
NO QUERIES

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Faith, Fidelity and Fantasy

*Don Pedro Fernández de Quirós and the 'foundation, government and sustenance'
of La Nueva Hierusalem in 1606**

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'This bay, to which the captain gave the name San Felipe y Santiago, because it was discovered on this day, is distant from Lima apparently one thousand and seven hundred leagues, and from Acapulco one thousand and three hundred, and one thousand and one hundred from the city of Manila in the Philippines.'

Pedro Fernández de Quirós¹

ON 1ST MAY 1606, TOWARDS THE BEGINNING OF WINTER IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC, three Spanish ships commanded by the Portuguese navigator Pedro Fernández de Quirós² entered the Big Bay of what is now known as Santo, the largest island in the Vanuatu archipelago. As Quirós recorded in his logbook, through the elegant penmanship of his young Sevillian scribe, Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez, 'because our eyes could rest on nothing that was not all land, this was the happiest and most celebrated day of the voyage'.³

Quirós was not yet convinced, as his diary reveals, that the newly sighted territory was the mythical austral continent, but it is well known that he attempted to establish a settlement there which he named *la Nueva Hierusalem* (New Jerusalem). Over the next six weeks the formalities of founding this desired but utterly doomed 'provincial capital' were enacted according to what many historians dismiss as the theatrics and mysticism of a 'man in the grip of

*This article is based on archival and field studies begun in August 2000, which were later broadened through the support of Casa Asia (Barcelona) within the scope of an ongoing research project coordinated by Carlos Mondragón that is titled 'Oceanic and Iberian perspectives in the Spanish explorations of the Pacific, 1567–1606'.

¹ Pedro Fernández de Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, ed. Robert Ferrando Perez (3rd edn, rev. Madrid 2000), 269. All translations from original Spanish texts are by the authors.

² Throughout we use the Hispanic version of Quirós's name because, even though he was born and raised in Portugal under the Lusitanian title of Pedro Fernandes de Queiros, he spent most of his life within the political, cultural and institutional framework of the Spanish empire.

³ *Ibid.*, 248.

religious mania'.⁴ However, the convoluted procedures and overall behaviour of the Spanish men in Big Bay were neither the result of one man's extravagant religiosity nor simply of Spanish arrogance, but encompass overlapping medieval, renaissance and (to a lesser degree) baroque legal and cultural canons which have hitherto been glossed in scholarly analyses of the earliest European explorations of Oceania.

Notwithstanding some fine contributions to the study of this period,⁵ a number of assumptions continue to obfuscate or limit our understanding of the multifarious influences upon Iberian overseas expansion in the Pacific. Most notably, a lingering Anglophone stereotype of the conquistador presents Spanish explorers as bloodthirsty, gold-obsessed intruders who were motivated by avarice, senseless violence and vacuous presumptions of sovereignty.⁶ Conversely, and perhaps more troubling, is a continuing absence of recognition among many Hispanic historians — who are generally distant from developments in contemporary Oceanic scholarship — of the complexity and historicity of local societies and seascapes, and of the powerful, if subtle, forms of indigenous agency that were key to the encounters between early modern Iberian navigators and Pacific Islanders.⁷

A primary objective of this article is to address the omissions and misperceptions inherent in divergent historiographical traditions regarding the earliest European presence in the Pacific. We strive to tackle the methodological problems posed by a dearth of historical sources for this period and by incomplete studies of existing documents, which lie scattered across diverse Iberian and American archives. We have integrated key Iberian sources that, though rendered into English, suffer from inadequate translation, contextualisation,

⁴Oskar Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan*, Vol. 1: *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra 1979), 136. Spate's description has often been repeated, e.g. Max Quanchi and Ron Adams (eds), *Culture Contact in the Pacific* (Cambridge 1993), 35, thereby reinforcing a generalised Anglophone stereotype of Quirós as an obsessive religious mystic and violent 'Spanish' explorer. Most Hispanic scholarly accounts of Quirós also exaggerate his religiosity but in order to cast him in glowing terms as a pious pacifist (see fn. 6).

⁵Indispensable references are to be found in several works by Celsus Kelly: *Australia Franciscana* (Madrid 1963); *La Australia del Espíritu Santo* (Cambridge 1965); and *Calendar of Documents: Spanish voyages in the South Seas from Alvaro de Mendaña to Alejandro Malaspina 1567–1794, and from the Franciscan missionary plans for peoples of the austral lands 1617–1634* (Madrid 1965). See also Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia* (Oxford 1963); Colin Jack-Hinton, *The Search for the Islands of Solomon, 1567–1838* (Oxford 1969); Robert Langdon, *The Lost Caravel* (Sydney 1975) and *The Lost Caravel Re-explored* (Canberra 1988); and Annie Baert, *Le Paradis Terrestre: un mythe espagnol en Océanie: les voyages de Mendaña et de Quirós, 1567–1606* (Paris 1999). Spate's *The Spanish Lake* is the most informative English-language treatment of Quirós's voyages.

⁶Not surprisingly, this stereotype has also found its way into analyses by Islander scholars, e.g. Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel, 'Discovering outsiders', in D. Denoon *et al.* (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (Cambridge 1997), 119–51.

⁷Works which fail to consider indigenous Oceanic histories include Leoncio Cabrero Fernández (ed.), *España y el Pacífico*, Vol. 1: *Legazpi* (Madrid 2004) and *idem* (coord.), *Historia general de Filipinas* (Madrid 2000); Antonio García-Abásolo, *España y el Pacífico* (Córdoba 1997); Martha de Jármay Chapa, *La expansión española hacia América y el Océano Pacífico*, Vol. 2: *La Mar del Sur y el impulso hacia Oriente*, (México 1988); Amancio Landín Carrasco, *Descubrimientos españoles en el Mar del Sur* (Madrid 1992); Carlos Martínez Shaw, *El Pacífico español de Magallanes a Malaspina* (Madrid 1988); Hugo O'Donnell, *España en el descubrimiento, conquista y defensa del Mar del Sur* (Madrid 1992); Carlos Prieto, *El Océano Pacífico: Navegantes españoles del siglo XVI* (Madrid 1975).

or both,⁸ and we aim to bridge Hispanic, Lusitanian and Anglo-Australian perspectives.

Specifically, we hope to shed light on the worldviews and expectations of Iberian explorers in Oceania. We have chosen to focus on the events that took place during Quiros's visit to the Island of Espiritu Santo, because they furnish perhaps the most fertile exemplar of the values and practices that informed the 16th and 17th century Spanish exploration and imagination in Melanesia. We begin with a summary description of the global transformations that framed these voyages, followed by an analysis of biographical details about Fernández de Quirós, in order to situate the man and his world prior to our main discussion of the events that transpired in Big Bay.

A 'Castilian' Lake: Pacific Exploration at the Dawn of the 17th Century

The first period of European maritime exploration in the Pacific Ocean was dominated by the presence of Iberian — Spanish and Portuguese — navigators. This Hispanic 'Pacific century' began with the world-encircling endeavour of Portuguese captain Fernão de Magalhães (Ferdinand Magellan) in 1519–21, peaked with the colonisation of the Philippines and the establishment of the Manila Galleon after 1565, and came to a symbolic close in 1606 with the voyages of Pedro Fernández de Quirós and Luis Váez de Torres. Thereafter, the presence of the Spanish empire in the Pacific was almost entirely reduced to maintaining the viability of the beleaguered Manila–Acapulco and coastal Pacific–American routes that connected the Philippine archipelago with the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, and thence across the Atlantic to the Spanish metropole.

Unlike the first expedition to the Solomon Islands by Álvaro de Mendaña y Neira in 1568, the Quirós expedition of 1606, with his *almirante* (second-in-command and head navigator) Torres, took place at a time of imperial climax and crisis, during which the Pacific Ocean had already been incorporated (at least theoretically) into the geopolitical framework of the Spanish monarchy. Between 1568 and 1600, the enormous Spanish empire of King Philip II had

⁸The voyages of Mendaña and Quirós were variously recounted in short and fragmentary versions by Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* (Mexico 1609); Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *Hechos de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza* (Madrid 1613); and Fr Tomás de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana* (Seville 1615). The first comprehensive and most widely known account continues to be Quiros, *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones australes hecho por el general Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, 3 vols, ed. Justo Zaragoza (Madrid 1876–82), recently reprinted in facsimile under the imprint of José Manuel Gómez-Tabanera (Madrid 2000). Importantly, Zaragoza's edition served as the basis for the English translations by Lord Amherst of Hackney and Basil Thomson, *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Álvaro de Mendaña in 1568*, 2 vols (London 1901) and Sir Clements Markham, *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quirós to 1606*, 2 vols (London 1904). While Spate notes the 'careless' and 'archaic' nature of Markham's translations (*The Spanish Lake*, 318 n. 21), a more fundamental shortcoming is that Zaragoza's version, on which the English translations rely, is based on incomplete manuscript sources. The Ferrando Pérez edition of Quirós, which also includes the account by Luis Váez de Torres (Torres, 'Relación de Luis Váez de Torres a Felipe III desde Manila, a 12 de julio de 1607', in Quirós, *Descubrimiento*, 315–24) rectifies certain omissions in Zaragoza's, and provides the basis for much of our present analysis.

established a permanent foothold in Asia through its Philippine colony (1565), led the Christian world to victory at Lepanto (1571), blundered its way into a protracted and costly internal conflict in the Low Countries (from 1565), met with unexpected and disastrous humiliation at the hands of Elizabethan England (1588), and was consolidating and expanding its influence across the Americas — from Chile to California — thereby mobilising record volumes of silver and riches from the New World to the Old.⁹ Perhaps most important, in terms of the geopolitical experiences that shaped Quirós's personality, motivation and ultimate loyalties, was the attachment in 1580 of Portugal to Spain's imperial 'portfolio', a process that briefly — until 1648 — united the territorial and political Iberian peninsula for the first and last time in modern history, during what is known to historians as the Period of the Two Crowns.

This was also the age when Spain began to pay in earnest for deep and critical flaws in its politico-economic and bureaucratic systems. Much of the intake of imperial wealth was squandered, giving rise to a paradoxically bankrupt global empire that could still project unparalleled power abroad, while producing an army of beggars at home. The death of Philip II and his replacement by the immature Philip III in 1598 represented the moment when insurmountable limitations came to bear upon imperial largesse and expansion.¹⁰

With regard to Iberian images of the geographical world, the establishment of regular trans-Pacific trade routes eastward from Manila to Mexico and Seville, and westward from Manila to the Spice Islands, India and Europe, meant that Spain's overseas domains had 'bracketed' the outer limits of the Pacific. This bracketing — which inspired Oskar Spate's well-known reference to the 'Spanish Lake'¹¹ — was demonstrated cartographically, and also signified to Spanish explorers and imperial administrators alike that the entire Pacific was now contained within the Hispanic legal and political framework.

Following the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1493 and the Treaty of Zaragoza in 1529, whereby Spain and Portugal had negotiated each other's jurisdictional limits on existing and future territorial 'discoveries', the West Indies, and subsequently all of continental Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean including the Philippine archipelago, had been pre-emptively and theoretically

⁹ John H. Elliot, *Spain and its World, 1500–1700* (New Haven 1989); John H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London 1966); and William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York 1939) provide classic overviews from an Anglophone perspective; conversely, Ricardo García Cárcel et al., *Historia de España Siglos XVI y XVII: La España de los Austrias* (Madrid 2003) and Bartolomé Yun, *Marte contra Minerva: El precio del Imperio Español c. 1450–1600* (Barcelona 2004) provide recent overviews of the Hispanic historiographic perspective. Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais: España y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid 1991); and Manuel Ollé, *La Empresa de China: de la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila* (Barcelona 2002) offer important insights into Spanish imperial policy in the Asia-Pacific region.

¹⁰ Relevant politico-economic studies of this phenomenon can be found in Ernest Belenguer, *Del oro al oropel*, Vol. 2: *El hundimiento de la hegemonía hispánica* (Barcelona 1997); C. M. Cipolla, R. S. López and H. Miskimin, 'Economic depression of the Renaissance?' I–III, *Economic History Review*, 16 (1964), 519–24; 525–7; 528–9; H. Miskimin, *Cash, Credit and Crisis in Europe, 1300–1600* (London 1989); and A. Szásdi, 'Spain and American treasure: depreciation of silver and monetary exchange in the Viceroyalty of Lima, 1550–1610', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 4 (1975) 429–58.

¹¹ Spate, *The Spanish Lake*.

subordinated to the direct, centralised authority of the Crown of Castile; that is to say of the Spanish monarchy, which had its seat in the Kingdom of Castile, and to no other institution in the nascent and politically disparate 'nation' of post-medieval polities (the Crown of Aragón, the Kingdom of Navarre, and so forth) which was beginning to be referred to as Spain. This point is often neglected by historians, but deeply affected the manner in which regional political authority and the imagination of geographical space was projected into the New World.¹² Consequently, in conjunction with Spanish America, the Pacific Islands were considered to be part of the 'Indies of Castille' (*las Indias de Castilla*), and thus an extension of the Kingdoms of Castile and León. The Philippines were accordingly allocated the status of a Governorship and Captaincy-General and were juridically subordinated to the Viceroyalty of New Spain (with its seat in Mexico City), and thence to the Crown of Castille and its imperial administrative arm, the Council of the Indies, in Madrid.

The Pacific was thus a 'Castilian' — rather than Spanish — Lake, whose southern coastline was assumed to be the *Quarta pars incognita* — the unknown 'fourth' part of the globe. As shown in the first maps of the Pacific produced and employed by early 16th century navigators (even after the South and Central Solomons were charted following Mendaña's first voyage in 1568), uncharted land was imagined as extending in one continuous landmass from Tierra del Fuego to New Guinea.¹³ This was the *Terra australis nondum cognita* of Ptolemaic antiquity, which the most prestigious renaissance cartographers had resuscitated and presented as scientific fact, now only awaiting its discoverer.

So in late 1605, as his speculations on the origins of Marquesan and Tuamotu islanders confirm, Quirós imagined that the few and scattered Pacific Islands which had thus far been 'discovered' were outliers of the *Terra australis*,¹⁴ the coastline of which was his endeavour to chart. Quite simply, the seasoned Lusitanian navigator was bent on gaining the immortal honours that such a discovery would entail. Therefore, according to the instructions that he gave Torres, Quirós intended to sail in a straight line southwest from the Peruvian port of Callao 'to 30°S latitude'.¹⁵

Unfortunately, on this voyage Quirós's Portuguese heritage, erratic leadership and irascibility (the latter probably related to a continuing convalescence from

¹² See, e.g., the sharp critique of Hugh Thomas, *Rivers of Gold: the rise of the Spanish Empire, from Columbus to Magellan* (New York 2003) in J.E. Gelabert, 'España antes de tiempo', *Revista de Libros de la Fundación Caja Madrid*, 87 (2004), where Thomas is taken to task for failing to consider the effects of the fractured, proto-modern nature of 'Spain' in his grand summary of early Spanish expansion.

¹³ For examples of early 16th century charts which depict the *Terra australis* see, e.g., the *mapa mundi* of Giovanni Cimmerlino from 1566, which was based on the chart by Oronce Finé from 1534, reproduced in Federico Romero and Rosa Benavides, *Mapas antiguos del mundo* (Madrid 1998), 78. In addition, the cartographer Abraham Ortelius first represented the *Terra australis* as part of the island of New Guinea in the engraving entitled '*America sive novi orbis, nova descriptio*', dating from c. 1570; he later represented the southern continent as separate from New Guinea, but still contiguous with Patagonia, in the chart titled '*Mars Pacifici (quod vulgo mar del zur) cum regionibus circumiacentibus ...*', in his atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Both maps are reproduced in *ibid.*, 100, 102.

¹⁴ Quirós, 'Memorial 1', *Memoriales de las indias australes*, ed. Óscar Pinochet de la Barra (Madrid 2002), 35–6.

¹⁵ Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, 200.

injuries sustained a few weeks earlier in Panama)¹⁶ sharply contrasted with his abilities to salvage the previous South Seas expedition of 1595–96, and soon generated animosity from both Torres and other important members of the crew.¹⁷ They overrode their commander's instructions and, soon after arriving at 22°S latitude, in the vicinity of Ducie Island, began to head north by northwest. Quirós was not pleased ('seeing that his pilot was changing the course... he was determined to stab him and throw him overboard', writes Bermúdez¹⁸ but had little choice but to acquiesce. The prevailing winds were blowing westnorthwest anyway. For all intents — and Quirós was clearly aware of this — the voyage of discovery was over less than one month after having started. From now on, the expedition would chance upon only a handful of 'new' islands.

Quirós eventually directed his ships to navigate due west at 10°S latitude, towards the Santa Cruz group, where the Mendaña expedition of 1596 had found fresh water and food. Five months later, the exhausted Spanish seamen came just short of their intended target of Ndende (Santa Cruz) but reached the tiny outlier of Taumako.¹⁹ There, following an ambiguous but enticing description of 'large lands' that he had elicited from a Taumako man, Quirós decided to grasp at his final chance for fame and ordered his pilots to head due south, into the Banks Islands and Espiritu Santo.

The Religiosity and Proto-nationalism of Don Pedro Fernández de Quirós

Before analysing the specifics of the Santo encounter, some biographical notes relating to the formative experiences of Quirós are relevant and, given the lack of information about his early life, we have relied heavily on a declaration that Quirós gave in 1615 to customs officers from the Casa de Contratación in Seville, prior to his final passage to the West Indies.²⁰

The Oceanic 'Don Quixote', as G. Arnold Wood once dubbed him,²¹ was born around 1565 in the cathedral and university town of Évora, in the Lusitanian province of Piedad, to a well-to-do (but clearly *not* noble) family, and was later educated in Lisbon, then the bustling spice capital of the world and the spigot for the growing wealth of renaissance Europe. In such a place,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁷ Especially the Spanish aristocrat Don Diego de Prado y Tovar. Here we use the excellent edition of the diary by Prado, 'Relación sumaria de don Diego de Prado', in Brett Hilder, *El viaje de Torres de Veracruz a Manila: descubrimiento de la costa meridional de Nueva Guinea y del estrecho de Torres y documentos de la época de travesía*, trans. and ed. by Francisco Utray (Madrid 1990 [St Lucia Q]d 1980)], 201–33. The only extant, but not entirely satisfactory, English translation of Prado's journal, is in Henry N. Stevens (ed.) and G. F. Barwick (trans.), *New Light on the Discovery of Australia as Revealed by the Journal of Captain Don Diego de Prado y Tovar* (London 1930), 86–205.

¹⁸ Quirós, *Descubrimiento*, 220.

¹⁹ For an analysis of the encounter between Taumako Islanders and Iberians see Carlos Mondragón, 'Visiones autóctonas y occidentales durante las exploraciones españolas de la Melanesia insular (1595–1606)', in Gustavo Curiel (ed.), *Orientes y Occidentes: el arte y la mirada del Otro* (Mexico, in press).

²⁰ *Información presentada por el Capitán Pedro Fernández de Quirós, a las Indias, con su mujer, hijos y criadas, que se expresan...*, 14 Mar. 1615, Seville, Archivo de Indias, Patronato 51.

²¹ G. Arnold Wood, *The Discovery of Australia* (London 1922), 203.

Quirós (then Queiros), a young aspiring seaman, would have imbibed the proud heritage of nearly two centuries of independent Portuguese maritime ascendancy.²² He soon became seaborne, acting as scribe (*escribano*) on various Portuguese merchantmen servicing the *Carreira da Índia* (the Portuguese East Indies trade-route), and must have been skilled, because he quickly worked his way up to the position of *piloto mayor* (chief navigator). Sometime after the incorporation of Portugal into Spain, he moved to Madrid, in 1588 or 1589, where he married one Ana Chacón with whom he had a daughter in 1590, shortly before his first voyage of exploration to the South Seas.

Meagre as they are, these data offer important clues to the thinking and behaviour of Quirós later in life. At the time of his birth, the people of his home province, Piedad, held to a tough, proto-nationalistic 'frontier mentality' forged of their borderline location during the centuries-long process of *reconquista* (reconquest) in Moorish-dominated Iberia, and more recently from proximity to Spain. Furthermore, Piedad, together with the neighbouring Spanish province of Extremadura, was an impoverished hinterland undergoing an outward migratory impulse propelled by the promise of the *Carreira da Índia* and the riches of the Americas. However, the political boundary separating Piedad from Extremadura was irrelevant to a third, religious demarcation which incorporated both regions and was known as the Province of San Gabriel. This seraphic province, a relic of medieval religious territoriality, was dominated by radical sectors of the Franciscan Order, including the *espirituales* or *fraticelos* and the *piadosos* or *descalzos*. These latter were most influential in Piedad (hence *piadosos*), especially around the city of Évora, given that their headquarters lay in the nearby hamlet of Villa Viçosa, where they were known in Portuguese as the *capuços*.

Like most other reformed mendicants, the *capuços* of Évora were dedicated to an emotional spiritual life that sought to imitate Jesus. They were opposed to an emphasis on the rational in religious instruction and nurtured a peculiar millenarian vision that anticipated Paradise on Earth, as prophesied by the famous medieval scholar and abbot of Calabria, Ioachim de Fiore, to whom we shall return at the end of this article. Importantly, the utopian reinterpretation of the Ioachinist ideal and the zeal with which the *capuços* practised their religiosity became strongly intermingled with the proto-nationalism of Piedad. Following the heroic death of the young King Sebastião at the hands of African Moors during the battle of Alcázarquivir (1578) and the consequent attachment of Portugal to Spain, these Franciscans became part of the ideological core of

²² There are few accessible studies regarding the worldviews of 16th-century Portugal, but two works by Isabel Soler stand out: *El nudo y la esfera: el navegante como artífice del mundo moderno* (Barcelona 2003); and *Los mares naufragos* (Barcelona 2004). See also Michael Chandeigne (ed.), *Lisbonne hors les murs, 1415-1580: l'invention du monde par des navigateurs portugais* (Paris 1990); Vitório Magalhães Godinho, *Les Découvertes: XVe — XVIe: une révolution des mentalités* (Paris 1990); and J.S. da Silva Dias, *Os descobrimentos e a problemática cultural do século XVI* (Coimbra 1973).

the 'Sebastianist' movement, which prophesied the mythical return of the rightful king and the liberation of Portugal from the odious yoke of the Spanish Crown.²³

These earliest childhood circumstances may help to clarify various misunderstandings relating to the religiosity, utopianism and flair for chivalry that Quirós later displayed. Specifically, it is significant that during his South Seas navigations Quirós consistently demonstrated a strong attachment to the Franciscan Order (he personally hand-picked the Franciscan friars who accompanied the 1606 expedition from the highest echelons of the Convent of St Francis in Lima, Peru) and to the particular Trinitarian cult that the Franciscans professed, which centred on special devotion to Jesus, the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit.²⁴ Furthermore, it is likely that his wavering loyalty to the Spanish monarch had its roots in the highly charged proto-nationalist environment of Lisbon and Piedad. Tempering both religiosity and ambiguous loyalties was Quirós's desire to be the discoverer of the austral lands. It is towards an understanding of these interleaving layers of complexity — personal and cosmological — that we turn to the scene of Big Bay in the early winter of 1606.

Espiritu Santo, First Act: the Order of the Knights of the Holy Spirit

One of the very first acts that Quirós undertook upon entering Big Bay, prior to making landfall on the afternoon of 30 April, was to assemble all his men and make the following crucial declaration:

His Majesty the King our Lord sent me at the expense of his own Royal Treasury, without giving me any instructions or orders, nor any other brief regarding what I must accomplish in these parts, nor did he limit my will so that I should leave undone what, in the name of his Royal greatness, I should deem convenient to his service and greater honour: in sum, he left everything under my charge ...²⁵

Not for the first time, and probably as a result of his worsening relations with his officers, Quirós was restating the special authority that had been extended to him personally by King Philip III. Importantly, this authority had been approved and financed directly by the Council of State (*Consejo de Estado*) rather than, as had always been the case, through the bureaucratic and powerful Council of the Indies (*Consejo de Indias*), which administered all issues pertaining to the exploration, trade and government of the Indies. As Roberto Ferrando Pérez

²³ The authors are deeply grateful to Dr Alan Strathern, Clare Hall, Cambridge, for having originally pointed out the existence and importance of the *capuços* in the social life of Évora. See also Juan Bautista Moles, *Memorial de la provincia de San Gabriel de la orden de los frailes menores de la observancia* (Madrid 1592), and Idalina Resina Rodrigues, *Fray Luís de Granada y la literatura de espiritualidad en Portugal (1554-1632)* (Madrid 1988).

²⁴ That Quirós felt a special devotion to the Franciscan Order is beyond doubt, but the continuing problem is to know how deeply. Annie Baert states that Quirós was a so-called 'Tertiary' (non-ordained) member of the Franciscans; see Baert, *Le paradis terrestre*, 66-78, and *idem*, 'Pedro Fernández de Quirós, o el otro Colón', in F.J. Antonio Burgos and L.O. Ramos Alonso (eds), *Traspassando fronteras: el reto de Asia y el Pacífico* (Valladolid 2002), 41-2. However, she provides no concrete evidence. As we suggest, Quirós's activities, behaviour and written comments prior to 1606 demonstrate that he was not particularly religious but was probably infused with the utopianism of the *capuços*.

²⁵ Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, 252.

has argued, this wholly unprecedented arrangement (which was only possible because the King held unfettered jurisdiction over the Indies of Castile) had come about because Quirós had persuaded the inexperienced but pious Philip III with rhetoric (backed by personal and written support extracted by Quirós from Pope Clement VIII) concerning the necessity of taking Christianity to the heathens of the unknown *Terra australis*.²⁶

Not out of missionary zeal had Quirós rushed to obtain special powers from the King. His Franciscan bias notwithstanding, Quirós had never previously engaged in works of piety or evangelisation; and indeed, no religious commentary is present in his narrative of the previous 1595–96 expedition. Rather, as Ferrando Pérez notes, Quirós had become aware that Mendaña's widow, the ambitious Doña Isabel Barreto, was advancing claims over the lordship of the Isles of Solomon.²⁷ Quirós was also aware of the obstacles to his ambition at a time when the expensive business of exploration and colonisation was out of favour in the financially ruined court of imperial Spain and its Council of the Indies.

Having reasserted his right to freedom of action upon entering Big Bay, Quirós then turned his attention to the most frequently ridiculed feature of his endeavour: creating a Chivalric Order of the Holy Ghost (*Orden de los Caballeros del Espíritu Santo*). At one level, it suggests his nostalgia for the medieval spirit of chivalry. Quirós perhaps regarded himself as a new paladin, modelled on the likes of Amadís de Gaula, Palmerín or Oliveros de Castilla, all of whom appeared in fictitious chronicles of knightly deeds that were then enormously popular across Europe and the Indies — and were the antecedents for the story of one Alonso Quijano (better known as Don Quixote de la Mancha), first printed in 1605.

The Order of the Knights of the Holy Ghost may have been named after the Order of the Hospitaliers of the Holy Ghost, which had been founded as a charitable organisation in 1195 in Montpellier and had then branched out from France into Italy and Germany. But more likely, Quirós chose this title in remembrance of the three components of the Holy Trinity — the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost — to which he had special devotion given his links to the Order of Saint Francis. This last possibility must be considered in the light both of Quirós's early background and of the fervour that other discoverers and conquistadors professed for the Franciscans.²⁸

²⁶ Ferrando Pérez highlights the fact that, over the course of 18 months as a guest of the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican, Quirós carefully planned the time of his approach to the Holy See — the highly symbolic Jubilee Year of 1600 — as well as the style of his presentation: pilgrim's garb and missionary rhetoric. Ferrando Pérez, 'Introducción', *ibid.*, 34.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 32 and 34.

²⁸ During the conquest of America, attempts were made to create similar chivalric orders — such as the Order of the Knights of the Holy Cross and the Order of the Knights of the Golden Spur (this latter founded by Fr Bartolomé de Las Casas in 1517 and referred to by its detractors as the Order of the 'Brown Knights', *caballeros pardos*). There was even an Order of the Knights Teclas created *ex professo* for the indigenous Mexican nobility by the Viceroy of New Spain in 1537; see Luis Weckmann, *La herencia medieval de México* (2nd edn, rev., Mexico 1994), 155–6. The chivalric spirit was also expressed in the early stages of Lusitanian colonisation; see Weckmann, *La herencia medieval del Brasil* (Mexico 1993), 116–36.

These are the events so far according to Quirós's official version. However, his Order became an object of derision by many of those accompanying him. Importantly, his critics included literate members of the expedition who consigned their contempt to paper.²⁹ Their derision does not necessarily confirm the view that Quirós was engaging in deranged theatrics. Instead, it probably derived from the frustrations that had been building for months among the wholly Spanish-descended officers, who resented the authoritarianism and ineptitude of the Portuguese-born Quirós. These underlying tensions intensified during Quirós's taking formal possession of the island.

Espíritu Santo, Second Act: Statements of Possession, Lordship and Fidelity

On 14 May 1606 — the feast of Pentecost, by the Christian calendar — Fernández de Quirós took formal possession of the island that he baptised 'Austrialia del Espíritu Santo' (and *not*, as is often mistakenly thought, Australia), in honour of the Spanish Habsburg monarch's royal house of Austria. Being well acquainted with the judicial formulae associated with claims on new territories and mirroring a widespread inclination for the baroque theatrics of his age, Quirós organised a series of founding acts rich in symbolism and purport. Some of these rituals Quirós had witnessed during his prior expedition with Mendaña, when the Spaniards had taken possession of the Marquesan island that they named Santa Cristina,³⁰ but no detailed description has survived of those practised on Big Bay. Nevertheless, it is clear that Quirós followed the general dictates of established 'Roman' Common Law (*Ius Commune*), while introducing into the proceedings certain idiosyncratic formalities of his own — a combination which was not uncommon, to judge from the actions of other explorers throughout this period.³¹

The actual proceedings began on 13 May, the eve of the day of the Holy Ghost (*Día del Espíritu Santo*). That night the three Spanish vessels were decked with innumerable lights, a feast was held and fireworks were set off into the surrounding darkness. (We can only guess at the effect of this display on the thousands of local inhabitants of the greater Big Bay area.) At dawn on the following day, the Iberians landed on a beach, which we (following a field survey

²⁹ Two chronicles stand out: that of Juan de Iturbe, overseer of the expedition, who complained to the King about Quirós's attitude (*Carta de S.M. por Juan de Iturbe, sobre la navegación y descubrimiento del Capitán Quirós; Mexico, 25 de mayo de 1607*, Ms. 3099, folio 129, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional); and Prado's 'Relación sumaria'.

³⁰ 'The general [Álvaro de Mendaña y Neira], in the name of His Majesty, took possession of all these four islands [the Marquesas], he strolled through the village [a coastal settlement], planted maize under the gaze of the indians, and having had all possible conversation with them, he reembarked . . .', as recounted by Hernán Gallego, 'De cómo el adelantado saltó en la isla de Santa Cristina, y lo que pasó con los indios de ella', in Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, 76. The maize that Mendaña planted came from Peru and symbolised the extension of the Viceroy of Peru's authority to these distant lands. See Hermann Buse, *Los peruanos en Oceanía: geografía y crónicas del Pacífico. Cuarto centenario del viaje de Álvaro de Mendaña a las islas Salomón* (Lima 1967), 296–7.

³¹ According to Weckmann some of the rituals associated with land claims were quite simple (e.g. cutting a tree branch or having stones thrown at a tuft of grass taken from the land in question), and 'reflected ancient [Visi]Gothic ceremonial, and were registered by a notary whenever one was on hand'. Weckmann, *La herencia medieval de México*, 88.

in July 2004) believe was located near the present-day ni-Vanuatu settlement of Matantas, on the southeast corner of Big Bay. When all was ready, Quirós fell to his knees before the royal standard of the Habsburg monarch and proclaimed a well-known formula, 'All glory and honour to God!', and then, putting his hand to the earth, said, 'Ah, long sought-after land, courted by so many and so desired by me!' After planting the royal standard and a wooden cross, Quirós asked the crowd to gather round in order to hear a scribe pronounce formal possession of the land known as Espiritu Santo.³² Here we arrive at one of the crucial moments of the voyage.

As recounted by Quirós and penned by Bermudéz, the land was claimed in the names of Jesus Christ, the Eternal Father, the Holy Virgin Mary and the King of Spain.³³ In itself, this declaration stands out as odd, given that it does not put the King of Spain first. Happily, the disaffected Spanish aristocrat, Diego de Prado y Tovar, provides a longer and probably more accurate version of the scribe's declaration:

Bear witness the heavens and the earth and the sea with all their elements, and all of the volatile and quadruped animals, and you, loyal vassals of the King Our Lord, as to how I take possession of this entire land, both what has been discovered and what has yet to be discovered of it, in the name of His Holiness the Pope and of King Don Felipe our Lord, and of Saint Francis Assisi and of Antón Martín de la Capacha and of the successors to the Royal Crown of Castille.³⁴

Stylistically, the allusion to 'volatile and quadruped animals' is reminiscent of the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas.³⁵ But the crux of the above statement lies, once again, in the failure to mention the King of Spain first and foremost. According to Prado, he himself broke with protocol by interrupting the scribe and stating loudly 'in the name of the King our Lord and of his predecessors and of no one else!', to which the aristocrat claims that Fernández de Quirós replied gruffly, 'I know what I am doing'.³⁶

If the proceedings unfolded as Prado describes them, they would mark one of the most interesting demonstrations of divided political and religious loyalties on the part of the Lusitanian captain. In conformity with *Ius Commune*, Quirós was well aware that only four legal formulae were considered valid under existing Castilian legislation regarding legitimate claims to territorial lordship: they were inheritance; pact or election; matrimony (none of these first three is relevant to our case); and imperial or *papal* concession.³⁷ If Quirós's loyalty to the Spanish crown really *was* qualified by a Portuguese proto-nationalism, then the formal and official (notarised and witnessed) order of legitimate authority that

³² Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, 254–6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 256–9.

³⁴ Prado, 'Relación sumaria', 212.

³⁵ Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Book V.

³⁶ Prado, 'Relación sumaria', 216–17.

³⁷ As formalised in the Partida II, Título I, Ley IX, of the medieval Hispanic decree known as *Las Siete partidas del Sabio Rey don Alonso el Noveno, nuevamente glosadas por el Licenciado Gregorio López del Consejo Real de Indias de Su Majestad* (Salamanca 1555) which was reiterated by the Council of the Indies in view of the legal complexities that Imperial overseas expansion had introduced.

he presented in his statement of possession makes perfect sense, because, according to widely accepted legal theories that had been formulated by the 13th-century Cardinal Enrico da Susa, the Pope was the ultimate *Dominus Orbis*, Lord of the Earth, and therefore arbiter over those parts of the globe whose inhabitants were in ignorance of the Holy Gospel. Thus, when a Portuguese king regained his crown (as most Portuguese believed would eventually happen), Quirós or his successors could arguably deliver to him a device by which Lisbon could claim sovereignty over Espiritu Santo, and hence over the highly coveted *Terra australis*. Such a logic was not as convoluted as it may seem, given that Quirós was clearly familiar with the formalities of territorial claims and with the widely recognised historical precedents that backed papal intervention in them.³⁸

In respect of the other religious figures to whom Quirós alluded, Prado mentions St Francis Assisi, which reinforces the argument that the Portuguese captain was biased towards the Franciscans and perhaps also to the reformed *capuços*. As regards Antón Martín de la Capacha (named after the *capacho* or begging basket), he was one of the mendicant companions — with Pedro Velasco, Simón de Ávila, Domenico Piola and Juan García — of Saint John of God (*San Juan de Dios*), medieval founder of the Order of Hospitaliers of San Juan de Dios, to whom Quirós intended to turn for assistance in missionising the Austral lands.

Espiritu Santo, Third Act: the founding of 'la Nueva Hierusalem'

Having finalised the main proceedings, which were duly documented and signed by able witnesses, the Iberian men took time off for an afternoon *siesta*.³⁹ On the evening of that same day, Quirós inaugurated the founding of the 'city' of New Jerusalem by organising the new territory's administrative structures. To this end, he gathered his officers and informed them that, having taken possession of the land and decided to erect a 'provincial capital' with the name of *Nueva Hierusalem* — to be located between two rivers that he called Jordan and San Salvador, and which we believe to be the present-day rivers Jordan and Vitthié or Vathé, in central and southeast Big Bay respectively — he would proceed to the organisation of a secular authority (*cabildo secular*). Once again, Quirós was adhering strictly to the requirements of Common Law: the *cabildo* of New Jerusalem — as all the other *cabildos* in the Indies — was the proper institution upon which legitimate municipal government was based. The functions of this *cabildo* were therefore to be carried out according to the Laws of the Indies (*Leyes de Indias*) and by whatever internal by-laws (*ordenanzas*)

³⁸The power of the Pontif had strong precedents in earlier bulls such as the *Bula Cum Universae Insulae* and *Cum Omnes Insulae*, by which Pope Urban II reaffirmed the Holy See's dominion over the isle of Corsica (AD 1091), or the *Bula Laudabiliter*, by which Pope Hadrian IV conceded lordship of Ireland to King Henry II of England on condition that he should preserve the Catholic faith therein (AD 1155); finally, the Canary Islands had been conceded to Don Luis de la Cerda — a descendant of the Royal House of Castile — by Pope Clement VI (AD 1344). See Fernán Altuve-Febres Lores, *Los Reinos del Perú* (Lima 2001), 134–5 and fn. 178.

³⁹Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones australes*, 260.

it might decide to enact in the future. Naturally, no such laws were ever enacted, but it is relevant to underline that this institution was designed to represent the three main spheres of government: judicial, legislative and executive.

Unfortunately, the enthusiasm for protocol shown by Quirós was not matched by most of his officers and crew. Their expectations of riches and possible participation in new territorial claims had evaporated in the face of fierce hostility from the local indigenous people (who were themselves reacting to pre-emptive violence and predations by Torres and other officers). Mutinous murmurings and discontent were taking their place.

Prado y Tovar poignantly describes these tensions while providing details of Quiros's Utopian plans:

... he [Quirós] had determined to build, on the banks of the river [Vitthié], a city which he would name The New Jerusalem; whose doors would be of marble; and he pointed out that he should extract it [the marble] from a white spot that lay on a hillside some two leagues distant [Prado was probably referring to the limestone cliffs that are prominent on the sharply rising hills of the western spur of Big Bay]. The church should also be of that marble and would be such that it would compete with that of Saint Peter in Rome, and the sidewalks of the city and its houses would also be made of that marble, because he understood this land to be over two thousand leagues in length and greatly populated; and he would write to His Majesty to send three thousand friars in order to implant the Holy Catholic Faith and other very great things he told... All was air: walls and foundations, because with this he meant to cover [for the riches] that had been promised on the way, and he was tricking himself; after all of this had taken place, I told him in front of his officers: well shall it be that Your Mercy, Mister Corporal or General, or whatever it is he called himself, remember when you promised us on the way that if God were to grant you only two naked indians, you should feel the most happy of any that have ever left Spain, because you would give us so much gold and silver that we should not be able to carry it... we have found nothing but these black demons with arrows of deadly poison, what has become of the riches? We well understand that all of these things coming from Your Mercy are imaginary and as such they have become like the wind...⁴⁰

Two weeks later, on 8 July, most of the officers and crew prevailed over the beleaguered Quirós and the Spanish ships weighed anchor, never to return. The Iberians left few traces of their captain's desired settlement on Big Bay. However, though the voyage was over, Quirós's preoccupation with utopian plans had only just begun.

The Ideal Society

The Portuguese navigator eventually made his way back to the Iberian peninsula where, until his death nine years later, he devoted the rest of his life to producing a prodigious number of written reports, descriptions and requests (*Memoriales*, actually 'reports' or 'briefs'), which he directed mainly at King Philip III,

⁴⁰ Prado, 'Relación sumaria', 211.

begging support for a new expedition to what he now began passionately describing as the continental *Terra australis*. Through these 'memorials' Quirós gave free rein to his utopian vision — drawing from the rich medieval and renaissance influences that had shaped him since childhood. In the document known as Memorial 40, which was composed around October 1610,⁴¹ one can best observe in Quirós the penchant for utopian plans that was typical of early 17th-century Spain, roots of which have been traced to Sir Thomas More's own *Utopia*, written nearly one century earlier.⁴²

In this Memorial, Quirós imagined the New Jerusalem as a city with five large plazas placed in the form of a great cross, each one hosting a convent and parish. The Grand Church (*Iglesia mayor*) would be situated in the central plaza from which twelve streets would emerge. This plaza would also be the site for the royal houses and that of the secular *cabildo*. Surrounding the five large plazas would be another nine plazas, each equidistant from the others such that they could offer the city's inhabitants ready access to a church and a small public space. The houses of the city would be beautifully designed, all of them being the same as the others and with their gardens and corrals in the centre of each city block. The entire city would be constructed all at once, in order to avoid any irregular growth that might spoil the original design. Interestingly, the establishment of New Jerusalem would be accompanied by the foundation of two other cities, one facing east, towards the Viceroyalty of Peru, and the other facing west, towards the Governorship and Captaincy-General of the Philippines, such that the austral settlements would facilitate equidistant communication between these two key sites of Spanish sovereignty across the Pacific Ocean. The New Jerusalem was therefore imagined as occupying the middle of the Castilian Lake, as can be inferred from the earliest description of Big Bay, quoted at the head of this article.

AN ANALYSIS OF Fernández de Quirós's writings, statements and actions, such as we have attempted here, reveals multifarious influences: chivalry, More's *Utopia*, the neo-IOachinist millenarian canon of the radical Franciscan *capuços*, and possibly even a touch of pro-Portuguese Sebastianist sentiment. It is important, however, by putting all of these various influences in their proper historical context, to rise above the common temptation to present Quirós as so unusual as to be an exotic.

⁴¹ The numeral classification for Quirós's Memorials originally suggested by Kelly in *Australia Franciscana* has since been widely adopted. The version of Memorial 40 from which we have worked is in Quirós, *Memoriales de las Indias australes*, 251–309.

⁴² For a discussion about the roots of XVIIth century utopian discourse in Spain see Fernando Ainsa, *De la edad de oro a El Dorado: génesis del discurso utópico americano* (Mexico 1992). At least one researcher has suggested that Quirós's Memorials may have had a direct influence on Francis Bacon's *Nova Atlantis*. See J.M. Gómez-Tabanera, 'Sir Thomas More, (1478–1535), Pedro Fernandez de Quirós, (1562–1615), y Sir Francis Bacon, (1561–1626): la forja de una utopía política en la Inglaterra del siglo XVII', unpub. paper presented to the XII Congress of the International Association of Hispanists, Birmingham, 1995. See also, Gómez-Tabanera, 'La Sinapia, una España imposible en el mundo austral o la forja de una utopía hispana en el siglo XVII', in García-Abásolo, *España y el Pacífico*, 121–4.

For, like Quirós, many Iberian men, both religious and lay, chose the Kingdoms of the East and West Indies (*los Reinos de las Indias*: the Americas and all of Asia-Pacific) as ideal sites for the realisation of spiritual and utopian dreams. This was the case with Vasco de Quiroga, bishop and evangeliser of Michoacán in western Mexico, who drew on the expectation of an imminent 'Apostolic Age' and on More's *Utopia* when creating the failed 'hospital-towns' (*pueblos-hospitales*) of the religious province of Santa Fe. Other similarly inspired and doomed projects which strove to produce semi-autonomous and model indigenous American townships were attempted by Fr Bartolomé de Las Casas in Cumaná and Veracruz, along the Mexican Gulf Coast.⁴³

As mentioned previously, Ioachim de Fiore's doctrine was widely adopted by the Franciscans of the seraphic province of San Gabriel, from whence the famous 'twelve apostles' (the first group of evangelisers) departed to the Americas in the wake of Cortes's conquest of Aztec Mexico. Thereafter, various movements of renewal and return to primitive Christian values flourished in the counter-reformation atmosphere of the Spanish empire, as reflected in such famous works as Fray Toribio de Benavente's *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (c. 1541), or the *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (1604) of Fray Jerónimo de Mendieta.

In our view, the influence of Ioachinist discourse upon Quirós's thought is most likely and intriguing, given the coincidences between key features of this doctrine and Quirós's acts and statements. The Benedictine abbot Ioachim de Fiore (c. 1130–1202) interpreted the course of history as passing through three ages: that of the Father, which corresponds to the *Old Testament* and to the establishment of Laws; that of the Son, which corresponds to the *New Testament* and the age of Grace; and that of the Holy Ghost, which corresponded to a future age of Love and a return to the purity of primitive Christian ideals. It was during this Third Age that Mount Zion would be restored, and with it the city of Jerusalem.⁴⁴

Importantly, the proclaiming of a 'New Jerusalem' was not unique to Quirós. In the late-15th century, Girolamo Savonarola declared Florence the 'New Jerusalem'; and during the early stages of the German reformation, between 1534 and 1535, the residents of Münster even more explicitly proclaimed their city as such. Finally, from 1582, various Franciscan, Jesuit and other mendicant missionaries took the notion of 'New Jerusalem' with them into China and the Asian continent.⁴⁵

THE 1606 QUIRÓS expedition never fulfilled the political promise that its captain had imagined. The newly discovered islands of the South Seas held no clear economic attraction and were never again visited by Iberians. In the Pacific as

⁴³ See Antonio Rubial García, 'La Insulana, un ideal franciscano en Nueva España', *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, 6 (1978), 39–46; and Paz Serrano Gassent, 'Introducción' in Vasco de Quiroga, *La utopía en América*, ed. P. Serrano Gassent (Madrid 2002), 5–57.

⁴⁴ Serrano Gassent, *ibid.*, and Josep Ignasi Saranaya, 'Sobre el milenarismo de Joaquín de Fiore: una lectura retrospectiva', *Teología y Vida*, 44 (2003), 221–32.

⁴⁵ Roberto Rusconi, 'La historia del fin: cristianismo y milenarismo', *Teología y Vida*, 44 (2003), 209–20.

a whole, the control of the Philippines and the Marianas Islands was as much as Spain wanted or was ever able to manage. Not until the 18th century were these islands revisited and finally put on the international geopolitical map. As was the case for many others of his age, Quirós united utopianism and pragmatism towards one greater goal, namely, the expansion of Iberian and Catholic influence across the globe. This expansion was supported by a belief in the superiority of European men and culture, and led to the limited material and spiritual conquest of some Oceanic spaces, but was ultimately characterised by the foundation of ‘cities made of air’, to paraphrase Prado y Tovar’s description of his commander’s failed project for a New Jerusalem.⁴⁶

ABSTRACT

In this and a companion article (in preparation, in which we focus on the perspectives of Pacific islanders), we analyse previously overlooked cultural and historical influences upon Iberian explorers in the Pacific. We concentrate here on the Lusitanian navigator, Pedro Fernández de Quirós, during his visit in 1606 to the island of Espiritu Santo in Vanuatu, where he attempted to found a settlement that he named *la Nuebla Hierusalem*. By returning to original accounts, which have hitherto been incompletely reproduced, inadequately contextualised or poorly translated, we address shortcomings in existing treatments of Quirós and also attempt to bridge divergent Lusitanian, Spanish and Anglo-European perspectives. In particular, we challenge an enduring Anglophone stereotype of Quirós as ‘a man in the grip of religious mania’ by analysing the influences on his thought and behaviour, and by placing these in their historical contexts.

⁴⁶ See fn. 40.