of Olivença (covering nearly 430 km<sup>2</sup>, or 63 times bigger than Gibraltar)! Adding to Olivença, the ongoing maritime disputes over the Atlantic Portuguese Selvagens Islands explains why today, unsurprisingly, many Portuguese boycott and refuse to buy anything Spanish.

Even during the Iberian Crowns' union<sup>136</sup>, the Portuguese were still legally classified as foreigners in the Spanish Americas. Despite being tolerated foreigners (...if useful and needed), the Portuguese were frequently targeted by Spanish hostility or even brutal violence (particularly by the Spanish Inquisition), whenever Spanish America's interests were at stake. For instance, in 1596, Francisco de Mesa (Guatemala's "*alferez mayor*", a high-ranking official), complains<sup>137</sup> about the existence of three Portuguese *cabildo* regents; in the same year, a letter<sup>138</sup> was sent to the "Luso-Spanish" king, reporting about the inconvenience of having the Portuguese taking *cabildo*'s office positions. As Santiago became gradually a commercial crossroads, many merchants made vast fortunes, concurrently occupying municipal offices as part of their financial and economic power networks. In the early seventeenth century, Bartolomeu Nunes and António Fernandes were two such Portuguese amongst Santiago's richest merchants<sup>139</sup> and foreign regents.

The Portuguese arrived first to the West Pacific in 1512, with António de Abreu reaching Timor and Francisco Serrão the Moluccas. Shortly after, in 1513, Balboa discovered the East Pacific, where a significant fraction of trade ultimately became controlled by Portuguese captains and shipowners, continuing the pioneer trading of Cabrilho, Alvar Nunes, António Fernandes and several others.

Nicaragua had better harbors than Guatemala, and, other than horses, it sold pitch and resin (Cabrilho's expertise) to Peru, and excellent pine<sup>140</sup> and cedar lumber, with Nicaragua's El Realejo port (home of many Genoese shipbuilders) gradually becoming a major Pacific coast

shipyard (later also for the Manila galleons). Cabrilho was part of this early East Pacific highly profitable trade, selling precious horses in Peru. One commercial venture with ten horses alone, departing from Guatemala or Nicaragua, would be profitable enough to build a large ship! Illustrating the importance of horses back then, part of the Spanish military success (dramatically outnumbered by the natives) was due to cavalry, with Bernal del Castillo going to the point of describing<sup>141</sup> in detail each of the reduced number of equines - 16 only! - taken by Cortés when conquering Mexico.

Despite Villalobos' failure, Spain colonized the Philippines later, implementing the Manila galleon's route. Other than African trade (from Angola to Cape Verde), Brazil and Portugal itself, the Portuguese trading network extended initially from Mexico to Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador (Sonsonate<sup>142</sup> had many Portuguese from Portimão, Algarve), Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru, reaching its peak and full globalization with Portuguese traders bringing goods from India, Malacca, and Macau to Manila. The Portuguese were vital players in finally joining the Far East<sup>143</sup> with the Far West trade, building the first truly worldwide commerce networks, anchored in the purchasing power of epic amounts of Bolivian (Potosí) and Mexican silver. Loaded Manila galleons, reaching Acapulco, redistributed merchandise to as far as Peru, with El Realejo amongst the main entrepôts.

When the Dutch arrived to the "spice islands", about a century later than the Portuguese, they needed to communicate in the Portuguese-Malay creole trading language, using Spanish silver "pieces of eight" (*real de a ocho*) currency to trade.

Given the vast Portuguese participation in the earlier Spanish Americas' exploration, development, and subsequent expansion, a Portuguese Cabrilho got expectably rich by building ships in Acajutla (Sonsonate's harbor), farming cacao in Xicalapa, trading Lempa River's horses with Peru, mining gold in Guatemala, etc.

One final note regarding the systematic persecution of Portuguese Jews in the Americas, culminating with Peru's Portuguese colony massacre (1635-1636), classified<sup>144</sup> by Toribio de Medina as the bloodiest Spanish Inquisition action in America. In a long report, of May 18, 1636, Lima's Holy Office wrote to Madrid's General Inquisitor, complaining about the Portuguese gradually gaining full control of trading, from diamonds to the simplest merchandise. A fraction of the total amount of silver confiscated from the Peruvian Portuguese community at some point added to 1 788 000 "pieces of eight", equivalent to an amazing 35% of the American silver and gold received yearly by the Spanish Crown<sup>145</sup>! The Inquisition was a very profitable business. There was never a "great Portuguese conspiracy" as defended, but just a need to prevent the "undesirable, restless Portuguese" from having too much power in the Spanish Americas. Not all of them were Jews either, as the Spanish Inquisition made believe. Many Catholic<sup>146</sup> Portuguese coming from Brazil (later, part of the group of merchants called "*peruleiros*") were trading silver with Peru, ever since the Portuguese Aleixo Garcia (Solis' fleet survivor, becoming the first European to contact the Inca empire, through the La Plata/Paraná and Paraguay rivers) reached the vicinities of Potosí, in 1524-1525.

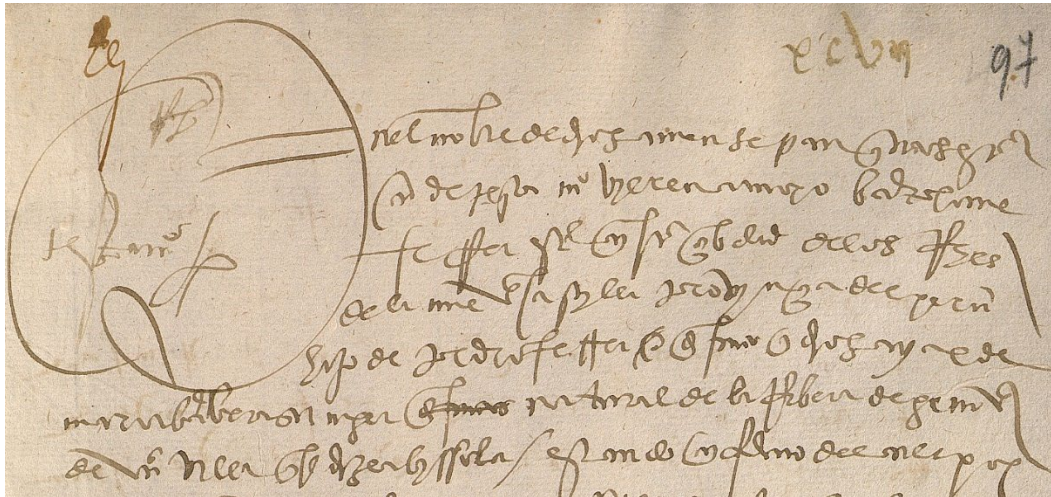
Thus, in general, beyond their seaman's prestige, being Portuguese was not a systematic advantage in the Spanish Americas – quite the opposite, especially for Portuguese Jews. This meant many Portuguese would not openly reveal their origins, or became naturalized Castilians.

## The double nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Portuguese born, naturalized Castilian.

### Part I – A much needed review

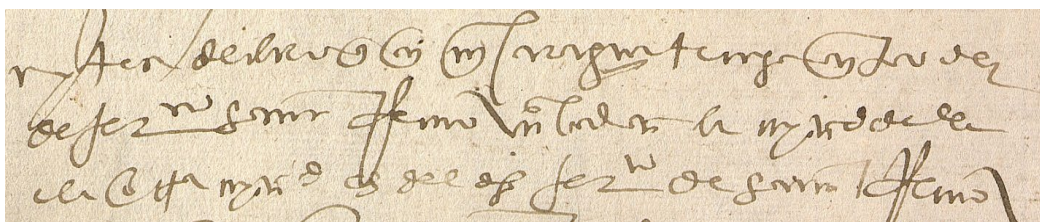
#### Annex I

Primary fragment images from Ferrer's testament  
January 27, 1547, City of the Kings, Peru



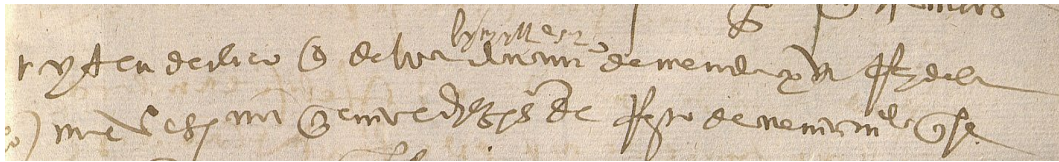
**Fig. 1, fol. 97** – On the very left side, there is a written note saying “testament”, in its paleographic abbreviature. The paleographic transcription of the lines then says: “In the name of God, amen. May those who see this testament letter know, that I Bartolome Ferrer, visitor in this City of the Kings in New Castile, province of Peru, son of Pedro Ferrer, deceased, that may God have, and of Maria Barbera, his wife (scratched over – deceased), natural of Genoa’s Riviera, from one village called Abissola, having a sick body...”

Notes – “City of the Kings” (Ciudad de los Reyes, here written as “Cibdad”) was the ancient name of Lima. Ferrer also orders elsewhere in his testament to have ten Catholic masses offered in honor of his deceased parents’ souls. Abissola is likely modern day Albissola Marina, near Savona, and not far from Genoa.



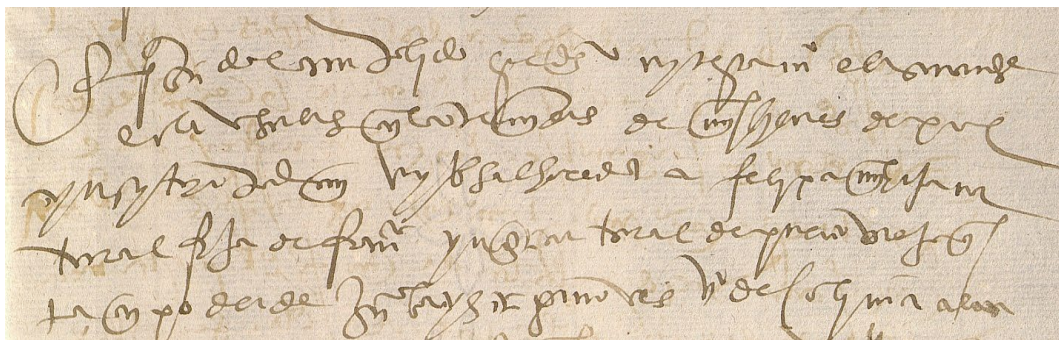
**Fig. 2, fol. 98v** – “Item, I declare that in Nicaragua I have in power of Jeronimo Sant Remo a ship, half of it and the other half belongs to the said Jeronimo of Sant Remo”.

Note – Jeronimo of Sant Remo was for sure in Cabrilho’s fleet. He was most probably one of Cabrilho’s captains. Ferrer and Sant Remo made money transporting cargo in their joint ship.



**Fig. 3, fol. 99** – “Item, I declare that I owe to the very illustrious Sir, Don Antonio de Mendoça, viceroy of New Spain, one hundred and ten pesos from an account’s remains...”.

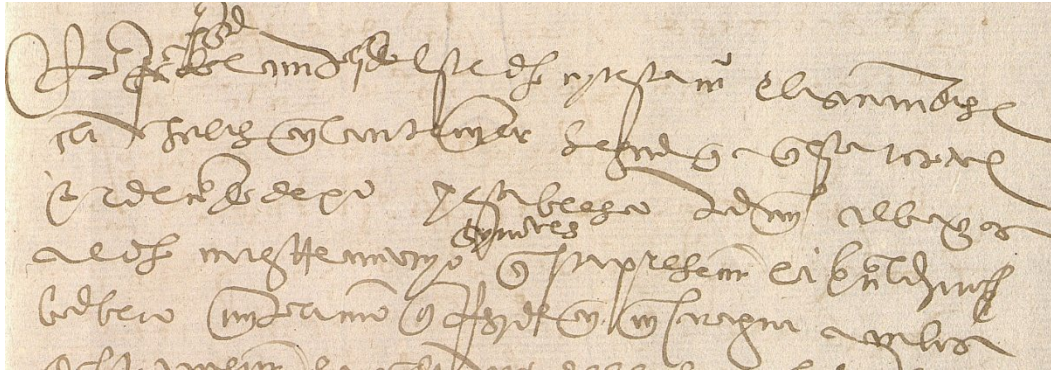
Note – After returning (in April 1543) from Cabrilho’s expedition, Ferrer received (in October 1543) a license, from viceroy Mendoça, to take black and native slaves for a ship’s service in trade with Peru. See, e.g., Woodrow Wilson Borah, “Early Colonial Trade and Navigation Between Mexico and Peru,” 154. *Ibero-Americana*:38, University of California Press, 1954: 146, 154



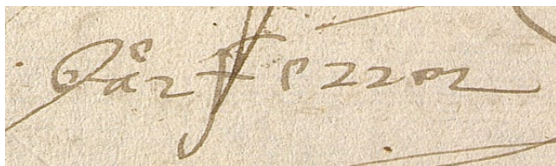
**Fig. 4, fol. 99** – “And paid and fulfilled this said testament of mine, and the orders and clauses contained in it from my assets, I leave instituted as my universal heiress Felipa, my natural daughter and daughter of Francisca, Indian, natural of Puerto Viejo, who is in power of Juan Batista, Genoese, neighbor of Colima.”

Note – In a Nicaraguan document of November 1529, Alvar Nunes portugues and João Rodrigues portugues (most likely Cabrilho) show up for the first time together (see this work’s Part II), with Batista Genoese also listed. In those times, Juan Batista Genoese was also a relatively common name. Thus, I cannot be sure that Ferrer’s testament Juan Batista Genoese is the same as the 1529 person.

This November 1529 document may thus be the oldest known reference to Cabrilho’s Portuguese nationality!



**Fig. 5, fol. 99** – “And paid and fulfilled this said testament of mine, and the orders and clauses contained in it, according to what is written and ordered here, I leave established as my testament executors the said master Antonio, Genoese, who is present, and Enaldino Barbero, my cousin, who lives in Nicaragua...”



**Fig 6, fol. 99v** – Bartolome Ferrer’s signature, in the last page of his testament - taken from “Protocolo de Pedro de Salinas (154), 1546-1548, fols. 97-99v, January 27, 1547. Protocolos notariales, Archivo Colonial, Escribanos y notarios, Siglo XVI.”

Kindly provided by Archivo General de la Nacion, Peru – to whom I express my gratitude.

## NOTES

1 – I want to express my gratitude to Paleólogo Bento Miranda Pereira for providing important documents and for useful discussions, and to Matthew Carter, Nancy J. Hicks, and Maria Amélia Nobre Hilker for the English review of this paper. Thank you also to Carmen Serrano Sánchez for the many excellent paleographic transcriptions and attention to detail. My appreciation goes as well to Luís Filipe Barbosa Araújo (Braga District Archives, University of Minho in Braga, Portugal), and the bibliographic assistance of the Portuguese municipalities of Barcelos and Monção.

In the spirit of Gaston Bachelard’s “The Philosophy of No”, one can only honor their masters by denying them, going beyond their teachings. My many thanks, thus, to all of those who enriched my knowledge about Cabrilho, especially to W. Kramer, H. Kelsey, H. Wagner, M. Holmes, J. García-Hevia, and many others mentioned along my work. Without both their knowledge and mistakes, these three papers would not be possible.

2 – Wendy Kramer, “El español que exploró California: Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo (c. 1497-1543). De Palma del Río a Guatemala,” Ayuntamiento de Palma del Río, Diputación de Córdoba, Spain, 2019.

3 – “Juan Rodrigues portugues” (with “s” in Rodrigues, not [a letter] “z”), is the name presented in the printed paleographic transcriptions of the original documents from Archivo General de Indias (AGI, in Seville, Spain), based on which Andrés Vega Bolaños wrote the magnificent Colección Somoza (CS), “Documentos para la Historia de Nicaragua”. The seventeen volumes of this enormous recompilation contain the most important new documents about Cabrilho, for the first time discussed in this work’s Part II. Personal names are presented here (as a rule, and with ranking priority depending on each casuistic context) first as they should be written in the original nationality language; or/and as they are found in the original ancient documents; or/and as they appear in the correspondent transcriptions.

4 – Harry Kelsey, “Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo,” Huntington Library Press, San Marino, California, USA, 1998: 106

5 – Wendy Kramer, “Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, a Voyage of Rediscovery,” A special publication of Mains’l Haul, A Journal of Pacific Maritime History, 55, N. 1-4 Winter/Spring/Summer/Fall 2019, Maritime Museum of San Diego, California, USA: 14

6 – João Soares Tavares, “Montalegre e o Descobridor da Costa da Califórnia,” Edição do Município de Montalegre, Editora Cidade Berço, Portugal, June 2009.

7 – F. Castelo Branco, “Cabrillo’s Nationality,” Academia de Marinha, Lisbon, Portugal, 1987.

8 – António Machado de Faria, “A Nacionalidade de João Rodrigues Cabrilho,” Arquivo Histórico de Portugal, II Série, Vol. I, Tomo IV, Lisbon, Portugal, 1964: 260

9 – Visconde de Lagoa, “João Rodrigues Cabrilho, a Biographical Sketch (A summary of the Portuguese original),” Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, Lisboa, Portugal, 1957: 45

10 – Archivo General de la Nacion (AGN, Peru). Protocolo de Pedro de Salinas (154), 1546-1548, fols. 97-99v. Protocolos notariales, Archivo Colonial, Escribanos y notarios, Siglo XVI. Testament of Bartolome Ferrer, January 27, 1547.

The original document reads “Abissola”, likely the present Albissola Marina, near Savona, in Italy.

11 – Archivo General de la Nación (AGN, Mexico), Instituciones Coloniales, Gobierno Virreinal, General de Parte (051), Vol. 9, Expediente 254, fojas: 191 vta. “Para que las justicias y jueces de comision contra extranjeros no procedan contra Francisco de Barros Carvallido, por decir ser portugues, antes le amparen como vassalo de su Majestad, natural del reino de Galicia. Ciudad de Mexico.”, November 18, 1643.

12 – AGI, Contratación, 475, N.1, R.2. Bienes de defuntos. Testament of Lorenzo Alvarez, also known as Juan Gallego, September 10, 1579.

13 – Craddock and Polt, “Juan de Oñate in Quivira, 1601: the ‘Relación cierta y verdadera’ and the Valverde Interrogatory,” Cibola Project, University of California, Berkeley, USA, 2013.

The name shows in its Castilian version, Juan Rodríguez (with a “z”).

14 – As a paradigmatic example about how difficult it can be to disentangle family surnames, there is significant confusion in the literature about João Rodrigues’ full name, that most likely was João Rodrigues Neto (or Nieto, as written in Castilian documents).

From João Rodrigues (JR) testimony about Oñate’s expedition, detailed in reference 13, one learns that some years before he was with the Portuguese Castanho de Sousa’s New Mexico expedition, measuring the latitude of the village of Puaray (just north of present Albuquerque).

In Castanho de Sousa 1590’s journal, a Joan Rodríguez Nieto and a Joan Rodríguez de Ávalos are mentioned multiple times as part of his troops. This JR de Ávalos is not to be confused, though, with the homonymous man who took part in Vázquez de Coronado’s expedition, some 50 years earlier.

Oñate’s Portuguese pilot name was JR de Ávalos, according to Albert H. Schroeder and Daniel S. Matson, “A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castanho de Sousa’s Journal, 1590-1591”, School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA, 1965, p. 171.

Likewise, Stan Hoig’s “Came Men on Horses: The Conquistador Expeditions of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Don Juan de Oñate” (University Press of Colorado, USA, 2012), also refers to JR de Ávalos as being the Portuguese pilot from Crestuma, who helped, in 1602, the cartographer Enrico Martínez to draw a map depicting Oñate’s route.

However, in a testimony document dated of July 10, 1591 (AGI, Mexico, 220, N. 27), related to the information given by Cpt. Juan Morlete about the arrest of Castanho de Sousa, JR Neto declares he is natural of Crestuma, near Porto, thus being surely the same JR present in Oñate's expedition measuring latitudes, also natural of Crestuma.

Prof. S. Hordes, in his great book “To the End of the Earth: A History of the Crypto-Jews of New Mexico” (Columbia University Press, New York, USA, 2005), argues that JR Neto was the same JR whose effigy was burned in public in 1601, by the Mexican Inquisition, in the same processes that condemned Rui Dias Neto and his son Diego Dias Neto (1596 and 1601). This is unlikely, though, since a JR de Silva (probably from Covilhã, in Portugal) was instead far more connected to the Dias Neto family and their world commerce network. See, e.g., Cyrus Adler, “Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in Mexico”, American Jewish Historical Society, N. 4 (1896), Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, USA, pp. 29-79.

15 – Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, “Colección de los viages y descubrimientos, que hicieron por la mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV,” Tomo III; Imprenta Real, Madrid, Spain, 1829: 292-3

The bold capital letters and translation are mine, based on the Castilian original.

16 – João Soares Tavares, a Cabrilho’s Portuguese biographer, already mentioned the possible difference between being “natural of” and being born in Spain. See “Ecos do Barroso”, a Portuguese online regional weekly newspaper, November 7, 2018.

17 – Luís Filipe Ferreira Reis Thomaz, “Cristóvão Colombo, o Genovês, meu tio por afinidade,” Academia de Marinha, Portugal, 2021.

This recently published masterpiece, though somehow focused on confronting the Portuguese Columbus defenders, presents such a plethora of documents supporting the Genoese Columbus, that many consider it as the final word to all the open discussions regarding Columbus’ different putative national origins.

18 – Lluís Ulloa, “Cristòfor Colom fou Català: la veritable gènesi del descobriment,” Llibreria Catalonia, Barcelona, Spain, 1927.

19 – Francesc Albardaner i Llorens, “El origen catalán de Colom: Ciencia histórica o fanatismo patriotero,” Catalan Institution of Genealogy and Heraldry, Barcelona, Spain, 2012: 8, 12.

One of the arguments of those defending Columbus’ Catalan origin, is that if Magalhães, Vespucci, Caboto, etc. – all became naturalized Castilians, then if Columbus was a foreigner Admiral and Genoese, he too should have been naturalized Castilian. “Strangely”, though, Admiral Columbus never became naturalized. The argument further refers to Columbus’ brother, Giacomo (Diego) Columbus becoming naturalized Castilian in 1504, but abnormally without expressing his (supposedly Genoese) national origins in the royal naturalization letter. Since Catalonians by then were still considered foreigners in Castile, that would be enough reason for Giacomo Columbus (or Colom) to become naturalized – since the Colom family was supposedly Catalanian, they reason.

20 – Jose del Olmo, “Relacion Histórica del Auto General de Fe que se celebró en Madrid en el año de 1680 com asistencia del Rey don Carlos II,” Imprenta de Cano, reprint of the 1680 original, Madrid, Spain, 1820.

21 – AGN Mexico, Instituciones Coloniales, Inquisición, Inquisición (61), Vol. 119, Expediente 1, Fojas 28. “Proceso contra Juan Fernandez Portugues boticario natural de Chinchon por palabras hereticas, 1580, Mexico”.

22 – Iris Engstrand, “Book Reviews - Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo: A Voyage of Rediscovery. By Wendy Kramer,” The Journal of San Diego History, San Diego History Center, Vol. 66, N. 1, California, USA, Summer 2020: 95-6

23 – AGN Mexico, Instituciones Coloniales, Gobierno Virreinal, Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados (100), Reales Cédulas Duplicadas.

“Naturalizaciones. Concediendo carta de naturalizacion, al portuges Manuel Mendez de Miranda, para que goce de los privilegios y derechos de los españoles.” Vol. D14, Expediente 267, Diciembre 7 de 1643, Fojas: 188.

“Naturalizaciones. Obedecimiento de la real cedula que concede carta de naturalizacion al portuges Manuel Mendez de Miranda.” Vol. D14, Expediente 268, Septiembre 13 de 1644, Fojas: 190 VTA.

“Naturalizacion. Su Majestad, en virtud de haber recibido cincuenta mil escudos por parte de Alfonso y Gaspar Rodriguez Pasarinos, concede carta de naturalizacion a Antonio Mendez

Chillon Portugues, vecino de Veracruz y pueda gozar de todas las preminencias y honras de que gozan los naturales; no paga derecho de media annata. Zaragoza.” Vol. D50, Expediente 7, Diciembre 7 de 1643, Fojas: 7r-9v.

24 – Yasmina Rocío Ben Yessef Garfía, “Naturalización y vecindamiento,” online project “Identidad e Imagen de Andalucía en la Edad Moderna,” Universidad de Almería, Spain, 2016.

25 – Tamar Herzog, “Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America,” Yale University Press, New Haven, USA, 2003/2011.

In 2006, a Castilian translation of Herzog’s book was published under the title “Vecinos y extranjeros. Hacerse español en la Edad Moderna.”

26 – María García Jimeno, “Estudio documental de las cartas de naturaleza (siglos XVI-XIX),” Master thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain, 2018: 15

27 – Fabricio Gabriel Salvatto, “La equiparación entre los derechos de vecino y de natural en España (Siglos XVII al XIX),” Anuario Digital N. 26, Escuela de Historia, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina, 2014: 156-76

28 – Kelsey, op. cit. p. 11.

29 – María del Carmen Mena García, “La sociedad de Panamá en el siglo XVI,” Publicaciones de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, V centenario del descubrimiento de América, N. 3, Seville, Spain, 1984: 68, 72-3

30 – Kelsey, op. cit. p. 9.

31 – Iris Engstrand and Harry Kelsey, “The Pathway to California, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and the building of the San Salvador,” Mains'l Haul, A Journal of Pacific Maritime History, Maritime Museum of San Diego, California, USA, January 1, 2015: 17, 30

See also David Lavender, “De Soto, Coronado, Cabrillo: explorers of the northern mystery,” National Park Handbooks, N. 144, Washington, D.C., USA, 1992: 85

32 – Harry Kelsey, “Discovering Cabrillo,” Liber Apertus Press, Saratoga, California, USA, 2017: 14

33 – Harry Kelsey, “Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo,” Huntington Library Press, San Marino-California, USA, 1998: Foreword 1<sup>st</sup> page

34 – W. Michael Mathes, “The discoverer of Alta California: João Rodrigues Cabrilho or Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo?”, The Journal of San Diego History, San Diego Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 19, N. 3, California, USA, Summer 1973.

35 – Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, “Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano,” Decada VII, Libro V, Cap. III, Madrid, Spain, 1601-1615: 112-13

36 – Ibid., Decada I, Lib. VII, Cap. 9: 238

37 – José Toribio de Medina, “Juan Diaz de Solís, estudio histórico,” Vol. 1, author’s edition, Santiago de Chile, Chile, 1897.

38 – Luciano Pereira da Silva, “João Dias de Solis, piloto português,” Lusitania, revista de estudos portugueses, Vol. 3., Fasc. 9, Lisbon, Portugal, Abril de 1926: 345-65

39 – José Pinto Casquilho, “A insídia das formas – ensaio semiótico relativo ao ‘rio Timor’ no atlas Vallard e ‘Brasília Inferior’ no globo de Schöner,” *Diálogos; Sociedade e Cultura; Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas*, Ano 2, N. 2, Universidade Nacional de Timor Lorosa’e, Dili, East Timor, 2017: 176

40 – Luís de Matos, “Les Portugais en France au XVIème siècle: études et documents,” Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal, 1952.

41 – W. Michael Mathes, “El descubridor de la alta California: ¿João Rodrigues Cabrilho o Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo?,” *Calafia*, Vol. V, N. 1, *Revista de la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California*, Mexico, Diciembre de 1983.

42 – Robert F. Heizer, “California's oldest historical relic?,” University of California, Berkeley, USA, 1972.

43 – J. Muñoz y Rivero, “Manual de paleografía diplomática española de los siglos XII al XVII,” Segunda edición corregida y aumentada, Madrid, Spain, 1889.

44 – Richard F. Pourade, “The explorers, 1492-1774, Chapter Three: The Story of Cabrilho,” *History of San Diego Series*, Vol. 1, Copley Press, California, USA, 1960.

45 – AGI, Justicia 263. Testimony of Antonio Correa, as part of viceroy Mendoça’s “*probanza*”, February 21, 1547.

46 – Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, Vol. 2, edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske. D. Appleton and Company, New York, USA, 1898: 440

The entry about Ferrer may (?) have been written by Juan García Purón (a medicine doctor), author of many other South and Central America entries.

47 – M. Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, M. Eugenia Cué, Ignacio Gómezgil, “Navegantes, exploradores y misioneros en el Septentrion Novohispano, siglo XVI,” *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes*, Mexico, 1993: 138

See also Amancio Landín Carrasco, “España en el mar: padrón de descubridores,” *Editorial Naval*, Madrid, Spain, 1992: 203

48 – “Bartomolé Ferrello”, biography by Cristina González Hernández, *Real Academia de la Historia*, accessed June 23, 2022, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/86154/bartolome-ferrelo>.

This webpage wrongly indicates that only two ships were part of Cabrilho’s expedition and is not explicit about which documental source indicates Bilbao as Ferrer’s birthplace. Was it the unreliable encyclopedia mentioned in note 46, that also refers to 1499, Bilbao (and Coimbra) and only two ships?

See also William A. Douglass, “Basque explorers in the Pacific Ocean,” *Center for Basque Studies*, University of Nevada, Reno, USA, April 2015.

There is no reference at all in this Basque specialized book about Ferrer being Basque!

49 – AGI, Patronato, 20, N.5, R.13. Juan Paez’s “Relación del descubrimiento de Juan Rodríguez”, 1542-1543.

50 – James Lockhart, “Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: a social history,” 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, USA, 1994: 144

51 – AGI, Patronato, 87, fol. 33. Testimony of Nicolas (Nicolao) Lopez de Yzarraga (a.k.a. Irazaga or Ynarraga), January 30, 1561 - in Geronimo Cabrillo de Aldana's "*probanza*" of 1617.

52 – Kelsey, op. cit. p. 112.

53 – Harry Kelsey, "La Trinidad: Ulloa's ship of discovery," *Mains'l Haul*, Vol. 36, N. 4, Baja California and the Sea, Maritime Museum Association of San Diego, California, USA, Fall 1999: 14

54 – AGI, Patronato, 87, fols. 24v-25. Testimony of Francisco Vargas, April 26, 1560, in Geronimo Cabrillo de Aldana's "*probanza*" of 1617.

Vargas was in Cabrilho's fleet crew, stating that the pilots were Matia and Bartolome Ferrer and the Corsican Lorenzo Hernandez. Who was this Matia (...Ferrer?) pilot?

55 – Carta del Marqués del Valle al Consejo de Indias pidiendo pilotos para continuar los descubrimientos por el Mar del Sur, y dando cuenta del estado de la tierra, Mejico, 20 de Setiembre de 1538. From the book: "Hernán Cortés, copias de documentos existentes en el Archivo de Indias y en su palacio de Castilleja de la Cuesta sobre la conquista de Mejico." Sevilla, publisher not identified, Spain, 1889: 438

56 – Juan Gil, "Una nueva relación del viaje de Grijalba," *Revista de Historia Naval*, Año VI, N. 12, Instituto de Historia y Cultura Naval, Armada Española, Spain, 1988: 57

57 – Bernaldino de Romay, "Cuenta de lo que ha gastado el Marqués del Valle con los oficiales, marineros y gente de guerra de la armada que salió a descubrir en la Mar del Sur, desde el puerto de Santiago, en que fué por capitán Diego Becerra," circa 1534, *Documentos cortesianos IV: 1533-1548, secciones VI (segunda parte) a VIII*, José Luis Martínez (editor), Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 2015.

58 – Juan Gil, op. cit. p. 54.

59 – Harry Kelsey, "Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo," Huntington Library Press, San Marino, California, USA, 1998: 178

60 – AGI, Patronato, 20, N.4, R.5, fol. 29. Despoblación de la provincia de Honduras, April 29, 1536.

61 – Kelsey, op. cit. p. 60.

62 – Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, "Historia general de las conquistas del nuevo reino de Granada," libro V, Bogotá, Nueva Granada, 1881 (based on the 1688 edition): 108

63 – Herrera, op. cit. p. 115, Decada VII, Lib. V, Cap. III.

64 – Miguel Venegas, "Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente sacada de la historia manuscrita, formada en Mexico año de 1739, por el padre Miguél Venegas...; y de otras noticias y relaciones antiguas y modernas: añadida de algunos mapas particulares y uno general de la America septentrional, Assia oriental, y Mar del Sur intermedio, formados sobre las memorias mas recientes, y exactas, que se publican juntamente," Madrid, Spain, 1757: 180

65 – Bernal Díaz del Castillo, "Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España," Cap. CXXXVI. Aparato de Variantes, edición de Guillermo Serés, based on the 1632 edition, from

the 1568 original. Edición de la Real Academia Española, Madrid; Galaxia Gutenberg-Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona, Spain, 2011: 484

66 – W. Michael Mathes, “Miguel Venegas, protohistoriador de las Californias,” Vol. V, N. 2, Calafia, Revista de la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Mexico, Abril de 1984: 12

67 – Venegas, op. cit. p. 183.

68 – Medina, op. cit. p. 101.

69 – Kelsey, op. cit. p. 5.

70 – Paulo M. J. Afonso, “Mercator was not wrong: Psitacorum Regio - a solution for an old mystery, finally!”, poster presented at the International Conference on the History of Cartography, Moscow, Russia, 2011.

In no way could Mercator confuse the coast of Brazil and its parrots (as defended by some historians), with Prince Edward sub-Antarctic islands, where the Portuguese surely sighted copious amounts of colorful King penguins for the first time in natural history, as documented in a few maps presented in my work, and mostly ignored until then.

71 – Castelo Branco, op. cit. p. 37.

72 – Kelsey, op. cit. p. 69.

73 – AGI, Justicia 259, fols. 260-261, November 30, 1546.

This is the faithful (*fe*, in Castilian) judicial summary of the claim of Alvar Nunes against Juan de Alvarado, regarding the Santa Maria de Buena Esperança ship, written in Mexico City, by the notary-major António de Turcios.

74 – Mateo Martinić, “Nogueira el pionero,” Ediciones de la Universidad de Magallanes, Punta Arenas, Chile, 1986.

Born in Vila Nova de Gaia (north of Portugal), Nogueira started his sea cabin boy life at the age of 12, becoming later a mythical pioneer explorer of Chile’s southernmost Patagonia, and the owner of a vast and rich XIX century economic empire extending into Tierra del Fuego.

75 – Fernando Quiles et al., “La Sevilla lusa – la presencia portuguesa en el Reino de Sevilla durante el Barroco,” Universo Barroco Iberoamericano, Vol. 4, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville, Spain; Universidade de Évora, Portugal, 2018: 37

76 – Ibid., p. 206.

77 – Enrique Otte, “Sevilla y sus mercaderes a fines de la Edad Media,” Fundación El Monte, Seville, Spain, 1996: 152

78 – Ibid., p. 219.

79 – Fernando Quiles, op. cit. p. 162.

80 – Esteban Mira Caballos, “La gran armada colonizadora de Nicolás de Ovando, 1501-1502,” Academia Dominicana de la Historia, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, 2014: 135

The original permission document is: AGI, Indiferente, 418, L.1, fol. 77

81 – Ibid., p. 172.

82 – Juan Manzano Manzano, “Los Pinzones y el Descubrimiento de América,” tomo 2, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, Colección Colombina, Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Madrid, Spain, 1988: 552

João Henriques was hired as a pilot on February 24, 1513 – but his hiring did not go through in the end. Francisco Coto was hired as a pilot on September 5, 1513.

83 - Luciano Pereira da Silva, op. cit. pp. 353-354.

João Henriques was a goldsmith, who has been in Portuguese India, declaring to know more about measuring the heights of celestial bodies (for astronomical navigation) than João Dias de Solis himself. He was supposed to be captain in one of the three ships to be sent to Malacca by the Spanish King Fernando II in 1512, taking one of his sons with him. The Portuguese ambassador João de Vasconcelos failed to convince Solis to return to Portugal, but was confident Henriques would return, since his wife was also Portuguese.

84 – María del Carmen Mena García, “Sevilla y las flotas de Indias: la Gran Armada de Castilla del Oro (1513-1514),” Universidad de Sevilla, Fundación el Monte, Seville, Spain, 1998: 57, 185

85 – Ibid., pp. 92, 219-220, 260, 289, 291, 294, 296, 302.

86 – María del Carmen Mena García, “Pilotos reales en la armada de Castilla del Oro (1514),” Entre Puebla de Los Ángeles y Sevilla, homenaje al Dr. J. A. Calderón Quijano, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Universidad de Sevilla, Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Dpt. de Historia de América, Seville, Spain, 1997: 55

87 – Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Ref. PT/TT/CC/1/13/20, fol. 3v., Lisbon, Portugal. Sebastião Álvares, “Carta de Sebastião Álvares para o rei, na qual o informou ter recebido as suas duas cartas e que Cristóvão de Haro e João de Cartagena tinham chegado a Sevilha, com capítulos contrários ao regimento de Fernão Magalhães.” Written in Seville, July 18, 1519.

88 – “Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas publicados por ordem do governo de sua Majestade Fidelissima ao celebrar-se a comemoração quadricentenaria do descobrimento da America,” Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon, Portugal, 1892.

Sebastião Álvares’ letter paleographic transcription shows in pp. 431-435; the reference to “Serrão” in p. 433.

89 – Oscar Kölliker, “Die erste Umseglung der Erde durch Fernando de Magallanes und Juan Sebastian del Cano, 1519-1522,” R. Piper & Co, Verlag, Munich and Leipzig, Germany, 1908: 27, 69

90 – Sir George Birdwood, “Report on the old records of the India office with supplementary note and appendices,” Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, England, 1890.

Birdwood states (p. 172) that in command of Magalhães’ ship Santiago, was the **old** Portuguese pilot João Serrano (sic), knowledgeable of the East and especially of the Moluccas.

91 – Richard Henry Major, “The Discoveries of Prince Henry The Navigator, And Their Results; Being The Narrative Of The Discovery By Sea, Within One Century, Of More Than

Half The World,” Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, London, England, January 1877: 274

92 – Teresa Lacerda, “Os capitães das armadas da Índia no reinado de D. Manuel I: uma análise social,” Master thesis, FCSH-New University of Lisbon, Portugal, 2006: 66, 173, 249

93 – Gaspar Correa, “Lendas da Índia,” Livro Primeiro, Tomo I, “Lenda de 13 annos, desde o primeiro descobrimento da Índia até o anno de 1510.,” Collecção de Monumentos Inéditos Para a Historia Das Conquistas dos Portuguezes Em Africa, Asia e America, Tomo I, 1.<sup>a</sup> serie, Historia da Asia, Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, Portugal, 1858: 272

In Vasco da Gama India’s 4<sup>th</sup> armada (1502) there was a different João Serrão, also an “honored knight” (sic), who was the captain of the caravel named *Pomposa*, built in Mozambique.

94 – Rui Manuel Loureiro, “Magalhães em Portugal,” In Medio Orbe (II), Personajes y avatares de la I Vuelta al Mundo, Actas del II Congreso Internacional sobre la I Vuelta al Mundo, Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz), Spain, September 2017: 22-3

Viceroy Francisco de Almeida’s 1505 armada had the knight João Serrão as the captain of the *nau São Bartolomeu*, in which, very likely, Magalhães sailed to India.

Magalhães was wounded in the ferocious battle of Cananor (March 1506), which ended with an epic Portuguese victory against the largely outnumbering forces coordinated by the Zamorin of Calicut (with more than 200 ships). Among the Portuguese fleet troops, led by Dom Lourenço de Almeida (son of the viceroy), were also captain João Serrão and Francisco Serrão.

Francisco Serrão was Magalhães’ close friend, later waiting for him in the Moluccas Islands with loads of spices, as the destiny of Magalhães’ famous expedition. Despite many authors suggesting so, the supposed kinship between Francisco Serrão and Magalhães is not documented. Likewise, the knight captain João Serrão’s possible kinship with Francisco Serrão is not documented either.

95 – Damiam de Goes, “Chronica Do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel,” Segunda parte, Cap. II, fol. 4v, Casa do impressor Francisco Correa, Lisbon, Portugal, 1566.

Damiam de Goes wrote that João Serrão was the captain of the *nau Bota Fogo*, as the *São Bartolomeu* was also known.

96 – Fernão Lopez de Castanheda, “Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portuguezes,” Liv. II, Cap. XXVI, New Edition, Typographia Rollandiana, Lisbon, Portugal, 1833: 87

According to this famous chronicler, captain João Serrão was one of the most legendary fighters in the battle of Cananor (March 1506), at times being surrounded by fifty enemy ships, without ever losing a Portuguese soldier.

97 – Gaspar Correa, “Lendas da Índia,” Livro Segundo, Tomo II, “Lenda de 17 annos acabados no anno de 1526,” Collecção de Monumentos Ineditos Para a História Das Conquistas dos Portuguezes Em Africa, Asia e America,” Tomo II, 1.<sup>a</sup> serie, Historia da Asia, Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, Portugal, 1860: 28

98 – ANTT, Ref. PT/TT/CC/1/16/84, Lisbon, Portugal. Afonso de Albuquerque, “Carta de Afonso de Albuquerque para o Rei, sobre a chegada de João Serrão àquela terra, pela sua conduta, qualidades e como era necessária a sua presença naquele Estado.”

On October 25, 1514, Afonso de Albuquerque wrote from Goa to King Manuel I about the arrival of João Serrão to India.

99 – Sebastião José Pedroso, “Resumo Historico ácerca da Antiga India Portugueza, acompanhado de algumas reflexões concernentes ao que ainda possuímos na Asia, Oceania, China e Africa, com um appendice,” Typographia Castro Irmão, Lisbon, Portugal, 1884.

Based on Gaspar Correa’s “Lendas da India”, this historical summary book mentions a João Serrão as one of the few Portuguese casualties in the tremendous Portuguese victory of the battle of Cochin (*Passo de Cambalão*, April 1504), under the very successful strategy of captain Duarte Pacheco Pereira (p. 87).

According to Gaspar Correa (see note 93 above, p. 768), a João Serrão was killed in the battle of Chaul (March 1508) together with Dom Lourenço de Almeida, son of viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida (pp. 115, 142).

João Serrão was a relatively common name back then in Portugal, so it is hard to disentangle all the homonymous persons and be totally sure about who was who and when.

For instance, in Azinhaga (near Golegã, north of Lisbon) there is a centuries-old Serrão’s manor (*Solar dos Serrão*) and a Serrão’s primogeniture (*Morgadio dos Serrão*, or *da Azinhaga*). Likewise in the Azores, we can find records for an important centuries-old Serrão family.

Our João Serrão (the royal knight of interest) was a very experienced pilot, traveling to the Indian Ocean at least in 1505, 1510 (to explore the *Island of São Lourenço*, present Madagascar) and 1514, as it seems.

100 – Maria Elizabete Ascensão, “João Serrão Capitão das Navegações Portuguesas do Século XVI,” *A Nobreza e a Expansão – Estudos Biográficos*, coordenação de João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, Editora Patrimonia Historica, Cascais, Portugal, 2000.

This is a detailed discussion about yet several other João Serrão’s homonymous. Maria Ascensão convincingly argues that the João Serrão killed in the battle of Cochin (April 1504) was the captain of the caravel *Pomposa* (pp. 246-248). Being in India in April 1504, would make it impossible for this João Serrão to be the same João Serrão (our royal knight of interest) leaving Lisbon in March 1505, in viceroy Francisco de Almeida’s armada.

On the other hand, Maria Ascensão assumes (not convincingly) that the João Serrão supposedly killed in the battle of Chaul (March 1508), is our royal knight of interest; therefore, this must have been an error of Gaspar Correa, she concludes (pp. 236, 237, 248). Why not being a different João Serrão who was killed instead?

101 – Andreia Martins de Carvalho, Pedro Pinto, “Da caça de Mondragón à guarda do estreito de Gibraltar (1508-1513): os guardiões da memória de Duarte Pacheco Pereira e a economia de mercê nos séculos XVI-XVII,” *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, N. 13, CHAM, FCSH, New University of Lisbon, University of the Azores, Ponta Delgada, Portugal, 2012: 230-32

In December 1508, the Portuguese King Manuel I sent João Serrão (already back to Portugal) as a captain of a low tonnage caravel, chasing the Biscayan pirate Pedro de Mondragón, along many European harbors. This is almost surely our royal knight João Serrão, a seasoned sailor, expert in low tonnage ships, easily maneuverable.

The date of this new mission assigned to João Serrão makes it almost impossible for him to be fighting in the battle of Chaul (March 1508). Thus, he cannot be the homonymous killed in that tragic battle for the Portuguese.

102 – Jesús Hernández Sande, “Curso y piratería en el reino de Sevilla a finales de la Edad Media,” PhD thesis documental annexes, University of Huelva, Spain, July 2019: 180, 190, 593 (594)

A João Serrão was a knight of the city of Setúbal (south of Lisbon). In 1494, his caravel, loaded with silver and other trading goods, was sunk (near Santa Cruz de Cabo de Gué/Aguer, nowadays Agadir, Morocco) by the caravels of the Spaniards Juan Alonso Quintero and Martín de Sevilla (both from Palos), in the context of Spanish pirate and corsair attacks. Surviving the attack, not only João Serrão filed a complaint with the Spanish justice (December 1494), but because of this serious diplomatic incident, the Portuguese King João II also filed a criminal justice process in Spain against the attackers of Portugal’s caravel (August 1495). The Spaniards spent two years in jail, before reaching a compensations agreement with João Serrão.

103 – João de Barros, “Da Asia,” Decada II, Liv. II, Cap. VIII. “Dos Feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram no descobrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente,” Decada Segunda, parte primeira, Regia Officina Typografica, Lisbon, Portugal, 1777: 205

The chronicler João de Barros mentions that 140 Portuguese died in the battle of Chaul (March 1508), among which Estevão de Vilhena, a knight of the king’s guard, from Setúbal, who was captain of the poop in Dom Lourenço de Almeida’s *nau*.

A reasonable question to ask is if there was any connection between the João Serrão of 1494’s sunken caravel, knight of Setúbal, and this Estevão de Vilhena, also a knight from Setúbal? Could this João Serrão from Setúbal be the João Serrão killed in Chaul, therefore not being an error of Gaspar Correa?

104 – Damiam de Goes, op. cit., Terceira parte, Cap. LXXVI, f. 131.

João Serrão is listed among the captains and known persons who were part of the enormous Portuguese fleet sent to Mamora (present Mehdia, just north of Rabat, Morocco). Dom António de Noronha commanded the fleet, but the Portuguese were attacked by the Moors, failing to control the entrance to the strategic Cebu River.

105 – ANTT, Ref. PT/TT/CART/877/306, Cartas dos Governadores de África 1501/1642, fols. 1-1v, Lisbon, Portugal. António de Noronha, “Carta do conde de Linhares, D. António de Noronha para o rei D. Manuel I na qual lhe dizia que por Joam Seram lhe mandava expor o que lhe tinham assegurado os pilotos e marinheiros sobre a forma de se tapar a barra de São João de Mamora, o que não se conseguira fazer, visto o canal ser todo de areia e o rio ter maior corrente.” Written in São João de Mamora, July 29, 1515.

106 – Pierre de Cenival, “Les sources inédites de l’histoire du Maroc. Première Série – Dynastie Sa’dienne. Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal,” Tome I, Juillet 1486 - Avril 1516. Paul Geuthner, Paris, France, 1934: 707-9

Contains a Portuguese paleographic transcription of the letter written by António de Noronha to the Portuguese King Manuel I (July 29, 1515), and a modern French version.

Describing the situation in São João de Mamora, António de Noronha mentions that *Joam Seram* (sic) had left earlier in the week with other news to King Manuel I.

107 – AGI, Contratacion, 5089, L.2, fols. 56v-57, Libro copiator: Casa de la Contratación, Seville, Spain. “Traslado del parecer que dieron los pilotos sobre la demarcacion y como les parecia se debian hacer entre el rey nuestro Señor y el rey de Portugal en el cabo de Sant Agustin...”, November 13, 1515.

From the context of Juan Rodrigues (with an “s”) Serrano’s declaration, he was clearly a young man back then. Unfortunately, the expression he used is impossible to read completely given the extensive paper damage in this old document. One can read “... yo hera honbre m(a)”, and the destroyed paper ends there. The incomplete letter after the m looks like a fraction of an a, but one cannot be totally sure.

108 – José Toribio de Medina, “El veneciano Sebastián Caboto al servicio de España,” Tomo I, Imprenta y Encuadernación Universitaria, Santiago de Chile, Chile, 1908: 499-500

In Toribio de Medina’s interpretation of the teared paper missing letters, Serrano declared he was a “*hombre muchacho*”, i.e., likely still an adolescent, when sailing in Vélez de Mendoza’s expedition in 1500-1501.

109 – Cesáreo Fernández Duro, “Situación del Cabo de San Agustín,” Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid, tomo XVI, Spain, 1884: 27

This author’s interpretation is instead “*hombre mancebo*”.

110 – Friar Eusebio de Herrera, “Decissiones morales del estado de la religion, y de sus votos monásticos,” Burgos, Spain, 1623: 33

Discussing the legalities of young men’s religious vows choices and parental autonomy in the context of a man’s age evolution, this book says that doctors define the “*hombre muchacho*” age as being between 7 and 14 years old. Using this “metric”, then in 1514 Serrano could be at most 29 years old.

The “*hombre mancebo*” age, though, is defined as up to 25 years old (consistently with other period sources). In this case, Serrano would then be (at most) 40 years old in 1514. Though it would be somehow strange that a 25-year-old man could not yet know how to measure the height of celestial bodies, as Serrano declared in 1515. Not knowing astronomical navigation would be perhaps more reasonable in an adolescent.

111 – María del Carmen Mena García, “Como el ánima al cuerpo humano. Los pilotos reales de la Armada de Magallanes (1519-1522),” Naveg@mérica, Revista electrónica editada por la Asociación Española de Americanistas, N. 27, Universidad de Murcia, Spain, 2021: 25-6

Mena García presents (p. 16) the letter (June 30, 1519) written by the pilots Juan Serrano, Vasco Gallego (also a Portuguese pilot, with a house in Lisbon – see p. 19), Juan Rodriguez (de) Mafra, and Andrés de San Martín, asking for the same payment the Spanish King Carlos I was giving to the Portuguese pilot João Carvalho, in Magalhães’ fleet.

Mena García mentions that Mafra was already 49-50 years old (p. 18), suggesting that Serrano was the oldest of the pilots, as supposedly seen in his shaken signature in the mentioned 1519 letter (p. 24). This elder statement is totally incompatible, though, with the same Serrano being at most 25 years old in Vélez de Mendoza's 1500-1501 expedition! Serrano would be at very most (likely less than) 44-45 years old at Magalhães' departure.

112 – João de Barros, op. cit. p. 630, Decada III, Liv. V, Cap. VIII.

113 – Martín Fernández de Navarrete, “Colección de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV - con varios documentos inéditos concernientes á la historia de la marina castellana y de los establecimientos españoles en Indias,” Vol. 4, Imprenta Real, Madrid, Spain, 1837: 308

The original (1523) António de Brito's letter to the king of Portugal, reporting about Magalhães' voyage, can be found at Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal.

114 – ANTT, Ref. PT/TT/CC/2/101/87, Lisbon, Portugal “Auto das perguntas que se fizeram a dois espanhóis que chegaram à fortaleza de Malaca vindos de Timor na companhia de Álvaro Juzarte, capitão de um junco.” Written in Malacca, June 1, 1522

Serrano is listed as a *vecino* of Seville when Magalhães' fleet departs, but two of the Spanish survivors, arriving to the Portuguese fortress of Malacca, coming from Timor, state in this interrogatory: “...captain João Serrão, Castilian, natural of Freixinal...”

This is most probably nowadays Fregenal de la Sierra, in Badajoz, close to the Portuguese border.

115 – Antonio de Pigafetta, “Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo - Notizie del Mondo nuovo con le figure dei paesi scoperti,” 1525.

116 – Martín Fernández de Navarrete, op. cit. pp. 66-67.

A few days after Magalhães' death, Serrano was ambushed in Cebu and probably killed by the natives, on May 1, 1521. His very young stepson Francisco, a cabin boy, was killed in the same ambush.

117 – José Toribio de Medina, “El descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico – Hernando de Magallanes y sus compañeros,” Imprenta Elzeviriana, Santiago de Chile, Chile, 1920.

Juan Serrano was married with Juana (de) Durango, *vecina* of Seville and mother of Francisco, Serrano's stepson. Juana was left in poverty with other children (pp. 254-256, 280), but is not clear if they were also Serrano's natural descendants.

118 – António Caetano de Sousa, “Provas da História Genealógica Da Casa Real Portuguesa: Tiradas dos Instrumentos dos Archivos da Torre do Tombo...,” tomo II, Provas do livro IV, Lisbon, Portugal, 1742.

João Vaz Serrão shows (p. 363) as son of João Serrão (likely our same royal knight), in the noble squires' payment list, living in King Manuel I Royal House, in 1518.

João Vaz Serrão shows again (p. 833) in the noble squires' payment list, but now in King João III Royal House. Therefore, it seems he could not be the son of Juan Serrano. Thus, other than Pedraria's Serrano, now our knight João Serrão likely also cannot be Magalhães' Juan Serrano.

119 – António Dias Farinha, “Os portugueses no Golfo Pérsico (1507-1538),” *Mare Liberum*, N. 3, *Revista de História dos Mares, Comissão Nacional Para As Comemorações Dos Descobrimientos Portugueses*, Lisbon, Portugal, 1991: 77

A João Vaz Serrão, living in Lisbon and son of a João Serrão (likely our same royal knight) went to India in 1521, in Dom Duarte de Meneses armada. This “Yoam Vaz Sarom” (sic) was then militarily active in Ormuz and Oman in 1522.

Thus, once again, likely he could not be the son of Juan Serrano, i.e., repeatedly the knight Serrão and Serrano cannot be the same person.

120 – Quirino da Fonseca, “Memórias de arqueologia naval portuguesa,” Vol. 1. *Tipografia de J. F. Pinheiro*, Lisbon, Portugal, 1915: 164

In 1525, in the waters of Malacca, João Vaz Serrão was in command of a brigantine called *Ladrão* (Thief).

121 – Frei Luís de Sousa, “*Annaes de El Rei D. João III*,” circa 1632; published by A. Herculano, Lisbon, Portugal, 1844: 172

Commanding their fustas, Martim Afonso de Sousa (captain-major of the Sea of Malacca) and João Vaz Serrão died in the fierce naval battle of March 25, 1525, where the Portuguese Malacca troops defeated at great cost the attack of the Muslim troops coordinated by the *laksamana* (position akin to an admiral in the Malaysian sultanates) of Bintang’s kingdom (located near the SE extreme of the Malaysian peninsula).

122 – Francisco Lopez de Gomara, “*Historia General de las Indias*,” Cap. LXVI, *Biblioteca Virtual Universal*, Editorial del Cardo, Argentina, 2003 (Based on the 1st edition, Zaragoza, Spain, 1552): 76

Cartagena de Indias was only founded in 1533, but it was sighted much earlier, at least by Rodrigo de Bastidas.

123 – Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, “*De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D’Anghera*,” Vol. I, Translated from the Latin by Francis Augustus MacNutt, G. P. Putnam’s Sons, New York, and London, 1912.

In Decade III, Book V, p. 338 of this edition of the first three Anghiera’s “*Decades of the New World*” (published first in 1516) a sentence reads as follows: “The steering has been entrusted to the principal pilot, Juan Serrano, a Castilian, who had often sailed in those parts”.

124 – María del Carmen Mena García, “*Pilotos reales en la armada de Castilla del Oro (1514)*,” *Entre Puebla de Los Ángeles y Sevilla, homenaje al Dr. J. A. Calderón Quijano*, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Universidad de Sevilla, Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Dpt. de Historia de América. Seville, Spain, 1997: 43-4

In early February 1514, the fleet was almost ready for departure, but still had to wait for António Mariano and Juan Serrano. Organization-wise this is mindboggling: why was Serrano not hired earlier? It would make total sense to hire at least Serrano even before Pinzón got sick.

125 – Archivo Provincial de Sevilla (APS), Sevilla, Signatura 5834, Libro del año 1514, Oficio X, Libro I, escribano publico, Diego Lopez, Asunto: Juan Rodriguez Serrano.

Unfortunately, the original of this document about Juana Rodriguez del Castillo could not be located at the APS.

See also “Documentos americanos del Archivo de protocolos de Sevilla siglo XVI,” Tipografía de Archivos, Olózaga I, Madrid, Spain, 1935: 83

126 – Andrés Reséndez, “Conquering the Pacific: An Unknown Mariner and the Final Great Voyage of the Age of Discovery,” Mariner Books, Sept. 14, 2021: 172

127 – AGI, Patronato, 46, R.8. Cartas de Juan de Borja: armada de Nueva España al Maluco, pp. 2v and 3, 1570 (or later).

Juan de Borja y Castro was the Spanish ambassador in Portugal at the time.

128 – “Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar,” Segunda Serie, publicada por la Real Academia de la Historia, Tomo N. 3, II – de las islas Filipinas, Impresoes de la Real Casa, Madrid 1887: 379

129 – Martin Fernández de Navarrete, “Biblioteca Maritima Española, obra póstuma, Tomo I,” Imprenta de la Viuda de Calfro, Madrid, 1851: 9

130 – António J. Garrido Duque, “Lope Martin, Piloto de Indias, Mulato, Ayamontino,” Author’s own edition, Ayamonte, Spain, August 2020.

131 – Amancio Landín Carrasco, op. cit. p. 253.

132 – John Dunmore, “Who’s who in the Pacific Navigation,” University of Hawai’i Press, USA, 1991: 174

133 – Traveling along the Portuguese border with Spain, almost every other Portuguese city or village has some castle or fortress that was attacked and/or is in ruins, reflecting the persistence of the Spanish invasions. Even, e.g., the castle of my own small village, defending the Portuguese NE border with Spain, was destroyed by the Spanish in the XVIII century’s Seven Years War, in yet another episode of the centuries long wars disputing Uruguay, in South America.

134 – Casquilho, op. cit. p. 200.

Under the Treaty of Zaragoza, of 1529, Portugal also agreed to pay a tremendous fortune of 350 000 golden ducats to the Spanish emperor Carlos V, but under the condition that the money would be returned if proved in later longitude measurements (as it was in fact proved!) that indeed the Moluccas always have been in Portuguese territory. However, the fortune was never (!) returned to Portugal (Carlos V wasted it in Spanish wars across Europe), and because of this and other bad deals with Spain, adding to the dry winds that blow from Spain, by opposition to the humid Atlantic winds, the Portuguese have an old proverb saying: “from Spain we only get bad winds and bad weddings”. Thus, the Iberian nations turned their backs to each other for quite long.

135 – The Windsor Treaty, dating to 1386, between Portugal and England, is the oldest valid treaty of mutual defense and friendship in the world. In the early XIX century, after Napoleon’s invasion of Portugal, the Franco-Hispanic troops were defeated later by the joint Anglo-Portuguese Army, which made Spain switch sides. Ever since the end of the Napoleonic

invasions, and based on the Congress of Vienna (1815) resolutions, Spain has promised to return Olivença to Portugal as quickly (!) as possible, “recognizing the justice of the Portuguese complaints” [sic]. Representing King Ferdinand VII of Spain, Count Fernan Nuñez y Barajas, signed, on May 17, 1817, the return of Olivença to Portugal. It never happened! Spain never honored its own signature! Thus, about 60 kilometers of the border between Portugal and Spain are still not defined today, as if being some lost land, say, between China and India in the freezing Himalayas.

136 – Leaving no heir to the Portuguese throne, King Sebastião died in 1578, in the battle of Alcácer-Quibir (present northern Morocco) trying to defeat the Muslims. The Spanish King Felipe II, had a Portuguese mother (Isabel of Portugal), being grandson of the Portuguese King Manuel I, thus being entitled to the Portuguese Crown as well, according to the nobility intermarriage rules of those times.

137 – AGI, Guatemala, 58-35, March 1596, 2 folios. Protesta de Francisco de Mesa, Alferrez mayor de Guatemala porque en el Cabildo hay tres regidores portugueses, March 1596.

138 – AGI, Guatemala, 58-22, 1 folio. Carta al rey sobre los inconvenientes que se siguen de que los portugueses ocupen cargos en el cabildo, March 1596.

139 – José María Vallejo García-Hevia, “Estudios de Instituciones Hispano-Indianas,” Tomo I, Boletín Oficial del Estado, Madrid, Spain, 2015: 502

140 – Erika Elizabeth Laanela, “Instrucción Náutica (1587), by Diego García de Palacio: an early nautical handbook from Mexico,” Anthropology Master thesis, Texas A&M University, USA, 2008.

141 – Bernal Diaz del Castillo, op. cit. pp 76-77, Cap. XXIII.

142 – Gonçal de Reparaz i Ruiz, “Os portugueses no vice-reinado do Peru (séculos XVI e XVII),” Instituto de Alta Cultura, Lisboa, Portugal, 1976: 39

143 – Even today the famous Mexican *paliacate* scarves are a relic of that trading period, when the Portuguese established themselves in Paleacate in 1518 (today's Pulicat in India's Coromandel Coast). From Paleacate started the not yet properly told Portuguese epic adventures in São Tomé de Meliapore (40 kilometers to the south, near Madras, nowadays Chennai), where finally the lost Christians of St. Thomas were reunited with the western Christians, millennia later, in a cornerstone for Humanity's history! The Dutch later conquered Paleacate from the Portuguese, developing further its textile industry, as profitable as the spices themselves!

144 – Gonçal de Reparaz i Ruiz, op. cit. p. 31.

145 – Gonçal de Reparaz i Ruiz, op. cit. pp. 24, 26.

The remarkable work of Gonçal de Reparaz describes many Portuguese captains gradually arrested by Peru's Spanish Inquisition, like Pedro Fernandes Viana (from Vila Real de Trás-os-Montes), who, already in 1603 traded in pitch, picked up in Guatulco (the Mexican harbor, where once anchored Cabrilho's fleet problematic *San Miguel* small brigantine) and El Realejo, and sold in Callao/Lima. Reparaz gives notorious examples too, as that of Manuel Rodrigues de Lisboa, leaving Lima with the equivalent of today's 4 million US dollars, to purchase China goods, arriving in Acapulco from Manila.

The Spanish Inquisition's motivations are exemplified in paradigmatic cases as the killing of Manuel Baptista Peres (from Ançã) and captain Garcia Mendes (from Olivença).

Mendes had at least 124 603 pieces of eight in Peru's main Spanish bank, and Peres (who had at least 10 Inquisition accusation charges made against him!) just in money had more than 750 000 pieces of eight, excluding his pearls, diamonds and other jewels confiscated by the Spanish Inquisition. No wonder the Spanish Inquisition, with the support from Peru's viceroy (the Count of Chinchón), prepared months in advance, and in all detail, the destruction of the Portuguese colony in Peru, in 1635. Of course, the trade network in Peru collapsed at the time, together with the Portuguese colony.

146 – Maria Antonieta Pereira, “Do Titicaca ao Rio: imagens culturais de uma tradição,” Memorandum, 10, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil, 2006: 131-5

As another relic from that amazing trading period, we have today the famous Copacabana beach, in Rio de Janeiro, named after Our Lady of Copacabana, a cult brought by “peruleiros” traders from Titicaca's Lake.

### **Conflict of interest statement**

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

### **Research data availability statement**

- The entire dataset supporting the results of this study was published in the article and in the sections “Annex I” and “Notes”.

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