THE

COMMENTARIES

OF THE GREAT

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

SECOND VICEROY OF INDIA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE

PORTUGUESE EDITION OF 1774,

With Notes and an Introduction,

BY

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.,

SENIOR ASSISTANT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM; HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, ETC.

..... "ut, quantum ad cognitionem pertinet rerum, etiam præteritis sæculis vixisse videamur."—QUINTILIAN, *Instit. Orator.*, xii, 4.

No. 53.

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M.DCCC.LXXV.

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Le Sonso de Albuquerque. 2°

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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET.

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The Hakluyt Society.

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No. LIII.

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INTRODUCTION.

"Que gloriosas palmas tecer vejo,
Com que victoria a fronte lhe coroa,
Quando sem sombra vãa de medo, ou pejo,
Toma a Ilha illustrissima de Goa!
Despois, obedecendo ao duro ensejo,
A deixa, e occasião espera boa,
Com que a torne a tomar; que esforço, e arte,
Vencerão a Fortuna, e o proprio Marte.

"Eis já sobre ella torna, e vai rompendo
Por muros, fogo, lanças, e pelouros,
Abrindo com a espada o espesso, e horrendo
Esquadrão de Gentios, e de Mouros:
Irão soldados inclytos fazendo
Mais, que Leões famelicos, e Touros,
Na luz, que sempre celebrada, e dina
Será de Egyptia Sancta Catharina."

CAMÕES, *Lusiada*, x, 42, 43.

"What glorious *Palms* do I see weaving *There*,
With which his forehead VICTORY will crown
When without shadow or least touch of fear
He shall win GOA's Isle of bright renown!
But then (the *Storm* obeying) will not bear
So great a *Sayle*, and takes that *Bonet* down:
To reattempt the thing in fitter season.
FORTUNE and MARS fear *Valour* joyn'd with Reason.

"And (see) he does it; charges undismay'd
Through *walls*, through *Pykes*, through *Bullets*, and through *fire*:
Opens the quilted *Squadrons* with his *Blade*
Of MOORS and PAGANS knit in *Leagues* intire!
His gallant *Soldiers* in more blood shall wade
Then *Lyons* pin'd, *Bulls* prickt with love and Ire;
Upon the *Feast* (as pat as by designe)
Of EGYPT'S *Virgin Martyr*, KATHERINE.

FANSHAW.

THERE is no doubt that, to whomsoever the world may adjudge the pride and glory of first setting his

European foot in the East Indies, the Portuguese nation, when in the zenith of its energy and vitality, was the first to make use of the discovery, the first to bring the knowledge of these climes to a practical issue and to a fortunate result.

Among the illustrious band of noble heroes, whose chief pleasure it was ever

"To scorn delight, and live laborious days",

performing their allotted part well, if we judge them according to the lights of their own times, perhaps a little fiercely, if rated by a more modern standard, never hesitating, for all that, to put their lives in jeopardy, or to relinquish them, provided only they might so best execute the commands and achieve the wishes of their Sovereigns in opening up new Channels of trade and commerce, new Tracts of Empire, in a word, new Worlds, stands pre-eminent the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, the Second Viceroy of Portugal in India, whose deeds of martial valour, whose intrepid spirit, whose kingly aptitude for supreme power, are now for the first time, from the original text, presented to the English reader in the English tongue.

Of the Biographical features of his Life, the text of these *Commentaries*, compiled by his natural son, Braz Dalboquerque (who, after the death of his father, assumed the name of Afonso), from the dispatches forwarded to the King Dom Emmanuel, forms the principal fountain of origin. From these the history of the illustrious warrior and navigator has been compiled with more or less accuracy for every Cyclopædia, and

finds a place[1] in every Dictionary of Biography. A very great number of printed accounts of Afonso Dalboquerque's life also exist in works treating of Indian History, and they may be gleaned with profit for consideration and remembrance. It is my intention, in the Introduction of this present volume, to give some account of the two editions of the "*Commentarios*", viz., of 1576 and of 1774; a notice of two manuscripts which are deposited in the British Museum, Sloane MS., 197, and Additional MS., 20901; and a sketch of the character of our hero derived from the text of the "Commentarios" and other authorities. The principal points of his biography are given in the translated prefaces.

The edition of 1576, a fine copy of which is preserved in the Grenville Library in the British Museum, bears the following title:—

"Commentarios | do Grande Afonso | Dalboquerque, capitam Geral | que foy das Indias Orientaes, | Em tempo do muito poderoso Rey dom | Manuel, o primeiro deste nome. |

"Nouamente emendados & accrescentados pelo mesmo Auctor, | conforme ás informações mais certas que agora teue. |

"Vão repartidos em quatro partes segundo o tempo dos | acontescimentos de seus trabalhos. |

"Em Lisboa. | Com Licença impresso por Ioão de Barreira impressor del Rey | nosso senhor. Anno de 1576. | Com privilegio Real. |

This rare book is of quarto size, printed in a fine

[1] The best will be found in Hoeffer's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1855.

bold Roman pica type, leaded, and contains 578 pages of about 35 or 36 lines to a full page. In the numeration of the chapters of the First Part, chapter xvii has been, by inadvertence, made xix, and the error is continued throughout the First Part. A small slip, pasted on the fly-leaf at the beginning of the Volume, contains the following manuscript note, in the hand of the illustrious collector of this invaluable Library. The note is as follows :

"Alboquerque Commentarios. fo. Lisboa, 1576. This is an improved edition of the Commentaries of Alboquerque by his son, who had first edited them in 1557.

"Magni æstimatur hoc opus a Lusitanis, quippe quod e relationibus fide dignissimis haustum, haud vulgari prudentia et dexteritate compositum, historiæ et geographiæ Indiæ maxime inservire queat." *Meuselius*, ii, 2, 32.

"The first vol. of Lafitau Découvertes is translated from Alboquerque."

With regard to the statements in this note, I must confess that I have never been sufficiently fortunate as to see the first folio edition of 1557, nor do I know of any printed account of this work better than that contained in the biography of Affonso Dalboquerque the Second, which will be found among the prefatial matter translated and placed before the translation of the text. The second statement may be well endorsed by those who will give themselves the trouble or pleasure of reading the Commentaries, either in the original Portuguese, or in the present English translation. The third and concluding sentence of the note is entirely erroneous. Lafitau, in his excellent work entitled—"*Histoire des Découvertes et Conquestes des Portugais*

dans le Nouveau Monde. Par le R. P. Joseph François Lafitau de la Compagnie de Jesus. A Paris, MDCCXXXIII"—undoubtedly made good use of these Commentaries, as indeed he was bound to do; but nothing can be more unfounded than the assertion that Lafitau's first volume is translated from Albuquerque. His history of the Discoveries of the Portuguese in India is a carefully written digest of the principal authors who have discoursed so fully and exhaustively on this subject, such as Barros, Osorio, Goes, Castanheda, etc.; and a mere translation of these Commentaries would have hardly sufficed to chronicle the extensive operations of this active nation in the Asian seas.

The other edition which I have occasion to mention is that of 1774, in octavo. The original title of this is thus given :—

"Commentarios | do grande | Afonso | Dalboquerque | capitão geral | que foi | das Indias Orientaes | em tempo do muito poderoso | Rey D. Manuel | o primeiro deste nome | Parte I. | Lisboa | Na Regia Officina Typographica | Anno MDCCLXXIV. | Com Licença da Real Mesa Censoria, e Privilegio Real."

The First Part, that is Volume, contains 343 pages, of 30 lines to a full page. It relates to the first and second visits made by Afonso Dalboquerque to India, and the proceedings at Ormuz as far as the flight of the Captains, and the raising of the blockade by Afonso, who makes his way to Cananor and meets the Viceroy whom he is about to supersede.

The Second Part contains 285 pages. This volume

relates the circumstances with reference to the appointment of Afonso Dalboquerque as Viceroy, in the place of Dom Francisco de Almeida; and the events which took place during the interval of time from his arrival at Cananor early in December, A.D. 1508, and establishment in the Viceroyalty, until the taking of Goa for the first time.

The Third Part, of 289 pages, commences its narrative with the latter part of the year 1510, and contains the history of the second successful attempt upon Goa, and the events in connection with the extension of the Portuguese operations in Malacca, and concludes with the departure of Afonso Dalboquerque for the Straits of the Red Sea, in pursuance of his intention of conquering Ormuz and establishing the Portuguese rule in that part of Persia.

The Fourth and concluding Part, of 256 pages, is devoted to the arrival of Afonso Dalboquerque at Adem and places on that coast, his cruises to Calicut, Cananor, Cochim, Goa, and other ports, his operations at Ormuz, his death, and a genealogical sketch of his family. The account given in this place probably furnished materials to the author of the biographical account of Afonso Dalboquerque in the introductory matter before the text of the first part. The translation of this account follows this Introduction.

The present volume of the translation will be found to contain the whole of the First Part. A subsequent volume will be given to the Second Part, with an Introduction relating to the foundation, rise, progress, and decay of the Portuguese Empire in the Eastern

Indies; and some Bibliographical Notes in reference to the Indian Cycle of Portuguese Literature. These two prolific subjects could hardly be treated with that consideration to which they are entitled in the space at our command in this volume. I therefore shall limit my remarks to the character of Dalboquerque, and some reflections upon the study of the Portuguese Language. The Third and concluding Volume will contain the remainder of the translation, Parts III and IV, with an Appendix and Indices.

Before, however, entering upon the life of this great man, it will be profitable to call the reader's attention to two most valuable Manuscripts in the British Museum. The first[1] is in the Sloane Collection, No. 197, and consists of 423 large folios, written on paper, by the author, "Captain Pedro Barretto de Resende, Professed Knight of the Order of St. Benedict of Avis,[2] and a native of Pavia," in the year 1646.

The contents and great importance of the volume will be best gathered from its title, which is as follows:—

"Livro do Estado da India Oriental Repartido em tres partes, a primeira Contem todos os retratos dos Vizorreis que tem avido no dito estado athe o anno de 634 com descripsois de seus governos.

"A Segunda parte contem as plantas das Fortalezas que há do cabo da boa esperança athe a fortalleza de

[1] Cf. the account of this MS. and its pictures, in the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama*, p. ix (Hakluyt Society).

[2] A Military Order of Cistercians in Portugal, instituted by King Alphonso I, in the middle of the twelfth century, to commemorate the capture of Evora from the Moors.

Chaul e com larga descripçaõ de tudo ho que há em cada hũa das dittas fortalezas, Rendimento e gasto que tem, e tudo o mais que lhe toca.

"A terceira contem as plantas de todas as fortalezas que ha de Goa athe a China, com descripção da mesma forma, e Vão juntamente plantas de fortalezas que não são do estado que por estarem nas mesmas costas se puzerão por curiozidade.

"Feito pello capitão Po. Barretto de Resende, Caualleiro professo da Ordem de São Bento de Auis, natural de Pavia, Anno de 1646."

That is—

"Book of the State of Eastern India, divided into three parts; the first contains all the portraits of the Viceroys there have been in the said state, until the year [1]634, with accounts of their government.

"The second part contains the plans of the Fortresses that reach from the Cape of Good Hope to the Fortress of Chaul; and with a full description of everything there is in every one of the said fortresses, their Revenue and Expenditure, and all the rest that concerns them.

"The third contains the plans of all the fortresses that reach from Goa to China, with a description of the same kind; and with these are given plans of fortresses which do not appertain to the State, but they have been inserted out of interest because they are upon the same coasts.

"Made by Captain Pedro Barretto de Resende, Professed Knight of the Order of St. Benedict of Auis, a native of Pavia, in the year 1646."

This Manuscript claims a great interest from all who desire to extend their knowledge of the state of Iudia in the early years of the seventeenth century, and it

is well worthy of being printed hereafter by means of some such Society as the *Hakluyt*. It is only by the liberal action of this and kindred literary publishing societies that such great histories of bygone times can be reproduced and disseminated far and wide among those who delight in reading the original accounts of forgotten histories, and the exploits of their forefathers told in their own words. From this Manuscript (folio 11), I have obtained, by permission of the authorities of the British Museum, an Autotype permanent photographic facsimile of the portrait of Afonso Dalboquerque. This, in the original, is executed with thick body colours, and subscribed "Afonso de Albuquerque 2°," that is, *Afonso de Albuquerque, the Second (viceroy)*, by the same hand as that which wrote the text of the manuscript throughout. This portrait bears a great resemblance to most of the engraved portraits of the great Captain, and was in all probability copied from a panel painting at Goa in possession of the State, or in a collection belonging to the family of the Commander himself, although Barretto de Resende does not state the quarters from which he acquired the beautiful series of full-length portraits of the Viceroys, which adorns his Manuscript.

Folio 154 of this same Manuscript has furnished a map of part of the coast of Africa, of the coast of Arabia, and part of that of Persia. The entablature contains the following inscription :—

> "Petrus . Berthelot . primun . (*sic*)
> cosmographicum . Indiano
> rum . imperium . faciebat . &ct . 1635."

This inscription is written in a hand of the early seventeenth century at the left hand upper corner of the map. I am unable to obtain any information regarding this cosmographer, who claims in his title, given above, to have compiled the first complete map of the Indian Empire, several portions of which have been copied and placed in Pedro Barretto de Resende's Manuscript; but, as they are not noticed in the original List of Contents, I am inclined to think that they have been acquired and inserted subsequently by an owner of the volume.

The same manuscript affords, from folio 156, an opportunity of giving a plan of the island and fortress of Ormus, with the position of the adjacent islands of Lara or Larequa, and Queixome—places which are frequently alluded to in the text of the present volume.

Finally, I have extracted from folios 11 and 12 of this remarkable book the concise account of the principal episodes in the career of Afonso Dalboquerque; and as this has never, as far as I can gather, been printed, I need make no apology for its insertion in the present place:—

Afonso de Albuquerque 2º

Afonso de Albuquerque, filho seguudo de Gonsallo de Albuquerque, senhor de Villa Verde, e de Dona Lianor de Menezes = Estaleyro Mor que foy del Rey Dom João Segundo: Primeyro guovernador da India, e segundo No guoverno della: Partio de Lisboa por Capitam mor de sinquo Naos em seis de Março de Mil quinhentos e seis como fica dito pera Andar De Armada Na boca do Estreyto do Mar Roxo e Costa de Arabia aonde andou e por Toda A Costa da Jndia athe que nas Naos do Anno passado lhe-Mandou El

Rey Dom Manoel A successão do governo da India: que Dom Francisco De Almeyda lhe nam quis entregar sobre que ouve Tantos defereusas Entre Ambos que mandou Dom Francisco de Almeyda A Afonso de Albuquerque preso para Cananor aonde esteve athe chegar ho Marichal Dom Fernando Coutinho que passando do Cananor Levou Afonso de Albuquerque A Cochim e lhe entregou ho gouverno do Estado da Yndia do qual Tomou posse No fim De Outobro do anno de Mil quinhentos e Nove=guovernou seis annos=Tomou Goa Duas Vezes=A primeyra em dosasete do fevereyro do anno de mil quinhentos e des=e Pella Nam poder sustentar por ser em prinsipio de Jnverno e lhe faltar gento a Tornou a Larguar: e Esteve todo o Jnverno No Rio desde Ribandar athe pargim com suas Naos padessendo Jnmensos Trabalhos: E avendo grandes brigas com hos Mouros da Ilha de Goa e suas adyasentes de quem Teve muytas Vitorias Tomandolhe o Castello de Pargim e com a chegada das Naos do Reyno Tomou a Tomar Goa dia de sancta Catherina Vinte e sinquo de Novembro do mesmo anno de Mil quinhentos e des com grandissima Vitoria que Ouve dos Mouros e gentios: posto que Com perda de Algũs fidalgos: Tomou Malaqua em Julho de quinhentos E onze e a fortalleza de Ormus fes tributario O Rey das Ilhas de Maldiua Teue em Callecut aquella briga em que matarã ho Marichal Dom Fernando Coutinho=Mandou descobridores E Embayxadores a Malaquo=Fes Muyta gerra na Costa de Arabia No Tempo que nella Andou por Capitã Mor da Armada=foy sercar a Cidade de Adem No Estreyto do Mar Roxo=E yndo de fazer a fortalleza de Ormus fallesseo na barra de Goa: Em desaseis de Dezembro de Anno de quinhentos e quinze foy sepultado em Nossa Senhora da Serra que Elle fundou= E depois no Anno de mil quinhentos sesenta e seis forão seus Ossos Levados para Portugual: e postos na Capella Mor de Nossa Senhora da grassa que Elle avia mandado edificar.=

The equivalent of this in English is as follows:

Afonso de Albuquerque, Second Viceroy.

Afonso de Albuquerque, second son of Gonsallo de Albuquerque lord of Villa Verde, and of Dona Lianor de Menezes = Chief Equerry of the King Dom João the Second: Principal Governor of India, and second in the list of governors: He set out from Lisbon, as Chief Captain of five Vessels, on the sixth of March, 1506, as has been already related, to cruise with this squadron in the mouth of the Straits of the Red Sea [Straits of Babel Mandeb] and on the Coast of Arabia, whither he went, and along the whole Coast of India, until the King Dom Manoel conferred on him the appointment of Governor of India, sending word by the ships of the previous year. Dom Francisco de Almeyda was unwilling to give up the command to him, whereupon there arose so many differences between the two that Dom Francisca de Almeyda sent Afonso de Albuquerque a prisoner to Cananor, where he remained until the Marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho arrived there, and he, being on his way to Cananor carried Afonso de Albuquerque to Cochim and delivered to him the Government of the State of India, whereof he took possession at the end of October, 1509=He governed for six years=Twice he captured Goa=The first time on the sixteenth of February 1510 =And as he was unable to hold the city because the winter had commenced, and he was short of men, he had to evacuate it: and he remained the whole of the winter in the River from Ribandar to Pargim, in his ships, undergoing immense difficulties, and experiencing great hostilities from the Moors of the Island of Goa, and the adjacent places. Over these he gained many Victories, capturing from them the Castle of Pargim. And when a fleet arrived from Portugal he took Goa for the second time on the day of St. Catharine, the 26th of November, of the same year 1510, gaining a very complete Victory over the Moors and heathens, although it cost him the lives of several fidalgos.[1]

[1] See the extract from Camões at the commencement of this Introduction.

He took Malaca in July 1511, and the fortress of Ormus. He rendered the king of the Maldive Islands tributary [to Portugal]. He had in Callecut that disturbance in which they killed the Marshal Dom Fernando Continho=He sent explorers and Ambassadors to Malaca=He made many wars on the Coast of Arabia during the period that he held the post of Chief Captain of the Fleet. He set out to blockade the city of Aden in the Straits of the Red Sea. And as he was making his way to carry out the construction of the fortress of Ormus he died on the bar of Goa, on the 16th of December, in the year 1515. He was buried in the Church of Our Lady of the Heights, "Nossa Senhora da Serra", which he had founded. And afterwards, in the year 1576, his remains were transported to Portugal, and laid in the principal chapel of the Church of Our Lady of Grace, "Nossa Senhora da Grassa", which he had ordered to be built.

The Additional Manuscript 20901 was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum at Lord Stuart de Rothesay's sale in June 1855 (Lot 2010). It is a quarto volume, on paper, measuring eleven inches by eight, of 230 folios, each containing about 26, 27, or 28 lines to a page, written in very confused chancery hands of the sixteenth century, evidently the work of two or more scribes. At fo. 202, some passages have been omitted and afterwards supplied in part from the mutilated leaf of the original.

The title of this manuscript is thus given in the sale catalogue prepared by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson :—

> 2010. INDIA. HISTORIA DO DESCOBRIMENTO E PRIMEIRAS CONQUISTAS DA INDIA. MANUSCRIPT. AN ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF THESE DISCOVERIES, *written circa* 1516, *unfortunately wanting the first four chapters, and*

the name of the Author, whose style is more antiquated than that of J. de Barros, or Damiano de Goes.

The note in Portuguese, written on a fly-leaf at the commencement of the volume, is given at p. 101, n., from which it appears that Manuel de Carvalho de Ataide gave the book to Freire, a well-known literary Portuguese, in the year 1714, and that it had at that time no binding, and was deficient in the beginning of the text. From an examination of the old pagination, it appears that seven folios are lost; portions of the folios 8, 9, 27, 28, 79, of the old arrangement, now folios 2, 3, 20, 21, 72, are also wanting; and the text ends abruptly, so that there is something wanting at the end which was in proper position when Freire acquired the volume by gift in 1714.

Folio 2 commences with these words:—"¶. Feitas assi estas cousas . . . . ."—the beginning of the text of Chapter 5. On folio 3*b* begins the first complete chapter, thus:—"¶ Cº. 6. Como partiram de melinde e chegarã a Calecut, e do que hi passarom." The want of space prevents me from giving many of the headings of the succeeding chapters, but that of Chapter 9 helps to show the period of time embraced by this History. It is thus:—"¶. Cº. Como pr aluar'ş cabral partio de lixboa pr capitam mor de xiiij vellas pa a India, e do q̃ lhe socedeo." "How Pedralvarez Cabral set out from India as chief captain of fourteen sail, for India, and of what happened to him." This expedition set forth on the ninth of March, A.D. 1500.[1] In like manner, Chapter 12 is devoted to the account of the setting

[1] Brit. Mus., Add. MS., 20902, fo. 3.

out of João da Nova, with four sail, which was on the 15th of March, A.D. 1501.[1] Chapter 14 gives the account of the mission of Vasco da Gama, with twenty ships, in February and April, A.D. 1502.[2] Chap. 19 begins the narrative which is most closely concerned with the present volume. "Cº. xix. Da partida daffonso Dalbuquerqz & ffco dalbuquerqz & Antonio de Saldanha." The Manuscript ends in the middle of Chapter 97, the title of which is as follows :—"Capitollo 97. Como sr aº dallbuquerque tornou a Reformar para hyr sobre guoa, e como fiz Rey em Cochym."

There is no doubt that this Manuscript, imperfect as it is, contains very valuable information respecting the period of which it treats, namely, from the earliest time of Portuguese power in India until the establishment of the capital of that power in Goa. It especially recommends itself to the members of the Hakluyt Society, as it appears to have been hitherto unpublished, and to contain new matter relating to a time and history of which the labours of that Society have taken so much cognisance. But the difficulty of deciphering the peculiarly formed handwriting will deter many from searching into its contents.

The reign of King John I witnessed a great extension of Portuguese naval enterprise,[3] which reached as far as the most southern point of the African continent. The first who actually doubled the Cape was Bertolameu

[1] *Ibid.*, fo. 4. [2] *Ibid.*, fo. 5.

[3] C. W. Koch, *An Historical View of the European Nations*, 3rd ed., London, *n. d.*, p. 81.—W. S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping*, 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1874.

Diaz, the Portuguese Admiral, who, from the difficulty of succeeding in his efforts, named this cape the "Stormy Cape", a name which the King, with prescient mind, changed into that of "Good Hope". Another Admiral, Vasco da Gama, extended the power of his country as far as India, landing at Calicut, on the Malabar coast, in 1498, early in the reign of King Manuel. Other navigators and commanders of this maritime nation, such as da Almeida, da Cunha, and de Castro, assisted in consolidating this European power in India and the parts east of the Cape of Good Hope. In the capture of Goa, Afonso Dalboquerque had ready to his hand a fortress almost impregnable, a splendid harbourage, a large and flourishing city and emporium of trade, placed in the very centre of the newly established Portuguese colonies. They found, indeed, not barren and uninhabited tracts of land, which required to be brought slowly into cultivation, and were alone amenable to an imported industry and stimulation, but powerful states and nations--rich, civilised, and teeming in abundance of wealth and luxuries, ready to fall without trouble into the hands of foreign invaders.

"There," says Koch, "nature and the industry of the natives produced or fabricated those articles of commerce and merchandise which have since become an object of luxury to Europeans, at least until the activity of the Venetians had furnished the inhabitants of this part of the world with them in such abundance as to make them be regarded as articles of absolute necessity. This circumstance was the reason why the

Portuguese never formed any other than mercantile establishments in India, which they erected on the coasts, without extending them into the interior. The working of the mines and the cares of agriculture were abandoned entirely to the natives.

"This era produced a total change in the commerce of the East. Formerly, the Venetians were the people that carried on the principal traffic to India. The Jewish or Mahometan merchants purchased, at Goa, Calicut, and Cochim, those and other productions of the East, which they imported into Syria by the Persian Gulf, and into Egypt by the Red Sea. They were then conveyed, by a laborious land carriage, either to Alexandria or Beyrout. Thither the Venetians repaired in quest of the luxuries of India; they fixed their price, and distributed them all over Europe. This commerce proved a vast source of wealth to these republicans; it furnished them with the means of maintaining a formidable marine, and of very often dictating the law to the other European powers: but, after the discovery of the new passage round the Cape, and the conquests of the Portuguese in India, the Venetians saw themselves compelled to abandon a traffic in which they could not compete with the Portuguese. This was a terrible blow to that republic, and the principal cause of its downfall. The Portuguese, however, did not profit by this exclusive commerce as they might have done: they did not, like other nations, constitute companies with exclusive commercial privileges; they carried it on by means of fleets, which the Government regularly despatched at fixed periods. In this

manner, the commodities of the East were imported to Lisbon, but the indolence of the native merchants left to other nations the care of distributing them through the markets of Europe. The Dutch were the people that profited most by this branch of industry; they cultivated it with so much success, and under such favourable circumstances, that they at length succeeded in excluding the Portuguese themselves from this lucrative traffic, by dispossessing them of their colonies in the East."

Such were the conditions under which the great Dalboquerque lived, and in which he exercised his especial genius for widely spread conquest. Prompt, vigorous, decisive in his measures; not fiercer or more cruel than the spirit of the age in which he lived; impartial in his strictness and sense of honour, as we may well note in the incident relating to the death of Rodriguez Dias. This affair has been noted by all historians; and the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley, in his Preface to the *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, p. xli, gives a translation of the account contained in Bishop Osorio's history. The same editor also mentions (at p. xlii, note) the narrative of Castanheda with relation to the same affair. There is no doubt that Dalboquerque felt compelled to make the fate of this unfortunate offender an example to the other Portuguese who were under his command in India, and whose laxity of discipline would have probably resulted in some disaster to the tenure of that power which he did all he could to extend. He was also too well aware, from events which had occurred in

Ormuz, that the enemy would not be behindhand in obtaining information respecting the true state of their Portuguese subjectors, and would lose no opportunity of encouraging insidiously any attempts to weaken the power of the Viceroy over his officers. To this must be attributed the apparent harshness of Dalboquerque on this occasion, for he felt that it was imperative on him to put a stop at once to acts of insubordination before they became too extensive for him to control. Camões, however, blames him, and speaks of this affair as the single blemish on his bright shield of glory.[1] The insubordination of the Captains when besieging Ormuz, and the consideration shown by Dalboquerque to the offenders, is a proof that he knew when to forget and forgive; and the cruelties practised on the Persians and Arabs were probably retaliations and the result of a conventional system of carrying on warfare in those regions, rather than a sort of gratuitous brutality invented and indulged in by the Portuguese conquerors. They themselves would, in all probability, have suffered much worse, had they had the ill fortune to experience any serious discomfitures.

An excellent exposition of the policy of Dalboquerque is given in the Voyages already quoted (p. lxii), whence we may conclude that the Viceroy's idea of reducing city after city, fortress after fortress, and state after state, establishing in their places fortified stations or factories along the coast, was weak in its conception, and led in the end to the too great dispersion of the imperial power, and rendered it unable to concentrate

[1] See page 107, note.

itself with sufficient rapidity, *élan*, and weight of arms. He indulged in the acquisition of a vast empire or rather coast line, but neglected the consolidation of the countries which lay beyond, and so left behind him a series of weak points which were sure to be recovered by those from whom he had wrested them, as soon as the native power and the native policy of patience could exert itself and spring back upon the invaders. The capture of Goa and formation of its city into the capital of the Portuguese empire in India is the most important act of Albuquerque's life, and he will ever be remembered by this deed, which by itself is sufficient to render eternal the memory of the man who conceived and executed such an onerous undertaking. From this invincible position nothing has yet availed to oust the Portuguese, who cling to it as the English clung to Calais, when every other spot of territory on the European continent had been torn from their hands.

There is no doubt that whoever will give some time and attention to the learning of Portuguese will find his labour amply requited by the advantages to be derived from the great mass of literature which the language possesses. The best idea of the proportions which this literature assumes—whether we incline more to admire the poetry, presided over by the immortal Camões, and the numerous aspirants to a share in his laurels, or whether we are more allured by the prose epics of Portugal's best days, when she was at the height of her power in India, and when she was promoting the extension of her rule in the Southern Con-

tinent of America—may be gathered from Bouterwek, and the Bibliotheca Lusitana. It is sufficient for me in this place to express an earnest desire that the critical study of the Portuguese language may soon become more extended among us, and a more cordial literary intercourse between England and Portugal established. This may be best accomplished by multiplying translations of standard works from one language into the other. This present volume of the Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, the Cæsar of Portugal, is the result of the operation of these sentiments in my own mind; and I shall feel that I have gained my desires and succeeded in my intentions, if the remarks here expressed may induce other students to follow in the footsteps of those who, like Fanshaw, Mickle, Lord Stanley, and others, have taken their delight in introducing Portuguese works to the English through the medium of translations, and thereby fostering a mutual interchange of literary and scientific progress. The true position of the English rule in India, the traditions it maintains, the point of view from which it is looked upon by the native races, can never be rightly understood until a better knowledge is acquired concerning the first impressions conveyed to, and made upon, the minds of the inhabitants by the first European nation which effected any extensive settlement among them. This fact alone, one out of many quite as pertinent which might be adduced, ought to convince us of the importance of examining the classical literary productions of a nation justly celebrated at all times for enterprise and military prowess.

I cannot close these introductory notes without putting on record my grateful recognition of services rendered me by Dr. W. Wright, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, who has kindly furnished me with the Arabic renderings of several names of persons and places mentioned in the text, and of more or less obscure derivation. To my colleague, Mr. G. F. Warner, my special thanks are due for aid willingly given in the revision of the translation throughout.

The Society is indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for the permission to reproduce, by photography, the portrait of Afonso Dalboquerque from Pedro Barretto de Resende's Manuscript in the Sloane Collection.

London, November, 1875.

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COMMENTARIES

OF THE

GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

COMMENTARIES

OF THE GREAT

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

WHO WAS

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE EAST INDIES

IN THE TIME OF THE VERY POWERFUL

KING D. MANUEL,

THE FIRST OF THIS NAME.

PART I.

LISBON:

IN THE ROYAL PRINTING OFFICE,

ANNO MDCCLXXIV;

With Licence of the Royal Board of Censors, and Royal Privilege.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS

AND

MOST EXCELLENT LORD

SEBASTIÃO JOSÉ DE CARVALHO E MELLO,

MARQUEZ DE POMBAL,

PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE

TO HIS MOST FAITHFUL MAJESTY

ETC., ETC., ETC.

DEDICATION.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

NOTHING obtains more commonly among those men, whose spirits are not to be confined within the small limit of the sphere wherein either Nature or Fortune has placed them, than the employment of the greatest force, whereby they may overcome the obstacles which trammel them and reduce them to the condition of the many others over whom they desire to exercise superiority. Some by their deeds and virtues, yea and in spite of malice and envy, finally achieve an universal reputation, and having been encouraged by the good and rewarded with their deserts, repay what they have received by the great benefits they afford to the Public. Others, not aware of their powers, or perhaps estimating themselves at their own standard, yet being naturally ambitious, break through every impediment without any concern for what the better part of mankind thinks or says of them, solely interested in acquiring for themselves the goodwill and favour of those in whose authority and power they found the basis of the hopes of what they desire to obtain.

I, Most Excellent Sir, though far from placing myself among the few who belong to the first of these, certainly do not belong to the second class. Truth, zeal, fidelity, obedience, and the desire of serving as far as strength will permit me, have ever been the principal bases whereon I have established the little I have done that I may not be

without merit. And what I have done, though but a little, Your Excellency was so good as to bring under the notice of the most Learned, the most Enlightened, and the most Generous of Monarchs, not only of Portugal but of the World. Thereupon Your Excellency further was pleased to consider me worthy of employment upon honorable works, and ennobled me and conferred such and so many benefits upon me as I had never expected to receive. Would then that I knew how to show in loud voice how much I owe to Your Excellency for the many and great favours that I have experienced at your hands. But since my genius is not able to soar so high, Your Excellency must permit me to call the whole World to witness this my confession, that never in time to come I may venture to speak in other than these terms without convicting myself of falsehood and without arriving at the lowest point of ingratitude.

This new Edition of the *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, containing the most illustrious Deeds of the Portuguese Nation—an uninterrupted plan of an excellent Government, and of a policy firmly grounded, and truly Christian—which shall serve as it were for a spur to the noble hearts of the Portuguese, recalling to their memory so many examples of bravery, of glory, and of virtue, that they may never lose sight of the grand deeds of eras more fortunate than their own: this, I say, is the work which I have the honour to present to Your Excellency, desiring your Excellency will permit it to go forth under your honourable name, to be restored to the light of the world. This work will cause me to be heard by all, for all with one accord reverence and admire your Excellency and take an interest in all that Your Excellency patronises, encourages, and sanctions. Thus not only by the natural impulse of my mind, which yet must always evince its gratitude, but even by the security of my honour and credit, I shall always be obliged

to bear witness to this very truth. I am well aware that your Excellency, as the great Planet which imparts its light to the others, and receives from none, vivifies and exalts all with your benefits without searching for other recompense than you possess of yourself, seeing that you know how, and are able, to give felicity to so many. But among the immense number of those who have been protected by Your Excellency, though there are many whose willing duty it is to demonstrate their gratitude, yet there is the abominable example of others who have not so done: and these latter force the former even more than ever to give proofs of their goodness. Therefore it is, that apart from many reasons which compel me to free myself from so infamous a stain, I shall repeat here and for ever that by the hands of Your Excellency alone all the benefits, with which in the sight of the World I have been rewarded, have been conferred upon me.

To this, and this alone, I can attribute the accomplishing of my obligations. For to undertake to praise the magnanimity of Your Excellency, the sublime talents and heroic actions for the good of the State, of mankind, of the World, would be as it were to pretend to set a price upon them, whereas I cannot appraise them: for Your Excellency alone knows what you are and what you have done. And who is there who can be so presumptuous? If there be any who believes he can estimate your worth, let him reveal the little that he knows, and if he intend to make a panegyric upon your Excellency let him forsooth parade his audacity.

The Great Orator Tully used to say that the Roman Citizens after a time ceased to applaud Cæsar, for all the applause that was due to him "Obstupefactis hominibus ipsâ admiratione compressus erat, et ec prætermissus, quia nihil vulgare dignum Cæsare videri poterat." What reasons are

I, truly, do so apply it. Therefore those who flatter themselves they possess the innate ability of pleasing the Public by becoming Panegyrists of Your Excellency will never seduce me with their example, and my respectful silence will be the greater proof of my admiration.

Yes, Most Excellent Sir, the great fame of your Excellency shall endure for ever, for the fruit of your more than extraordinary talents, and of your sublime Ministry, shall be experienced until the end of posterity. The World shall ever know by how much Your Excellency exceeded all in the most difficult art of governing People and rendering them happy. It shall admire your rare prudence in extirpating abuses, your great bravery in overcoming the greatest difficulties, your firm constancy in repressing the forces of those who for private interest, or by ignorance, or by malice opposed the good of the State. It shall confess, that Your Excellency was born to support the true Religion: to vindicate the inviolable prerogatives of Sovereigns: to civilize mankind and unite them within the bonds of the most perfect society: to extinguish vices: to cultivate virtues. These effects of the lofty comprehension and activity of Your Excellency shall ever be admired, as they shall ever exist; for all desire and protect that which they know to be useful.

Above all, Portugal will attribute the Epoch of its happiness and greatness to the time of the incomparable Ministry of Your Excellency. And what monuments shall it not have before it, to stimulate its voice and its recollection? A grand Capital, newly erected, and adorned with the most sumptuous edifices, after its destruction by an earthquake and fire, which overthrew it and reduced it to ashes: A Legislation founded upon the most solid principles, and dictated by reason and by Nature. Commerce, considered from the highest point of view, and increased and protected in spite of the envious and the jealous: Agriculture vindi-

cated, encouraged, and established as the principal basis of riches: Industry animated: the Arts and Sciences cultivated; Manufactures introduced and at the same time brought to perfection. The kingdom garrisoned with impregnable forts, munitioned with troops in the highest state of discipline, and provided with all that is necessary to make it feared in war. The extermination of some men who put on an outward appearance of virtue, but were in reality impious, powerful with what they possessed, and by means of the dominion they usurped, united into one sole body the better to resist monarchs and peoples, being themselves disturbers of the government and of society. The immortal work, wherein in chronological order of consecutive facts is demonstrated with latest evidence the accumulation of the atrocities those hostile men practised ever since their admission into this Kingdom, and the insuperable necessity which there was of exterminating them. The recent and memorable foundation for the re-establishment of the Sciences, rejecting all that the barbarities of past ages had introduced into them, when the lights of truth and reason were yet obscured, planting the solid principles upon which they were to be established after reducing them by brevity, clearness, and method, entrusting the teaching of them to wise and renowned Masters, both native and foreign; and forming such a code of laws and statutes as were never before seen, which will serve as a model for the cultivation of studies to all enlightened nations. But why do I go on noting what the Portuguese and all the World will have ever before their eyes and will admire with awe? Such being the monuments which exist and which immortalise your Excellency, it is useless to bring them to remembrance. They speak for themselves, and in such a manner that the voice and force of eloquence yield to them.

No, Sir, I have neither praised nor pretended to praise Your Excellency. What I have hitherto said was the im-

petus of my unrestrained feelings, was the sign of my respect, was the liberty of my thoughts; or to speak more accurately was mistake, was error. But this error is committed by all, and so merits Your Excellency's forgiveness. Henceforth I must correct myself and I commence from this moment, keeping a profound silence. May God preserve Your Excellency many, many years for the glory of Our Monarch, for the happiness of the Kingdom, and for the honour of the Nation and the World.

Your Excellency's

Most obliged, obedient, and humble servant,

Nicolao Pagliarini.

TO THE READER.

"This Edition of the "Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Alboquerque", which now comes forth from the press of this Royal Printing Office, is the third which has been made in Portuguese, and was reduced to four volumes from eight, for easier use, and for the convenience of readers. As regards the elogance of the impression, and the diligent care that it should be published without defects and errors, it will speak for itself. And as it is intended to issue in the same form other new editions of the more Classical Portuguese Authors, the printing of the "Decades of Asia" by the illustrious Historian João de Barros has been already commenced, and will be continued with the greatest diligence and application, so as to publish the whole work complete as rapidly as possible. In order to afford better information about these *Commentaries* and what they contain, it seemed convenient to introduce beforehand to the Reader what is said by *Diogo Barbosa Machado* in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica, e Chronologica*, fol. tom. i., pag. 22, as follows:—

"D. Affonso De Albuquerque, surnamed the Great, by reason of the heroic deeds wherewith he filled Europe with admiration, and Asia with fear and trembling, was born in the year 1453 in the Estate called, for the loveliness of its situation, the Paradise of the Town of Alhandra, six leagues distant from Lisbon. He was the second son of Gonçalo de Albuquerque, Lord of Villaverde, and of D. Leonor de Menezes, daughter of D. Alvaro Goncalves de Ataíde, Count

corrected this injustice of nature by climbing to the summit of every virtue, both moral and political. He was educated in the Palace of the King D. Affonso V, in whose palæstra striving emulously to become a rival of this African Mars, he set sail in the squadron commanded by this Prince in the year 1480, to succour King Fernando of Naples and repress the fury of the Turks who had invested Otranto, showing on this occasion that to reach heroic pitch, his bravery did not depend on the length of his service, but rather upon the liberality of Fortune toward him.

"Not less was the glory his arm acquired in the expedition sent out in the year 1489 for the defence of the fortress of Graciosa situated on the island which the river Luco makes close to the city of Larache, under the happy auspices of the King D. João II, to whom he was Chief Equerry. Those two famous and successful enterprizes, one in Europe, and the other in Asia, were the fortunate prelude of the victories of which Asia was soon to be the theatre, whither he sailed on the sixth of April, 1503; and after having performed deeds superior to any other spirit but his own, he returned to Portugal more full of glory than spoils, of which covetousness has more share than bravery. Having for a second time ploughed the seas as Captain in a squadron of fifteen ships, in company with Tristão da Cunha, to continue the triumphs of which his sword was the arbiter, the King D. Manoel chose him Governor of India, of which he took formal possession on the fourth of November 1509. The prudent mind of the Monarch trusted that upon shoulders so robust as these the Empire would be able to remain impregnable to the violent irruptions of all the potentates of Asia.

"It seems difficult to believe the continued current of victory achieved by the arm of this invincible Hero, who, just as a thunderbolt launched from the sphere which his Sovereign had taken for his device, left no portion of all the

East, which did not experience the unfettered impulse of his destruction, reducing to ashes the cities of Brama, Orfaçāo, Calicut, Pangim, and the numerous fleets of Meca, Adem, and Ormuz. On two occasions he was crowned with victory by the famons conquest of Goa, humbling the pride of the Hidalcāo, on the second taking, in such a manner, that for a long time he lamented the fatal overthrow he suffered upon the walls of a place destined to be the head of the Portuguese Empire in Asia. What leafy palms and laurels did not his invincible arm obtain at the surrender of Malaca, whose heroic deed admiring fame made known by three thousand mouths of bronze,—glorious trophies of such a celebrated attack. It was less owing to the violence of his sword than to the respect in which his name was held, that the cities of Lamo, Mascate, Benastarim, Calayate, and the Islands of Camaram, Queixome, surrendered, as did also Honelião at the death of two nephews of the King of Larec.

"To avenge the hostilities shown by the formidable fleets of the King of Ormuz and the Hidalcão, he made use of two elements, fire and water, burning and sinking some ships at Cape Rosalgate, and others in the harbours of Adem and Calicut. The fame of the awe-striking actions, wherewith he had abased all the East, compelled the King of the Isles of Maldiva, Vengapor, and the Hidalcão to yield, and implor-ingly seek him as a Guardian of their territories, and in corroboration of their obedience they made themselves tributary to our Crown. He received different embassies from the Princes of Persia and Arabia, and from the Kings of Pegú, Bengala, Pedir, Sião, and Pacem, soliciting his friendship with generous donatives, for which he benignly thanked them, but generously rejected the presents.

"In order to preserve the State impregnable to the invasion of its enemies, he erected, with an expense equal to their magnificence, the Fortresses of Malaca, Ormuz, Calicut,

is handed down to posterity under the glorious title of Founder of the Portuguese Empire of the East. Having concluded terms of peace with the kingdoms of Cambaia, Dabul, Onor, Baticalá as far as Cape Camorim, and with the Princes of China, Jaoa and Maluco, he felt his last sickness fall upon him when he was at Ormuz; and being desirous that Goa should be the setting, as it had so often been the rising, of his heroic labours, he set out so enfeebled, that at four leagues distance from the haven, he rendered his unconquerable spirit to its Creator, with evident signals of its destination, on the sixteenth of December 1515, after sixty-three years of age, and ten of government. He was shrouded in the cloak of the Military order of Sant-Iago, of which he was a *Commendador;* and as soon as his body arrived at the Quay of Goa, so lugubrious an uproar arose among the people that even the priests interrupted their ecclesiastical chants with tears and sighs.

"The natives, astonished to behold him with so long a beard, and having his eyes as it were open, asserted with superstitious credulity that certainly he was not dead, but God had called him to be General of his armies. He was borne to his grave covered with the Pall, and upon the shoulders of the principal persons of Goa, who buried him in the Church of Our Lady of the Heights, which he had himself erected in gratitude for the fortunate success he had experienced in the conquest of Malaca. At the deposition of his triumphant ashes the inhabitants assembled obsequiously with various offerings, hoping that he would be propitious to their supplications.

"After fifty-one years his remains were translated, according to the desire expressed in his will, to the Convent of Our Lady of Grace, belonging to the Religious Hermits of St. Augustine in this Court, whither his body was removed on the nineteenth of May, 1566, with the pomp befitting so great a Hero. In stature he was ordinary, his

face long, and fresh-coloured, his nose aquiline. his aspect agreeable, and made venerable by the white beard which reached down to his waist. He was perfectly intimate with the Latin tongue, and as discreet when he spoke as when he wrote. He was loved and feared, without his benevolence degenerating into partiality or his correction into rigour. He observed truth religiously, naturally abhorred lying, and executed justice promptly. In so many battles both by sea and land he had frequently been wounded, bearing witness with his blood, that he had ever sought the place where danger was more certain. He was profusely generous, giving to the Captains the spoils obtained in so many victories, whereof he never reserved the least part for himself, for his desire was more for glory than for wealth. He always adhered to the utmost fidelity with his domestic enemies, and only brought his political sagacity to bear upon strangers.

"There were two actions suggested by the magnanimity of his heart which he determined to perform. One was to divert the channel of the Nile to the Red Sea, and prevent it from running through Egypt, thereby to render the lands of the Grand Turk sterile; the other to carry away from Méca the bones of the abominable Mafoma, that, these being reduced publicly to ashes, the votaries of so foul a sect might be confounded. His name will be eternally applauded by the voice of Fame, as it was in the thoughts of the greatest Monarchs, and by the pens of illustrious writers, for D. Fernando, King of Castile, praised him as an illustrious captain to Pedro Correa, the Ambassador of the King D. Manuel, and the Grand Turk to D. Alvaro de Sande, Captain of the Emperor Charles V.

"Of the authors who have mentioned him the first is Maffeo,[1] towards the end of the fifth book of his History of

[1] Johannes Petrus Maffei: *Historiæ Indicæ, cum Ignatii Loyolæ vita*, folio, Colon. Agrip., 1589 and 1593.

India. 'Prorsus invicti ad laborem, ac patientiam æque corporis, animique vir, et cum quolibet suæ ætatis Ducum, vel navalis scientiæ, vel expediti consilii magnitudine comparandus.'"

Faria,[1] *Asia Portugueza*, tomo i, Part II, cap. 10, n. 8: "Aquella espada con cuya punta se avia labrado el Scetro, que ElRey Dom Manoel tenia no con menor interez de sus rentas, que reputacion de sus armas."

Castanheda[2], *Historia do Descubrimento da India*, liv. III, cap. 155: "Esforcado e famoso Capitão... Em summa nenhuma virtude lhe falleceo para ser tão singular Capitão, como o foram os singulares, que ouve entre barbaros, Gregos, e Latinos."

Fr. Antonio de San Roman,[3] *Historia General de la India Oriental*, liv. II, cap. 9: "Dexò el Imperio dela India mui quieta en la devocion, y fidelidad delRey D. Manoel, y el exercicio de las armas quedò en su punto con su industria, y las cosas de la Religion en mucho augmento.

Brentan.[4] *Epitome Chronolog. Mund. ad annum* 1515: "Christianissimus Heros."

Mariz,[5] *Dialogos de Var. Hist., Dialogo* 5: "Falleceo em tão claro nome de perfeito Governador, que não era facil a questão, que em seu louvor se movia, se resplandecia mais em sûas excellencias o esforco de Alexandre, ou a sabedoria de Nestor; porque administrava a guerra como summo Emperador, e governava a Republica como perfeitissimo Magistrado."

[1] Manoel Severim de Faria: *Asia Portvgvesa*, 3 tom., folio, Lisbon, 1666-1675.

[2] Fernando Lopez de Castanheda: *Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, 8 livr., folio, Coimbra, 1552-1561. See also "The first Booke of the Historie of the Discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias enterprised by the Portingales, in their daungerous Nauigations, in the time of King Dom John, the second of that name. Translated into English by N. L. [*Nicholas Lichefild*], Gentleman." Quarto, London, 1582.

[3] Folio, Valladolid, 1603.

[4] Ignatius Brentano Cimarola: *Epitome Chronologica Mundi Christiani ab anno Natiuitatis Christi usque ad sæculi decimi octavi annum vigesimum sextum inclusive deducta*, etc., folio, Augustæ Vindelicorum, 1727.

[5] Pedro de Mariz: *Dialogos de Varia Historia dos Reyes de Portugal*, quarto, Lisbon, 1674.

Sampayo,[1] in cap. 2, *Vitæ Beati Petri Eborensis:* "Insignis ille et immortali laude dignus, atque Heroum antiquorum numero meritissimo referri potest."

Barbuda,[2] *Emprezas Militares de Lusitanos*, fol. 156, v.: "Adquericudo triunfos a su Patria, y ganando Coronas a su Rey."

Lafitau,[3] *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquestes des Portugais*, tom. i, pag. 520: "Dans la guerre il fut veritablement grand par la noblesse de ses projets, et la prudence avec laquelle il les exécuta. Dans le Conseil et dans l'action il paroissoit en lui deux hommes tous differens."

Osorius[4] *de Rebus Emmanuelis*, lib. 10: "Tanta namque erat humanitate præditus, ut utrum magis multi illius virtutem metuerent, an bonitatem amarent, esset explicatu difficillimum. Inprimis autem jus æquabile colebat, et fidem violatam acerrimè puniebat, neminique injuriam fieri patiebatur...Non erat alienus a litteris: et cum otium erat, lectione sacrarum præcipuè litterarum oblectabatur."

Thevet,[5] *Vies des Hommes Illustres*, p. 422: "Fondateur de la domination des Portugalois en Inde."

Franciscus de Santa Maria,[6] *Ceo aberto na Terra*, liv. III, cap. 67: "Na liberalidade, e magnificencia foi insigne, na constancia admiravel, na religião excellente, e em tudo Heróe da primeira grandeza, glorioso assumpto das trombetas da Fama."

Neufuille,[7] *Histoire Général de Portugal*, tom. ii, lib. VIII, p. 466:

[1] ? Christovam Ferreyra de Sampayo: *Vida, e hechos del Principe Perfecto D. Juan Rey de Portugal II deste nombre*, quarto, Madrid, 1626.

[2] Luys Coello de Barbuda: *Empresas.* etc., quarto, Lisbon, 1624.

[3] For the entire title, see page v.

[4] D. Ieronimo Osorio: *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ virtute, et auspicio gestis libri duodecim*, folio, Lisbon, 1571; and many subsequent editions. See account of the author and his works in Diogo Barbosa Machado: *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historiça*, etc., 2 vols., folio, Lisbon, 1741-1747, vol. ii, pp. 510, 515.

[5] André Thevet: *Vies des Hommes illustres*, folio, Paris [1584]; and 8 vols., quarto, Paris, 1671, etc.

[6] P. Francisco de Santa Maria: *O Ceo aberto na terra*, Historia das Sagradas Congregaçoens dos Conegos Seculares de S. Jorge em Alga de Veneza, e de S. João Evangelista em Portugal, folio, Lisbon, 1697.

[7] Jacques Le Quien de La Neufville: *Histoire*, etc., 2 tom., quarto, Paris, 1700.

"Ce grand homme, cet Albuquerque le Grand, aussi heureux, et redoutable pendant la guerre, que craint et reveré pendant la paix, fut regretté de plusieurs Princes qui avoient connu sa valeur, et toutes les nations qui avoient éprouvé sa clemence."

Telles,[1] *Historia da Ethiopia Alta*, liv. I, cap. 7, and liv. II, cap. 1.

Fr. Agostinho de Santa Maria,[2] *Sanct. Marian.*, tom. viii, liv. I, cap. 55.

Barros,[3] *Decada II, da Historia da India*, passim.

Damião de Goes,[4] *Chronica del Rey D. Manoel*, Part III, cap. 80.

Martin., *Compendio de las Historias de la India Oriental*, pp. 174-194.

Gabriel Pereira,[5] *Ulyssea*, Canto VII, 100 :—

"Logo o famoso Affonso o mar cobrindo
De Náos, os Malabares affugenta,
Do grão Neptuno as ondas opprimindo,
Que de seu grâve pezo já rebenta."

Macedo, *Ulyssipo*, Canto XII, 56 :—

"Se quereis ver o Capitão mais claro,
Que a Fama conheceo, que vio a terra;
Vede a Albuquerque insigne archivo raro,
Que a disciplina militar encerra.
Quantas vezes o vejo, mais reparo
Neste grande varão raio da guerra;
Notai-o de vagar, que basta vê-lo
Para ficardes do valor modélo."

"The Commentaries of the heroic actions, performed in

[1] Manoel d'Almeyda: *Historia geral da Ethiopia Alta, ou Preste João, abreviada pelo Padre Balthezar Tellez*, folio, Coimbra, 1660.

[2] Fr. Agostinho de Santa Maria: *Sanctuario Mariano, e Historia das Imagens*, etc., *que se venerão em a India Oriental, e mais conquistas de Portugal, Asia, Inglaterra, Africa, e Ilhas Filipinas*, tom. 8, quarto, Lisbon, 1720.

[3] João de Barros: *Segunda Decada da Asia*, folio, Lisbon, 1553, and many subsequent editions, see *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, ii, 606.

[4] Damiam de Goes: *Chronica do felicissimo Rey D. Emmanuel, dividida em quatro partes*, folio, Lisbon, 1566-1567, and 1619.

[5] Gabriel Pereira de Castro: *Ulyssea, ou Lisboa edificada, Poema Heroico*, quarto, Lisbon, 1636.

the East by the great Albuquerque, written by his son, were compiled from the despatches which the same Albuquerque forwarded to the King D. Manoel, as the Author himself states in the Dedication of the said work to the King D. Sebastião, in these words :—

"'I have dedicated to your Highness these Commentaries, which I have collected from the originals themselves, written by the great Afonso Dalboquerque in the midst of his adventures to The King D. Manuel, your Great grandfather.'

"Hence proceeds the idea of some writers (and among them the very learned João Solorzano Pereira,[1] de Jure Ind. tom. i, liv. I, cap. 3, n. 48), that it is the work of the great Albuquerque himself. In addition to the despatches written by this Hero, which have served to form the Commentaries of his actions, there are printed herein the following compositions by himself :—

Two replies which he sent in answer to two letters from Cogeatar, Part I, chap. 62.

Reply to a letter from Lourenço de Brito, Captain of Cananor, Part II, chap. 3.

Instructions sent through Fr. Luiz, of the Seraphic Order, to the King of Narsinga, wherein he gave him an account of what had taken place in the conquest of Calicut, Part II, chap. 17.

Letter written to the Xeque Ismael, Part II, chap. 23.

Instructions given to Ruy Gomes for the Xeque Ismael, *ibid.*

Letter to the King of Ormuz, *ibid.*

Letter to Gopicaiça, Chief Alguazil of the King of Cambaya, Part II, chap. 46.

Letter written to Timoja, Chief Alguazil, and Captain of the Forces at Goa, and Lord of the Lands of Cintacora, Part II, chap. 49.

Letter to the Hidalcão, when he conquered Goa, Part III, chap. 4.

[1] Johannes de Solorzano Pereira: *Disputationes de Indiarum Jure*, folio, Madrid, 1629; and reprinted in 1658, 1659.

Instructions which he gave to Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, with a present for the King of Sião, Part III, chap. 36.

Letter written to the [Portuguese] Monarch on the Twelfth of December, 1515, when on the point of death, wherein he recommends to his notice the promotion of his son, Part IV, chap. 45.

"This latter one also occurs in the Second Decade of Barros, lib. x, ch. 8; translated into Latin by Ozorio, De Rebus Emmanuelis, lib. x: into Castilian by S. Roman, Historia de la India, lib. II, ch. 9; and into French by Lafitau, Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, tom. i, p. 516."

"AFFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE,

Son of the celebrated Hero of whom the previous memoir treats, was not only an inheritor of his virtues and heroic actions, but also of his very name. He was born in the Quinta, which was the cradle of his great Father, close to the Town of Alhandra, situate upon the banks of the Tagus, in the year 1500. The name Braz, which had been given to him at his baptism, was altered into Affonso by desire of the King D. Manuel, for this Prince desired as well to perpetuate in the person of the son the memory of his illustrious progenitor, as to continue in him the remuneration due to such eminent merits; and of this he gave manifest proofs in appointing him captain of a ship of war in the fleet which conveyed the Infanta D. Beatriz when she proceeded to be betrothed to the Duke of Savoy, and in being instrumental in procuring his marriage with one of the most illustrious Ladies whom Portugal honoured. This was D. Maria de Noronha, daughter of D. Antonio de Noronha, First Count of Linhares, and private Scrivener to the King D. Manoel, and of Donna Joanna da Silva, daughter of Diogo da Silva, first Count of Portalegre; he also presented him with a pension of three hundred thousand reis. Not only the merits which he inherited, but his own as well, rendered him worthy even of higher rewards. He was endowed with a remarkable prudence, acquired by study of books, and by a constant practice of business, on which account the King D. João III appointed him Overseer of his Household, and herein he was as vigilant for the interests of his Prince as he was disinterested in his own private gain. His ability

manifested itself in a great act of providence, when in the year 1569, being at the time President of the Senate of Lisbon, he availed himself of all practicable means to prevent the calamitous losses that were produced throughout the city by the pestilence, which with horrible voracity had as it were consumed many thousands of men; indeed the total extermination of such a frightful scourge was entirely due to his universal watchfulness. As a recreation from the duties which he performed, he constructed in the village of Azeitão a magnificent Quinta, planted with leafy woods and watered with winding streams, of whose pristine grandeur some remains have been preserved even to the present day. When full of years and virtuous deeds, he died at Lisbon in the year 1580, and was buried in the Parish Church of St. Simon, situate in the Town of Azeitão, wherein he founded two chapels, with the intention that each Chaplain should say every week four masses, for his soul, and those of his ancestors, his wife, his friends and enemies, and those who are undergoing penance in purgatory. He left an only daughter, named Dona Joanna de Albuquerque, who married D. Fernando de Castro. He composed—

'1. Commentarios de Affonso Dalbuquerque, Capitão Geral, e Governador da India, colligidos por seu filho Affonso Dalbuquerque das proprias Cartas, que elle escrevia ao muito poderoso Rey Dom Manoel o primeiro deste nome, em cujo tempo governou a India.' 'Commentaries of Affonso Dalboquerque, Captain-General, and Governor of India, collected by his son Affonso Dalbuquerque from the original letters which he wrote to the all powerful King Dom Manoel, the first of this name, in whose time he governed India.'

"They are divided into four parts according to the periods of his labours. At the end is written the following passage:—

Lisbon by João de Barreira, Printer to the King, our Master. The impression was completed on the eve of St. Sebastian's day, the nineteenth of January, in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-seven, on which day the Prince D. Bastião, our Master, to whom this book is dedicated, completed the third year of his age. Fol.

"A second edition was issued in Lisbon, by the same printer, in 1576, fol. Translated into the French language in Paris by João Marnef, 1579.

"In the Cancionero, collected by Garcia de Rezende, there are some verses of Affonso de Albuquerque, at folios 169, 170, and 176, by which it appears he was as well versed in Poetry as he was in History.

"II. Tratado da Antiguidade, Nobreza, e Descendencia da Familia dos Albuquerques. MS.

Treatise of the Antiquity, Nobility, and Genealogy of the Family of the Albuquerques. Manuscript.

"This work is mentioned by himself in the *Commentaries*, Part IV, chap. 50; and by the Padre Dom Antonio Caetano de Sousa[1] in the *Apparato á Historia Geral da Casa Real Portugueza*, p. 38, § 17.

"The following writers speak of the author and his work with well merited encomiums:—

Barros, *Decada II da India*, lib. x, chap. 8.
Maffeo, *Rerum Indicarum Historiæ*, lib. v, *in fine*.
Goes, *Chronica del Rey D. Manuel*, Part III, chap. 80.
Antonio de Leon,[2] *Bib. Orient.*, Tit. III.
Nicolaus Antonius,[3] *Bibliotheca Hispana*, tom. i, Part VI.
D. Luiz de Salazar De Cast. *Historia da Casa dos Sylv.*, Part II, lib. VI, chap. 13, § 3, n. 14.

[1] Antonio Caetano de Sousa: *Historica Genealogia da Casa Real Portugueza desde a Sua Origem atè o prezente*, etc., large quarto, Lisbon, 1735.
[2] Antonio de Leam Pinello: *Epitome de la Bibliotheca Oriental y Occidental Nautica, y Geografica*, quarto, Madrid, 1629; folio, Madrid, 1737.
[3] Nic. Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana*, folio, Rome, 1672.

Faria,[1] *Epitome das Historias Portuguezas*, Part IV, chap. 18.
João Soarez de Brito,[2] *In Theatro Lusitaniæ*, lit. A, n. 8.
Antonio Ferreiro,[3] in the *Poemas Lusitanos*, Elegy 6;
And the Padre Lafitau, *Histoire des Découvertes et Conquestes des Portugais*, tom. i, p. 521: "Il y paroît un grand amour de la verité, une grande modération, beaucoup de ménagement pour la personne des ennemis de son Père, et tant de modestie dans le détail des actions de ce Héros, qu'on peut dire que le portrait qu'il en fait, bien loin d'être outré, est beaucoup au-dessous de son original."

[1] Manoel Severim de Faria: *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, quarto, Madrid, 1628.

[2] *Theatrum Lusitaniæ Litteratum, sive Bibliotheca Scriptorum omnium Lusitanorum*, folio, compiled in 1645, but (?) never printed.

[3] Antonio Ferreiro: *Poemas Lusitanos*, quarto, Lisbon, 1598.

TO THE

MOST HIGH AND ALL POWERFUL LORD,

THE

KING D. SEBASTIAO, OUR LORD,

AFFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

IN the lifetime of the King D. João the Third, your grandfather, I dedicated to Your Highness these Commentaries, which I have collected from the actual originals written by the great Afonso Dalboquerque in the midst of his adventures to the King D. Manuel your great grandfather. And as I perceived, Most Serene Lord, that there was a great demand for them (in order that the remembrance of his labours should by no means perish), I determined to reprint them, correcting some things which I had written, and adding others, being now possessed of more correct information than I then had, which have induced me to undertake this work. I was moreover invited to do so, by a conversation which took place in the presence of your Highness, wherein when some Fidalgos, who were present, were praising certain of the great Captains whom the world had produced, Your Highness rebuked them, saying:— "Wherefore is the need of speaking of Captains when we have Afonso Dalboquerque in India." Had there been no other reason than this to reprint these Commentaries, this alone would have influenced me to do so, to the end that of such high-minded words, spoken by an invincible spirit like that of Your Highness, the remembrance might remain to glorify yet further the glorious victories which this excellent Cap-

tain gained over the Moors in the conquest of the Kingdoms of India. For me to desire in this place to treat of the praises he merited and of the many hardships he suffered, and as many others which he overcame with the greatness of his mind, would require another history greater than his own. I shall say no more than tell you what a Soldier said who always accompanied him in war. This man being very old, and staying in the City of Goa, when he reflected upon the disorder of Indian affairs, went with a stick in his hand to the chapel of Afonso Dalboquerque, and striking the sepulchre wherein he was lying buried, cried out:—"Oh! great Captain, Thou hast done me all the harm thou couldst have done, but I cannot deny that thou hast been the greatest conqueror, and sufferer of troubles, that the world has known: arise thee, for what thou hast gained is like to be lost!" These Commentaries ought not to have the less credit and authority from your Highness because I, who am his son, have collected them, than that which those of Cesar, writing of himself so many years ago, obtain throughout the world, seeing that in this rugged style of mine I narrate the truth of what took place.

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OF THE

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PART I.

WHEREIN IS CONTAINED HOW THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE WENT TO INDIA FOR THE FIRST AND SECOND TIMES; AND WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF ORMUZ, UNTIL HE ARRIVED AT CANANOR.

CHAPTER I.

How he went to India for the first time as chief captain of three vessels, and arrived at Cochim, and what further took place.

THE affairs of India being in such a state that they could not well be placed upon a firm footing, nor receive any settlement from the large fleets which the King D. Manoel kept sending thither every year, on account of the incessant war which was made upon the Portuguese who remained in Cochim,[1] and upon the king who was friendly to us, by the Çamorim,[2] who had been corrupted by the bribes of the

[1] 9 deg. 56 min. N., 76 deg. 15 min. E. See an early plan and description of this port and fortress in the "Livro do Estado da India Oriental", by Capitão Pedro Barreto de Resende, A.D. 1646. Sloane MS. in British Museum, 197, ff. 311-318.

[2] Zamorim or Samoriń, the title which the Indians give to the King of Calicut on the Coast of Malabar. Anciently, a single prince was lord of all the coast from Goa to Cape Comorim, but *Samari Perymal*, after embracing the faith of Mahomet, desiring to end his days in peace in the city of Medina, divided his estates, namely, the kingdoms of Calicut, Cochim, Cananor, and Coulão, among his friends, on condition

Moorish merchants from Cairo living in Calicut,[1] which they were constantly giving both to him and to his Governors,—being fearful of losing their trade and sailing traffic if our people were established in the land:—at this time, and to remedy these troubles, the King D. Manoel determined to send to India the great Afonso Dalboquerque and Francisco Dalboquerque, the son of João Dalboquerque, his uncle, to build a fortress in Cochim for the shelter of the people and the storage of the merchandise he might send. And, in order to bring this about, he gave order that six vessels should be made ready, with soldiers, artillery, and munitions of war; for these, with the others which the Admiral was about to leave there, as he (Afonso) took them under his command, were sufficient. He relied also upon the peace and friendship which Pedralvarez Cabral, at the time of his departure for these kingdoms, had left established with the Kings of Cananor[2] and Cochim, and upon the presents and recommendations which he had sent him through his ambassadors who had accompanied him. And he gave the chief command of three of the ships to Afonso Dalboquerque, and of the other three to Francisco Dalboquerque. So, when all that was needful for the voyage had been prepared, they set sail from the port of Belem[3] in the early part of April, in the year fifteen hundred and three; and, although Afonso Dalboquerque had taken such pains to despatch his affairs that he was able to start first, yet he experienced such bad weather, and met with so many storms and calms on the voyage, that when he reached Cochim some days had

that the King of Calicut should be recognised as the chief sovereign, and gave to him the title of Çamorim; the signification of which is:—"Supreme Emperor and God upon earth." *Dom Raphael Bluteau*, Vocabulario Portuguez. Lisboa, 1720. Sub v. *Zamorim, Samorim.*

[1] 11 deg. 12 min. N., 75 deg. 48 min. E.

[2] See plan and description in P. Barreto de Resende's work, ff. 298-302.

[3] The Port of Lisbon, on the north bank of the Tagus and nearer to the sea.

elapsed since Francisco Dalboquerque had arrived with the ships of his company and three others which he had met with on the way. Now, since the Çamorim, at the departure of the Admiral for these Kingdoms, had renewed the war with the King of Cochim, and had made himself master of the island, in defence of which the Portuguese had suffered much trouble and even death, great was the joy and delight of all at the arrival of Francisco Dalboquerque. And the king went at once to see him, and, after having inquired respecting the King of Portugal, his brother, and respecting the voyage just made, gave him an account of his troubles, and of the cruel war which the Çamorim had made upon him after the departure of the admiral, and of the way in which he had made himself master of the island. Francisco Dalboquerque gave him his recommendations on the part of the King of Portugal, and bade him be of good cheer; for he hoped in God quickly to be avenged of his enemies, the king, his lord, having sent both himself and Afonso Dalboquerque, who was waiting behind, with fleet and soldiers to serve him in all he ordered. The interview at an end, the king returned to his own house, and Francisco Dalboquerque proceeded to discuss the business with Diogo Fernandez Correa, whom the admiral had left as factor, and with Lourenço Moreno and Alvaro Vaz, who were notaries, and with other principal persons who were there, and these gave him account of all that had passed, and said that it was very necessary for the credit of the Portuguese, and for the lading of the ships with the least trouble, that they should rid the Island of Cochim of certain Caimais[1] (who are principal lords of the kingdom), whom the Çamorim had in it with men for its defence.

This being agreed upon, Francisco Dalboquerque made

[1] *Kaimal*, a title of rank amongst the Nairs, and used by the inferior classes when addressing them, as—My lord, and the like.—*H. H. Wilson, Glossary of ... Terms ... of British India.* London, 1855.

ready with all his soldiers, and those that were in Cochim, as well as certain Naires[1] of the king, and on the following day before dawn set out in the boats *paraos*[2] and *caravelas*,[3] to fight the Caimais, who were unconcerned at what had taken place, and he attacked them so suddenly that he put them to flight. And having routed them, he went on pursuing them till he drove them out of the island, killing many Naires and two Caimais. Having thus freed the island of them, he withdrew his men to the boats, and re-embarked without meeting any resistance. And, on his arrival at Cochim, the king and his own people received him with great honour, praising him very much for what he had done. There, too, he found Afonso Dalboquerque, who had that day arrived in the morning with the ships of his company, and all the people on board safe and sound, and to whom the King of Cochim had already given an account of his misfortunes. And seeing that he always kept his spies that he might know his enemies' movements, he was immediately informed that the Naires, who had fled from the attack made by Francisco Dalboquerque, had shut themselves up in the Island of Repelim, and were making interest with the lord of it. And because the King of Cochim was much alarmed at the power of this Lord of Repelim, as this lord was always opposed to him, and he himself could not be entirely safe if he made a settlement in that island, he informed Afonso and Francisco Dalboquerque of it, and begged them very greatly that they would be pleased to drive him thence. Accordingly, as they intended to do nothing except the king's pleasure, that they might

[1] *Nayar*, commonly *Nair*. or *Nayr*. The name of the ruling caste in Malabar, professing to be *Sudras*, but bearing arms and exercising sovereignty.—*Wilson.*

[2] Paráo, a small boat used for fishing and other purposes in India.—*Bluteau.*

[3] Caravela, a round boat with sails of lateen, of about two hundred tons burden.—*Bluteau.*

reckon the more upon his assistance as regarded the construction of the fortress, which they were about to discuss with him, they made ready with five hundred Portuguese, and, on the following day before dawn, set out in the boats along the river banks to attack the island. And, although at first when they entered they met with some resistance from a force of two thousand Naires and many gunboats, which the Çamorim had sent to reinforce it, our people engaged them with such vigour, that they overcame them, and put them to flight, killing the greater number of the Naires, and setting fire to the place. Having gained the victory, they returned to Cochim, where they were well received by the king, who gave them great thanks for the service they had rendered him in this affair. In this company there were also Duarte Pacheco and Pedro Dataide.

CHAPTER II.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque and Francisco Dalboquerque, after the skirmish, had an audience with the king upon the building of the fortress, and what passed between them.

These victories having been obtained, as well as others which our people gained against the soldiers of the Çamorim, and the King of Cochim having been reinstated in all that they had taken from him, the great Afonso Dalboquerque and Francisco Dalboquerque determined that, before they turned their attention to lading the ships, they would speak with the king respecting the fortress, which, according to their orders, they had to erect in Cochim. And both of them told him that the chief reason why the Portuguese who remained there for his service had suffered so many troubles, wars, and deaths, was that they had not a stronghold wherein they might be safe from the vexations which the Moors of the land every day inflicted upon them, and

from which he was in no way able to protect them; and also whereby they might be able to withstand the power of the Çamorim, and that by what had hitherto taken place, his Royal Highness could clearly perceive that they stood in great need of it. And the King D. Manoel, his lord, confiding in his friendship, and in what was due to his service, had sent to beg him that he would be pleased to grant a site close by the river, in which they might construct a stronghold for the safety of the Portuguese, who remained there, and for the safe stowing of the merchandise which might be sent from Portugal, for thereby his estate would be safer. The king heard this demand, and, although there were on the part of the governors and lords of the land, to whom he communicated the business, some obstacles against the granting it,—for they had been induced to oppose it by the Moorish merchants of the land, by means of bribes which they had given them, because they were unwilling that we should make a settlement in it,—yet to establish his estate the more safely, and to preserve the friendship of the King of Portugal, and also to keep the great profit which accrued to him from this commerce, he put aside all the hinderers, and was pleased to grant a site for the building of the fortress, where it now stands: and this was the first which was made in India. That the work might be quickly finished, the two Dalboquerques divided the labour of it between them, so as to shorten the time, and each commenced to erect the part which fell to his share. As they had no means of working stone and mortar, they desired the king to order wood to be given them, which he sent for at once in great abundance. The building was begun with some large palisades filled in with earth. And because Afonso Dalboquerque had to go to Coulão[1] to take in a cargo of spices, according to the orders

[1] See P. Barreto de Resende for plan and description of this port and

which he had from the King D. Manoel, that as soon as he arrived in India he should take cargo in Cochim to assist Coulão, whither he had already despatched two ships of his company, he laboured day and night with all his men in such a manner, that in a short time he completed his share of the fortress. Thenceforth, some differences arose between them respecting their rivalry at the work. Afonso Dalboquerque, on excuse of being annoyed with his cousin, began to be chary of his conversation with him, and on several occasions sent to tell him that, since the fortress was finished on his side, he begged he would graciously appoint some person to stay in it as captain until the king's wishes were known. Francisco Dalboquerque, according to his wont, would not appoint anyone. Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing these jealousies, which his cousin desired to make with him, forgetting that the King D. Manoel had given orders to both that they should make this fortress, ordered Padre Fr. Rodrigo, of the Order of St. Dominic, to be sent for, and told him that he had constantly sent to beg Francisco Dalboquerque to come to some mutual arrangement how it would be best to leave the fortress, and that he would never come to any terms about it, but rather chose to introduce speeches of little value in the present state of affairs, and that he himself wanted to go to Coulão to load his ships; for he had sent thither two ships of his squadron, and it was necessary to relieve the place; for he had advice that many ships had passed bound for Choromandel, and that he, as far as regarded his portion of the labour which he had expended upon the fortress, was anxious to cause a Mass to be celebrated, and then set out to load his ships, and that Francisco Dalboquerque might do as he

fortress, ff. 319-323. "A fortalleza de Coulam esta sita na Costa Braua de huma piquena Bahia No destreito do Reyno de Travancor Em Altura de Noue graos da banda do Norte Vinte e sinquo Legoas de Cochim pera o Sul."

pleased, and that it was his especial desire that he would undertake the Mass himself. Fr. Rodrigo was much troubled that differences should exist between men so honourable and so nearly related, and that, too, in a land wherein the affairs of Portugal had not yet been firmly established. So he went with Afonso Dalboquerque to the fortress and celebrated Mass; and, at the close of the service, they walked in procession through it, and called it the "Convent of Christ", because it was undertaken in a land annexed to the magistracy of these kingdoms and the first fortress which had been made in those parts. Francisco Dalboquerque, in order not to agree with him as regarded the share he had in the labour, called it "Alboquerque", and appointed as captain and officers whom he chose, whereat Afonso Dalboquerque felt much discontent, but put up with everything that it might not come to the knowledge of the Moors that there were differences between them. So, having taken his leave of the king, he made ready to leave and take in his cargo.

CHAPTER III.

How the great Dalboquerque arrived at Coulão, and what passed with the governors of the land.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque was just ready to set out, a *parão* arrived from Coulão, and in it a servant of Antonio de Sá, the factor, with a letter from him, wherein he said that he had come on a good errand, for there was certain news that thirty ships had left Calicut bound for Choromandel.

Now since Afonso Dalboquerque had sent two ships on before him to get his cargo ready, as I have said, he was not at all pleased at this news, and hastened his departure the more, and in a short time arrived at Coulão, where he

was very well received by the governors of the land, and by the Namboadarim,[1] who is the principal governor. And because the King had gone into the interior of the country to war, which he was waging with the King of Narsinga,[2] they sent him the news immediately by means of men whom they had in relays, and in a few days he was informed of their arrival. The king, from his desire of our friendship, wrote to the Nambeadarim, and the rulers of the city, giving great thanks for the honour and hospitality which they had shown to Afonso Dalboquerque, and commanded them to do all that he asked and required, and to try all they could to induce him to establish a trade there. Although the governors, owing to the inducements and bribes of the Çamorim, were greatly opposed to this establishment, which the King wished our people to make in the land, yet he was so much feared that, without showing their discontent, they performed everything with more faithfulness than Afonso Dalboquerque had expected of them; and he forthwith established a factory house, with much merchandise, and all other things necessary to the quick despatch of the ships, whenever they came there to take in cargo. The peace having then been made, and sworn to by the King and his governors, Afonso Dalboquerque began to load his ships with pepper, at the price and weight which the admiral had fixed at Cochim. When the Çamorim heard of this new friendship and trade, which the King of Coulão desired to hold with the Portuguese, in order to hinder the good effect of this business, he sent his ambassadors to him, saying that he must beware what he was about, for the Portuguese were a very bad race, and if he admitted them into his land they would rise up against him. And he added that this

[1] *Nambudiri*, commonly pronounced and written *Namburi* or *Namboori*, a Brahman of the highest order in Malabar, also the name of the tribe or caste.— *Wilson*.

[2] *Narsingah*, 20 deg. 41 min. N., 85 deg. 4 min. E.

was the chief reason which had moved him to insist so strongly upon driving them out of India. And on this behalf he also went on to represent to him many other things to the same purpose, and sent large presents to the governors of the land, begging them to influence the King against giving a cargo to the Portuguese, or receiving them in his port. But all these artifices which the Çamorim used, in order to withstand our people, now that he could not effect anything by force of arms, because the land was very far from his, availed him nothing: for the King of Coulão was a man of such truthfulness that, in spite of all these arguments which the Çamorim advanced, he kept his word, and established his friendship with Afonso Dalboquerque. And he answered the Çamorim that he had received no injury or insult from the Portuguese, but rather was convinced that they were men of their word, and that unless it was their own fauit, he would not withdraw from what he agreed upon. The Çamorim was not pleased at this reply, and was deeply annoyed that he was unable to destroy the King of Coulão, or hinder the Portuguese from carrying the pepper which was there from Cochim to Coulão, because all the inhabitants of the interior were heathen who were desirous of peace and friendship with our people. And in Calicut all were foreign Moors who endeavoured to drive us from India, from the fear they had that we should be masters of it, and they be ousted from their trade. When Afonso Dalboquerque knew how the Çamorim was trying to induce the King of Coulão to hinder our people from settling in the land, he determined from that time forward to trade more familiarly with the latter, and transact somewhat more liberally the trading of the merchandise, although in this respect he might exceed in some measure the orders which the King had given him, and this was the reason such confidence sprang up between our people and those of the country, that they might have all been taken for native Portuguese. The

chief cause of this good fellowship was the absence of Moors in the land who could endeavour to procure dissension between us and the heathen, as they had done in Calicut.

At the time when Afonso Dalboquerque arrived at Coulão it was a very large city, peopled with heathen, with not a single native Moor in it, nor any foreigner except the brother of Cherinamercar of Cochim, who had gone thither just lately to reside. This city was a great seaport of merchants, and anciently had in it many merchants stopping there from all parts of India, principally from Malacca. And as it was a port sheltered from the wind on every side, the ships which go to India, as well as those which passed the Island of Ceilão[1] and Chale made their entrepôt there. In those days the Island of Ceilão was subject to it, and paid tribute to it, and it possessed all the land from Coulão to Chale, which is about sixty leagues, and the distance from Coulão to the Island of Ceilão is eighty leagues. The King of Coulão was a very honest man, and very gallant, and in the war which he carried on with the King of Narsinga, who had many soldiers, both horse and foot, he attacked him with sixty thousand archers and overcame him. Besides the Nambeadarim, who was the chief governor of the land, there were in the city thirty-six principal men who governed it, so that it was the best ruled city at that time in those parts.

CHAPTER IV.

How the ships from Calicut hove in sight of Coulão, and the great Afouso Dalboquerque prepared to fight them, and what took place thereupon with the governors of the land.

At this time, when the great Afonso Dalboquerque was taking in his cargo, as abovesaid, the ships from Calicut arrived in sight of ours, and they were in all thirty-nine sail,

[1] Ceylon. See P. Barreto, for plan of this island, ff. 342, 343.

twenty-eight from Calicut, and the rest from Cochim and Cananor. And as Afonso Dalboquerque was desirous of distressing the Çamorim as much as possible, to be avenged on him, he made up his mind to go and attack them, somewhat against the opinion of Antonio de Sá and the people in the fleet, and, not to lose any time, he slipped his cables, and set sail. When the Moors saw our ships putting off and coming to challenge them, they sent a *parão*, to beg for peace. In the meanwhile, however, they chained their ships in groups of five each, and determined to fight us. And because the wind dropped, and Afonso de Alboquerque feared that the ships would avail themselves at night of the land breeze to stand out to sea, and get away without his wreaking his vengeance upon them, he sent Antão Garcia in his ship, which was small and a quick sailer, to take up a similar position. The Moors were made timid by this arrangement, and held another council, and all of them at night stood in to the port of Coulão, because our ships were a little on one side of it, at the mouth of a river. When Afonso Dalboquerque saw that the ships desired to make for the land, he sent word to the Nambeadarim and to the governors of the land, that those ships were from the Çamorim, chief enemy of the King of Portugal, his lord, and begged they would of their favour order them to be given up to him; for if this were not done, he determined to enter the port and burn them all, and go away without taking in any cargo there, or making any treaty of peace with them. The governors replied that they had written to the king, giving him an account of the affair, and the reply would not be delayed many days: and they begged him graciously, since the ships were sheltered in the port, whence they could not depart without permission, to await the king's message. Afonso Dalboquerque told them he was willing to do as they desired, provided they gave orders that the ship's sails should be taken away, to prevent their escaping at night.

This having been agreed upon, the Nambeadarim sent immediately to lay hold of the captains, masters, and pilots, and take bail for their good behaviour. A few days afterwards the message of the king to the Nambeadarim arrived, wherein he ordered that if the ships were willing to show obedience to the city governors, and discharge their merchandise there, the governors were to beg of Afonso Dalboquerque on his part not to injure them, for it was sufficient punishment that they could not leave the port without permission. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that it was his determination to burn them, and put all the Moors of Calicut to the sword, in revenge for the treason they had committed against the Portuguese, but since the king had reasons for not chastising them, he would not do anything except what he ordered. The governors sent immediately to discharge the ships of their freight, and there they remained until Afonso Dalboquerque left. And because he had been informed that some Moors had purchased much pepper in the interior, to evade the standard weight of Coulão, as long as he was there he made all the ships that passed, whether friendly or hostile, even if they sailed under the flag or papers of the admiral, put in to the port of Coulão, where they were searched by the governors of the land, who took from them whatever spices they carried, and sent it to the factory where our people and the natives traded.

CHAPTER V.

Of the treaty which the great Afonso made with the governors of the land respecting peace, before his setting out, and the rest that took place with the native Christians there, and his setting out for Cochim.

When all these affairs had been set in order, the great Afonso Dalboquerque thought fit to renew the treaty of peace which he had established with the governors, and

went on shore; and, speaking with them in presence of the factor, Antonio de Sá, and the other Portuguese who were there with him, told them, that in the agreement of peace which they had made, it was arranged that the civil and criminal jurisdiction should be under the control of the native Christians, as it had always been hitherto; and that, therefore, before his departure he was desirous of leaving this so settled that after he was gone no differences should arise between one side and the other; and also that he might give an account of his conduct to the king his lord, as to the manner in which their affairs in that kingdom were settled; and that he earnestly desired and besought them that they would hold to this for good, because the person whom he should entrust with this office would be required at all times to do what the King of Coulão might order. The governors told him that they agreed to it, and they would acquaint the king of it when he arrived: and that he could entrust the office to whom he pleased, for all would obey him. Afonso Dalboquerque forthwith confirmed the jurisdiction before them all to the factor, Antonio de Sá, and commanded him to act in all things conformably to the counsel and opinion of the native Christians, and so not exceed the order whereby they had been governed of old. And all were pleased at the choice of Antonio de Sá, to whom he especially recommended the provision due to the Church. And the Christians of the land had to take care to govern and rule the church, which was called "Our Lady of Mercy". The native Christians said that two saints, who were buried there in two chapels, had made it in a miraculous manner. There were three altars, on which stood three crosses, the centre one of gold, the other two of silver. The Christians of the place had destined one of them for the King D. Manoel, and wishing to send the golden one, Afonso Dalboquerque told them he would only take a silver one, as a sign that there were Christians in

that land who worshipped the Cross whereon our Lord Jesus Christ had suffered; for this was (as it were) the gold wherewith the King of Portugal would be most pleased; and when he arrived in Portugal the king should send them many ornaments for their church, as was the usual custom between Christians. They were highly delighted at this, and desired Afonso Dalboquerque to give them a picture of Saint James, and a bell, which he gave them immediately. And because it was necessary to leave there some person who might educate them in the rites of our Holy Faith, he desired Father Fr. Rodrigo, of the Order of St. Dominic, who had accompanied him, to remain there, and he consented, for the service of God. And he took such care during the days that he was there, that, with his teaching and good example, he converted many heathen to the faith of Jesus Christ, and baptised many Christians thirty and forty years of age, as they did not remember whether they had ever been baptised or not. When all these things had been settled, the native Christians came to Afonso Dalboquerque and told him that, as he was desirous of confirming to them their ancient customs, they begged him that he would graciously preserve for them another custom, to wit, that the Christians who had the management of the church, also should have in their keeping the seal and standard-weight of the city, which privilege the King of Coulão had taken from them for the fault and negligence of one of their number. And that these things might remain in the power of the Christians as heretofore, they relied much on his authority that he would speak to the Nambeadarin and the governors in order that they might regain possession of them, for the fault for which they had been deprived of them was of one man and not of all. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that what they requested had not entered into the treaty of peace, and the time was too short to begin new requests, for he was already on the point of sailing; but he would leave word with Antonio de

Sá, who was remaining behind as factor, that, when the King of Coulão returned from the war, he should speak with him on the subject, and beg it of him on the part of the King of Portugal. With this reply they were quite content, and he took his leave of them and of the governors of the land, and went on board. And he left them on the 12th of January, in the year 1504, and steered direct to Cochim to meet Francisco Dalboquerque, that they might set out both together for Portugal according to the orders of the King, D. Manoel. And when he arrived at Cochim he did not find him, nor any message about his future movements. So he provided the fortress with gunpowder, arms, and munitions of war, such as seemed to him necessary to fulfil his duty, and left there two *caravelas*, and the ship *Conception*, all well armed. And because some of the soldiers whom Francisco Dalboquerque had placed there to garrison the fortress were detained by force and against their will, he ordered them to be removed, and left others who of their own accord were willing to remain. And when this was done, he took leave of them all and set sail.

CHAPTER VI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out from Cochim to Cananor, and what took place till he arrived at Portugal.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had his ships already prepared, and had embarked to sail for Portugal, the factor came on board and told him that Francisco Dalboquerque had gone away to Cananor without taking any commodities, although he had frequently besought him to take some, for he had some ready within the fortress, and he begged Afonso earnestly that he would be pleased to perform this service for the king and take the commodities to Cananor, as he was to meet Francisco Dalboquerque

there. To serve the king, Afonso Dalboquerque, although his ships were very much overburdened with cargo, took in all the cloves and cinnamon which the factor sent him ; and leaving port, put in at Calicut, where he found Francisco Dalboquerque treating for peace; but without coming to any settlement, they set out in company and went away to Cananor, where Afonso Dalboquerque transferred to him all the cloves and cinnamon he carried. And because Francisco Dalboquerque had to complete the lading of the ships, and was getting on rather slowly, though the King D. Manoel had given orders that they should keep together, yet all the officers of the factory agreed that Afonso Dalboquerque should wait till the 20th of January, and, after that time was passed, should sail at once. When the 25th day of the month had come, and Afonso Dalboquerque saw that Francisco was not hastening the lading of his ships, he made up his mind to sail, and to wait no longer. Respecting the course he was to take there were many advices and opinions, but last of all they agreed that he should steer his course direct to Moçambique; and because that course was not very much frequented at that time, Afonso Dalboquerque carried with him a Moorish pilot from Cananor—against the opinion of all, who said that that Moor would bring misfortune upon him—but the Moor was so well acquainted with his trade, and knew the passage so well, that he carried him direct to Moçambique by a fair course without any accident, and there left him, receiving fifty *cruzados*[1] for his trouble. Then, without making any stoppage, he shaped his course direct for the Cape of Good Hope. And because Fernão Martinz Dalmada ran very short of water, they put in for water at S. Bras, and remained there for two days, working night and day all the

[1] Cruzado: a silver coin (formerly gold), now equivalent to 480 reis, or about two shillings English money, but probably worth much more relatively in the time of Dalboquerque.

time. While engaged on this business, they lost the boat of Afonso Dalboquerque, for it was utterly decayed. And there they found a letter, sealed up, and wrapped in a piece of waxed cloth, fastened upon a post, which stated that Antonio de Saldanha and the *Taforéa*,[1] and the ship from Setubal, had arrived there in the month of October. As soon as his ships had taken in water, Afonso Dalboquerque set sail, and shaped his course for the current of the Cape of Good Hope, and having fair weather, doubled it on the 1st day of May. When they had doubled the Cape, at the advice of the pilots they kept on their course till they were in ten degrees north latitude; and here they experienced great calms, so that some of the men fell ill. On the morning of St. John's Day they sighted Cape Darca, which is between the shallows of Arguim and Cenaguá; and because Afonso Dalboquerque's ship leaked very much, he determined, as he was in such proximity, to go in search of Cape Verde Island, and there refit his ships with what was required, for that was the nearest place. And, although the winds were contrary at this season, Our Lord so helped them that they sighted the island. And having run aground, the main-yard of Afonso Dalboquerque's ship was broken and the mainsail torn down, for they were beating up against the wind to catch sight of the island, and he anchored with foresail only flying, in the port of the beach of Santa Maria, with the other two ships of his fleet, all being now very deficient in cables, sails, and all other necessaries required for so long a voyage. For had Our Lord not miraculously carried them thither (as this was not the true navigation they had to make), they would have been swallowed up by the sea. So they were there for three days, and having repaired the ships in all that was wanted, and taken water and provisions for their voyage,

[1] A kind of large boat used in India for transport and carriage of horses.

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they started for Portugal, and with favourable breezes, without touching at any other place, they arrived at Lisbon at the end of July in the said year 1504, where Afonso Dalboquerque was very well received by the King Dom Manoel, who paid him much honour and entertainment, evincing his great pleasure at the good success that had attended the voyage, and at the completion of the fortress of Cochim.

Francisco Dalboquerque, who stayed behind in Cananor loading his ships, as I have related, sailed on the 5th of February, and was lost on the way home with the other two ships under his command, without any one ever knowing where or how they were lost.

CHAPTER VII.

How the king, D. Manoel, sent Tristão da Cunha to India in the year '6, and Afonso Dalboquerque accompanied him in a fleet of fourteen sail, that they might erect the fortress of Çacotora.[1]

The great Afonso Dalboquerque having arrived at Portugal in July 1504, as I have said, and having informed the King D. Manoel of the state of affairs in India, how it was imperative that arrangements should be made to prevent the Moors, after the sailing of the ships to this kingdom, from again becoming lords of the coast of Malabar, and—being encouraged by the Çamorim—from continually causing great trouble to the Portuguese and the Kings of Cochim and Canaror who were friendly towards us, the king consulted with his council upon this business, and there were different ideas upon the subject. But at last he agreed to send a governor to remain for three years in India, with soldiers and armaments needful for the alleviation of the

[1] Socotora, 12 deg. 30 min. N., 53 deg. 45 min. E.

troubles our people were suffering. And as he had confidence in Tristão da Cunha the elder, that he would serve him well in this matter, he determined to send him there as governor. But when he and his fleet were ready to sail, in the year 1505, he fell ill with giddiness in the head, whereby he finally became blind. And when the king heard of this sudden accident, knowing that it was necessary at once to send succour to India that year, to encourage our people who remained there, he sent for D. Francisco Dalmeida to Santarem[1] to go in the fleet, and after arriving in India to assume the title of Viceroy. So, seeing that the fleet was now prepared in everything necessary, he went away at once. And the following year, 1506, he sent Tristão da Cunha, who was now well and restored to sight, with a fleet of fourteen sail, to further the business yet more, under orders that, in case he could not reach India that year, he should go into winter quarters in the island of Çacotorá, and make there a fortress for the Christians, who, as he was informed, dwelt therein, making an arrangement thereby that the fleet, which he had determined to send to the coast of Arabia and to Cape Comorim to put a stop to the sailing of the fleets which came from India to the straits with spices, should have there a sure harbour to winter in. And as the King, D. Manoel, saw that Afonso Dalboquerque, in his voyage to India in the year '3, as has been narrated, had served him well and had spirit and prudence for governing, he sent him in the company of Tristão da Cunha to remain on that coast as chief captain over six ships and four hundred men. And he gave him secret instructions that on the expiration of three years he was to be Governor of India, and the Viceroy, Dom Francisco Dalmeida, was to return to Portugal; and being at the time in Abrantes,[2] lest he should die of plague in the city of Lisbon, he sent him a flag of white

[1] In Estremadura, Portugal, 39 deg. 14 min. N., 8 deg 40 min. W.
[2] Also in Estremadura, 39 deg. 29 min. N., 8 deg. 11 min. W.

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satin, with a twisted silk fringe, crimson and white, having a cross of Christus in the centre, of crimson satin, which he took back with him to Portugal, as I shall mention by-and-bye. On the completion of all these arrangements, as soon as Tristão da Cunha had made his fleet ready at Belem, which cost him great labour, owing to the prevalence of the plague in the city and the paucity of men to carry with him, he started on the morning of the 5th of April, and sailed at once straight over the bar with all his fleet, leaving Afonso Dalboquerque behind, who remained at Belem in the ship *Cirne*, of which he held the captainship, waiting for a pilot whom he had sent for from the king's officers, for his own pilot, João de Solis, had fled into Castile two days back for murdering his wife. But when he saw that they would not send him a pilot, trusting to his own great experience in sea matters, and to Diogo Fernandez Piteira, master of his ship, who had already made two voyages to India, and also to that which Tristão da Cunha told him, namely, that he would give him the best pilot there was in the fleet, except the chief pilot, he made up his mind not to wait any longer, and gathered together some people who remained on shore out of the other ships, whom the captains were unwilling to take on board as they came from Lisbon, and set sail the following day, the 6th of the month. And so with much delay he reached the chief captain, who was looking out for him, and after saluting him he told him that he had brought some people whom the captains had left on shore, and he begged him graciously to order their distribution throughout the ships, according to the arrangements agreed upon, for some had died, and his own company was so displeased that he was at his wits' end to know what to do, and he had ventured upon bringing them, out of the need there would some day arise for them in those parts whither they were proceeding. The chief captain answered that if he were hampered by

them, why had he brought them on? And he would not give orders for their distribution, whereat Afonso Dalboquerque became very much displeased. And on their arrival at Biziguiche, he sent him a list of the people, who they were, by Pero Vaz Dorta, who sailed as factor of his fleet, begging him earnestly that he would order the captains to take them, as he had no more supplies than were sufficient for his own men. And he begged that he would supply him with the pilot whom he had promised him before they left Belem, for he had not brought one, neither had the king's officers supplied him with one. The chief captain replied that he was to send and put the people with their baggage on land, and then he would dispose them as it seemed best to him; and as to the pilot he had none, nor could he take one from the other ships to give him. Afonso Dalboquerque, being annoyed at this answer, gave orders to set the people on shore, and that Pero Vaz Dorta should inform the chief captain that among the people were some Fidalgos and persons of repute, and he did not think it fair to mingle them with the others and put them on shore, for he ought forthwith to see that they were distributed throughout the other ships. The chief captain dissembled with him and made no reply. And because during the days they remained there not a single person died nor fell sick in the whole fleet, the chief captain, owing to the frequent importunity of Afonso Dalboquerque, ordered that the persons who were in good health should be distributed throughout the ships, and that the sick should embark in the *caravela* that he had despatched for Portugal, which the king, Dn. Mancel, had sent in their company to bring back news of their welfare, for he had great fear of the great plague wherewith the fleet was attacked.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, despatched the caravel to Portugal, and set out from Biziguiche: and what took place until he arrived at Moçambique.

The chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, being ready with his fleet to set sail from the port of Biziguiche, despatched the captain of the *caravela*, and wrote by him to the king, concerning the state all were in, and how on their arrival there the Lord had been pleased to stay the plague. The *caravela* having sailed, all the ships stood out to double the Cape of St. Augustine, but as it was now late in the season, and the winds contrary, and as they had to delay because of the chief captain's ship, which was a bad sailer, they were unable to double the Cape, and tacked again towards Guiné, wherein much time was spent. While they were making this latter run, so severe a storm broke over the fleet that the ships parted company, one from the other, and two days after collected together again, and shaped their course for St. Augustine's, all except the ship of Job Queimado, which was not to be seen. And they kept on their course, keeping back very often for the chief captain's ship. When Afonso Dalboquerque saw that time was wasted in waiting for this ship, and the other captains dared not say a word, he had an audience of the chief captain, and told him he could see that the principal reason why they could not double Cape St. Augustine was the constant waiting for his ship, and as the season was far advanced it was very doubtful whether they would get to India that year, and since he could not keep up with the rest they must leave him behind with another ship in his company, whichever he might select, while he himself set sail and kept on his voyage with the rest. The chief captain replied that if the king, D. Manoel, had entrusted him with the fleet, it was for his advantage, and

therefore he would have them wait for his ship, as in it he carried his cargo. As Afonso Dalboquerque would lose much if he did not get to India that year, a few days afterwards he went again to beg the chief captain to let his ship go, which produced angry words between them, and with good reason, to which Afonso Dalboquerque made no reply, nor for the future was he minded to say any more with respect to the voyage. When the chief captain, a few days afterwards, perceived the mistake he had made, and that he lost more in not reaching India that year than he gained by making the fleet wait for his ship, and that all the masters and pilots, when they spoke with him, told him of it, he made up his mind to adopt a remedy. So when they were in the latitude of the Island of the Ascension, he hung out a square flag, and all the captains came on board immediately to know what he wished. The chief captain told them that he had resolved that they should all set their sails, and not wait for any one, but each make way with what speed he could, and wait for him at Moçambique. And when they were all in their course for doubling the Cape of Good Hope, as the morning broke they came in sight of land very extensive and very beautiful. When Afonso Dalboquerque saw it, he went and spoke with the chief captain, and told him that since it had not yet been discovered, they ought to make for it, and know what land it was. As this advice seemed good to the chief captain, he gave orders to work his ship to windward, so as to come up with it, and all the others did the same, and when the evening was come he shaped his course again as at first. This land proved to be some islands,[1] to which they gave the name of "Tristão da Cunha", as he was the first who discovered them. And sailing along past them just as the sun was on the point of setting, the wind began to blow so hard, and with so many showers, that the ships were unable to keep with the chief

[1] In the South Atlantic, 37 deg. 6 min. S., 12 deg. 2 min. W.

captain, and all separated from him, except Afonso Dalboquerque, who followed him, and they kept on their way together for some days, with a favourable wind. And one night they encountered such a great storm from the front that it separated them; and the ship of Afonso Dalboquerque was forced to lie to for seven watches[1] with great labouring, and refused to answer her helm.

But it pleased Our Lord that the weather cleared up, and they sailed all that night without seeing the light on board the admiral's ship, nor did they see the ship on the following morning. And Afonso Dalboquerque kept on that course, having doubled the cape, until he came in sight of the first islands, there he found Francisco de Tavora; and they sailed together for Moçambique, where they found a *caravela* which had started from Portugal many days after Tristão da Cunha, the captain of which told them that Lionel Coutinho had gone to Quiloa.[2] A few days afterwards, the chief captain arrived with the other ships (except that of Alvaro Telez, who doubled the Island of S. Lourenço[3] by the outer passage, and stood over to Melinde), and left there a letter for that captain in which he gave him orders to go and wait at the Cape of Guardafum; except also Rui Pereira, who went into a harbour in the Island of S. Lourenço, called Tanana, where he remained for some days, getting information about the land, as it was the first time of its being discovered, and from thence went on to Moçambique, taking with him two negroes, who went willingly with him of their own accord.

[1] *Sete relogios de mar.* A *relogio de mar* was a half-hour glass.
[2] On the African coast, 9 deg. S., 39 deg. 29 min. E.
[3] Now Madagascar, on the east coast of Africa.

CHAPTER IX.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, from the information which the negroes whom Rui Pereira brought gave him, determined to go and discover the Island of S. Lourenço.

The chief captain, having arrived at Moçambique, determined, as it was now too late to cross over to India, to fit out his fleet there, for making the passage to Çocotora, wherein the king, D. Manoel, had ordered him to build a fortress for the rallying of some Christians, who, as he was informed, were living in that island, that they might not be troubled by the Fartaquins and other Moorish vessels which went thither to take in water, when they passed through the strait of Meca. At this juncture, Rui Pereira arrived and told him that at the time of that storm, wherein he had parted from him, he went into a harbour of the Island Sn. Lourenço, and while he was casting anchor, two *almadias*[1] with some negroes came up to his ship as peaceful people, and showed him silver, wax, and cotton stuffs; and they told him that if he would go in they would trade with him, for there was much of these things in the land; and all this they said by signs, for there was no one in the ship who could understand them. But when he would have gone in to get more certain information about this, the pilot, master, and factor of the ship, made a great demand that he should not go in, but keep on the voyage towards Moçambique, for the ship belonged to them, and they were not obliged to discover new lands, and they furthermore promised to indemnify him. And hearing their demands, he had brought these two negroes, as they seemed intelligent men, and set sail. The chief captain was very much pleased with this news, because if it were true, he could load his ships there and return to Portugal; and he sent immediately for a

[1] *Almadia*, an almade, or launch made of a single log.

native Moor of Quiloa, who was in Moçambique and was conversant (as he had information) with the language of the men, and bade him inquire of these negroes what there was in their land, and by what name it was called. They told him that their land was called Tananá, and that it contained much ginger, cloves, silver, and wax. Hereupon the chief captain ordered that Afonso Dalboquerque, and all the other captains, masters, and pilots of the fleet should be summoned, and informed them of all that had passed with the negroes, adding that he thought that, as they had to remain there some days, they ought to go and search for this port which Rui Pereira had discovered, and so he would have them point out which route he should take, for he was determined to go thither. The pilots and masters of the fleet were of opinion that he ought to explore this land on the northern side. Afonso Dalboquerque, as he was a mariner and understood navigation very well, perceiving that the masters and pilots were speaking in error, asked them why it was their opinion that the northern route should be chosen, since the island was not explored on that side, nor was there in the fleet a single person who knew how far the land stretched out on the northern side. The pilots and masters made no reply to this, for they had none to make, but adhered to what they had said. When Afonso Dalboquerque saw that they were unwilling to withdraw from their opinion, he would have nothing more to do with them in the matter. To end these differences, the chief captain begged him to tell him his opinion; he replied, that since this exploration was determined upon, it ought to be made from that southern part, whence Rui Pereira had come, for it was not good advice to explore new parts by an uncertain route, and the more so, as he had a pilot who could carry him, without any trouble, to the port which Rui Pereira had discovered, and which could be reached in six days sailing before the wind; and, further, in the present

season it would be very difficult to double the point of the land of the Island, which was in twelve degrees north latitude, for the east winds were blowing, and the currents running fast, and much time would be spent in doubling it, and it was time that they were more in need of than anything else. And although in this advice there was no one who could contradict Afonso Dalboquerque's opinion, yet, since what he alleged did not agree with the chief captain's opinion, he was not satisfied with what he had told him, and was guided by the opinion of the pilots and masters. Not many days, however, elapsed before he perceived the mistake he had made; and when he was at length desirous of remedying it, he had wasted three months along the coast, suffering many hardships and perils without achieving anything.

CHAPTER X.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, got himself ready to go and explore the island, and what took place therein.

When the chief captain had settled what course he intended to take, he made ready, and left Moçambique at the beginning of November with all the ships under the command of Afonso Dalboquerque, and those of João Gomez, and Ruy Pereira, and Job Queimado; the last named having arrived but two days before, for he was left behind, having been separated from the fleet in the tempest which struck it at the turn of Cape St. Augustine. He related that he had steered for the Island of St. Thomas,[1] and thence made his way along shore as far as Moçambique; and in his course, sixty leagues in the sea from the river of Angola, he had found a very large island, uninhabited and thickly

[1] (?) On the coast of Guinea, 0 deg. 20 min. N., 6 deg. 40 min. E.

wooded. The chief captain having started, in a few days sighted the reef of St. Mary, which is a crown of sand in 17½ deg. of latitude, sixty leagues from Moçambique, which Afonso Dalboquerque discovered the first time he went to India, and all the fleet sailed by that reef, the pilots with their sounding leads in hand, in from eight to four and a half fathoms' depth; and coming upon this bottom, as it was night, they cast anchor. When morning broke they resumed their course, and so journeyed until they sighted land, and when close to land they put out their boats, and took a small *Zambuco*[1] with two Moors, whom they immediately carried before the chief captain, and these brought him to a place of the Moors, which was close by, and when they arrived there they disembarked. The Moors abandoned the place, and fled into the interior country, and our people followed them up, and killed some, whom they found hiding in the woods. And the chief captain ordered his men to keep together, and not go too far in, and they brought some women, whom he ordered to be set free. He then set the place on fire and embarked with all his people and sailed along the coast; and with the greatest precautions they could, they made for a bay which is called Lulangane: within which, at the distance of a bowshot from the mainland, they found an island, densely peopled, wherein the king had his residence, though his establishments and farms were on the mainland. And on commencing to explore the bay, because the people had not kept together, the chief captain gave orders that two boats with men should take up a position between the island and the mainland, and not suffer any Moors to pass over from the other side. And these being gone, he went with all the ships and anchored opposite the place, and disembarked with all

[1] "As naos, ou *Zambucos*, em que navegavão estes Mouros, nem tinhão cuberta (deck), nem pregadura (bolt-work)" Damião de Goes, 23, 2.—*Bluteau.*

his men. When the Moors saw the determination of our people, such a panic struck them, that, without fearing the boats, they came down to the beach to seek a means of crossing from the other side to the mainland, in *zambucos*, *almadias*, and some swimming; and such was the haste they made to cross, that the *zambucos*, and *almadias*, owing to the great rolling of the sea (by reason of the current of the water from a river which debouched there), upset, with all those on board, so that the sea was quite strewn over with dead men, women, and children. The chief captain attacked the place, and entering into it, found many Moors yet therein, with pikes and shields, waiting for him, and put them all to the sword. And after this engagement, he gave orders to sack the place, wherein they found many clothes, silver, and gold, for the ships from Melinde and Mombaça come thither to trade, and in exchange for these things bring slaves, and supplies: and such was the quantity of the rice that twenty ships could not carry it. The chief captain stayed there three days; and after all the ships had taken water and supplies, he embarked and went along the coast, intending to double the headland, wherein he wasted much time, without being able to double it, owing to the east winds and currents. In this course, he captured a Moor, who showed him cloves, and told him that there was much in the woods; the chief captain, however, was by this time so disgusted with their lying, that he attached no credit to the tale, and let the man go, and made his course with all the fleet for that part where Ruy Pereira had taken the negroes.

CHAPTER XI.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, returned along the coast, and all but perished, and what passed with the great Afonso Dalboquerque.

The chief captain having turned back along the coast, as he was unable to double the headland at S. Lourenço, as I have said, the two Moors whom he had taken at Lulangane carried him to a large bày, which is called Çada, entirely surrounded with tribes of Cafres, because the principal exchange of all places on the coast of Melinde, Mombaça, and Mogadoxo is established there. As soon as the fleet had cast anchor, the chief captain with all his men got into the boats, and made for the land, where he attacked two tribes, who were stationed along the coast. The Cafres, whose number reached about two thousand, armed with pikes, shields, bows, and arrows, although they at first showed the intention of preventing our landing, when they saw the determined spirit of our people, dared not wait, but fled into the woods. Now Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing the waste of time in discovering that island, and the great risk incurred by the fleet, although the chief captain had resented any remonstrance made to him, went to him and told him he ought to bear in mind that it was now the middle of January, and that all the time that might hereafter be spent in that exploration would be lost, and that they would be performing more service to the king by going to the Cape of Goardafum, and waiting for the ships which came from India through the straits with spices, and by building the fortress in Çocotora, according to the king's orders, than by going on to their own destruction in the way they were doing. And if, nevertheless, he would continue this new exploration, he desired permission to go to Çocotora, and on his way enlist all the ships, wheresoever he might find

them, and take them with him. The chief captain, who was highly delighted with the prospect of exploring the whole of the Island of St. Lawrence, approved of this, and gave permission for him to go, and delivered over to him all the ships which came from Portugal, with orders to remain with him, and gave him, as well, authority over all the captains whom he might find on that coast, that they should obey him. Although Afonso Dalboquerque carried secret powers from the king, D. Manoel, sufficient for all he might wish to do, yet, to avoid any quarrelling which might arise, about which of the two had the greater authority, he took his commission from the chief captain. After this, the latter despatched Antonio de Saldanha to go to Moçambique, and take the command of the ship *Sanctiago*, and get it ready, for he intended to despatch it to Portugal, immediately upon his arrival. Afonso Dalboquerque, having taken his leave, collected his ships, and went straight to Moçambique, and on the road gave orders that Antonio do Campo should go to Quiloa, and request Lionel Coutinho, and the captain of the ship *Garça*, to take all the supplies they required and wait for him at Melinde. Six days after the departure of Antonio do Campo, Afonso Dalboquerque arrived at Moçambique, and began to set about the refitting of his ships, which he made ready in a short time, and then he left, steering for Melinde by a straight course, where he was to join the other captains, and to go together with them to the Cape of Guardafum. And being as far advanced as the Islands of Comoro[1], he came by night to see the chief captain. And when it was morning he struck his flag, and came up close to him, and went to pay his respects. The chief captain recounted to him the many misfortunes he had experienced since they had separated; how Ruy Pereira had been lost in some shallows, wherein he himself would

[1] The group of Comoro Islands, Africa, 11 deg. 30 min. S., 43 deg. 30 min. E.

also have perished, as it was at night, had it not been for the shouting which the sailors made when they touched the sand, and for the vigilance of his pilot, who, hearing the shouting, ordered the ship to be stopped; and miraculously turned and went out the same way he went in, for all in front was shallows. Afonso Dalboquerque returned with him thence to Moçambique, where they found João da Nova very ill, who had sailed last year for India, in the ship *Flor de la mar*, for Portugal, but he, in tacking to pass the Cape of Good Hope, had sprung a large leak, which forced him to put in at the Islands of Angeja, where he remained some days working to repair it. When he found it so large that he could not stop it, he had made his way to Moçambique, to wait for the ships which were coming from the kingdom, in hopes of some means of repairing his ship. The chief captain was very glad to see him, for he was a friend of his, and tried to get his ship repaired, and because the leak was at the step of the mast, and could not be mended without discharging the cargo, he bought a merchant ship, of which André Dias (who was afterwards Alcaide of Lisbon) was captain and factor, and ordered all the cargo of the *Flor de la mar* to be stowed in it, and gave the command of it to Antonio de Saldanha, and sent it to Portugal, and in company with it a ship of Fernão de Loronha, of which the captain was Diogo Mendez Correa. When he was on his course doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he discovered a very favourable watering place for the ships, before the Island of St. Elena[1] had been noticed. To this, he gave the name of the watering station of Saldanha, and it was here that the Cafres of the land murdered the Viceroy D. Francisco Dalmeida, when he touched there to take water on his way from India to Portugal.[2]

[1] St. Helena.

[2] This event took place on the 1st of March, 1510. For a biographical memoir and portrait of this Viceroy, see Barretto de Resende, in MS. Sloan. 197, fo. 9*b* :—"Foy morto pellos Cafres Na *agoada de Saldanha* o prim^ro de Março do anno mil quinhentos e des aonde aynde oje se dis estão seus ossos."

CHAPTER XII.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, left Moçambique with his fleet, and had an audience with the King of Melinde, and thence went to Angoja and destroyed it.

As soon as Antonio de Saldanha had sailed for Portugal, the chief captain began to repair his fleet, and furnish it with all necessaries, and when all was ready, he started one day at morning, and in a few days arrived at Melinde. When he had entered the harbour, with all his ships having their flags flying, they saluted the city, and anchored, and then he went on shore with all his captains to pay the king a visit, and, on the part of the King of Portugal, made him a present which he brought, and made offer of his service in all that he might demand of him, with many other offerings which he made. The king thanked him very much, and said that he was very thankful to the King of Portugal, his brother, for all the kind messages he had sent him, because he was his true servant and friend.[1] And on this account the Kings of Mombaça and Angoja were his chief enemies, and caused him much annoyance: therefore, he begged that, before the chief captain left those parts, he would take vengeance upon them, that they might know he enjoyed the friendship of the King of Portugal. The chief captain told him, that, since the principal reason of his coming thither was to preserve the ancient friendship which the King of Portugal had with him, he promised him before many days should elapse he should have news of the state his enemies were in. So he took his leave with great show of friendship, and embarked. And Afonso Dalboquerque, on taking his leave of the king, told

[1] Camões speaks of the king and the people of Melinde with praise:—

"Gente mais verdadeira, e mais humana,
Que toda a de outra terra atraz deixada."—*Lusiada*, ii, 74.

In stanza 82, Gama styles the king "Rei benino, . . . de peito sincero, humano, e raro".

him that the King of Portugal, his lord, had sent him with a fleet to conquer the kingdom of Ormuz, and all that coast of Arabia which had not yet been made known to our pilots; so he begged he would of his favour order three pilots, who had good knowledge of the navigation of those parts, to be given him that he might take them with him, and he would pay them well and treat them as his own subjects. The king ordered the governors of the city to give him the pilots whom he asked for, and whatever else might be necessary for the service of the King of Portugal, his brother. The governors gave him the three principal pilots of the country, who always sailed to those parts, and had good experience of all the harbours of that coast of Arabia. When all had taken their leave of the king, they embarked and set sail, and without putting into any port, they anchored in the bay of Angoja, and as soon as they had anchored, the chief captain sent Lionel Coutinho in his boat to shore to obtain information about the people who were in the place and about the fortress. The Moors, who were waiting on the beach, as soon as the boat drew near to shore, began to shoot arrows at it, and would not parley with our people. So Lionel Coutinho ordered the boat to be kept off, that the men might not be wounded, and informed the chief captain of what had passed. He, therefore, sent at once for the captains, and told them that he was determined to punish the King of Angoja because of the offences which he had done to the King of Melinde, as well as on account of the slight he had given to his message; so they should all get ready, and on the next day, before morning, should come on board his ship that they might go together and attack the place. When the hour was come, the captains came in their boats on board the flag-ship, and thereupon stood in towards land to attack the city. When the Moors saw the boats coming, they came and awaited them on the beach to prevent their landing. But the chief captain observed their determination, and desiring room for dis-

embarking, ordered the bombardiers to fire at them with the small cannons that were in the boats. And the Moors, when they saw they were harassed by the shot, deserted the beach, and having retired together into the city, took their wives and children and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs, and fled into the interior of the country. As soon as the beach was clear, the chief captain disembarked with all the soldiers in two battalions, Afonso Dalboquerque in the van with part of the men, and himself in the rear with the royal flag. And as they met with no resistance when disembarking, they entered the city at once, and found it empty of people and moveables. So the chief captain, who perceived that there was nothing to be feared from any side, ordered the fleet to be furnished with supplies, of which there were plenty there, and gave permission to his men to sack the city, but to return quickly, for he was going to order it to be set on fire. And because at the time it was fired they were not yet returned, and were all scattered up and down in the houses sacking them, they would have been burned too, had it not happened just in the nick of time, that the wind blew from that part to which they were making their way; even when they desired to return, it was only with great difficulty that they managed to do so. As soon as all had returned to the ships, the chief captain ordered that the fleet should set sail, and sailed out of the harbour with the land breeze that was then blowing, and steered in a straight line for Braboa.

This city of Angoja is very large, peopled with Moors, who trade at Çofala, and all along that coast. There were no houses of stone and mortar in it except the king's mansions; it was entirely surrounded with many gardens and fruit trees, which made it very luxuriant; its bay was very good and afforded capital anchorage; it was not fortified, but situated on the edge of the sea. The king was a Moorish merchant, who came from abroad, but as he was very rich he had made himself lord of all that land.

CHAPTER XIII.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, proceeded to Braboa, and what passed there.

The fleet having set sail, the chief captain proceeded along the coast towards the City of Braboa; and as soon as they had all anchored on their arrival, seeing a great disturbance on the beach, he sent Lionel Coutinho in his skiff to shore, to find out with certainty what the Moors were about, but before the skiff reached shore, those who stood on the edge of the beach made signs to him not to come into the land. When Lionel Coutinho saw that the Moors were unwilling to parley with him, he returned to the ships, and informed the chief captain of the disposition in which he had found them. And he, being annoyed, because the king had refused to receive his message, ordered all the captains to be summoned, and gave them an account of Lionel Coutinho's proceeding with the Moors, and told them there were many men among them, and these very well armed; but for all this he was determined to attack the place, and risk all to destroy it, so they should make ready, and on the following day before daybreak come on board his ship that all might go together to attack the place. The Moors, who were stationed on the beach, seeing the commotion that was going on in the fleet, and the collection of boats around the flag-ship, (which appeared to them as it were of people determined to attack them), in order that they should not be taken by surprise, commenced to make themselves ready, and collected many men to prevent the disembarking of our men. They relied, too, on the sea, which broke upon the shore, (as it was a boisterous coast) and would overset them when landing and drown them all. The king being thus minded, there went to him by night two old Moors who had gone thither to live, having fled from Calicut disgusted with

the war which the Çamorim kept waging with the Portuguese, and said to him : "Sire, thou art not well advised in desiring war with the Franks, over whom the Çamorim of Calicut, all powerful as he is, could never get the better in the war which he had with them, and thou oughtest to believe that there is no single king of all this coast so powerful as to be able to prevent them from landing in his territory whenever they desire, and leaving it full of blood, burning and destroying it as they did Angoja; and since this is so, we beg thou wilt deign to hear them, and make a reasonable truce with the chief captain of this fleet, and not hazard the loss of thy estate, and the destruction of all of us. But should their demands be so unreasonable that thy honour cannot grant them, then the business can be continually put off with fair words, for this is the season when the *vara* of Coromandel sets this way, as thou knowest, and if it should come when they are anchored there, all their fleet will be destroyed, and not one ship be saved, and by these means we shall all be revenged upon them, without thy estate being hazarded." The king was inclined to follow the Moors' advice, and thanked them deeply for their remembrance of him, and sent at once to convene the principal natives, who had recommended him to fight, and informed them of what the two Moors had said. And when they had thoroughly discussed the matter between themselves, it was agreed that they ought to follow the advice the Moors had given them. Therefore, before it was yet morning, the king sent a Moor in a boat with a white flag, to request the chief captain to come under a safe-conduct and arrange matters peaceably, and he went immediately on receipt of this message, and returned forthwith with the safe-conduct. And as soon as he had arrived, the king ordered one of the principal governors of the land to speak with the chief captain, and this (governor) told him that the king was very angry at the scanty welcome the Moors had given to his captain, whom he had

sent thither, but as the offenders were many in number, he could not single out the guilty ones to have them punished, but he desired to have peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, and desired he would send word of what he wished, for all should be done. Tristão da Cunha replied that he was chief captain of the King of Portugal, who had sent him with the orders to make stern war against and destroy all the kings and lords who, unwilling to be friends and tributaries, were established along that coast which was of his conquering. And because the king of Angoja had not cared to be obedient to this, he had destroyed him; and so also he was determined to do with the king of Braboa, unless he was willing to obey the King of Portugal and pay him tribute; but if he was willing to be his vassal, he would serve him with that fleet against his enemies, just as he had done for the King of Melinde by reason of the great friendship which he also showed towards the King of Portugal, and by reason of the favour and honour shown to his captains who went to his port. The Moor returned to land with this reply, and related to the king, before all the principal men of the place who were with him, all that had taken place with the chief captain. And after long discussion which took place respecting this reply at which they were not pleased, the king sent again the same Moor to the chief captain to say, that to send to him for tribute was not desiring friendship with him, but seeking reasons for quarrelling if he did not grant what was demanded of him, for he had never been a tributary of any king, but rather on the contrary all those of that coast endeavoured to have him as their friend; yet, as this demand was something new, and could not be answered without consulting the chief men of the land, he begged him of his favour to wait for three or four days while he assembled all the merchants and arranged with them what could be done. The chief captain replied that he had other affairs to attend

to, which the King of Portugal had ordered to be done, and therefore he could not wait so many days; so, if he desired to come to terms with him, he must send back an answer at once, and, if not, he should do what he had orders to do. The Moor returned with an answer, begging him greatly of his mercy to grant that extension of time which the king of Braboa, his lord, had sent him to ask; for it would not be fair, since all that population would have to pay the tribute, when once it had been agreed upon, that it should be done without the knowledge and consent of all. The chief captain, to be final with him, gave him another day, saying that if no reply came before night he should consider it as refused. The Moor went on shore and conveyed this message to the king, and on the following day, when the sun was already set, returned with a reply, and said that the king was willing to pay tribute, but could not determine how much it should be without first consulting the principal Moors of the land, and all the merchants, so he had ordered them to be summoned, and would send back word at once when they had arrived. The chief captain, seeing that the Moor who was employed on these messages went and came from side to side without bringing anything to an end, and that there was nothing but delay and lying on the part of the king, ordered him, when he had come with the last message, to be tied to a stake, showing that he was willing to make a treaty, and was determined to know the real reason why the king was unwilling to make an end of the business, for to reply *yes* or *no* there was need of but little time; and he warned him that he had better tell the truth, for if he lied, he would throw him into the sea with a cannon ball round his neck. The Moor, out of fear that he would carry his threat into effect, said: "Sir, thou art in front of this city where at this season of the year a wind arises which is called the *vara de Coromandel*, which comes

from those parts so suddenly and so fiercely that if it were to come now, not a single vessel of your fleet could escape from certain destruction.[1] And it is from this hope, which we all support, that it will come every day, that the king carries on these delays with you." The chief captain, in fear of this event, ordered the Moor to be well treated, and made ready to attack the city on the morrow before daybreak.

CHAPTER XIV.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, went to attack the city of Braboa, and after its destruction sailed for Çocotora.

As soon as this parley was over between the chief captain and the Moor who carried the message, the chief captain at once informed the captains of all that had taken place, and said that his determination was, on the following day before dawn, to attack the city. He ordered them all, therefore, to get themselves ready, and, at the appointed time, come on board his ship, bringing small anchors and long cords with them in the boats, to leave as guides in the sea, that they might not be upset; for, as it was an open harbour, there was a great surf on the shore. The captains spent all the night in preparations, and, when the hour was come, went with their men on board the flag-ship; and, as soon as they had arrived, the chief captain stood in to shore two hours before daybreak, without sounding trumpets, lest they should be heard. The king, meanwhile, dreading that something or other had happened to delay the Moor whom he had sent, but who had brought back no answer, gave orders to watch the beach all night, so that our men

[1] *Vara de Coromandel*, a dangerous blast of wind that frequently arises without warning on the Coromandel coast.—*Bluteau*.

could not go so quietly but that they were perceived: and many Moors flocked to the shore at once, and did all they could to prevent our landing. And, because they were numerous and the sea very boisterous, our people experienced great difficulty in disembarking. Yet, for all that they were hurled along by the water and half dripping, they attacked the Moors so bravely, that many of them soon lay dead, and those who escaped from their sword fled towards the city. When the chief captain saw they were put to rout, he was unwilling to give those Moors who fled time to rally from the panic into which the sudden attack had cast them; so he ordered Afonso Dalboquerque to take the vanguard in charge and go in pursuit of them, which he accordingly did with the men he had with him. At the entrance into the city the Moors made a stand against our men, and killed about four or five, and wounded Antonio de Sá in the face with an arrow.

While this conflict with the Moors was taking place, the chief captain came up, and all together entered the city behind the fugitives; and women threw down stones from the terraces and wounded many. When the Moors had arrived at a large square containing a mosque, all had collected together and awaited our attack with the determination to resist to the death; and, as they were very numerous and the square large, our men, who were but few, were in danger of destruction. Directly news of this came to the boats, the mariners and bombardiers who had remained in charge of them, left them, and took leathern belts full of cases of gunpowder and of other firearms, and started off at full speed for the square where the chief captain was, and, with the powder in cases, lances, and firearms which they carried, made great havoc among the Moors. Our people, with this fresh succour, pressed so hard upon them that they turned their backs and fled on out of the city, in which none remained but women, who, laden with household goods,

followed their husbands. And our people followed after them and came up with them, and killed many and took from them what they carried.

The chief captain, being fearful lest they should follow the Moors, who were flying pell-mell, too far, ordered Afonso Dalboquerque to recall his men and not permit any further pursuit. And when they were collected, the chief captain returned to the square, and set to work to attack the mosque, where they killed all the Moors who were within, and in entering it they wounded him in the leg with an arrow. At the end of this affair he took up his quarters in the square, and, after resting, he begged Afonso Dalboquerque to do him the favour to dub him knight; for he was desirous of receiving the honour from his hand there in that place, where the Moors had shed his blood. And forthwith all the people were collected in the centre of the square, and Afonso Dalboquerque dubbed him knight with the wonted ceremonies. After Tristão da Cunha had been dubbed knight, he, in his turn, conferred the same honour upon his son, Nuno da Cunha, and many other Fidalgos. And when these ceremonies were done, the chief captain went with all the rest to the palace of the king, which was very large and very beautiful, and into which, until then, he had permitted no one to enter. Within it he found much silver and much gold, many silk stuffs, and many other very rich things, and much money in *xerafins*,[1] all which he divided among the captains and noble persons of the fleet. Then, as it was getting time to embark, and also on account of the fear he had of the coming of the storm of which the Moor had told him, the chief captain ordered the recall to be sounded on the trumpets; and, after all the people had been gathered together, they set fire to the city in four parts, and it burned so fiercely, that it was a terrible thing to behold. Therein was burned much goods

[1] Silver pieces, of the value of 1s. 3d. sterling.

which our people had not time to bring away, inasmuch as the sea did not allow of their putting it on board so rapidly as the chief captain wished.

Brabva is a large city, with very good houses of stone and mortar. It is situated on the water's edge, and has no harbour: all is open coast, unprotected on all sides. It is peopled with the native Moors, who trade with Çofala and all along the coast. Thither, also, come the ships of Cambaia, laden with stuffs, and in this city the principal trade in them is carried on; for a very large river passes through it, which cuts the whole of the land, and does not run out to the sea: and, by means of this river, the merchants of this land sail to many parts, and go thence to a fair which is held in Memamotapa, which is the interior of Çofala, whither they bring these stuffs from Cambaia and Anfião, sandal-woods and rose-water and other merchandise, whereby they make much profit, and from thence take gold and other commodities: and all those in the interior are wont to navigate this river, and come to Braboa, which would be about half a league from the sea, and on account of this river the city has become so noble, and has many good buildings.

CHAPTER XV.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, left Braboa, and made his course direct for the island of Çocotora, and what happened there.

Having collected his ships, the chief captain set sail, and kept along this coast with all the fleet, intending to touch at Magadaxo. And, as it had been agreed the other day that they should attack the city, Afonso Dalboquerque went forward and anchored in front of it. But when the chief pilot of the fleet, by name Afonso Lopez Buraquinha, perceived that it was the intention of the chief captain to attack

Magadaxo,[1] and that much time would be spent (since he was well acquainted with the navigation of these parts, having gone thither already in company with Antonio de Saldanha), he went to him and told him that the monsoon of those parts was now nearly exhausted, and if he went any further on that course there would be no time left for him to double the shallows of St. Lazarus, which were distant fifty leagues,—but when they were doubled, the head-winds, which at that season blew off that shore, could not do him any injury, even if they were to come; for there was plenty of sea-room for tacking. The chief captain ordered the pilots, both Moors, and those of the fleet, to be summoned, and told them the opinion of his pilot; and, as all were agreed in this opinion, he ordered the course to be shaped towards Çocotora, and made signals to Afonso Dalboquerque to weigh anchor and follow him. And, without touching at other land, they went and anchored at Çoco, which is the principal port of that island, and where the population lives: and, with flags flying from all the ships in holiday trim, they saluted the place with artillery, as it was inhabited by Christians. But when the chief captain saw the fortress which the Moors had built there, surrounded with wall and barbican, and with a keep,[2] which was very different to the information which the king, D. Manoel, had received, he sent for Afonso Dalboquerque and all the captains of the fleet, to come to his ship; and he told them that the king, his lord, had ordered him to construct a fortress in that island, and to leave behind D. Afonso de Noronha, then present there, as captain of it, for the guard and protection of the Christians who had lived there since the time of St. Thomas, the king's desire being to extend the name of Our Lord throughout all the parts he had conquered; but

[1] In Zanguebar, 2 deg. 3 min. N., 45 deg. 13 min. E.

[2] *Torre de menagem*, the chief or highest tower in a castle, in which

because he found this fortress to exceed the information which his Highness had, he begged them to give their opinion as to what he should do in the case. All the captains told him that he ought to have an audience with the captain of the fortress, to know of him what he intended to do, and should he be unwilling to put himself under the obedience due to the King of Portugal, that then he ought to attack it and make an entry by force of arms. This advice seemed good to the chief captain, and he sent immediately Pero Vaz Dorta and Gaspar Rodriguez, interpreter, to land, to tell the captain that the King of Portugal had sent him with that fleet to make a fortress in that island, as he had been informed that it belonged to Christians, but he found it really possessed by Moors; so he begged and desired him to quit the fortress, and safe-conduct and passage should be given to him and all his people to go to their own land. But if he were unwilling to do so, he was determined to take the fortress from him by force, and leave not one Moor alive in it, for such were the commands of the King of Portugal his lord. The captain replied that they should say to the chief captain that neither he nor the Fartaquins, whom he had in his company, would die of fear, but by the sword, and he might do as he chose, for he on his part would not leave the fortress until all were dead, for this was the custom of the Fartaquins. When this determined reply was brought to the chief captain, he ordered Afonso Dalboquerque and the captains to be sent for, and gave them an account of it all. All agreed that the fortress should be attacked, and that Our Lord would help them, and tame the pride of the Moor, for although from without it appeared very strong, still it was so small that it would not possibly contain enough people to withstand the power of that fleet.

This having been agreed upon, because in the port of Çoco, where they were anchored, the sea was always

boisterous, and a landing therein could not be effected without much trouble and risk, the chief captain determined to seek a harbour where they might disembark without trouble, and went in his boat with Afonso Dalboquerque along the shore, and found a creek near a palm-grove where the sea was more quiet, and although it was a little too far, they agreed to land there, and returned to the ships. And the chief captain immediately informed all the captains that they must get ready to go and attack the fortress before break of day, and disembark at that part by the palm grove, as the sea formed no convenient landing in the harbour wherein they were anchored, although it was nearer. When the great Afonso Dalboquerque came on board his ship, he ordered his nephew D. Afonso de Noronha to make ready his boat with forty musqueteers, and take with him a falconet and powder for it, and cannon balls, and two bombardiers, and a *cabria*,[1] and two sets of ladders to scale the wall of the fortress if necessary; and he would go in the ship's skiff with D. Antonio de Noronha, D. João de Lima, and D. Geronimo de Lima his brother, and other Fidalgos, following close upon their track.

All being ready, Afonso Dalboquerque went on board the flagship, and all made their way at once towards the palm grove, the chief captain with all his fleet in the vanguard, and Afonso Dalboquerque with his captains and men in the rear. The latter, however, perceiving that the sea there in the harbour was abating, and that he could disembark in front of the fortress as it was nearer, let his ship drop slowly down along the shore, paddling the oars upon the water, to see if the sea would clear up. When the captain of the fortress, who was watching to see our plan, perceived that the chief captain was going to occupy the palm-grove, where he had already a strong

[1] A vessel used for placing masts in ships, and for keeping men pressed

stockade, which he had made during all that night, he sallied out of the fortress with a hundred men, and went straight to the stockade, to prevent our landing. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque saw the captain leaving the fortress, and the sea abating, he ordered D. Afonso de Noronha to put into shore opposite it, and land at once, and he would follow him, and all landed together. But the captain, who was on his way to attack the chief captain, seeing that Afonso Dalboquerque remained behind him, and fearing lest he should take the gate of the fortress, and he himself have no place of retreat, left eighty men with a captain to defend the stockade, and he himself with twenty in his company returned to assist at the gate, lest it should be taken, and happened to fall in with D. Afonso de Noronha, who was on his way with his men towards it. And when these met there was a sharp skirmish with cutlasses and lances, and some of either party were wounded. And D. Afonso de Noronha engaged in fight with the captain, and coming to blows with cutlasses, had almost overcome him, when Afonso Dalboquerque came up with all the rest of his men and put an end to his life. When the Fartaquins beheld the death of their captain, they turned and fled away towards the fortress, and when they arrived our men killed eight of them, while the others went round the fortress and fled to the mountains. The Moors, who were upon a watch-tower, seeing our men close to the wall, began to throw down many corner pieces and stones, which harassed them much. And they struck Afonso Dalboquerque on the helmet with a corner-stone, so that he immediately fell to the ground in bad plight; but for all this he did not lose his senses, and ordered the men to close round, and sent Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco to the boat to bring the shot and the derrick, and the sets of ladders, axes, and rams to break down the doors of the fortress. When Nuno Vaz brought the ladder, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered them to place it against the

wall, and our men began to ascend, and the first was Gaspar Dias de Alcacere do Sal, who took up his flag, and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, and the standard of Job Queimado and others who followed it. The Moors, seeing themselves invaded by us, without their being able to prevent it, gathered themselves into a tower which was close to the principal one; and when they deserted the watch-tower, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the gates to be broken down with axes and rams, and all entered in by an earthwork, and went to the tower gate, where the Moors had gathered themselves, and then waited for the arrival of the chief captain who now returned with the Moors.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, entered the fortress, and what took place when he arrived there.

The chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, by the palm-grove whither he went to disembark, had some slight difficulty with the Moors, who stoutly opposed his landing; but it was of little avail for them, because he fell upon them with such fury and force that they made but little resistance, and quitting the stockade, fled away towards the gate of the fortress, the chief captain following up behind them with his men, and killing many of them; and those who remained alive, seeing themselves cut off by Afonso Dalboquerque, who had already got in, turned round behind the fortress and saved themselves in the mountains. The chief captain, entering by the gate in the court-yard, found Afonso Dalboquerque at the foot of the tower, wherein the Moors were collected; and on his arrival he dispatched Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco with four or five men to go and see if he could find entrance on any side to get up into it. And at the head of the courtyard they found a stone staircase, which

was the entry to the tower, and going up by it, they came out upon the terrace of the tower, and there found a door which led to the lower story, which the Moors had barred in such a manner that no one could get in, and from the middle story, where they were, they kept shooting arrows with bad effect upon our men. The Fidalgos, who were there, perceiving themselves severely attacked by the Moors without being able to do them any injury in return, determined to risk an assault upon the door, in order to get in to them. And the first who attacked it was Don Antonio de Noronha; but when he would have gone up, a Moor came upon him with a sword, and would have cut his throat, had not Afonso Dalboquerque, happening to see the attempt, warded off the blow with his shield. The Moors, perceiving themselves invaded by the upper way of the terrace, retreated to the principal tower by a stairway, which led from one to the other, there not being at this time more than twenty-five in the fortress out of a hundred and fifty at the beginning of the attack, for the others were either dead or fled to the mountains. When they had retreated to the principal tower, they barred the doors and kept quiet, but the chief captain ordered it to be broken open immediately with rams; yet, because the stairway was so narrow that only one at a time could ascend by it, and the Moors could easily defend it, the chief captain desired, in order that they might not kill any of our men when entering this tower, to offer them terms. He thereupon told Afonso Dalboquerque and the other captains that those Moors were so obstinate, and our men so eager to kill them, that it would cost much time and trouble to get in at them; so it would be advisable to let them go without hindrance, for even if they were to kill all of them, no more honour would accrue to them than that they had already gained in taking the fortress. And because what the chief captain said was well received by all, he sent forthwith for Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, to parley

with the Moors at the door of the tower, and tell them their captain was dead, as indeed they well knew, and all those of his company, and that they were left alone; therefore he earnestly entreated them that they would think right to change their opinion and quit the fortress, and he would give them a safe conduct and passage for them to go to their land. The Moors replied that they were much obliged to the worthy chief captain for wishing to spare their lives, but that, in telling them of their captain's death, he had given them a sufficient reason for declining to receive the favour, for the Fartaquins were not accustomed to return alive to their land, and leave their captain dead on the field, especially when he was the son of their king, therefore he might do as he pleased, for they were not going to yield.

The chief captain, at this declaration of the Moors, sent João Freire, his page, and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, and Dinis Fernandes, who was afterwards Chief Superintendent of India, Antonio Dinis de Setubal, and Pedralvares, page of the Count of Abrantes, to ascend to the terrace of the tower and see if by that way they could get in at the Moors. And the first who went up was João Freire, who, when leaping from the parapet of the tower to the terrace, was perceived by them, and they opened the door which led to the terrace, and seeing him by himself, fell upon him and killed him, and while they were killing him the others arrived. As soon as the Moors perceived them, they returned to their retreat in the story where they had been, and barred the door; and our men, seeing that they could not follow the Moors, made a hole in the terrace of the tower, and threw down stones and bricks which they took thence, and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco began to do them some injury with a cross-bow he had taken with him. Afonso Dalboquerque, excited with the shame they all incurred for having been there three hours without being able to enter a tower defended by four Moors, ordered two Biscay palisadoes to be brought from

his boat, and under the protection of these, carried by two soldiers, they began to mount bravely to the top of the stairway, those who could find room, and all the others followed them, being well plied with arrows and lances hurled at them. Even this, however, availed the defenders nothing to prevent our men from entering, and those who were upon the top of the terrace, when they saw the disturbance going on in the story, and the little door unprotected, broke it down and went down the stairway, and both one and the other party got in pell-mell among the Moors, and killed all without one escaping, and this at the cost of five or six of us killed and many wounded. One Moor, indeed, who surrendered, was taken prisoner, and of him Afonso Dalboquerque made much use on the Arabian coast, whither he went, for this Moor was a great pilot for that coast, and gave him a chart of all those parts of the kingdom of Ormuz, which a pilot, who was called Omar, when going thither had made, in whose company this man had sailed as mariner. The fortress was attacked at six o'clock in the morning, and finally taken at one o'clock in midday. Not much spoil was taken in it, for the Moors were of the frontier, but some supplies and arms were found, and swords bearing in Latin the inscription, "God help me." This victory having been won, on the morning of the next day the chief captain went with all the men in procession to a Moorish mosque; and as it was to be the principal church, they named it "Our Lady of the Victory", wherein Fr. Antonio do Loureiro, of the Order of St. Francis, said mass, and not without the tears of our men, to behold in a land so remote from Portugal the name of our Lord Jesus Christ reverenced in that house of abomination.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the message which the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, sent to the people of the land, and what passed with them, and how he finished the fortress of Çocotora, and sailed for India; and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque became chief captain of the fleet.

When the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, was in possession of the fortress, he ordered a verbal proclamation to be made to the Christians who had fled away from a colony close by, entreating them to return, and give themselves no uneasiness, nor be scandalised at the destruction with which he had visited the Moors; for the principal reason of the King of Portugal's sending him to take that fortress and drive the Moors from the island, was to free them from these men's power, on account of the information which he had that they who dwelt there were Christians. Directly the natives received this message from the chief captain, knowing that his men were Christians, they came and cast themselves at his feet (having already thrown off the fear they formerly had), giving him many thanks for the favour he had done them in liberating them from the thraldom of the Fartaquins, who so tormented them that, not content with being lords over all their possessions, they had even taken away their wives and children to make Moors of them, and had done them many other injuries; but since God had brought him thither, and all were Christians, they begged he would deign to protect and defend them from such a bad set as these Moors were. The chief captain, with many loving words, consoled them, saying that the King of Portugal, his lord, had sent him thither out of love for them, and that he might make a fortress for their safety in that island, and that a captain and soldiers might be stationed there to defend them from the Fartaquins and ships of the Moors, who passed by thither to the straits (not knowing that the

Fartaquins had already made one), and begged them and recommended them especially ever to keep the peace and friendship with the Portuguese, and chiefly with those who were to stay behind in the fortress, and supply them with the supplies they might require. And since they were Christians, he begged they would kindly receive the doctrine of Christ, and learn the ceremonies of our Church, which they had already long ago forgotten, for the King of Portugal, his lord, with the desires he had of their salvation, ordered the Padre Fr. Antonio, who was there present with other religious men, to instruct them. This and much more to the point the chief captain said to them, whereat they became very happy, and promised him they would do all that he ordered; and from there they went with the Padre Fr. Antonio to their churches, where many, by his preaching and good example, were baptised.

This done, the chief captain ordered great quantities of stone and mortar to be collected, and set about the building of the fortress at once, and made such haste about it that in a short time it was finished; and when it was complete he named it "St. Michael", and committed the captainship of it to D. Afonso de Noronha, who came from Portugal, appointed by the king, D. Manoel, and he made Fernão Jacome, his brother-in-law, the chief alcaide (constable). And as the time for his departure to India was drawing near, he handed over to Afonso Dalboquerque six ships which the king, D. Manoel, had ordered to be given to him, with men, supplies, artillery, and all the rest that was necessary for him to remain as chief captain of all those parts (as the king's order constituted him), with obligations to provide that fortress with whatever it might require; of which ships the captains were Francisco de Tavora of the *Rey Grande*, Manuel Telez of the little one, Afonso Lopes da Costa of the *Taforea*, and Antonio do Campo of the small ship. And because the Comendador Ruy Soares, was to

remain in his company, but had not yet arrived, the chief captain, Tristão da Cunha, left João da Nova, captain of the *Flor de la Mar*, in his stead, and as soon as Ruy Soares arrived, he was to sail away at once to India, with news of what Afonso Dalboquerque had done on the coast of Arabia, to take word to the king, D. Manoel. All this having been brought to an end, the chief captain took leave of the captain of the fortress, and of Afonso Dalboquerque, and of all the Fidalgos and knights who remained there (and this not without many tears on either side), and shaped his course for India with four ships on the first of August, in the year '7, and arrived there in safety, and there took in cargo and started to Portugal.[1]

Afonso Dalboquerque began to turn his attention to the affairs of the land, and divided the palm-groves, which the Moors had there, among the native Christians, and those which belonged to the mosque he now gave to the churches. And after the departure of Afonso Dalboquerque

[1] Here, for a while, we lose sight of this celebrated navigator. The Syren of Camões sings truly of him:—

"Mas oh que luz tamanha, que abrir sinto,
Dizia a nympha, e a voz alevantava,
Lá no mar de Melinde em sangue tinto
Das cidades de Lamo, de Oja, e Brava,
Pelo Cunha tambem: *que nunca extinto*
Será seu nome em todo o mar, que lava
As Ilhas do Austro, e praias que se chamam
De São-Lourenço, e em todo o Sul se affamam."

Lusiada, x, 39.

"O! what *new light* beginneth *there* to bud
(The SIREN said, and rais'd her Voyce thereat)
From the *Melindian* sea, dy'd with the blood
Of LAMO, OCHA, BRAVA, all laid flat
By great DE CUNIA; who through all the *Flood*
Which laves the *Southern Isles* and *Shores* (but *Thdt*
Of MADAGASCAR chiefly) the wide mouth
Of FAME shall fill, and threat the unknown *South*."

Fanshaw, p. 201.

to Ormuz, our people remained in peace and friendship with the natives; but as the people of the island are by nature very malicious and treacherous, those Fartaquins who had escaped had very little trouble to urge them against our people, and arranged with the Christians of the land, who lived in these colonies remote from the fortress, to rise up against the Portuguese, telling them that the Franks had only built that fortress there to enslave them all, and take their land from them, and that they ought to revolt and not give supplies to the Franks, for it was now mid-winter, and not a season for them to be able to live without such supplies, and thus they all would perish." And they added that the Fartaquins would assist this undertaking, and procure from Fartaque many Moors to help them further. The natives, believing all this, set themselves to the work, and revolted, whence it happened that wars and commotions took place between them. And although the time was short, for the labour was continual, our people suffered much from famine, and from misfortune, until Afonso Dalboquerque returned to visit them, and provide them with supplies, according to his promise; and when he arrived, it was some days since our people had eaten anything but palm rind, and some goats which they took by force of arms.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, after Tristão da Cunha had sailed, made his fleet ready, and sailed with the intention of going to wait for the Moorish ships which came from India to the straits, and what happened thereupon.

As soon as the great Afonso Dalboquerque had put the affairs of the land in order, he wished immediately to set about fitting out his fleet, so as to sail at the new moon, which would be on the tenth day of August, for this was

the time, as the Moorish pilots, whom he had brought from Melinde, said, that he might start for the coast of Arabia. So he ordered Pero Vaz Dorta, factor of the fleet, and João Estão, scrivener, to overhaul all the ships, and find out what supplies each one had on board, and from the information they acquired he understood that there were only fifteen days' supplies on board the fleet. When this was reported to Afonso Dalboquerque, he ordered a bread-room to be opened which was in his ship, and which he had caused to be carefully guarded, when he saw that Tristão da Cunha was not managing well in that voyage after he left Portugal, being fearful lest the delay should consume all, and he ordered the contents to be divided among all the captains, he himself taking his fair share, as each one of them did, for he did not wish that what was wanting to the others should abound with himself. When all was ready, and waiting the time for starting on the second of the month, such a great storm from the south-west struck them that all the ships were like to have been overset, and by stress of weather they broke all the cables they had, and the *Rey Grande* went nearly out of soundings, but by a miracle one cable held her. So Afonso Dalboquerque, finding himself by night in this misfortune, was very anxious, as he had not arranged with the captains what course they were to take, and whither they were to go and wait for him if the ships slipped their cables. And at once, in the night, while the storm was at its height, he ventured his skiff and wrote to the captains, that in case his sins deserved that any ship should break cables at that time, it was to make its way to, and wait for him at, the Islands of Curia Muria, and there all would take counsel respecting the course to be followed. And, with this message, he sent to each one a pilot of the Moors, whom he brought with him from Melinde. And it pleased Our Lord that when morning broke the weather

ing their cables. As soon as the day of departure was come, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned the captains and all the pilots, both Moors and Christians, and told them the time of setting out was come, and it would be well to discuss the route they were to take, whether by the Straits of Meca[1] or of Ormuz, or whether they should go at once to Dio and Cambaia, and in which part of these the fleet could be best supplied with supplies; for there was great need of them. These questions being brought before the assembly, and all the obstacles which were alleged being removed, it was agreed that, with the west winds then blowing, they should make for the Straits of Ormuz and take Mazcate, and there make up their minds what to do, and in that latitude of Çocotora, Fartaque,[2] and Dofar,[3] cruise about for eight days, watching the ships which at that season started from Barbara[4] and Zeilo,[5] and all the Red Sea, for Dio and Cambaia, and all the ports of Malabar.

This having been settled, all the ships set themselves in readiness, with their yards set and anchors apeak, and the great Afonso Dalboquerque took leave of D. Afonso de Noronha, his nephew, captain of the fortress, and of all the others who remained in it, and gave him an account of his intentions, and also told him the time when he hoped to return. And he sailed out of the port of Çoco on the tenth of August, in the year fifteen hundred and seven, taking the northern course by way of Fartaque and Dofar. And while they were in that water, in the narrow part of the Straits of the Red Sea, the wind and haze were so great that, not to strain the tackle, they stood a little more off to

[1] This appears to be an error for Mokhã, now called the Straits of Bãb-el-Mandel, "The Gate of Grief".

[2] Cape Fartak, on the coast of Arabia, 15 deg. 33 min. N., 52 deg. 10 min. E.

[3] Dafar or rather Zafār, near Mirbāt, 17 deg. 20 min. N., 54 deg. 30 min. E.

[4] Nearly opposite Adon.

[5] For Zeila.

catch sight of Curia Muria;[1] because it was not yet time to cruize in that latitude, as had been agreed upon; and even if they had sighted any ship, there was neither sea nor wind for chasing, by reason of the great danger they would run, and also because they were obliged to take this route, and much time was lost in it. And, sailing on in open order with that wind, on the thirteenth day of the month (August) they sighted a high land close to Curia Muria, which the Moors call Nooz,[2] and coasted along it until they had gone seven leagues from the islands; and, as the haze was very thick, they did not sight them, and it being now night, all returned to the open sea, to keep away from land. When morning came, they returned to stand in shore, but did not see land that day. The pilots made themselves out to be off Curia Muria, opposite a coast running N.E. and S.W. Afonso Dalboquerque hung out an ensign in his flag, and came to speak with them, and told them that in that latitude, which they were keeping, he could not be beyond Curia Muria; for, sailing by the rhumb of N.E., as they said, they would run aground upon the island: and what he said was not well received by the captains nor by the pilots, and that night they steered north, and he consented to obey the desires of the many. And so sailing on the night of the eve of Our Lady of August,[3] the watch of prime being just finished, Antonio do Campo, who was leading the way, found himself close in to land, with a strong wind and running sea, and fired two guns. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque heard them, he ordered a signal to be made to the ships to turn back into the open sea, and all turned, the

[1] The Bay of Kuria Muria, on the Arabian coast, 17 deg. 30 min. N., 55 deg. 25 min. E. The island is in the same latitude, and 56 deg. 0 min. E. longitude.

[2] Rãs Nũs, or, according to Ritter, Rãs Nosz.

[3] This would be the 14th of August, the eve of the Feast of the Assumption of the B. V. Mary.

pilots going on with the sounding lines in their hands; until they found they were out of soundings, and when they got there, he ordered them by signal to heave to, and all answered him, and he remained that night, with his lantern alight, lying to, and all the ships at his stern.

CHAPTER XIX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, owing to his great need of supplies, shaped his course for the Straits of Ormuz, and arrived at Mascate.

The night being over, on the morning of the following day the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to his captains to steer straight to land and touch at Çalayate; for, on account of the great need of supplies throughout the fleet, he could not keep his intention of watching for the ships at that point; and also because the Moorish pilots told him that they considered that the ships had already gone by since the weather had been so bad, that if they had left Aden they would have finished their voyage in three days. And, with this determination, all steered to land, and three days afterwards sighted a point of land, which the Moors call Madrica,[1] and kept continually coasting along with due precaution, keeping close to land by day, and by night standing out to sea, to make their voyage with greater safety, until they came in sight of the Cape of Maceiras.[2] And, as they were coming one morning from the sea to the coast, the Moorish pilots did not recognise it; for some made themselves out to be on this side of the Cape of Resalgate,[3] and others on the further side, and they were perplexed to

[1] Madrica, elsewhere Madraka, now Cape Isolette.

[2] Perhaps now Ras el Jezirah, forming the lower point of the Gulf of Massera; but this point is the same as Madraka.

[3] Perhaps Ras el Had, 22 deg. 24 min. N., 59 deg. 49 min. E.

find the currents there very rapidly setting in towards the Straits of Ormuz: but, as the sea was calm and the wind improving every moment, the Moorish pilots ordered the ships to be drawn up as close as possible to the shore, and anchored in from twenty-five to fourteen fathoms of water; for, although the coast is full of hidden rocks, it is clear, and affords good anchorage: and all this land near the sea is barren and sandy, and the interior has very lofty and rugged mountain ranges. As soon as the Moorish pilots arrived here, they at once knew they were on this side of the Cape of Resalgate, and at the Maceira point. The fleet remained at anchor there that night; and when morning broke, the ship *Taforéa*, which was on the weather beam, fired two shots, and some went up the round top immediately to see what it was, and the man on the look-out said he saw three sails on the sea. Then Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to Antonio do Campo and Manoel Telez to set sail and see what those sails were: and, in case they should lose sight of the fleet, he told them to coast along, and they would find him at the Cape of Resalgate, for the Moorish pilot he carried knew the coast very well.

The two captains having started, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the other ships to sail, and they anchored that day in the afternoon on this side of the Cape of Resalgate, which is a coast well shaded and clear, and of good anchorage; and while they were there, Antonio do Campo and Manoel Telez arrived with the intelligence that the ships which the look-out man saw were three fishing barques; but with the sea air they had seemed large sails; and, as the wind had dropped, they fled away by sailing and rowing. And they found there, in that port where they were that night, thirty or forty fishing ships, which come thither from the City of Ormuz,[1] Calayate, and all that coast to fish for *bonitos*[2] and

[1] See plan and description of Ormuz, in Resende's work, ff. 155-158.

[2] A kind of tunny.—*Bluteau.*

Albecoras;[1] for there is great traffic in these fish to many parts, just as in the tunny of Algarve; and they burned all these ships, and on the following morning set sail with a fair wind, and took the ships' boats with masts and sails, and towards evening arrived at the mouth of a large river which formed a great lagoon within it. And Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the master of the *Taforéa* to go in his boat along the shore, and see what sort of a place it was, and of what depth the river was; and he found five fathoms depth, and the water of the lake salt. Within it were four small *zambucos*, which they burned. From this point they kept coasting along, with sunken rocks, at twenty or twenty-five fathoms, and a clear bottom, until they arrived at a small village of straw huts, which the Moorish pilots said belonged to the fishermen, and by land along the coast went much people on foot or horse or camel, pacing along and following our fleet, which kept along the bank until in sight of the City of Calayate. And when just opposite the harbour, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the captains to set their mainsails and be ready to sail, and to deck out the ships with flags and get all their artillery in order, and with their foresails and mizensails, and taking their boats up in front, to go and anchor in front of the city, and all did so with great pleasure and many cheers, but without sounding trumpets, for Tristão da Cunha had refused to give them any.

CHAPTER XX.

Of what the great Afonso Dalboquerque transacted with the governors of the city of Calayate on his arrival there.

As soon as the great Afonso Dalboquerque had arrived with his fleet at Calayate,[2] they employed all that afternoon

[1] Evidently an Arabic word, cf. al-bákara, al-bākūra, an ox, or a cow. Vieyra calls this fish a kind of tunny.

[2] Kalhāt, between Rās-el-Hadd and Muskat.

in repairing their ships; and, on the following morning, he sent a boat to shore, and in it Pero Vaz Dorta, factor of the fleet, and João Estão, scrivener, and Gaspar Rodrigues, interpreter. When they landed, the Moors, who at once collected on the beach, questioned them as to what they required and whence they had come. And Pero Vaz Dorta replied, through the interpreter, that the fleet before them belonged to the king D. Manoel, King of Portugal and Lord of the Indies, and that the chief captain, who came with it, desired to know what place this was, and of what kingdom and lordship. The Moors replied, that the name of the city was Calayate, and that it belonged to the kingdom of Ormuz, and if they required anything they would give it very willingly; and, with this reply which the Moors gave, Pero Vaz Dorta and João Estão returned, and acquainted Afonso Dalboquerque with what had taken place. On the following morning the Goazil[1] and rulers of the city sent him word to send two of his men to land; for they wished to send two of their men to confer with him. Afonso Dalboquerque sent two of his young men, and two honourable Moors came from land, and informed him on the part of the Goazil and rulers of the city, that whatever was required for his fleet they would willingly cause to be sent to him; for they desired to have peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, and they brought him a present of oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and fowls, and some sheep; but, because, for all these good words and the presents, much people were continually marching along the beach and through the city, armed and clothed like Turks, with bows, lances, swords, and cimitars (and on the bank they had a stockade with four mortars), Afonso Dalboquerque declined receiving the present, saying that he would not accept anything from those against whom he would have to declare war if they refused to be vassals of the King of Portugal, whose chief

[1] Or Guazil, a governor, from the Arabic wazir. Cf. Alguazil, Sp.

captain he was, sent by royal command to the kingdom and city of Ormuz.[1] The Moors replied, that if he was on his way to Ormuz, this place was the door to it, and if he

[1] Camões makes the nymph utter the following prophetic sentiments, concerning the operations of Dalboquerque at Ormuz and Calayate :—

"Esta luz he do fogo, e das luzentes
Armas, com que Albuquerque irá amansando
De Ormuz os Parseos, por seu mal valentes,
Que refusam o jugo honroso, e brando:
Alli verão as sellas estridentes
Reciprocarse, a ponta no ar virando
Contra quem as tirou; que Deos peleja
Por quem estende a fé da madre Igreja.

"Alli de sal os montes não defendem
De corrupção os corpos no combate,
Que, mortos, pela praia, e mar se estendem
De Gerum, de Mascate, e Calayate:
Até que á forca só de braço apprendem
A abaixar a cerviz, onde se lhe ate
Obrigação de dar o reino inico
Das perlas de Barem tributo rico."

Lusiada, x, 40, 41.

I forbear to give Mickle's incorrect rendering of these stanzas; Fanshaw translates them thus:—

"This *light* is of those flames and glitt'ring *Arms*
Wherewith the stubborn PERSIANS of ORMUZE,
Spurning the *yoake*, and valiant to their harms,
Fierce ALBUQUERQUE afterwards subdues.
There shall be hissing *Shafts* (like living swarms)
Turned in the Ayre, their *shooters'* Helmets bruize;
That they may see, with eyes though ne're so dim,
How GOD will fight for *Them* that fight for *Him*.

"The MOUNTAINS then of SALT will not be able
To keep those *Bodies* from corruption,
Which on the *Coasts* shall lye out (miserable)
Of CALAYAT, MASCATE, and GERUN;
Until the easie *yoake* and honorable
They learn (with all their fierceness) to put on:
Forc't by the *Conquerours*, to pay *to them*
Rich Tribute of their *Pearles* of BAHEREM."

treated them well they would open it for him, and he could so enter the house, and since he was determined to go and visit the King of Ormuz, their Lord, he might make some agreement with him, but if no agreement were made, they would agree to be subject to the King of Portugal, and as his vassals they desired he would not desire to destroy them nor make war upon them. Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the captains to be summoned, and recounted this reply to them, which the rulers of the city had sent him, and it was unanimously agreed that if these men were willing to supply all the stores necessary for the fleet, from the great need there was of such, he ought to dissemble and give them a respite until he arrived at Ormuz, making a virtue of necessity, until he obtained his supplies.

This having been decided, Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched the Moors back with a fitting answer: and, as the rulers were very desirous of peace, from the fear they had of our fleet, being unprepared, they sent the Moors back again at once with sixty bags[1] of rice, and as many of dates, and thirty sheep, and other fresh provisions. But, as Afonso Dalboquerque did not know how affairs at Ormuz would turn out, he would receive nothing in the way of a present, and ordered payment to be made for all that was brought. The Moors were unwilling to receive payment, saying that the present which the rulers of the city had sent him was for a sign of friendship; for all were prepared to do whatever he might order, and therefore they could not take any payment; and if the King of Ormuz were unwilling to make peace, then they would render the city up to him. Nevertheless, Afonso Dalboquerque made them by force take payment, and ordered a safeguard to be made out for them in the name of the king, D. Manoel, to hold good until his arrival at Ormuz. And because this safeguard did

[1] *Fardos.* A *fardo* in India was equivalent to 42 pounds Portuguese. — *Vieyra.*

not cover the ships of strangers who were in the port, he ordered a ship of Aden, of about two hundred tons, which was there loading horses and dates, to be seized. When the master of the vessel perceived that his ship was taken, he applied to the Goazil, who was the governor of the city, begging him to do what he could to prevent his ship being carried off, and the Goazil sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that, for the honour of the city he begged he would be graciously pleased to send back the ship, and he would give whatever he ordered. But Afonso Dalboquerque put him off with the excuse that he had given it to Gaspar Rodrigues, the interpreter, and if he chose to ransom it of him, well and good; he, for his part, was sorry it was out of his power to serve him, though he would send him to come to some agreement with the present owner of the ship. So Gaspar Rodrigues arranged with the master, and gave the price to the factor for expenses of the fleet.

Calayate is a city as large as Santarem, badly populated, with many old edifices, now destroyed. According to the information given to Afonso Dalboquerque by the Moors, it appears that the city was destroyed by Alexander, who conquered all that country. The sea beats against it, and the harbour is very good, and is situated at the foot of some lofty ranges; on the land side, a little distance from the city, there was a wall about the height of a lance, which comes down from the top of the mountains, and reaches to the sea; this was made by the citizens out of love for [peace with] the Moors of the interior, for they had come into collision with them on several occasions. The interior is under the rule of a king who is called the Benjabar, who has much cavalry. Around the city there is not a single tree, except a few palms close to some pools of water, whence they get drink; and all their supplies of corn, barley, maize, millet, and dates, come from the interior, for there is plenty

of shipping, which comes thither to take horses and dates to India. The King of Ormuz used to send there every year a noble Moor to be Goazil, who administered justice and made war and peace as he chose. And in the taxes and duties paid to the king, no one interfered except an eunuch, a servant of Cogeatar, and in all the places under the Kingdom of Ormuz he placed these eunuchs, his servants, who had charge of the revenue, and great obedience was shown to them throughout the land.

CHAPTER XXI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque left the city of Calayate, and went on to Curiate,[1] and took it by force of arms.

The supplies having been collected, the great Afonso Dalboquerque took his leave of the Moors, who kept to the agreement he had made with them, and started from the port on Sunday, the twenty-second of August, always keeping in sight of the coast, with the determination to leave no place in the whole of the land ignorant of what he could do to it; for he held it a most important part in his plan for getting possession of Ormuz, first to make himself master of all those places and ports which he might find along the coast, and to burn all their ships to prevent their assisting the king. And going along thus within sight of land, he told the Moorish pilots that he had a chart, made by a Moorish pilot named Omar, when he accompanied Vicente Sodré, and containing all the harbours, towns, and places of that coast, and in it was set down that five leagues from Calayate there was a port called Icce, and he desired they

[1] A little south of Muscat. See plan and description in Resende's work, ff. 113-115, "Descripsam da fortalleza de Curiate que he a

would point it out to him, thinking it was a large place. So the pilots showed it to him, and it proved to be a river of fresh water, in which the ships entering the Straits of Ormuz go and take water, and our fleet passed in sight of it; and when close to Curiate they anchored rather far from land, as it was all low rocks, and Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Manoel Telez and Antonio do Campo to approach as close as they could to the land, bearing in mind to make allowance for the low tide, for it was then on the turn; and when they were anchored, they set themselves in sailing order and hung out all their flags, remaining there all that night, without any one coming from land to speak with them. So when they had consulted together as to what they should do, although different opinions were advanced, it was agreed to destroy the place. But as it was large, not to proceed blindly to attack it, the great Afonso Dalboquerque made up his mind to go along with his captains and reconnoitre the place, and settle the manner in which they should disembark, and they entered the captains' boats and steered for the river. When they came close to it, the Moors, who lined the beach, would not have any communication with them, and began to make many hostile gestures; and they had made at that part a stockade of wood, five palms in breadth, and packed in with earth, which guarded all the front of the place, and within it were placed four large mortars, and many archers, and others with long lances, guarding it. And lower down than this, they had made another on the edge of the water in shape of a bastion, surrounded with wood, and packed up with earth, of the same size as the other, and at high water it was entirely surrounded by water; for between the fort and the village was a creek or backwater, in which there were two gates, one opposite to the other, for them to assemble whenever it was necessary. When Afonso Dalboquerque beheld the stockade, and saw that the Moors were unwilling to com-

municate with him, but were determined to make a bold stand in their own defence, he ordered the falconets which were in his boat to be fired at them, and retired to the ships. The Moors also, on their part, began to fire at him with their mortars, and with many arrows. And because in this harbour there is a small island, so close to the land that at low water one can pass over dryshod to the place, and the Moors could not prevent the disembarking of our people for all the force they had there, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Antonio do Campo to go at once, that very night, with a hundred men, to take this island and fortify himself therein.

All this having been set in order, at the appointed time the captains came in their boats on board the flagship to set out thence all together, and because just then the tide was at its lowest ebb, Afonso Dalboquerque determined to disembark somewhat below the town, that our men might reach land with less danger from the mortars at the stockades, and told his captains this, his [altered] plan, that each one might be aware of what he was about to do. And having arrived at the island wherein Antonio do Campo was posted, Afonso Dalboquerque changed his mind, and desired to attack the stations at that point with all his men in one battalion, as it was too small to be divided into two; for if he gained that fort wherein the Moors had all their strength and trust, the others, which were on the other side of the town, would yield without fighting. And this being so arranged, he told Antonio do Campo to be on the watch for him, and at the moment when he should attack the station, to attack the other side with all his men facing it, and fight fiercely with the Moors, for he hoped in Our Lord to overcome them, and thereby get possession of the city. So Antonio do Campo knowing what he was to do, Afonso Dalboquerque went along the river to disembark at the other

on his way softly, and when close upon the station, a number of Moors came in view, who proceeded from the other side of a hill which overlooked the place, as though about to attack our men in flank. When Afonso Dalboquerque saw them, he sent Afonso Lopez da Costa, with sixty men, to go and take the hill for him and drive them down and return at once to the main body. Afonso Lopez da Costa attacked these Moors very bravely and worsted them, killing some, and returned forthwith to our men, and all together assaulted the stockade. Antonio do Campo, who was in momentary expectation of what Afonso Dalboquerque had told him, seeing our men fighting in the stockade, attacked the rear of the Moors, at the part where he had received instructions to fall on. The Moors, being attacked in front by our men, began to fire their artillery and many arrows, defending themselves for a long while, and wounded some soldiers of the company led by Antonio do Campo. When this furious artillery fire was over, our men fell on with such eagerness that, fighting on the top of the stockades, they entered with the Moors into the place, and pursued them for the distance of half a league, putting to the sword all the Moors, women and children, who were fleeing into the interior. And because the heat was great and our men by this time were very tired, Afonso Dalboquerque took a hill, and set up his standard, and remained there, sending word to Francisco de Tavora, Afonso Lopez da Costa, and Antonio do Campo, that when they saw it they should likewise set up their flags, at distances from each other, to restrain the men from following up the Moors; and he also ordered João da Nova and Manuel Teles to return to the place, and collect all the people who were scattered up and down in it, and finding some Moors, he put them all to the sword, and remained on that hill until vespers. And when he had collected all the men, he proceeded to the town, and ordered them to repair the stockades of the Moors, and fortified himself in them

until the supplies had been collected, for there was great need of them; and he ordered his flag to be set up on the dome of the mosque, and ten men to be placed there to watch the surrounding country. And as soon as the supplies were collected, and as much spoil as they could carry away, he ordered the place to be set on fire, especially some houses in which the bulk of the supplies were, to prevent the Moors from making use of them; and the fire was so fierce that there was not a house, not a building, nor the mosque, which was one of the most beautiful ever seen, left standing. He ordered also that they should cut off the ears and noses of the Moors who were captured there, and then send them away to Ormuz to bear witness to their disgrace. In this place we captured twenty-five pieces of artillery and a great quantity of bows, arrows, lances, and other arms; and thirty-eight ships, great and small, were burned. When this was all over, he returned with all the captains to the ships, and each went to his own to make ready for the passage to Mascate on the following day.

Curiate is a large town, having its principal population on the edge of the coast on the inner side; it is rather straggling, and contained to all appearance about five or six thousand men. It is an entrepôt of many ships which come to export dates, of which both in the town and neighbouring country there is abundance; but because the harbour is rather rocky, and the sea runs with a strong current, they do not export horses, although many are bred in the land. There are very good pools of water which the inhabitants use for drinking purposes. Two very large ships were burned, which were on the stocks, all in repair and order to be launched; they belonged to a corsair who lived in the place.

CHAPTER XXII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail from Curiate and went to Mascate, and what passed there.

When day broke, the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered all the fleet to set sail, and in four days they arrived at the city of Mascate,[1] which is the principal port for all that coast; and on that day in the evening all the ships entered the port, with the exception of those of Manuel Teles and Francisco de Tavora, which remained outside because the breeze dropped. Directly they were all anchored, there came on board the flagship two noble Moors in an *almadia*, and as they were already aware of the destruction of Curiate, they told Afonso Dalboquerque that the rulers of the city had sent them to beg him to do it no injury, for they were willing to be vassals of the King of Portugal. Afonso Dalboquerque asked them whether they brought with them authority from the rulers and people of the city to treat. To this the Moors replied that they had not brought any written instructions, but it was sufficient that they were come thither according to order of the city; so he told them he could not make any answer until the two of his captains who remained outside had first come into port, but they might return to shore, and on the following morning return safely to him, and he would arrange with them all that the service of the King of Portugal, Lord of the Indies, required. The Moors being gone with this reply, now that Francisco de Tavora and Manuel Telez had come in, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered both of them to take boat and sound the harbour; how many fathoms depth there was between the ships and the shore, and to try to get a view of the position of the stockade which the Moors had made; and

[1] 23 deg. 29 min. N., 58 deg. 33 min. E. See plan and description of the fortress in Resende's work, ff. 116-123.

they went along the shore, after having sounded the bottom, and saw all very well. So having returned to the ships, they told him that the Moors had constructed in front of the town a wall of timber ten palms broad and twenty high, packed with earth, very strong, and on either side it had been carried up into two very high mountain ranges, which ran down into the sea, and made the whole very strong; and in this wall they had made some defences, like bulwarks, with many mortars of the size of our *camelos*[1] mounted on them, and that we could land at the foot of the wall at high tide. While Afonso Dalboquerque was discussing this with Francisco de Tavora and Manuel Telez, the two Moors, who had come the day before, came on board, with permit of the Rulers to treat for peace, and told him that the city desired to be obedient to the King of Portugal, and perform whatever he, the chief captain, might order on his part. Afonso Dalboquerque, after hearing what they had to say, ordered them out while he communed with the captains who were then with him, respecting the agreement to be made with the envoys, and having settled what reply to make, he called the Moors in and told them, that if the city was willing to obey the King of Portugal, and pay him yearly a fair and reasonable tribute, and supply himself with all supplies he might require when he arrived at Ormuz, he on his part would not make war upon them, but, on the contrary, would protect and defend them as vassals of the king, his lord. The Moors replied that the inhabitants of the city were content to become vassals of the King of Portugal, and to pay him every year the dues—and they were many—which they had hitherto paid to the King of Ormuz; and as to the demand of supplies for that occasion only they would give him all he needed. As Afonso Dalboquerque considered it below his dignity to haggle with them, he desired Antonio do Campo, Pero Vaz Dorta, and João Estão, scrivener to

[1] A sort of heavy gun or cannon used in the sixteenth century.

the fleet, to speak with the Moors outside, and tell them that with the conditions mentioned he would receive them into the friendship of the King of Portugal, but they must on their part give him abundance of supplies and fresh water, carried at their own cost to the city of Ormuz as long as he might remain there. After long discussion about these terms, the factor returned to Afonso Dalboquerque, to tell him the Moors were unwilling to give more than they had at first agreed for. This reply annoyed him very much, and he ordered them before him, and asked them in a somewhat passionate voice how they dared deny to the officers of the king their lord those things that they demanded, since they had but just then cast themselves at his feet, and told him they desired to be his vassals: let them go at once and tell the rulers of the city that next morning he would show them how Portuguese cavaliers chastised places which were unwilling to obey the King of Portugal and his chief captain. When the Moors perceived that Afonso Dalboquerque was angry, and cast them off without any kind of agreement being concluded, they were in a great fright, and threw themselves at his feet, begging him to pardon them, and they would do whatever he desired. So he sent them to talk with Antonio do Campo and with the factor. The Moors went out very dejectedly, and agreed to all that was asked; and, the agreement being concluded, they went on shore again very gladly, and at once set about bringing the supplies as long as day lasted; but when the morning came that Afonso Dalboquerque hoped would finish the work, they did not return, and no message came from land, but he was kept thus in suspense until midday, without being able to divine what change had taken place with affairs; but in order to know better what course to take, he went into his skiff with D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, and D. Jeronimo and others, and went along the shore unconcernedly, in order to better understand the

matter, and see the position of their stockades. At the time he arrived at the shore the boat of Afonso Lopez da Costa was on the beach taking in water, and from the boatswain who was in it he heard that all that night there had been great joy, excitement, and shouts in the city, and it was rumoured that a captain had arrived with ten thousand men from the interior, armed with lances and shields, whom the Benjabar sent to the aid of the city, and that the news was confirmed by the common sailors, who were at the watering places taking in water. Afonso Dalboquerque told the boatswain to get the sailors together without exciting suspicion, and if it proved difficult for him to collect the barrels, to leave them. So the sailors who were at the watering places, perceiving the excitement of the Moors, and fearing they would be murdered by them, left some of the barrels behind, and assembled at the boat in great haste, and related to Afonso Dalboquerque the same news that the boatswain had given him; and he having seen everything very clearly, went to the *Taforéa*, which was nearest to the shore, and despatched Dinis Fernandez in his skiff to land, bidding him summon one of those Moors who had consented to the agreement for peace. When the Moors, who were going up and down along the beach, saw the skiff, they gathered about, intending to take it; but Dinis Fernandez, who was well acquainted with their treacherous ways, seeing them in a state of excitement, did not touch land, but returned to the ships with some of his mariners wounded by the arrows shot at them. Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing the shamelessness of the Moors, gave orders to Afonso Lopez da Costa, Antonio do Campo, and Manuel Teles, to take their ships as close up to the shore as they could, and let down warps from the stern into the sea, that they might haul upon them whenever it might be necessary, and then to bombard the city to annoy the Moors, for he was determined to attack them in the morning. The

captains weighed anchor, and took up positions according to the directions they had received, and commenced firing with their artillery against the stockades, but did very little damage, as the wall was closely packed with earth. So, perceiving that from where they were they could do no good, they took up a new position opposite an entrenchment made by the Moors outside the wall, and containing two mortars, which was rather exposed to our fire; and directly the firing began, the Moors deserted the mortars and fled away. When Afonso Lopez da Costa saw that the entrenchment was deserted by the Moors, he thought he could capture the guns; so he went into his boat with his men, and went to attack the entrenchment and take them, and Antonio do Campo followed behind to defend him, if there was any need for it; but when they landed, the Moors, who came up to the rescue of the mortars, were so numerous, that if Afonso Dalboquerque had not happened to arrive in time to succour them, it would have gone ill with them all, and as it was, when he arrived, Afonso Lopez da Costa was wounded, with five men in his boat, by the arrows; so he caused them to be mustered, and after severely reprimanding them for having fought in that way, contrary to the orders he had given, he desired them not to cease firing against the stockades, for even if no injury were done, yet it dispirited the Moors who were therein.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, by advice of the captains, attacked the town of Mascate, and destroyed it, and what took place there.

All this being over, the great Afonso Dalboquerque summoned all the captains from their ships, and told them they all knew the civilities which he had interchanged with the

rulers of that city of Maścate, and he was truly concerned at their unwillingness to adhere to the agreement he had made with them; and the principal reason that induced him to make this agreement was that the place was very well supplied with necessaries, and had a harbour excellently adapted to the protection of the ships passing that way on their voyage from India to Ormuz; and in case any need arose while they were in Ormuz, they could from this town obtain what supply was required; and for all that the place appeared strong, as they all might see, and populous, yet he was determined to attack and destroy it, for the rebellion they had made against him, relying on the power of our Lord, who was greater than all, and he begged they would tell him their opinion. The captains replied that in a matter so completely agreed upon and determined, there was nothing to advise about; he might do as he liked and they would follow him. Although Afonso Dalboquerque gathered from this reply that they did not think it advisable to attack the place, because its fortifications appeared very different to those of other towns which they had attacked, yet for all this he dissembled with them, and sent them back to their ships to prepare themselves, and ordered them to come on board his ship with all their men at the sound of his drum.

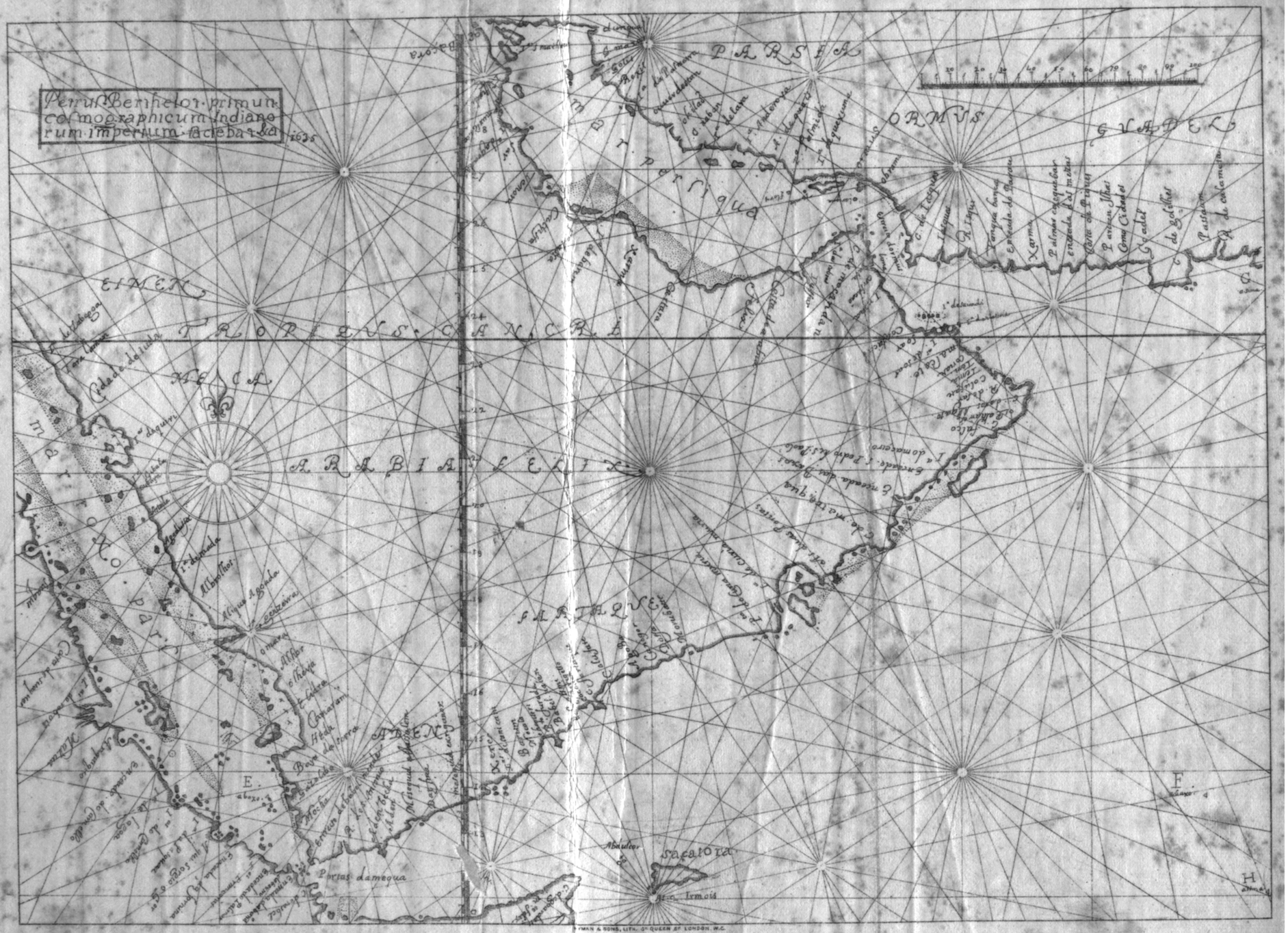
On the next day, while yet the morning star was shining, he ordered the signal to be made, and the captains embarked at once, and came on board the flag-ship, and thence all set out straight to shore, and Jorge Barreto went in Afonso Dalboquerque's boat with his men, and he himself alone in the skiff, settling with each one the part he was to perform. And because the place of entry differed from others, and there was much more danger in attacking it, and it behoved them to use all possible diligence, in order to overcome the Moors with the least risk of their own safety, he ordered Francisco de Tavora and Afonso Lopez da Costa to unite their forces and attack the stockades on the

right hand side, and when these had gone in, to run along the wall and unite with himself who intended to force an entry on the left hand; and having entered the stockades, they would then enter the town, being united in one body, for there were not enough men for two battalions. When he had told them this, all touched land, and attacked the stockade with the greatest fury; and as at this time it was high tide, and our men had to land at the foot of the wall, the Moors commenced shooting arrows and throwing down stones from the top, so that our men had much difficulty in effecting a landing. But when they were on shore, Afonso Dalboquerque drew off the company he commanded, and proceeded to attack the stockades on the left, for there the greatest strength of the enemy lay; and at the same time, Afonso Lopez da Costa and Francisco de Tavóra attacked the same on the right hand side, as had been previously settled. The Moors who were inside, for a long time defended themselves bravely, but our men, albeit with difficulty, forced an entrance, and killed many of them. Francisco de Tavora and Afonso Lopez da Costa, having thus entered the stations, not bearing in mind the orders Afonso Dalboquerque had given, with that vigour and impetus wherewith they had begun the fight, followed up the flying Moors until they drove them into a street in the town, where they put some to death; but as many came up to the rescue, they ran a risk of being destroyed, so they turned back and went along the wall, seeking Afonso Dalboquerque, who severely censured them for disobeying his orders to come and unite with his company. Then all formed into one battalion, and marched to the attack; but as the streets were very narrow, and the lances they carried very long, and as in their eagerness they strove to pass in front of each other, they began to fall into confusion, so that the Moors in this fray wounded many with arrows. Yet, with all this trouble, our men fell upon the Moors so fiercely that

the captain, who came from the interior with his men to succour the town, when he saw himself assailed, turned and fled; and Afonso Lopez da Costa and Francisco de Tavora, who were in the van, went after him, Afonso Dalboquerque, with the rest of the men, being close behind, and they continued the pursuit a good stretch out of the city. Antonio do Campo, leaving Afonso Dalboquerque, in whose company he was, pursued a crowd of women who were retreating to the hills, and killed many of them; while João da Nova, because his own men were very much scattered, collected together a few and followed some Moors who were taking refuge in a valley below, and killed many, as well as women and children who were with them, without sparing any, so that one and all did great execution among them, and killed some of the principal Moors of the town, and among the number an eunuch, who governed under orders of the King of Ormuz. Finally, Afonso Dalboquerque came up to Francisco de Tavora and sent him into the country to collect all the men who were scattered abroad, while he waited; and when all were assembled, he returned to the city, and put all the Moors, with their women and children, found in the houses, to the sword, without giving any quarter. Inasmuch as our men were much distressed with the heat and the hard fighting, and had eaten nothing all day, and there were no more Moors to fear, he ordered the captain to collect them and take them out of the town to rest at some waterpools, where the inhabitants used to get water, setting, nevertheless, sentries to watch the movements of the enemy, and prevent any sudden surprise; and he sent thither some bags of dates, of which all partook and drank of the water, and remained there some time, until all had rested. Afterwards, he returned to the town, and ordered the captains to take stockades on the land side, and fortify themselves in them with barriers in the streets, and with

in case they were attacked, and to set fire to the neighbouring houses where the mariners were to take water for the ships, lest any Moors should secrete themselves in them and cause trouble when they went for it.

When everything had been thus set in order, he gave permission to sack the town, and told the captains that each one must take care to collect into his ship as large a quantity of provisions as possible, for they were going to a land where there would be urgent need of them; and that they must keep good watch in the stockades, both by day and by night, for the Moors were on the mountains and saw all they did, and if they were to observe any remissness, there was very little doubt but that they would attack them by night, for they had no lack of soldiers, since they could get as many as they wanted from the interior. Our men began the sacking on the eighth day they had been there, and found nothing to lay their hands on; but one day, as a soldier was entering a house, carrying a short heavy pike in his hands, he struck it by chance into the front wall of the house, and made a hole, whereby he entered in and found there much merchandise; for the Moors of the town, fearing lest the inhabitants of the interior should come and rob them, had each built a compartment inside his house, without door or windows, and filled it with much merchandise. As soon as this came to the knowledge of our soldiers, there was not a house left standing which they did not break into, wherein they found things of great value, and the obtaining them made them forget their past troubles. And when every one had collected all the spoils he had found, and the ships had been provided with supplies, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the captains to allot to each man a turn of duty, that water might be carried to the ships without those being endangered who carried it; and seeing that there was great lack of barrels for water in the ships, for all were cracked with the great heat of the sun, he ordered the captains to collect all



MAP OF ARABIA.

[*British Museum, Sloane MS.* 197, *fo.* 154.]

the wooden tanks which they found in the city (being used by the Moors in their ships for water), and those which were too large to pass through the hatches, he ordered to be placed on deck, for they were going to a country where they would make great use of them, and so, if it had not been for these tanks, our people would have had great trouble in sustaining themselves in Ormuz after getting there. When all was collected, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered them to fit out the ships with masts, yards, and shrouds, for there was great need of them. In this town there were taken many arms, bows, arrows, lances, and other weapons of iron of native workmanship, and much copper, thirty mortars, large and small, and much merchandise of every kind, which we burned, as we could not carry them away.

CHAPTER XXIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the city of Mascate to be set on fire, and of the miracle which took place when the mosque was destroyed, and how he returned to the ships, and sailed away.

While the great Afonso Dalboquerque was ready on the bank with all his men to embark, a Moor descended from the mountains with a little white flag, and came up safely to him, and begged on the part of the rulers, since God had given him the city, and he had gained it like a brave cavalier, that he would be content to have killed their wives and children, and not burn the houses or the ships. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that for his part he was very sorry to see so noble a city destroyed, but it was their own fault, for they had broken the agreement which they had made with him, relying on the people who had come in from the interior, and, since this was so, they had no reason to demand anything of him; but if they desired to ransom the place,

ships, and supplies yet remaining there, they might send him before noon next day ten thousand *xerafins*[1] of gold, and if they did not send the money by that time, he promised them he would leave nothing but dust and ashes, and that the people, whom they had on the mountains within sight of the place, might bear them news of its destruction. When the appointed hour was passed, he ordered the city to be set on fire, wherein were burned many provisions, and thirty-four ships in all, large and small, many fishing barks, and an arsenal full of every requisite for shipbuilding; and he ordered three gunners with axes to cut the supports of the mosque, which was a very large and beautiful edifice, the greater part of it being built of timber finely carved, and the upper part of stucco. When the supports had been cut through, and the gunners were about to go out, the building came down all at once upon them, so that Afonso Dalboquerque gave them up for dead; but, thanks to Our Lord, they came forth alive and sound, without a wound or a bruise, just as they stood when cutting the supports of the mosque. Our people were frightened, and when they saw them gave many thanks to Our Lord for that miracle which he had done for them, and set fire to the mosque, which was burned, so that nothing remained of it. Now, as our people had many Moors, men and women, prisoners, whom they did not expect to have any need of, and could not carry away, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders that their ears and noses should be cut off, and that they should then be liberated. He then collected all his men, and went round the city to collect some soldiers who were wandering about at random for plunder, and came back to the beach to embark. As soon as the Moors, who were on the mountains, perceived that our people were about to gather themselves together, they began to

descend, and Afonso Dalboquerque, observing their descent, remained where he was on the beach, with his flag flying for a good while, to see what they were about to do. When the Moors saw that he remained quiet, they came on more slowly. And our people, thanking God for the victory he had vouchsafed them, returned to the ships with great pleasure and contentment, firing frequently out of joy. And the Moors, noticing that our people were gone on board, descended the mountains in great haste, to see whether they could put out the fire which was raging in the city; but its fierceness was such that they dared not go in to quench it, being caused by the quantity of oil and molasses in all the houses.

Mascate is a large and very populous city, surrounded on the inner side with very large mountains, and on the sea-board it is close to the water's edge; behind, towards the interior, there is a plain as large as the square of Lisbon, all covered with salt pans, not that the tide reaches there, but the water which is produced therein is saltish, and converts itself into salt. Hard by there are many pools of fresh water, of which the inhabitants make use; and there are orchards, gardens, and palm-groves, with pools for watering them by means of wooden engines. The harbour is small, shaped like a horse-shoe, and sheltered from every wind; it is the principal entrepôt of the kingdom of Ormuz, into which all the ships that navigate these parts must of necessity enter, to avoid the opposite coast, which contains many shallows. It is of old a market for carriage of horses and dates; is a very elegant town, with very fine houses, and supplied from the interior with much wheat, maize, barley, and dates, for lading as many vessels as come for them. This city of Mascate is part of the kingdom of Ormuz, and the interior belongs to a king called the *Benjabar*, who had two brothers; between these [three] the land was divided, extending as far as Aden, and on the north reaching to the shore of the Persian

sea, and from thence as far as the vicinity of Meca. The Moors call this interior the Island of Arabia, because the Persian Sea turns there opposite to the Red Sea in such a manner that this round land is surrounded entirely by sea, that is by the Red Sea and the Persian Sea. It is a very small land, and therefore the Moors call it the Island of Arabia. It had been all governed by a king called the *Benjabar*, and this man had three sons, to whom at his death he left the land to be divided, the eldest always retaining the title of *Benjabar*, as the father had done, and the other two acknowledging him as their lord. This *Benjabar* has dominion over Fartaque, Dofar, Calayate, and Mascate, and his boundary reaches to the land of the *Xeque* of Aden: the other two are situated on the coast of the Persian Sea, and one of them had taken from the King of Ormuz the Island of Baharem, where there is a pearl fishery, about five days voyage from the Island of Ormuz, and had also taken from him Catife, an island held originally by the King of Ormuz on the Arabian coast. In this land, which these lords hold, there are many horses, which the farmers breed for sale; there is also great abundance of wheat, maize, and barley, and great flocks and herds, and there are many who hunt with falcons about the size of our goshawks, and take by their aid certain creatures (*alimarias*), smaller than gazelles, training very swift hounds to assist the falcons in catching the prey.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of what took place between the great Afonso Dalboquerque and João da Nova, and how he set out from Mascate to the town of Soar,[1] and what passed with the governors of the land.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had returned to the ships with all the men, because he had been informed

[1] See the plan and description of the fortress of Soar, in Resende's work, ff. 133-136.

that João da Nova was determined to start off to India without permission, he ordered him to be summoned to his ship, and before all the captains who were present, told him that he had been informed that he was desirous of going off to India without leave, and deserting him in this war, when there was need of many more ships and men than were then available, and the more so, as his ship *Flor de la Mar* was so powerful that it alone was able to destroy all that coast, whereas he himself for his part was determined to set his face in the city of Ormuz, leaving first of all behind him all its towns destroyed, that no enemies might remain behind them. And although Afonso Dalboquerque had understood that the captains were in the league with João da Nova's intentions, as they were all getting so wearied with the war, yet he desired them to give him their advice on this matter. The captains told him that since he was determined to go to Ormuz and destroy every place that was unwilling to put itself under the King of Portugal, he ought to take with him not only the *Flor de la Mar*, but twenty ships if he had them there; and they said this because, if they had said the contrary, it would have been evident that they had counselled João da Nova to go. And with this advice of the captains, Afonso Dalboquerque received profession of obedience from João da Nova, and ordered him, under grave penalty, not to go away, but to continue to follow him; and he put up with everything without replying a word, for he was not innocent of the charge, and João Estão was instructed to draw up a notice of this, and lay it before the master and pilot. He then ordered the captains to return to their ships and weigh anchors, and sail along the coast, according to their usual custom. And as they sailed along, they passed by six desert islands, one in front of the other; and Afonso Dalboquerque, in order to make sure,

shore, not to pass by Soar, and the Moorish pilots said that Soar was further on. While they were in that latitude, a head wind struck them, and obliged them to make for land, and they anchored two leagues from it, and remained there all the night, and when it was morning they beheld a large and very beautiful town. Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of the Moorish pilots what the name of the place was, and they said that it was the fortress of Soar, and they dared not carry him to it, as it was very strong, and contained many men, both horse and foot, and if he was to be overcome there he would lay it upon them. But Afonso Dalboquerque replied that even although Soar were very strong, yet he would do to it as he had done to other places, and they themselves had better be careful, for in the chart which the pilot Omar had made, he had notice of all the places along the coast, and if henceforth they omitted any, he would order them all to be cast into the sea with cannon shot round their necks. He then ordered his anchor to be weighed, and stood as closely in to shore as he could with all the fleet, but as it was a rocky bottom, they anchored half a league from the place. When all the fleet had anchored, a Moor came at once from the place, and brought a message for Afonso Dalboquerque from the Alcaide of the fortress, and told him that the fortress before him belonged to the King of Ormuz, therefore he had better not make any intention of landing, nor think that he would do therein as he had done in other places by which he had passed, for they were in a position to defend themselves very differently. And as the Moor uttered this grand speech, those on shore began to parade the horse and foot soldiers, blowing trumpets and *anafijs*[1] without ceasing. Afonso Dalbo-

[1] A sort of (straight) Moorish trumpet,—*Bluteau*; *Vieyra*.

"Côos Anafijs os Mouros respondião".

Lusiada, ii, 106.

"Com toucas na cabeça, e navegando,
Anafis sonorosos vão tocando."—*Ibid.*, i, 47.

querque's reply was that the Moor might inform the Alcaide to beware what he was doing, for if he refused to put himself under the obedience of the King of Portugal, his lord, he might be certain that on the following morning he would be with him on shore, and take his fortress from him, and put him in chains. The Moor went away not very well pleased with this reply, nor were our party quite satisfied when they beheld so large a place, with a very strong fortress and so many people in it; but considering what had taken place in other parts, they relied on God Our Lord to help them. As soon as the Moor had gone off with the reply, Afonso Dalboquerque sent notices to the captains of what had passed with the Moor, and bade them make ready, each one bringing his ladder to scale the wall. He ordered also two guns to be prepared, and many axes and mattocks, and *alferces*,[1] and all the apparatus necessary for making a strong stockade, from which he could assail the fortress; so that in case they could not obtain immediate possession of it, they might yet be in such a position that they could assemble in the boats without endangering themselves, and this was so hastened on, that on the following day at noon all was ready and put into the boats. When on the point of setting out for the shore, three of the principal Moors of the place arrived with a message from the Alcaide and rulers of the land to Afonso Dalboquerque, telling him that they had of their own accord parted with two thousand horsemen and five thousand foot soldiers, whom the *Benjabar* had dispatched to assist them in defending his domain, for as they were not trustworthy, they were unwilling to admit them into their fortress, and since the King of Ormuz had not sent them the aid which they had requested of him, they had made up their minds to become vassals of the King of Portugal, and the Alcaide

[1] A provincial word, implying a sort of toothed or forked implement,

was prepared to deliver up the fortress to him. Afonso Dalboquerque's reply was that they should say to the Alcaide and rulers of the city that he would accept the town and fortress in the name of the King of Portugal his lord; and that he was very glad to see that they had thought better of the message they had sent him, because of the grief it caused him to be obliged to destroy such a noble place as that was; but the accepting must be on condition of their paying reasonable tribute. The Moors were so dejected at seeing the apparatus which was ready in the boats to be taken to the attack of the place, that they no longer wished to protract the business, and told him that it was not necessary for them to return to land, as he could make whatever agreement he wished with them, since they brought a plenary commission from the rulers and Alcaide of the fortress.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent a flag to the rulers of Soar, to be set up on a tower of the fortress as a signal of peace; and of the manner of its reception, and what further passed.

Inasmuch as the great Afonso Dalboquerque desired that there should be no delay in this affair, he determined forthwith to come to a final arrangement with the Moors, saying to them that as they were minded to become vassals of the King of Portugal, and put themselves under his orders, he was about to send them a flag of his royal arms, to be set up on the highest tower as a sign that they were his vassals; so it was necessary for them to go on shore, and tell the Alcaide and rulers of the place to come to the beach, with all the population, to receive it, and he would cause it to be taken thither. The Moors went away with this message,

and Afonso Lopez da Costa to make ready their boats with gay flags flying, and their men equipped in the best armour they had, to escort the flag which was to go in his ship's boat; and he told D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to prepare himself to accompany the flag to shore, and Jorge Barreto de Crasto, and Aires de Sousa Chichorro, and Duarte de Sousa de Portalegre, to bear it, with five men well appointed accompanying them, and João Estão, scrivener to the fleet, to make a note of everything that was done: and he instructed the captains that the persons who were to bear the flag were not to go on shore until certain Moors had been received into the boats as hostages, and that nobody was to enter the fortress except those whom he had ordered to take possession of it. When all this was arranged, the captains took their leave, and on reaching the land, they asked for six Moors to be detained in the boats, who were immediately delivered up; then Jorge Barreto, with the others of his company, disembarked, and the Alcaide and rulers, who were waiting on the beach with all the populace, received the flag with great delight, and began to march, the Alcaide of the fortress going in front, in very rich apparel, with a Turkish sword in his belt and a staff in his hand, clearing the way and striking the people, who were in crowds, on this side and that. When they arrived at the castle gate, Duarte de Sousa and the rest above-mentioned entered with the flag, and went and set it up on the highest tower, and when it was seen by the men on board the ships, they saluted it with all their artillery. And João Estão took possession of the castle for the King of Portugal, and closed the gates, without leaving any one in it, and a notarial account of all the proceedings was drawn up. This finished, all embarked again and released the Moors detained as hostages.

On the following morning the Alcaide of the fortress sent

promising to obey the King of Portugal, and perform whatever he might command him. So Afonso Dalboquerque summoned the captains and some Fidalgos and noblemen of the fleet, and recounted this message to them, which the Alcaide had sent, asking them to give their advice as to what he had best do in the case. The greater portion considered that he ought to retain the fortress; for if he had a captain and some men in it, he would have, as it were, his foot upon the neck of all the coast. Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that when he found the fortress was so strong, he had determined to retain it; but, as he was resolved to go to Ormuz, and had neither ships nor men to detach for separate service, he had changed his mind, resolving to leave it in the hands of the Alcaide, and go away until he saw how affairs at Ormuz would turn out. And because this opinion of Afonso Dalboquerque was well received by all, he sent word to the Alcaide, that on condition of his continuing obedient to the King of Portugal, and becoming his vassal, he would give him the fortress. The Alcaide, anxious to come to the end of the matter, and regain his position as lord of the fortress, sent one of his servants forthwith with a message for Afonso Dalboquerque, telling him that he accepted the favour offered him; and, as the fortress now belonged to the King of Portugal, and he had revolted from the allegiance of the King of Ormuz, he hoped Afonso would make some provision respecting the pay of the men who were keeping guard there; for if they were not paid they would all desert. The representation made by the Alcaide seemed to Afonso Dalboquerque very reasonable, and he could in no way omit paying the men who were required there, as he had elected not to garrison the fortress with his own men; so he summoned the rulers of the place, and informed them that the yearly tribute due for the future from them was to go towards the payment and sustenance

the fortress, just as they had hitherto paid to the King of Ormuz; and they must cause to be prepared a paper written in Arabic upon the agreement, signed by them, and by the Alcaide; while he, on his part, would execute a counterpart for them in the name of the King of Portugal, sealed with the royal seal of arms, and under these conditions he would receive them into the allegiance of the King of Portugal. The rulers hereupon went on shore, and summoned a meeting of all the people of the city and territory, and laid before them the demand made by Afonso Dalboquerque, and it was universally resolved to acquiesce in what was required of them. On the following day, therefore, in the morning, the paper was forwarded to him signed by all, together with a present of cows, sheep, and fowls, and he sent them a counterpart sealed with the seal of the King of Portugal, and to the Alcaide and to the two principal Moors of the place, some articles from Portugal. He ordered also Gaspar Rodrigues, the interpreter, to pay a visit to a captain of the *Benjabar*, who had remained there with thirty horsemen, when the others who had come to succour the fortress had been dismissed, in order to see our ships and the Portuguese, and he sent him a silver washing basin and a golden chain. When this had been done, leave was taken of the Alcaide, and the captains received orders to make all ready for departing on the following day.

The population of Soar is very large, the town being very beautiful and containing very good houses. There is a fortress of square shape, with six towers round it, having also over the gate two very large towers. The wall is of good height, and proportionately broad, placed close upon the coast in a large bay, which the coast there makes. The harbour has a very rocky bottom. Our ships were anchored in six fathoms, and from them to the shore

say they can isolate it with fresh water; for they have some close by. The situation of the fortress is very favourable, and when the tide is high the sea rises almost up to the wall. Within the fortress there were only the houses required for those who guard it. The houses of the Alcaide were very beautiful, he being a principal man from Ormuz, whom the late king ruined, and cast out of the city by reason of quarrels he had with one of his servants; yet for all that, he was a man well esteemed among the Moors as a cavalier. There would be about six thousand and upwards of inhabitants in the place, and five hundred cavaliers, the greater part of these armed with steel armour, covered with plates of iron, arranged after the manner of a roof tiled with slates, and they are strong enough to resist a shot from a cross-bow. The fore-quarters of the horses are similarly defended; their saddles are of Turkish style, rather high in the pommel; the stirrups also resemble those of the Turks; their spurs are pricks of iron or copper set in a plate fixed to the heel of the boot, and always so worn.

This place Soar contains more nobles than any other place along the coast. The land is more open from mountains towards the interior than the other places; its territory is very extensive, and all cultivated with wheat, maize, and barley, and as the country is thickly wooded, many cattle and horses are bred. The interior parts here are of the dominion of the *Benjabar*, and at peace with the King of Ormuz; and whenever any differences arise between them, and the people of the *Benjabar* attack them, they take refuge immediately in the fortress. The people of the interior are called the *Badens*,[1] and the greater portion of the horsemen are archers, but some carry lances and Turkish maces, while all the footmen go naked from the waist up; they wear hooded caps of felt, lances, and bucklers. The

[1] Badens, *i.e.*, *Bedaween*, or *Bedouins*, a term applied generally to the nomadic tribes of Arabia.

horses are Moorish, of a large kind, well shaped, and fleet. Great quantities of dates and maize are exported hence.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail from Soar, and went along the coast direct to Orfação, and how he took it.

Having taken his leave of the Alcaide and rulers of Soar, on the following morning the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail, and proceeded direct to Orfação,[1] and that night kept well out to sea to avoid a large bay which the land makes there. On the next day, sailing thus along the coast, they sighted a small *zambuco*, which put off from one of the country houses lying along the beach; when he perceived it, Afonso Dalboquerque sent the boats after it to take it, but the *zambuco* sailed so fast that they could not come up with it and speedily lost sight of it. It was afterwards discovered that it went and informed Orfação of the approach of our fleet, and thereupon proceeded on its way to Ormuz direct. As they sailed then along the coast, they perceived a very large place, and the Moorish pilots from Melinde were not quite certain regarding the knowledge of the country; but a pilot whom Afonso Dalboquerque had taken on board at Çocotorá told him that the town in sight was Orfação, and in Omar's book it was so called. As soon as our fleet had arrived opposite the place, the small ships anchored close in to shore, but the large ones a little further out; and each one of them laid out two anchors, as the anchorage was not good. As they entered the harbour, the inhabitants made a great show with many men on foot and horse, and many camels, and

[1] Probably identical with the fortress, twelve leagues distant from Soar, called Corfacam by Pedro Barretto de Resende, who gives a plan and description of it, ff. 136-138.

there was a great excitement among them. Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the captains to make everything ready by night; for he was determined, in case the inhabitants did not come to put themselves in his hands, and make themselves tributary to the King of Portugal, to attack them on the following morning. All this time the people of the country, both on horse and foot, continued moving up and down the beach, with a great parade, skirmishing with one another, beating kettledrums *(atabaques)*, and giving their usual shouts, at one time making as if they would launch an *almadia* into the sea, at another drawing it back to shore, while the camels did nothing but go out of the town gate laden with stuffs towards the interior; and so the whole day passed until nightfall, without anyone coming from the shore to the ships.

As soon as night fell, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to the captains that when they heard his drum beating, they should make all ready and prepare their boats. Two hours after midnight, to awaken them, he ordered the signal to be given, and the captains, being all prepared, came immediately on board the flagship, and as they approached it the morning broke, and all started in well-appointed order, straight for the place, wherein were many people: some on the wall towards the interior; many others on a hill overlooking the town; while some on horse and on foot continued to march up and down the beach. When our men arrived, they began at once to fire the mortars they had in the boats; and the Moors, fearful of our shooting, deserted the beach and gathered together into the town. As soon as the beach was clear, our men landed, and formed in two companies; in the vanguard went Francisco de Tavora, Afonso Lopez da Costa, and João da Nova, with some Fidalgos and Cavaliers of the fleet; in the rear, Afonso Dalboquerque with the other captains and the rest of the men. On coming up to the town, they attacked it in two

places; and in front of Dalboquerque's company was Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, who followed up the Moors until he drove them through a gate; and when they got in, they left the small door open, and came to a hand to hand fight with lances. While this was going on, Afonso Dalboquerque came up; and, seeing D. Antonio de Noronha at the gate, cried out: "Ah! nephew, what a shame is this. Are you here too?" And, with these words, he covered himself with his buckler, and went in by the small gate, fighting the Moors with his sword; and he set himself with his back against the gate, and defended it until our men entered in a body, and there put many to death. By this time, Francisco de Tavora, with the other captains, had forced an entry at another part of the place, where they had killed many Moors. And when the survivors perceived that they were cut off on one side, and already worsted on the other, they took to flight, and our men pursued close upon their heels. And Afonso Lopez da Costa with his men in the front, and Antonio do Campo behind him, followed the Moors far up into a mountain, wherein they trusted to be in safety, by availing themselves of the stones as missiles; but the captains followed so closely upon them, that the Moors, not to injure their own men, left off hurling at ours. And because our men were enticed by the Moors to follow them, Afonso Dalboquerque hurried up with the men in his company, and collected them together, and returned with the united force again into the town, which was already deserted; and as he came near, he saw a band of Moors going out of the gate of the town wall, and he ordered Francisco de Tavora to intercept them, while he himself, with the other captains and men, followed him. So passing a palmgrove, which is situated just as one goes out of the place, Francisco de Tavora came up with some of the people who were fleeing, and spared no lives, and then returned to the position held by Afonso Dalboquerque, according to the orders he had

As soon as Francisco de Tavora was returned, Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving that nevertheless the Moors made slow retreat, and were like tired people, unable to walk, dispatched Don Antonio de Noronha with eighty men, part carrying cross-bows and matchlocks, to pursue them and fall upon them fiercely, thinking to become thus possessed of all the spoils they carried, while he kept in sight, that he might render any assistance that might be required. As the Moors were now at some distance, D. Antonio followed after them at a brisk rate, and soon came up with those on foot, while those on horses, seeing the conflict between us and their comrades on foot, turned back to defend them, and wounded some of our men with arrows, among whom was Antonio Vogado, servant of the Constable, who was struck with an arrow in the face. But when the Moors on horseback perceived themselves evilly treated by our cross-bowmen and fusileers, they deserted their comrades and took to flight, and dared not come near us again. While, however, our men were thus engaged in fighting the Moorish horsemen with lances, those on foot had time to get a good distance away; so Don Antonio returned to the pursuit after them, and, when he came up with them, attacked them with lances, and put many to death, capturing women and children, and taking from them the spoils they were carrying. Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing that Don Antonio was proceeding in disorder, and that there was no more time for going forward, in consequence of the weariness of our men, sent word to him to hold back and return to where he was himself. And in Don Antonio's company were João Estão, Antonio de Sá, Pedralvares, Nuno Vaz de Castelobranco, Antonio Fragoso, Aires de Sousa Chichorro, Fernão Soarez, Lizuarte de Freitas, Antonio de Lis, João Teixeira, Antonio da Costa, Joane Mendez, and João Coelho, all honourable cavaliers, who at that time were not living with the king, but preferring rather to merit that honour by their own

good service than for their fathers' or grandfathers' sakes, besides many others who fought right valiantly that day.

When all were united together, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered all the cattle to be collected which were wandering about in the plains, and the captains to take their stations on the wall to guard the place until he could collect the supplies that were so much needed. And while they were thus at their stations, many Moors came along the ridge of the mountain which leads over the wall, where Antonio do Campo had his station, slinging stones, and shooting many arrows; and as it was a place that our men could not well approach, being a very steep rock, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders that five ship's cannons should be brought up and trained from the tower, which was close to the station held by D. Antonio do Campo, and with these they began to fire upon the Moors, who were scattered in front, and killed four or five, when the others, who saw that the artillery was too much for them, and that they had no protection on the mountain from the shot, assembled together with many others from the opposite side of the hill, and proceeded towards the pools just outside the town, and loosed some large stones down upon our people, who were just then getting water. The cross-bowmen and fusileers, who were stationed at the town gate to protect those who were engaged in supplying the ships with water, began to fire upon them, and knocked three or four of them down; so the Moors, seeing that they were hard pressed, retired that day and never came again. But on the following day, in the morning, there came three Moors, riding on horses and bearing a white flag, close to the place, demanding a safe conduct for themselves, under pretence of parleying with the captain of the fleet, but it seems that they did not want anything, for they never came again after the free pass had been accorded to them.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque got free from these

disturbances, and saw that the Moors were gone off together, he gave orders that the young men who had been captured there should be divided among the ships to work, and with them the captains began to collect what supplies were to be obtained, and these were very few. As for the old Moors who were of no use for work, he had their noses and ears cut off, and then let them go, so that all who had their lives spared were marked in this manner.[1] Among the Moors who had been captured here, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco took one, found in a house, who by reason of his extreme old age was unable to flee, and as he showed by his costume that he was an honourable man, Nuno desired to save him, and carried him before Afonso Dalboquerque, before whose feet he cast himself. Afonso ordered him to rise, asking him whom he was. The Moor replied that he was one of the three governors of the place, and being very old and unable to walk, his sons, to save their own lives, had left him in the open country and gone away, while he, to avoid the fury of the soldiers, had not ventured to wait where he was, but returned to the house wherein the cavalier had discovered him. Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of him respecting affairs at Ormuz, and he gave ample information about it, and related much of the past history of the kingdom, for he was very old and very well informed, praising the spirit of the Portuguese, and saying that he could not with truth deny that they were able to conquer the whole world, for having read the life of Alexander, who had conquered that country, he had not found that this

[1] For a native account of these brutalities, alleged to have been constantly practised by Europeans on the Malabar coast, the reader will do well to consult a work entitled "Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen", an historical work in the Arabic language; translated into English by Lieutenant M. J. Rowlandson, London, 1833. 8vo. At p. 103 is a section "Recounting some of the wicked acts of which the Franks were guilty". A copy of the Arabic text is in the British Museum (Additional MS., 22375).

hero's army had any superiority over that of the Portuguese. Afonso Dalboquerque was astonished when the Moor spoke of having read the life of Alexander, and asked him where he had read it, for he himself was well read, and well inclined to imitate his actions. The Moor then drew from his pocket a book[1] written in Persian, bound in crimson velvet, according to their fashion, and gave it to Afonso Dalboquerque, who indeed prized it more than anything else he could have given him, and accepted it, as it were, as a good omen respecting the determination he had formed of conquering Ormuz. He then gave orders that the Moor should be presented with a scarlet robe and some other Portuguese things, whereat he was greatly rejoiced; but much more so to find himself free, with his ears and nose entire. In this port they found no native or foreign ships, for all had fled as soon as news of our fleet reached them, and the merchants of Guzarat[2] had also gone inwards through the Persian straits, with their households and merchandise. And all the nights that our people spent in the place the Moors gave them so many alarms that they were tired to death, yet for all that they kept such a strict watch that the enemy could not have forced an entry, even if they had numbered ten thousand.

The captains having now laid in an ample supply of fresh water, not knowing how long it might be before they could get any more, as there was great scarcity of it at Ormuz, Alfonso Dalboquerque gave orders that they should collect their crews, and each one for himself set fire to the place, and when the fire began to seize upon the place, there was not a house nor a building left which would not fall to the ground. Thereupon they assembled on the beach and

[1] This was, without doubt, a copy of the well-known heroic poem by Nizāmī, entitled "Iskandar Nâmah", or the History of Alexander the Great. The author died about A.H. 607, or A.D. 1210.

[2] Gujarat (?).

embarked, giving many thanks to our Lord for the favour he had shown towards them.

Orfação is a large town of the kingdom of Ormuz, and contains very good houses; it is very strong on the land side, and the reason of it is this, that it was more fearful of being attacked by land than by sea. Many worthy merchants of Guzarat lived there. The town lies at the foot of a very high mountain, and on the land side it has a very strong wall, which is carried along to the sea; there are two islands within the harbour which improve it very much. In the interior are many estates with good houses, many orange trees, lemon trees, zamboa[1] trees, fig trees, palms, and all sorts of vegetables, and many water pools, which they use for irrigation; in the fields is much straw stubble, as in Portugal, and there are many maize fields. There were also many fishing barks, and many nets, all which were burnt; in the town there were also large stables for horses, and many straw lofts for their straw, for this port exports many horses to India. The country has a temperate climate and fine air. After passing this mountain, which overlooks the place, all the interior country is composed of large fields under cultivation and farms, and all this interior is under the dominion of the *Benjabar*, as the other parts are.

[1] Bluteau says of the Zamboa: "It is a kind of lime or citron tree, which yields a fruit of the shape of an orange, but much larger, and of a more deeply yellow colour. The taste of it resembles that of the orange, but insipid. It is called *Pomum Adami*, because it has on its rind the appearance of two bites, which the simplicity of the ancients imagined to be the vestiges of the impression which our forefather made upon the forbidden fruit, as though it had been reproduced upon this fruit for the remembrance of our disobedience. Others call it *Pomum Assyrium*, for they say that the first stock came from Assyria." The tree is probably one of the varieties of the *Citrus Medica* of Linnæus, with a pronounced warty base to the fruit. Vieyra calls the *Zamboa* a sort of pome citron, of a deep yellow colour. In Arabic the word is written *Zambūà* or *Zambōà*, according to Dozy, *Glossaire des mots Espagnols et Portugais*, p. 363.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out from Orfação to Ormuz, and what passed with the captains when the city came in sight.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, having gone on board his ship, gave orders on the following morning to signal to the captains that they should weigh anchor and set sail; and while all were going on in this manner with a land breeze, a thunderstorm from the land struck them, and the wind dropped. So, because there was a violent current towards a bay which the land makes there, all the fleet re-anchored. And with this storm so much rain fell for the space of two hours that the water got in between the planks of the deck, which had opened by reason of the heat, and spoiled some provisions. They remained there all that night, and on the following morning the wind veered round to land, and they sailed along the shore as before. After two days they reached Cape Macinde,[1] and having doubled it in one day, by the afternoon they sighted two small islands, not inhabited, lying on the route to Ormuz; so when they were just opposite to them, a Moorish pilot (who had been taken on board at Orfação to be carried to Ormuz) advised Afonso Dalboquerque to order the sails to be furled, and all to remain with their foresails at most, for that night they would be off the island of Ormuz.[2] This

[1] Ras Mussendom, or Musandim. In Barretto's plan "Cabo de Monsandam".

[2] Ormuz, or Hormuz Island, 27 deg. 3 min. N., 56 deg. 26 min. E. See the plan and description in Pedro Barretto de Resende's MS., f. 155. A very interesting account of the doings of Afonso Dalboquerque at Ormuz may be gathered from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 20901, which is a sixteenth century Portuguese MS., from the collection of Lord Stuart de Rothesay. The following account from the fly-leaf of this MS. will best show its importance:—

"Este Livro [me deu Manuel de Carvalho de Ataide no anno de 1714, o qual era .... (*erasures*) ...., e]se conservava sem pergaminho

same Moor related to Afonso Dalboquerque, when he found himself carried away to sea, that it was but ten days since he had come from Ormuz, and that the king was already aware of his approach, and had a large fleet to fight with him, and in the city many soldiers and many munitions of war. Afonso Dalboquerque was not pleased at this news, and commanded the Moor not to mention to any one what he had told him. The other Moorish pilots, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had brought from Melinde, advised him to go as before, and not shorten sail, for if he did he would not come in sight of Ormuz until next day.

The advice of these men was approved of by Afonso Dalboquerque, and he gave orders that the fleet should sail on as before, with all sails set, until midnight, when he ordered a gun to be fired four times, as a signal for striking sail, and all took in their mainsails and mizentopsails,[1] and as the sea was smooth, and the wind fair, they proceeded along with their foresails until the morning watch, when he

e com folhas menos no principio como está. He hua Historia do descobrimento e primeiras conquistas da India escrita na Lingua que naquelle tempo se falava, e com a má ortographia que os Portuguezes seguiam. Faltamlhe os primeiros quatro capitulos e o nome de seu autor; mas a marraçam, ainda que simples e de estilo antigo, parece sincera *e he muito mas antiga que Joam de Barros e Damiao de Goes* e chega so ate quando Affonso de Albuquerque conquistou Goa que foy no anno de 1510 e faleceu em Dezembro de 1515." Signed "Freire".

As I intend, on some future occasion, to publish this manuscript, or a translation of it, I merely in this place draw the attention of the reader to the arguments of two chapters, which deal with the present position of Afonso Dalboquerque and Portuguese affairs in Arabia:—

"Capitulo 77 (folio 166*b*). Como os nosos chegaram a villa de Orfacã e como os mouros a despuseram e se forã cõ suas Riquezas."

"Cap. 78 (fo. 167*b*). Como cheguaram há cidade de Ormuz e dos Recados q' houue amtre ElRey e o Capitão moor e da batalha q' houueram e como os Imiguos foram vemcidos e morttos muytos delles."

[1] A. Jal (*Glossaire Nautique*, Paris, 4to, 1848, p. 111) translates this passage thus:—"Quatre feux, qui étaient le signal pour amener les voiles, et tous se mirent alors sous une voilure nouvelle, composée de la grande voile et du contre-artimon."

ordered a sounding to be taken, and found himself in twenty-five fathoms, and hereupon he signalled to the other ships, to know in what depth they were, and all ordered soundings to be taken, and found the same depth, and thus they went along until two hours before morning, when they felt the land breeze, and in a short time the morning began to break, and they saw land clearly. Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of the pilots if the land he saw in front of him was the Island of Ormuz; but as it was yet dusk, they did not feel quite sure whether it was the Island of Ormuz, or of Lara, or of Queixome,[1] for all these three lie in a triangle. When, however, the morning was now cleared up, they recognised it as the Island of Ormuz, and the other two were in sight. Now, as the bottom was getting more shallow every moment, Afonso Dalboquerque became angry with the pilots, but they assured him that he had no cause for being alarmed at the lessening of the depth, for it was a shelving rock, and he would be able to anchor in the harbour in five fathoms. And as, when the sun rose, they were close upon the island, Afonso Dalboquerque conversed with the captains, and ordered them to go along the coast, and fly all their flags, and make ready all their artillery, and many weapons, and make all the men arm themselves, in order that, if anything should happen when they doubled the point, whence all the city could be seen, they might not be taken by surprise; and all made haste to be in readiness, and all the ships, one after the other, in order, doubled the point of the island.

Having doubled the point, when the captains beheld the greatness of the city, and the number of mounted men who were assembled on the beach, and many ships in the harbour well manned and armed, they became dismayed, and in that state of mind came alongside of Afonso Dalboquerque's

[1] These are called *Larequa* and *Queixome* on the Plan in Barretto de Resende's MS., f. 155. The Arabic names are *Lārek* and *Kishm*.

ship, and desired him to be cautious what he was going to meddle with, for that city was not like those others which he had destroyed, as many soldiers could be noticed on shore, and there were many ships, and these well armed, and in their opinion there might even be more than they yet saw, for many days had elapsed since news of his coming had reached Ormuz. He ought, therefore, they said, to take good advice in this business, and not come to any conclusion by himself alone, without taking the opinion of all of them. As Afonso Dalboquerque had been many days wearied by their importunities, he replied that he confessed it was a very serious undertaking, and one which required great caution; but as they were now got into the place, they wanted rather a good determined spirit than good advice. So he refused to hold any more conversation with them upon the subject, but he ordered Manuel Telez and Afonso Lopez da Costa to set their larger sails, and keep on sounding the depth. And if they found that the bottom did not become less than five fathoms, as the pilots had assured him, they were to anchor close to the Moorish ships, while he and the other captains would follow close upon them. Thus they all went and anchored close up to the Moorish ships, the small ships on the side of the land, and the great ships on the sea board. And as Antonio do Campo's ship was small, he ordered it to cast anchor close to his own ship, heading towards his ship; and told his master to cast an anchor and buoy it, so as to reach to a ship close to his own, which was the largest there was in the fleet. And when all the fleet had anchored, he ordered that a salute should be made to the city with all the artillery; and as it was now sundown, there was no more time for anything that day, except to make all taut, and all that night they kept a good look out. The shouting of the Moors, and the sounding of kettledrums and trumpets (*atabaques e anafis*) was so great that there was not a man who could hear what any other said to him.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the fleet which the King of Ormuz had in the harbour, and how it was arranged, and of the messages which passed between him and the great Afonso Dalboquerque.

As some days had elapsed since the king had received certain information of our fleet, and the destruction which the great Afonso Dalboquerque had wrought in all the places along the coast, he began to prepare himself to fight with him. For this end he gave orders to detain all the ships that came into the port of Ormuz, and added a force of sixty great vessels, into which he draughted off many soldiers and much artillery, with everything that was required for the undertaking. And among these great vessels there was one belonging to the King of Cambaya, called the *Meri*, of about one thousand tons burden, with many men and guns, and well equipped for its own defence; and another of the Prince of Cambaya, of six hundred tons, so well appointed that it required nothing from the king's magazine. And besides these ships there were in the harbour about two hundred galleons, which are long ships with many oars, but not very large, and they are armed with two large mortars in the prow, and packed with cotton bales, so high that the rowers are hidden from sight. There were also many *terradas*[1] (like the barques of Alcouchete) full of small guns and men wearing sword-proof dresses[2] and armed from head to foot, most of them being archers. All this fleet was rigged out with flags and standards, and coloured ensigns, and made a very beautiful appearance. The large ships were

[1] *Terradas*, or shore-boats. Barros (ii, 27, 4; 30, 1) uses the word to signify light rowing-boats employed in carrying supplies to Ormuz from the main land. The term is also applied to small boats for service in war.

[2] *Laudeis.* Bluteau quotes "hum laudel de laminas" *Barros*, ii dec., fol. 10, col. 3; and "laudeès de algodão," *id.* iii, 95, 2.

on the outside, and the galleons and *terradas* on the land side of the city, alternately arranged, the stem of one to the stern of the other; and in this order they had encompassed all our fleet. On shore, too, there were to all appearance along the beach fifteen or twenty thousand men, very brilliant with their arms, many of them on horses, and blowing their trumpets and *anafis;* and the shouting on land and on the ships was so great that one would think the world had come to an end.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque perceived the order in which the Moors had arranged their fleet, and that this time they meant fighting, he summoned his captains and inquired of them what he should do, and whereabouts he should commence, for his determination was, with the help of Our Lord, to fight the fleet, however great it might be, and risk his life and everything else for the honour and credit of the King of Portugal his Lord; and, therefore, he did not ask if he should do it, but how he should do it. And although there were many different opinions among the captains and the others, when they beheld themselves with a small fleet encompassed by so many ships, and were alarmed also at the great size of the city, and the numbers of soldiers it contained, so that they could no longer form any good counsel as to what they should do; nevertheless they agreed to fight, but first of all to communicate with the king to know his intentions.

Upon hearing this opinion expressed by the captains, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Gaspar Rodrigues, the interpreter, in the skiff to desire the captain of the ship *Meri*, which lay nearest to him, to give him a messenger by whom he could forward a message to the king; and the captain sent two, and made an offer of whatever else of which there was need. And by them Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to the king that he had come thither with the King of Portugal's fleet with the desire of serving him; and by reason of the tumult

he observed among the men on board the ships, he desired to know whether there was to be peace or war between them. When the king had received this message, he forthwith forwarded the answer by an Armenian Moor, named Cogebeirame, who, upon entering the ship, found Afonso Dalboquerque and all the captains and nobles, armed, sitting on the quarter deck on benches covered with carpets, and all the rest of the fleet's company armed; and having made his obeisance (slightly disquieted) he said to Dalboquerque, "Sir Captain, the King of Ormuz hath heard thy message, and desireth to know of thee what thou wishest, and what thou comest to seek in this his port?" Afonso Dalboquerque answered him: "Say to the King of Ormuz, that the king D. Manuel, King of Portugal, and Lord of the Indies, desiring greatly his friendship, hath sent me to this his port to serve him with his fleet, and if the king be willing to become his vassal and pay him tribute, I will make peace with him and serve him in everything he shall command me against his enemies; but if he be unwilling, let him know that I will surely destroy all this fleet wherein he placeth his trust, and take his city by force of arms".

Cogebeirame took his leave with this reply, which was much reprehended by the captains, who said many things to their chief, as though they would chide him for replying so harshly to the king at a time when there was need of passing many compliments between them. But Afonso Dalboquerque, with his accustomed invincible spirit,[1] said to them, "Gentlemen, I am not the man to achieve so im-

[1] *Afonso Dalboquerque, com aquel animo invencivel que tinha*, etc. Camões, in several passages, alludes to the indomitable nature of Afonso Dalboquerque, as, for example:—

"Albuquerque terribil, Castro forte,
E outros, em quem poder não teve a morte."

Lusiada, i, 14.

"Mais estanças cantara esta Sirena
Em louvor do illustrissimo Albuquerque,

portant an affair as this is with dissemblings and sentiments, but as a cavalier and great captain I will perform the duties entailed upon me by the orders I have received from the king our lord, and therefore fortune may incline whichever way she pleaseth, but I trust in the Passion of Jesus Christ in whom I place all my confidence, to break the spirit of these Moors and render their king tributary to the king, our lord, or they must take my head in their hands; and this is the best and soundest advice that in such a state and season as this we can take, for we are so placed that we can do nothing else; therefore let every one go to his ship and prepare himself, and when he hears one gun fired, let him up and do as he shall see me do." So Cogebeirame reached land, and recounted to the king all that had passed with Afonso Dalboquerque and how he had found him. And the king sent him immediately for Cogeatar and all the governors of the city, and related to them the reply brought by Cogebeirame, and the rest he had acquainted him of. Cogeatar, as he was the principal in the government, and the man upon whom all was dependent, said that the advice that the king ought to take in the business was to protract the affair as much as he could until the arrival of the fleet and soldiers sent for from the mainland, which could not possibly be later than the next day, as he already had information that they were on the other side; and they ought not, he said, to be frightened at the proud reply which the chief captain of that fleet had made to Cogebeirame, for it was to hide their fear by bragging, and he himself hoped to

Mas alembrou-lhe huma ira, que o condena,
Postoque a fama sua o mundo cerque.
. . . . . .
Se o peito, ou de cioso, ou de modesto,
Ou de usado a crueza fera e dura,
Co'os seus huma ira insana não refrea,
Põe na fama alva noda negra e fea."

Ib., x, 45, 47.

take alive all the Portuguese who were there, and make use of them in the war with the neighbouring people. This advice of Cogeatar was well received by all the governors; for by reason of the number of ships and men they had, they thought it would be great folly for our men to desire to fight with them.

So the king again sent Cogebeirame to Afonso Dalboquerque to say that he was highly delighted at his coming, because he wished to make a friendly treaty with the King of Portugal; but he desired to know, since he had determined to come to the port and make an arrangement for peace and friendship with him, wherefore he had destroyed his places that he had all along that coast, killing all the people that he found therein; for if he had received any insult from the rulers of these places, it was from him that he ought to have sought redress, instead of destroying them; and as for the tribute he had sent to demand, he would commune with his governors and officers of his revenues, and remit him the reply that they might agree upon. When Cogebeirame arrived with this reply, Afonso Dalboquerque sent forthwith a summons for the captains, and told them that they had many times complained of him behind his back that he did not give them any account of what he did, but now was an opportunity for them to advise him and reprehend him; for the reply sent to him by the king rather appeared to be dissembling than an agreement to give what was demanded, since he had made mention of the evil which his places had received at their hands. The captains replied that they had much reason to complain of him, for his coming to Ormuz had not been by their advice nor of their own will; but as they were now there, they would have to make some kind of convention with the king, because, by reason of the quantity of soldiers and ships which were in the port, they did not doubt but that they were very likely to be all undone, and since the

agreement could be brought about without any trouble, they desired him as a great favour that he would use his best endeavours to arrange the affair peaceably.

Afonso Dalboquerque hereupon told them that he had not come thither to beg of the King of Ormuz, but to make war upon him if he were unwilling to become subservient to the King of Portugal, and that they had been there already three days, and all the rest of the time they might spend there without coming to any determination would be clearly a proof of their weakness. When this conversation with the captains was over, he told Cogebeirame to report to the king that he was very glad at the desire he had evinced for having peace with the King of Portugal his lord, for it would be better for him to do so; but this must be finally concluded without more words, and that as for his complaint that he had acted unreasonably in burning and destroying his places, the fault lay with his captains, who had endeavoured to deceive him, seeing that before he had made war upon them he had laboured hard for peace, and the proof of this was that he had not destroyed Soar and Calayate because those in command there chose peace. Cogebeirame returned with this reply, and as it was the policy of Cogeatar to protract this matter, he immediately sent Cogebeirame back again, begging Afonso Dalboquerque not to be annoyed at any delay there might be, for the king could not pay tribute without the advice and assent of all the lords of his kingdom, that there might not hereafter arise doubts about the payment; but that his men might come on shore safely and take fresh provisions and whatever else they required. This he did to gain some idea of the number of Portuguese in the fleet, for he was astonished at what Cogebeirame had reported as having witnessed in Afonso Dalboquerque's ship. As Dalboquerque, however, became more and more acquainted with the stratagems of Cogeatar, he told Cogebeirame to inform

him that he had been there waiting for the king's ultimate reply three days, and desired him graciously to take good advice, and on the following day in the morning he would send him word of his future intentions; for unless an answer reached him, he assured him he would destroy his fleet, and afterwards capture the city by force of arms. And he dispatched the captains to their ships to make ready, and when they heard a gun shot, do as they saw him do.

CHAPTER XXX.

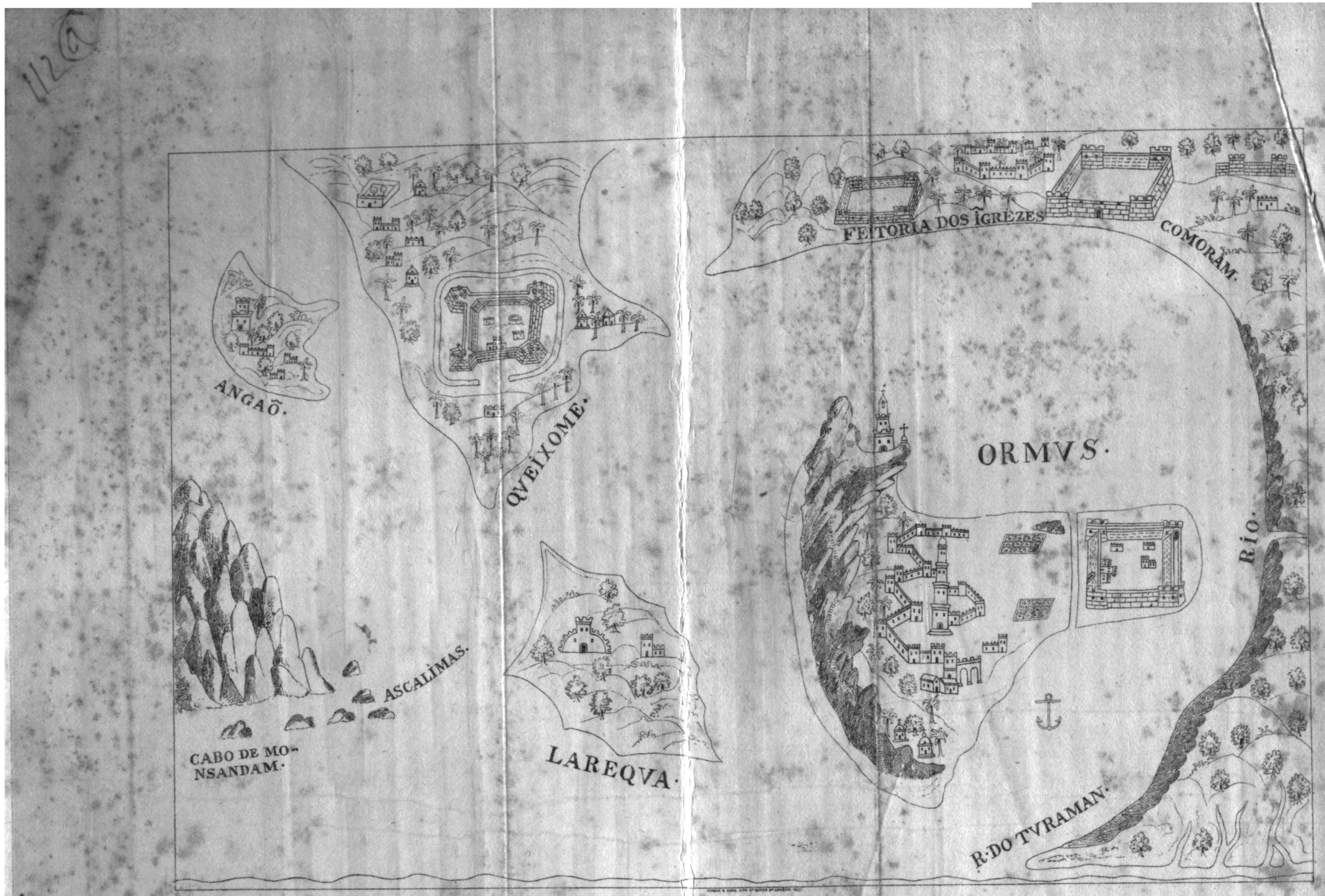
How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing that the reply was put off, proceeded to attack the fleet which lay in the port of Ormuz, and defeated it.

Although the captains were not very well pleased at the reply sent by Afonso Dalboquerque to the king, yet having returned to their ships, they made ready their artillery and apparatus for assault, waiting for the signal which he had appointed. At the same time, the Moors, being alarmed at the consultations held in our ships, kept on hauling their cables, which were laid out in the direction of the city, to get further off from us. But as Afonso Dalboquerque perceived all that they did, he at once sent a message to the captains to go into their boats with armed men and splice their cables together, and lay them out with buoys close along the Moorish ships which were crowding away. The captains, though they were dismayed at the peril in which they found themselves, like brave and spirited cavaliers, set to work, and the master of the flag-ship, with fifty armed men, proceeded to place a grapnel upon the cutwater of the ship *Meri*.[1] The ship's captain, well aware of

[1] "Et le maître de la nef capitaine, avec 50 hommes armés, alla fixer un grappin dans la gorgère de la nef *Meri*." A. Jal, *Gloss. Naut.*, p. 792.

the reason for the king's delay, perceived the changed position of our ships, and called out from the quarterdeck to Afonso Dalboquerque not to be angered, for the reply would be sent very soon. And no less praise is due to the masters, pilots, and seamen, for, though fighting was not their profession, yet, being armed at all points, with great spirit and assiduity they carried out all the instructions given by the captains.

When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived the gleaming of the swords and waving of the bucklers, and other doings of the Moors on shore, who acted like people who cared nought for him, he understood by these signs that Cogeatar was determined to give him battle, and that there was no more time now for dissimulation, as they were now gotten into the place, but he would have to find some remedy for himself. He, therefore, made up his mind to attack the enemy before they received any of the expected succour, and put himself in order to make an assault on the fleet on the following day, unless a reply arrived, appointing the different commands of his ship to D. Antonio, his nephew, and Jorge Barreto de Crasto, D. Jeronymo de Lima and D. João de Lima, and all the remaining Fidalgos and king's officers in his ship. He ordered Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco to take charge of the artillery and gunpowder, and advised the captains of the other ships to make similar arrangements, and remain in readiness and do whatever they saw him do. When morning broke, and Afonso Dalboquerque plainly saw that no message from the king was forthcoming, and that this delay meant war and not peace, he ordered a broadside to be fired. The bombardiers took aim so that with the first two shots they fired they sent two large ships which were in front of them, with all their men, to the bottom—one being the Prince of Cambaya's, the other that of Meliquiaz of Diu. Afonso Lopez da Costa, who was stationed on the land side,



PLAN OF ORMUS.

[*British Museum, Sloane MS.* 197, *fo.* 156.]

vanquished and sent to the bottom some portion of the galleons and *atalaias*[1] which his artillery could reach. Manuel Telez, after having caused great slaughter upon some vessels, gave orders to let go a cable, which was laid out to the sea, and ran into a large vessel which lay close to him, and killed a part of the men in it, while the rest threw themselves into the sea, and those who were heavy-armed went down at once. João da Nova, too, with his artillery did great execution among the ships which lay along the piles; as did also Antonio do Campo and Francisco de Tavora, among the galleons which had surrounded them, and all night long they kept on hooking their anchors together in order to catch the galleons in the middle of them. And although the Moors endeavoured to avenge themselves with their artillery, our men were so well fortified with their defences, that they did them no harm, except on the upper deck, and with their arrows they wounded some people.

The fight was so confused on this side and on that, both with artillery and arrows, that it lasted some time without either party seeing each other by reason of the smoke. As soon as this cleared off, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered in great haste to let go a cable which he had lying out seaward, and ran into the ship *Meri*, and killed many of its men with matchlocks and crossbows, and among them the captain (who was a principal man of Cambaya); and when Afonso saw the discomfiture of the king's fleet, and the unexpected victory which Our Lord had sent him, and the Moors throwing themselves into the sea from fear of our artillery, thinking, forsooth, that they could escape in that way by swimming, in order to repress them he left his ship and took D. Antonio with him in his skiff,

[1] *Atalaias*. Swift rowing boats used to accompany large vessels, and keep up their communications with the shore or the fleet. The Arabic signifies "a sentinel, a watch-tower". In this passage the word means "*guard-boats*". See Dozy, *Glossaire*, 209, 210.

and called out to the captains to take to their boats and follow up the victory. And the first captain who came up to him was Manuel Telez, and as his boat was the lighter for rowing, he got into it with his royal flag (which is now in the church of Our Lady of Grace), and proceeded, in sight of all our men, to set himself in the middle of the Moorish fleet, so as to be wherever he was required, and give orders to the captains respecting their proceedings, and there he remained without yielding, though well plied with arrows and gunshot. And he commanded Jorge Barreto de Crasto to get into his boat with Jorge da Silveira, Aires de Sousa Chichorro, Duarte de Sousa, Nicolao de Andrade, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, and many other Fidalgos and king's officers with him, and go and attack the ship *Meri*, and if there were any men left in her, to put them all to the sword without sparing the life of any one.

So Jorge Barreto proceeded to attack the ship, and the first who entered was Gaspar Diaz de Alcacere do Sal, and as he boarded her they cut off his right hand, which immediately fell down there with the sword in its grasp, and Afonso Dalboquerque gave him of his possessions for life ten thousand reals pension. After him entered João Estão, scrivener to the fleet, who defended him from being killed, and Pero Gonçalvez, pilot, who received two such severe wounds that he had like to have died, and Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, who with his cross-bow wounded and killed many Moors, as long as his supply of arrows lasted. And after these all the others entered who came with Jorge Barreto, and three mariners from the flagship, and all united together fought with such spirit, that of sixty Moors who were left in the ship, unwilling to trust themselves to the sea, all lay dead stretched along the deck; and so the

CHAPTER XXXI.

How the captains, after the taking of the ship *Meri*, followed up their victory, and of the havoc they made in the fleet, and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque proceeded to attack the jetty,[1] where he was wounded.

When Jorge Barreto had taken possession of the ship *Meri*, our men who were left in her began to use her artillery against the people of the city, who promenaded upon the beach, and did them much damage, while Jorge Barreto went to join D. Antonio, who was proceeding in the skiff of the flag-ship, and Francisco de Tavora, in his own boat, and all pursued some galleons, which were flying for safety to the island of Queixome; and with the artillery they had at hand, as well as with their matchlocks, they killed an innumerable multitude of Moors. In company with D. Antonio there were Francisco de Melo, Pero Gomez, Rui Diaz (sons of gentlemen of Alenquer), and Simon, eldest son of the Commendador of Almourol, James Teixeira, Duarte de Mĕlo, Pedralvres Froes, and Antonio Vogado. These captains, after having routed the galleons and sent many of them to the bottom, went on towards the place where Afonso Dalboquerque was stationed, and he forthwith dispatched Antonio do Campo to go and take possession of a ship which was on the point of yielding; and with him went Nicolao Juzarte, his nephew, and Antonio Dabreu, and many others; and they fought with it a long time without being able to board it, for the Moors of the ship were Fartaquins, and made a stout defence.

[1] *Cerame*, a Malabar word for a kind of watch-tower made by erecting a flooring upon the standing trunks of four trees arranged in a square, over which is placed a roof of palm-leaves. Cf. "El-Rey de Calecut em seu Cerame."—*Barros*, i, 203, 2. In this chapter the word appears to be used for a kind of pier erected upon piles, and forming a kind of jetty, which latter word I have adopted in the translation of

When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived them in this strait, he sent Afonso Lopez da Costa to their assistance, and he was accompanied by Antonio de Lis, son of Alvaro Gil de Lis, of Setuval, and Antonio de Azevedo, and Bras da Silva, his brother, and Alvaro Fernandes, page of the chapel to the king, and other gentlemen, who fought so well that they forced an entry into the ship, and killed a great number of the people in it, while some who could not stand against the fury of the attack cast themselves into the sea. João da Nova, who was close by them, seeing them in the sea, took to his boat with Fernão Soares, João Luis, servant to the king D. Manoel, and Antonianes, master of his ship, and all began to slaughter the Moors who were swimming, and killed many of them, while others were drowned; and thereupon he went to grapple with a large ship, wherein were many Moors who had not yet been exposed to our fire; and as he began to attack them, Francisco de Tavora arrived in his boat, and with him Manoel de Lacerda, D. João de Lima, Bastião de Miranda, Pero Dalpõe, Martin Vaz, Lopo Alvres, servant of the Constable, and Diogo Neto, and many men-at-arms. And so arriving alongside the ship, he on the one side and João da Nova on the other, they boarded her, and killed as many as they found in her, without sparing any lives. Afonso Dalboquerque, who was keeping a look-out over what was being done, perceived that some managed to escape by swimming, and ordered the captains to intercept them on the land side, and put all to the sword; and they did so, and gave life to none. So numerous in the sea were the Moors, who cast themselves out of the ships which the captains boarded, or belonged to the ships which our artillery had sunk, that as they could not find room to get off in the limited number of boats, and our soldiers were now fatigued with the carnage, they got away in large numbers by swimming.

At this period Cogeatar was advancing in a *parao*, well equipped, with its bulwarks covered with red cloths, and a half-round top on the masthead, inspired with the greatest fury of battle, encouraging his men to fight, and he carried with him many Turkish braves, their arms inlaid with silver and gold, and many archers, unknown to us until the last moment, when a Moor announced it to Afonso Dalboquerque, just as Cogeatar was already making for land after the defeat of his fleet. Thereupon he ordered the captains in their boats and Jorge Barreto de Castro to follow him to land, and attack the *parao* wherein he was. And when they came up with them, the Moors were so close to the houses that they cast themselves into the sea, and Cogeatar likewise with them, leaving behind in the *parao* many swords adorned with gold and silver, and *agomias*,[1] and brocaded vestments, and silk, all the spoil of the nobles, which our people took from him, and with it they returned to the place where Afonso Dalboquerque was. And when all were reunited, they returned again to the battle on the sea with the Moors who were swimming, and with lance thrusts and cuts they killed so many of them that, although, as they were tired of slaughter and unable to accomplish their whole purpose, some managed to escape, yet the sea was so tinged with blood that it was a fearful thing to look at.

The cabin boys and ships' servants, also, on their part, did nothing but thrust the bodies under water with grappling-hooks, and tear out their bowels, in such a manner that the slaughter was great among them; and there was one cabin boy who alone put to death eighty Moors. And inasmuch as all this took place along the water's edge, our people suffered much loss by reason of a jetty, which the king had made of wood, placed in the sea in front of the gates of the castle, with the artillery contained in it and with arrows

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque observed that we were exposed to the artillery, he ordered his boat to be driven fiercely upon the jetty, determining, as soon as all the captains had assembled, to attack the castle; and there was not much doubt but that he would have entered it if all united, for the Moors were so full of fear at the rout they sustained, that there was but little to do to effect an entrance. But the captains had not been aware of his intentions, neither did Afonso Dalboquerque think it possible; but the victory and the rout of the enemy showed him what he could have done if all had arrived in time; yet with him none was found except Antonio do Campo, and both fought fiercely with the Moors who were placed upon the jetty; and with the guns that they carried in the boats they killed some of them at the castle gates, and these they saw dragged off at once into the fortress. The rowers in the boat wherein Afonso Dalboquerque was, on the return from the fight, launched it in such a mahner that they drove the boat under the jetty, and there Afonso Dalboquerque was wounded, as were also Manoel Telez with an arrow-shot in the face, and Pero Vaz Dorta, and Jorge da Silveira and two bombardiers, and three or four more men; and in the boat of Antonio do Campo there were wounded himself and Antonio Dabreu and five mariners. And for all that these were then wounded, they fought so fiercely with the Moors that they drove them right through the castle gate, and in this all the captains assisted in their boats, and united together and disembarked, and marched along the city firing into all the houses. This battle, which our men had with the Moors on the sea, lasted from seven o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, and in it there perished an infinite number of Moors, and the gunners so managed that day (for Our Lord was thus pleased to help them) that there was not a single shot fired that did not send a ship to the bottom and put many men to death.

CHAPTER XXXII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque routed the fleet, and traversed the city, burning and destroying all the suburbs; and how the king sent two Moors in a ferry-boat to sue for peace.

Afonso Dalboquerque, not content with having routed and destroyed all the king's fleet, in order that nothing might remain undone, gave instructions to Afonso Lopez da Costa, Antonio do Campo, and D. Antonio de Noronha, to go in their boats and give chase to some guard-boats that were making off towards the mainland. And as they went favoured with the victory which Our Lord had given them, they pursued them, and sent all that they overtook to the bottom, and put to death all the people that were in them, and to others they set fire, and these went on burning over the sea, wherever the wind drove them, and it was a great sight to behold. And Afonso Dalboquerque, with the other captains, went along the beach, bombarding the suburbs, burning all the ships that were moored to the shore; and they approached so close that from the windows and terraces the enemy wounded some of the men with arrows and stones; and all the ships he met with in the sea, as they were collecting together to moor themselves to the land, he took and set on fire, putting all the people to death.

And as at this time there were some captains going about in disorder in their boats after this kind of fishing, he gave orders that a signal should be made for them to return to the place where he was, and all returned at once and came to land half a league from the city. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque arrived he found Francisco de Tavora and João da Nova there, like persons of little prudence, with their men on land; and when he came up with them he told them that, as men to whom it was difficult and almost impossible to fight in that fashion they ought not to remain so care-

lessly on their enemy's land, without his permission, and commanded them to return at once to the boats, and ordered Afonso Lopez da Costa to disembark with his people, and go and take a hill whereon were large buildings and sepulchres of noble Moors, and to reconnoitre from thence all the country, and see what was going on there; and with him he sent certain gunners and other people to set fire to any ships they might meet with, and the houses in the vicinity. When Afonso Lopez da Costa had reconnoitred the country and saw that it was in a safe state, he set out from the hill along the side of the suburb with his people in sight of our boats, burning and destroying all he found; and Afonso Dalboquerque followed supporting him on the sea side along the shore, with all the captains, and from that point up to the city not a thing remained in the suburbs that was not burned, without any one offering resistance. And some Moors, who were minded to fortify themselves in some houses and defend them, died there, all being burned, while all the ground along was covered with people flying from the city to the mountains.

Cogeatar, finding all the fleet of the King of Ormuz routed, and his own bravado repressed, and fearing lest Afonso Dalboquerque should attack the city, now ordered a white flag to be raised upon the highest tower of the castle, in sign of peace. Afonso Dalboquerque, as he was going along the houses, perceived the flag, and rested on his oars at once and remained stationary, sending Afonso Lopez da Costa who was coming along the land, to collect his men; and as he was thus engaged, there arrived a ferry-boat with two Moors and a white flag, seeking peace; these Moors were natives of Ourão,[1] and had but a few days before arrived at Ormuz and brought news of the fleet which the king D. Manuel had sent to Turkey, wherein was the Count Prior as Captain-General, and by means of them the king of Ormuz sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque, that he put himself into

[1] ? Oran, the Arabic form is Wahrān.

his hands, and would deliver up the city to him, since he had taken possession of all the rest of his kingdom.

And as the sun was now gone down and the men had eaten nothing all the day long, Afonso Dalboquerque retired to his ships, and sent one of the Moors in the *almadia* to land with a message to the king, that before ever he would enter upon any business that the Moors had broached, he must send him ten principal Moors of the city as hostages, who without any more delay, on the following day at dawn, must come on board his ship, and he must know for a certainty that at the least attempt at deception he would order them to be cut in pieces and cast on shore. As soon as one of the Moors had set out with this message, Afonso Dalboquerque retired to his ships with all his men to rest after the labours of that day, and took with him the other Moor who was called Abedalá.[1] And when it was morning he sent word to the captains to come in their boats on board his ship, and they made their way to all the Moorish ships, which were at anchor without crews, and ordered them to be cut adrift, and to be set on fire. As the land breeze was blowing they drifted over the sea burning, so that it was a fearful thing to see it.

And as there were some ships which were among our fleet, and it was dangerous to set them on fire, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered them to be scuttled, and they sank to the bottom, after they had first taken out of them some of their contents for the use of the fleet. When this had been done he returned and they reassembled, and he told the captains that they must get ready, for if no reply from the king arrived before ten o'clock he was determined to attack the fortress and enter it by force of arms and take the king prisoner with all his governors. The captains retired to their ships, ill pleased with this determination of Afonso Dalboquerque; but they dared not to speak of it to him, and he went to his ship and sent for Abedalá and

[1] Abedalá, = Obaidallah, diminutive of Abdallah.

acquainted himself through him of the state in which the City of Ormuz lay, and asked him what was the reason that the king was unwilling to make peace and friendship with him. Abedalá told him that the king was a young man, and it was not his fault, but that Cogeatar, who was governor of the kingdom, had worked upon the king not to make any agreement with him, as he was quite certain of the victory when he saw the smallness of their fleet and fewness of the men; and that he had caused proclamation to be made throughout the city, that every Moor who killed a Portuguese should die for it, but they were to take them all alive, that he might by their means make war upon the *Benjabar*; and Cogeatar had summoned them on the day the fleet arrived, and inquired of them what manner of men the Portuguese were, and whether they were warlike, and what men they might bring in their fleet; and they told him that the Portuguese were reputed cavaliers beyond all the Christian and Moorish kings of those parts, and it was because they were so that the King of Portugal had gained possession of many places in the kingdom of Fez from the Moors; and upon hearing what they told him, Cogeatar began to threaten them greatly, but they answered him: "Sir, do not deceive thyself but believe me, if there is no sword there will not be any law of Mahomet."

And on the morning of the following day, the Moor who had accompanied Abedalá returned, and brought four principal Moors as hostages. Afonso Dalboquerque began to grow angry, and asked him why the king had not sent the ten Moors whom he had sent to demand. The Moor answered him that all the people of the city had fled or were dead, and, therefore, he had only sent four who were the chiefs of the land; and the king had said that if he were not content with this, he would come himself and deliver himself and all his household into his hands. Afonso Dalboquerque dissembled with him, and made no reply

until he saw how the matter would turn out; but ordered all the captains, Fidalgos, and honourable men in the fleet to be summoned to his ship; and all being seated on the quarter-deck of the ship, which was very well adapted for this purpose, he caused the Moors to be brought before him, and one of them, who was the chief of the king's household, began to speak in this manner:

"The king of Ormuz, our lord, says, that in the affairs which have taken place between thee and him, which have produced so many ills, and the destruction of ships and men, he has no excuse to offer thee, for he is young, and has never entered into the troubles of war before now; and that evil counsels of his governors caused him to reject the peace and friendship which thou offéredst him, of which he is very sorry; and he would to God that this repentance of his had not cost him and his people and subjects so much as it has done. That this kingdom belongs to the King of Portugal, and he desires to deliver himself up into thy hands, and do all thou desirest, and he begs thee to have pity upon him and upon this people; and that thou wilt deal with him as a father with a disobedient son, who after his repentance pardons him; and that since this kingdom belongs to the King of Portugal, he hopes that thou wilt no longer desire to destroy this city, for it is in such a plight that there is not a house in it wherein are not felt troubles, deaths, and misfortunes. And Cogeatar, who is governor of the kingdom, and the rulers of the city, send to tell thee that they are thy slaves, and that the kingdom is thine, and they desire to be at thy command, and do all that thou wishest them to do." Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the Moors out without answering them, and consulted with the captains and Fidalgos who were there present what he should do in the matter, and all agreed that he ought to receive these offers, and that the Moors should remain in the ship until the business was settled with the king.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the reply which the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave to the Moors; and how he sent Pero Vaz Dorta, factor, and João Estão, and Gaspar Rodrigues, interpreter, to land; and of what passed with the king and his governors.

The matter having been arranged in the manner I have mentioned, the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the Moors to be summoned, and told them before everybody that he was very desirous of serving the king provided he were willing to obey the King of Portugal, his lord, as he said he would; and, in order to put a finish to the matter, he would send Pero Vaz Dorta, factor of the fleet, to speak with the king, and he especially would desire them, until the man returned with the answer, not to be concerned at remaining there in the ship. The Moors replied, that he could do as he wished; for they had come of their own accord to do whatever he ordered them to do. Afonso Dalboquerque sent Pero Vaz Dorta to land, and João Estão, scrivener to the fleet, and Gaspar Rodrigues, the interpreter, with him, to tell the king and Cogeatar and the governors of the city, that he, in the name of the most high and mighty king D. Manuel, King of Portugal and Lord of the Indies, would receive the obedience which he had sent to offer; and that, until this was performed in the proper manner, he would hold his hand from continuing the war with him, so he begged they would conclude the matter forthwith, and not let there be pretences in this as there had been in past affairs. And after confiding this message to Pero Vaz in the presence of all, he withdrew with him apart, and told him to keep an eye unawares upon the disposition of the fortress and its entrances and exits, and notice how many men the king might have with him, and whether there were many pieces of artillery and arms, and in what order they were.

As soon as they were set out with this message, as Afonso Dalboquerque was not careless of the things which his duty required, and of the charge with which he was entrusted, and because he was not sure how this business would turn out, he at once commenced to provide himself with everything that was necessary to the attacking of the city, and ordered them to collect much timber from the Moorish ships to fortify themselves with palisades in whatever part of the city they might obtain a footing, and sent a watch to reconnoitre all round the island, lest any reinforcements of men, water, or provisions should come in from the mainland. Pero Vaz and João Estão went to land, and delivered the message to the king and to Cogeatar; and, as these were very desirous of peace, they forthwith dispatched the business. When Pero Vaz Dorta had returned with the reply, he said to Afonso Dalboquerque, in the presence of everybody, that the king sent to kiss his hands because he was willing to receive them for vassals of the King of Portugal, and accept their friendship, and he promised always to remain his faithful subject. And Cogeatar had sent word that he had been the slave of King Sargol, and now was his; and since the king had submitted to him and the land was his, he could do as he chose, and therefore he begged him of his grace to forgive him the punishment he rightly deserved for not coming the day before to submit himself: for he would swear by his faith that to such a course he never consented; but that the people and some Moorish merchant had made him do so, and if they were to blame at all in the matter, they should be well repaid for it. When Afonso Dalboquerque heard this reply of the king and Cogeatar, before ever he would take any steps in the matter with the hostages or with the Moors of Ourão, he withdrew with Pero Vaz and João Estão, and enquired of them concerning those things which he had desired them to notice. Pero Vaz Dorta told him that the

king had about him some archers, and that the fortress within was strong and large, but that for its defence the King of Ormuz had need of more men than those whom they noticed about him, and that they noticed very good artillery of [gun]-metal, but small, and some other of iron; and that he had learned from some Moors, with whom he had spoken after taking his leave of the king, that his determination and that of all those who were with him, was to put themselves into their hands and do all he might command, and this he himself credited, as he found them very much broken down, like people who were conquered and overthrown.

At the receipt of this information from Pero Vaz and João Estão, Afonso Dalboquerque made up his mind to send the four Moors, whom he had detained as hostages, to shore, to prove whether in these words which the king and Cogeatar had conveyed to him, there lay any malice as in the other business now passed, as well as to show them his great confidence in them, making a virtue of necessity; for even were they to open the gates, and deliver up the city to him, our men were so few, that in the smallest house in Ormuz, wherein they could enter, there would not be more men than the enemy would be able to recognise, one from the other, and he hoped to remedy this by showing his confidence in the Moors, lest they should come to know how few men he had, and by remaining in his fleet he was more powerful and more completely master of the city. Having come to this inward conclusion, he liberated the hostages, and sent word by them to the king and Cogeatar that the factor would deliver his reply, and that, as regarded the allegiance which the king affirmed they were ready to make to the King of Portugal, his master, he would receive it in his name, and would pardon all that had occurred in the past war, as they were willing to be his vassals, and acknowledged the land to belong to the King of Portugal,

and admitted that he might do within it whatever he pleased, therefore in this matter he would do whatever conduced most to the service of the king, his master; and, with this message he sent off the hostages.

Now, when the king saw them, not knowing the reason for Afonso Dalboquerque's releasing them after having demanded them with much pertinacity, he was not altogether satisfied at the reply which they brought him. So, on the following morning he sent them all four back again, to tell the chief captain that he would be vassal to the King of Portugal, and was ready to perform whatever was desired of him, and in the city and the whole of the kingdom he might command whatever was to the service of the King of Portugal, whose liegeman he was; and he again desired pardon for his past error, as he had committed it through evil counsel. When Afonso Dalboquerque considered the justness of the reply, he was desirous of seizing the opportunity, and sent off at once Pero Vaz Dorta to land with one of the four hostages, to tell the king that, as he was willing to become a loyal subject of the King of Portugal, his master, as he affirmed, he would leave him to exercise the government of the kingdom in his name, paying a reasonable yearly tribute for it, until he further determined some more serviceable plan. The king replied, that he looked up to him as to a father, and that the kingdom, the city, and all its revenues, were his, for he had gained them; so he could order to govern the city whomsoever he would, and to such an one he would immediately surrender the fortress, and deliver himself up into his hands, and he hoped he would not forget that, with great captains, to conquer was to forgive. And Cogeatar sent word to him, that he had been the slave of King Sargol, who had been King of Ormuz, as he had already sent word, and the king had always had great love for him, and had continually shown him many kindnesses, for the loyalty with which he

had ever served him. But when he was *guazil* in Calayate, the Abyssinians who composed the guard of the king, who was son to King Sargol, revolted, and murdered their master treasonably, and plundered all his treasures, and remained in possession of the city; and when he came to know it, he had collected people from those parts of the kingdom, and came down to Ormuz and overthrew them, and put to death all those who were ringleaders of the treason, and set up for king this youth, who now reigned, to whom rightly pertained the succession to the kingdom, as he was of the royal lineage, being son of a blind king, who was there. Now, therefore, that he [Afonso] had obtained possession of the kingdom, he desired to remain in his service and do whatever he desired; but, if he would not permit it, he desired that he might be graciously permitted in his old age to go and live at Calayate, his native place, for there he desired he might end his days.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque arranged with the king the tribute which was to be paid, and how he demanded space in the city to erect a fortress.

At the receipt of these importunate justifications of the king and Cogeatar, Afonso Dalboquerque thought it a good opportunity to do the best he could for the service of the king, D. Manoel; and he made up his mind to desire the king [of Ormuz] to pay a certain tribute to him, and upon the settlement of this tribute, to send word, desiring space in the city to erect a fortress, because, with a fortress on land and his fleet on the sea, the affairs of Ormuz would remain in a more secure condition, and inconvenience and

the Moors, was that he thoroughly relied upon all they had told him, and he would ever preserve this confidence in them, from the love he had for the king; but they were to say to Cogeatar that he was much alarmed at his asking leave to retire to Calayate; for one of the principal reasons which had induced him to entrust the kingdom to their king was that he [Cogeatar] would have to govern it. If, however, this could not be so arranged, he would have to make some other disposition of it, and it must be on condition of paying some settled tribute every year to the King of Portugal, his master, towards the expense of a fleet which would have to cruise along that coast doing service for the King of Ormuz. Cogeatar sent word by the Moors to say that he would pay whatever was desired. Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that for all that he wanted to know what they could pay, and thereupon he would give his opinion. The king replied that he could not name any sum, but, as the whole kingdom was his, they would pay whatever he desired. When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the king was intending to make no offer, he sent him word by the factor and João Estão, that, since he left everything to his arbitration, it seemed to him, considering the greatness of the kingdom, and the nobility of the city, and the large sums which the custom house received, and the obligation which lay upon the King of Portugal to preserve and defend the kingdom from all his enemies—a thing which could not be done without great expenses—that he ought to pay thirty thousand *xerafins*,[1] every year as tribute, as well as to make good all the expenses which the fleet had incurred up to that day. The king, having considered the matter with Cogeatar and with his governors, replied, that the kingdom was quite ruined and impoverished, so that it was impossible to pay this tribute; but he begged very hard that he would be graciously pleased to accept six thousand *xera-*

[1] Trinta mil xerafins = £1875. See p. 110.

fins yearly, and five thousand towards the expenses of the fleet.

Afonso Dalboquerque summoned a meeting of the captains, and informed them what tribute the King of Ormuz proposed to pay, and asked them to decide for him whether to accept it. The captains began to give their opinions in favour of accepting the king's promised tribute, being firmly set in the desire they had that the affairs of Ormuz should not affect their departure for India, whereon they had set their hearts. So Afonso Dalboquerque dissembled with them, and told them to look well to what they said; for the kingdom of Ormuz was very large, and the trade of that city would increase more and more; and, as the kingdom now belonged to the king D. Manuel, his master, gained by force with his fleet, it would be unreasonable to let it off with so small a tribute, for even with thirty thousand *xerafins*, as he had originally demanded, he should not remain satisfied; so very valuable were the revenues of the kingdom. Nevertheless, the captains, in spite of all these arguments and others which he gave them, adhered to what they had said. And Afonso Dalboquerque, clearly perceiving that they desired to damage the business, no longer cared to ask their opinion about it, since, in spite of seeing that the king was willing to do all that was required by them of him, they advised that the kingdom should be delivered to him with such a small tribute. Yet, lest the matter should come to be known, and also that the governors of the land should be more willing to grant him space to make a fortress, which was what he desired more than anything else, he determined to fix for them a fair tribute, and to do this in such a manner, that there should always remain to the Kings of Portugal the right of increasing it whenever they chose, since the land was theirs, conquered by their captains and men with a great outlay of their treasure. So he sent word to the king that, on account of his

desire to serve him, he was content that he should pay every year fifteen thousand *xerafins* of tribute to the king D. Manuel (provided he were willing to receive them), and to all his successors, and that he should give forthwith five thousand *xerafins* in hard cash (*mortos*) towards the expenses of the fleet; but that the merchandise coming from Portugal to the factory should be free of duty, and that bought by the Portuguese in Ormuz and in its ports should not pay more duty than that which the natives of the land paid. And, in addition to these conditions, he appointed others which seemed serviceable to the king, D. Manuel; and with them the king and Cogeatar and all the governors were quite content to receive the kingdom, and government of it, at the hands of Afonso Dalboquerque, in the name of the King of Portugal. And of this treaty they made two copies, the one in leaf-gold, of the size of a sheet of paper, made up like a book, written in Arabic, with letters engraved upon it, and its binding of gold, with three golden seals hanging appended by chains, namely, the seals of the king, of Cogeatar, his governor, and of the city; the other, by the king's desire, in Persian, which is the common language of the land, written on paper, with letters of gold and stops blue. Both these copies were sent by Afonso Dalboquerque, placed in silver caskets, to the king, D. Manuel, and the same ought to be in the Torre do Tombo,[1] unless by some carelessness they have allowed an antiquity like this, worthy of high remembrance, to perish. And Afonso Dalboquerque gave another copy to the same purpose to the King of Ormuz, written by João Estão, scrivener to the fleet, conformably to the power entrusted by the king, D. Manuel, to him in his instructions, signed by him, and sealed with the signet of the king's arms.

[1] The name of the Principal Repository of Public Records in Lisbon.

CHAPTER XXXV.

How the King of Ormuz sent to ask of Afonso Dalboquerque a flag to be placed on his palace in sign of peace, and what was done in the matter.

The agreement having been thus concluded, the king sent to ask Afonso Dalboquerque for a flag to place upon his palace in sign of peace and friendship; but, as there was no flag in the fleet which could be sent, he ordered the factor to go on shore and prepare one of white satin with a cross of *Christus*. And when it was finished, he sent word to the king by João Estão, that the flag was ready, and he might order Cogeatar and Rexnordim,[1] and the governors and officials of the city, and all the populace, to come down to the edge of the water to receive it with great rejoicings. He requested, too, that on that day no one should be permitted to work in the city, and that order should be given to get ready horses for the use of the captains, fidalgos, and servants of the king; and he told João Estão that when he had given this message to the king, he should make a hasty visit to the ships, and acquaint everybody that they were to come on board the flagship, to start thence with their boats very well equipped, and that he should tell the masters to deck out the ships with gay flags, and to see that the constables of the gunners gave directions for loading all the artillery, and, as soon as the flag reached land, to give the order to fire. He also commanded Jorge Barreto de Crasto to make himself ready to carry the flag.

When all was in trim, on one Monday morning early, on the tenth day of October, 1507, the captains came in their boats on board the flagship, and then and there Afonso Dalboquerque handed over the flag to Jorge Barreto, and

[1] This appears to be the Arabic "ar-raîs Nûr ad-dîn", or "er-reîs Nûr ed-dîn", "the Reis, or chief, Nûr ed-dîn" (*i.e.*, the Light of the Faith).

told Pero Vaz Dorta and João Estão what part they were to play, and the order they were to maintain as they carried the flag to the city. So, having set out all together in the boats, with flags flying and covered with carpets, and firing shots from the prow, they came to land where were already awaiting them on the beach Cogeatar and Rexnordim, and the governors and principal men of the city, and the populace, with many horses for our men, well harnessed after their own fashion. And Jorge Barreto rode on in front of all, carrying the flag in his hands; and when he had raised it, then began at once the firing of artillery from the ships and boats. And when all were mounted they traversed the principal street of the town, and in front of all went all the people with many native musical instruments, shouting from time to time:—"Portugal, Portugal!" and, as the people were numerous, it seemed as if the world were come to an end, with their cries. Just behind the people came the flag, and Cogeatar, Rexnordim, and all the governors of the city, went close alongside of it, and the captains and fidalgos of the fleet followed; and in this order they passed through the principal street of the city, and turned into another straight to the palace, where the king was waiting for them on foot. Then all dismounted, and Jorge Barreto handed the flag over to the king, who gave it with his own hands to the governors to take, and thus they proceeded to place it on the loftiest tower of his palace; and when the vessels caught sight of it, they began again to fire off salutes of all their artillery.

And of this delivery João Estão prepared instruments, which the king, Cogeatar, and Rexnordim, with all the chief men of the city, signed: and the business having been thus concluded, the captains took their leave of the king, and proceeded to embark in their boats, and went on board Afonso Dalboquerque's vessel, and recounted to him all that had taken place, and the great triumph with which they

had carried the flag through the city, whereat he was highly pleased, and rendered many thanks to Our Lord for permitting him to accomplish that matter according to his desires. On the following day the Moors sent to ask if he would permit them to take down the flag from the tower and take care of it. Afonso Dalboquerque gave his permission, and told them to take good care of it, because he hoped in God that under it he would have to assist the king in regaining many places and fortresses from the neighbouring kings who had always been at war with him. The king replied that he was the vassal of the King of Portugal, and this was sufficient to deter anyone from daring to trouble him. And because the document which João Estão had drawn up concerning the delivery of the flag had not been sworn to, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered him and Pero Vaz Dorta to proceed to the shore and tell the king, that he, and Cogeatar, and Rexnordim, and all the governors of the city, were to swear upon their Alcorão to keep and maintain all that they had signed; and the king was much pleased at this, and all were sworn accordingly, and João Estão prepared hereupon documents and letters testificatory, which Afonso Dalboquerque forwarded to the king, D. Manuel.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque had an audience with the king on the jetty, and what passed in these visits, and what took place with the sailors in the sea with the dead Moors, whose bodies floated on the water.

When the factor and João Estão had taken their leave of the king, after the documents had been sworn to, he informed them that he was very desirous of seeing Afonso Dalboquerque; and asked them to tell him on his part that

he begged he would graciously send word where, and in what manner, he might see him. Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to him, saying that he also was very desirous of seeing him, and that there was no other place more suited for their interview than the jetty; for it was upon the sea, and was well adapted for their visit; but the rest could be arranged as he liked best. At this message from Afonso Dalboquerque, the king at once gave orders for his officers to make ready the jetty, which was all covered with many carpets, and around were carpeted benches, and there was a platform with two chairs of silk and cushions of the same suite. The day having been settled on which the audience was to take place, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the captains to make themselves ready with their boats richly decorated, and all the fidalgos that there were in the fleet to accompany him; for it was in this manner that they had agreed Afonso Dalboquerque should go, as well as the king, with his governors and principal lords of his kingdom, who had come thither to serve him in the war. And when all were ready, Afonso Dalboquerque went on board his boat and the captains on board theirs, and all proceeded to the jetty, and when they touched it all the artillery of the ships was fired. As soon as the king was informed of the landing of Afonso Dalboquerque he came forth to receive him, accompanied by Cogeatar, Rexnordim, and all the others who were to be present.

Afonso Dalboquerque being now with the king, they treated each other with great courtesy, and thereupon sat down in the chairs, and the fidalgos and captains on the benches on the right hand, and Cogeatar, Rexnordim, and the lords who came with the king, on the benches on the left hand. At this time the king would be about the age of fifteen years, well fashioned, and of good appearance, rather short, dressed in a petticoat of crimson satin in the native costume, with a white cap upon his head, and a cloth girded

around him, and a golden dagger, and a sceptre of gold in his hand with the head of crystal, set in gold. As soon as they were seated, Afonso Dalboquerque said to the king, through Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, that he was much rejoiced to see him for the love which he bore him, and for the great obedience and respect which he had shown towards the affairs of the king, D. Manuel, his lord; and he begged graciously that he would always remain his loyal and true vassal, and thus acknowledge the benefit he had received from him in the king's name, seeing that he had restored to him the government of the kingdom and his estate as before. The king replied, that he was fully aware of the benefit which had been granted to him in the name of the King of Portugal, and he would always be his vassal, and remain in obedience under him; and after many speeches had passed, Afonso Dalboquerque, being desirous of taking his leave of the king, begged of Cogeatar and Rexnordim, and all the other lords, that they would be willing again in his presence to ratify and swear to the agreement they had made, for he also wished to be a witness of it; and they did so at once. This being completed, he took his leave of the king and all the lords, and proceeded to embark, and the king gave him a girdle of gold and a dagger ornamented with gold, and a horse very richly caparisoned, and two pieces of jewelled brocade, and to the captains and fidalgos he gave each a piece of silk. And from that time forward our people began to go backwards and forwards; for, up to that day, Afonso Dalboquerque had not permitted them to do so; and the king and all were so pleased that peace was concluded, seeing that the war had cost them so dearly, that they were happy to show all manner of politeness to the fidalgos and cavaliers who went on shore to amuse themselves, and they ordered that there should always be horses ready saddled for them to ride to the city.

At this time, eight days having already elapsed since the

battle on the sea, there appeared on the top of the water many dead bodies of those Moors who had cast themselves overboard on the day of the fight, as well as of many others who had died in the vessels at various parts. A cabin boy, who was in the boat of Antonio do Campo, seized hold of one with a boat-hook as it floated alongside, and as it seemed to him well clothed he began to strip it, and found on it money and a silver dagger. When the sailors of the other ships were aware of this, they set out in the boats about this part of the sea fishing for bodies, and stripped all those that they met with, and found on them money, short broadswords (*terçados*), poniards (*agomias*), mounted with gold, and silver, and jewels of people of quality and honour; and this went on for eight days, during which time the sailors made a good harvest. And on these dead Moors, who might be upwards of eighty in number, they found many arrows stuck into their bodies, of the wounds of which they had died, without having any other wounds of our weapons; for there was not in the whole fleet a single person who had a bow or any arrow, or knew how to make use of them.[1] It seems that Our Lord desired on that day to perform this miracle that he might show the captains, who shrank from engaging in this business, how certain a victory over their enemies they have who fight with true faith against infidels. And because the tide carried these corpses to shore, it caused to the inhabitants of the city a renewal of their past misfortunes; for some found there their sons, others their husbands and relations and friends, whom they proceeded to bury, with such great lamentations and weepings that it caused us great pain to hear them.

[1] Camões mentions this circumstance in the stanza already quoted at page 64.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent to beg of the king spacc in Ormuz to build a fortress, and what passed thereat, and how it was commenced where it now stands.

The assurances were now all settled on either side, and the tribute-money paid, as I have said; so Afonso Dalboquerque determined to erect a fortress in Ormuz, as without it, it seemed to him that the affairs of the kingdom could not be thoroughly safe. And having decided upon this, he sent word to the king by the factor, that the king, D. Manuel, his lord, had ordered him, in his written instructions, that when he had gained by conquest any place or city in those parts, he was to render it secure with a strong fortress, and bear in mind the treason and evildoings which the Kings of Calicut and Coulão had committed against his captains after an agreement of peace had been made and signed between them. Therefore, because he was desirous of avoiding these inconveniences, as well as of rendering the goods and people of the King of Portugal in the place more secure, he begged he would graciously take this in good part, and advise him where he should build this fortress. The king, being prompted by Cogeatar, replied that he excused his demand, for all belonged to the King of Portugal, and as for advising him whereabouts he might build it, in his opinion it would be best to do so in the island of Queixome or that of Turumbaque; for they were places where there was water. But if he desired to build it for the defence of Ormuz, it would be placed better in the port of Nabandé,[1] which was on the mainland, than in any other place. Now, although it was the intention of Afonso Dalboquerque to build it in Ormuz, where it now stands, yet, to dissemble with Cogeatar, and show him that he did not

[1] Perhaps Nobend, on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf.

care to build it more in one place than another, he ordered Afonso Lopez da Costa with two armed boats, to survey the port of Nabandé, and gave him many stuffs from Cambaya to present to the principal merchants of the place. So Afonso Lopez da Costa set out, and on arriving at the port all the people of the country came down to receive him, with many earthen jars of water, melons, sweet apples (*maçans*), and other native fruits.

And after he had inspected the site, and divided the stuffs which he carried among those honourable men, he returned with his report to Afonso Dalboquerque, carrying him a present of fruits, which one of the honourable Moors of the place sent him; and he told him that the site of Nabandé was open sandy land, and close to the port there was three fathoms' depth of water, and from thence to Ormuz was about five leagues all shelving rock, which began at twenty fathoms and gradually diminished towards the port, and the water which the Moors used was removed a good distance from the sea-shore. On the day after Afonso Lopes da Costa had returned with this information respecting the port of Nabandé, there arrived D. Antonio de Noronha, who had been with two pilots to the island of Queixome to survey the port whence the Moors carried water to the city; and he told Afonso Dalboquerque that in the island there was a large place along the shore of the sea, in which the king had some houses, now old and tumbling down; and the water which was taken thence to Ormuz was from some wells which were some distance off from the shore, and all round the island was shelving rock of shallow bottom. While Afonso Dalboquerque was engaged in this discourse with D. Antonio, Cogebeirame arrived from shore, and told him that one league from the city of Ormuz there was a place called Turunbaque, and he ought to send some persons to survey it; for it might happen that he would be glad to construct the fortress

there. And, although Afonso Dalboquerque was well aware that this Moor had been privately instructed in his part by Cogeatar, yet he dissembled with him and told him that he wished to go in person and look at the place. So, having sent off the Moor, he ordered Francisco de Tavora, Antonio do Campo, and Manuel Teles, to make ready to accompany him; and, on the following morning, they set forth early, and as they had a head wind, it cost them some trouble to arrive at Torumbaque, from which port the Cape of Maçandom is visible.

When Afonso Dalboquerque had now seen by himself and by the captains all the places which Cogeatar had offered him for the construction of the fortress, he gave an account of it to some persons in the fleet privately, whose honour he could trust, and whom he knew to be desirous of serving the king, D. Manuel, in everything. And having discussed the matter with them, and without giving any account of it to the captains (on whom he no longer had any reliance by reason of what had taken place with them), all came to the conclusion that, as they had to erect a fortress in those parts, it ought to be placed within Ormuz; for there it would be of more service to the King of Portugal when made than in the other places which Cogeatar had suggested. Having, therefore, made up his mind, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word by the factor to the king that he had caused an inspection to be made of all the places proposed to him for the site of the fortress, and by the information he had received concerning them, looking well at the conveniences and inconveniences likely to accrue to each, it appeared to him more useful that it should be erected on the point of Morona than in any other place; for, besides that it would be situated there between two good ports one to the east and the other to the west, it would conduce greatly to the safety of his state to have the Portuguese very close to himself. The king gave

an account of this message to his father the blind king, to Cogeatar, and to Rexnordim, and to the governors of the land, and as all were desirous of peace, they were well content with it; and he replied to Afonso Dalboquerque, that he was quite willing, from the desire he had of retaining his friendship, to give him the site he wished for to erect a fortress, and that he might send to commence the works as soon as he chose.

At this reply of the king, Afonso Dalboquerque was very much pleased, and sent word to Cogeatar that he should cause to be handed over to him all the masons there might be in the city, and everything else that might be required for the progress of the work, and servants in sufficient number; for he wished to commence it at once, and on his part he would pay whatever the king demanded. Cogeatar forthwith caused all the necessaries to be provided; and because enemies who are governed by force, if opportunity arise, scheme for their liberty, Afonso Dalboquerque was unwilling to put his whole trust in Cogeatar, and desired D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to remain on land with eighty of the principal men in the fleet, for the security of the people engaged upon the work, and to keep along the shore two boats armed with artillery at the prow, which were to remain there always, close to the shore, ready to assist whenever there might be need of them. He ordered also to be moored there a *parao*, well covered over with an awning because of the heat, wherein he and all the other fidalgos and cavaliers might remain completing all the things necessary for the work, and he gave orders to Antonio do Campo to bring up his ship and anchor close to this *parao* to assist in all this. And that the men who were on land should not go by night about the city doing things at which the people might be scandalised, he enjoined upon D. Antonio that he was to go every night with all the men and sleep on the ship and on the *parao*, and keep a

good look out from thence. He appointed, as master of this work, a gunner named Fernão Dalvarez, a good officer at the business, and arranged that the captains, two at a time, should take care to bring down stone from the quarry for the work.

When all these things had been settled, Afonso Dalboquerque went on shore with all the people of the fleet, and began to lay out the foundations of the principal tower on the twenty-fourth day of the month of October, in the year fifteen hundred and seven; and, as this tower was to be so high that one might from it have a view of all the mainland on the Persian side, he ordered the foundations to be laid very broadly, and in the same manner ordered them to set the walls of the fortress, to which he gave the name of "Nossa Senhora da Victoria" ("Our Lady of the Victory"). When once the work was begun, Afonso Dalboquerque made great haste to finish the tower, for his intention was, as soon as January was come, to go and take a view of the Red Sea, and he wanted to leave this tower finished up to the first story, that within it the Portuguese might defend themselves from all the men in Persia who could come, until his return to Ormuz. And in order that the workmen should do their duty with a better will, besides paying them every day that which Cogeatar had agreed on as their wages, he ordered that all who worked should be supplied with water and as many dates as they chose for nothing, and all were so pleased with this, that many came and laboured at the work without being sent by Cogeatar; and what with this, and what with the diligence which the captains and fidalgos showed in the service, the work began to increase very much in a short time. And he ordered that the principal portal of this tower should be made of three anchors of stone from the ship *Meri*, which was taken at that place, and the Moors would have given for them much money, but Afonso Dalboquerque was unwilling to

give them up, but ordered them to be built up into the portal of the tower, that remembrance might remain for ever of the great victory gained there by the Portuguese.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque made his fleet ready to go and take a view of the strait of the Red Sea, and of the reply he gave to Rexnordim concerning the tribute which the Ambassador of Xcque Ismael came to demand.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque perceived the willingness and quiet with which the natives laboured at the work (which was not to be seen among the Portuguese, to many of whom it seemed a very unnecessary thing that the fortress should be built), in order the more to develop this friendly feeling with the native Moors, he ordered Pero Vaz Dorta, factor of the fleet, to take some of the houses in the city, wherein he was to collect all the merchandise which he brought, to begin the trade between us and the Moors, and he was to sell all the merchandise at a cheap rate, in order to attract them, through their cupidity, the more into friendliness towards us; and he gave him as scriveners, Pedralvarez, gentleman of the royal chamber, and Lizuarte de Freitas, and Antonio Fernandes Tassalho, servant of the Count of Villa Nova. And in order that the men who were on shore should always keep together to defeat the malicious designs of Cogeatar, he ordered the captains to prepare the mess for the men, according to their allowances, and each one was to have a man who should go and purchase all that was required, and this one could go about the city, having a written paper from the captain, but no other could go; and to execute all these things he made Martim Vaz an inspector, with twelve men, commanding him to take into custody every Portuguese who might be found without a

permit in the city; and if he found any of those who had to go to market, with the writing of his captain, doing anything whereby the Moors might be scandalised, he was to seize him, and carry him before him for a sound flogging.

All these matters, then, being arranged in this order, as well as many others too tedious to narrate, Afonso Dalboquerque determined to careen all the ships of his fleet, and refit them with masts, yards, and shrouds, for all were worn out with the length of time that he had been in the sea; but as he did not put any trust in Cogeatar (inasmuch as, in the audiences he had with him, and in the completion which he had to give to all the arrangements that were necessary, he showed he did not deserve it), he instructed João Redondo, chief carpenter, not to lay up more than one ship at a time, and when that was finished and mended, and fitted with all that it stood in need of, to lay up another, so that if Cogeatar were to set in motion any treason, and they lost one ship, the others might remain to look after themselves. And, with foresight of this kind, carefully concealed, without letting anyone know it he proceeded in the work of repairing his ships and refitting them in all they required, just as if they were then setting out from Portugal; and simultaneously with this he ordered them to construct a galley *(fusta)* of eighteen banks of oars, meaning to avail himself of it on entering the strait of the Red Sea. And when he saw his fleet in this order, he had more happiness than at all the victories which he had gained in that kingdom against the Moors; for now that he had it thus repaired, he feared no longer the arrival of the fleet which was expected from Sal,[1] however great it might be.

Now, while he was prosecuting this labour, Rexnordim came to speak with him at the *parao* wherein he was, and

[1] *A vinda da Armada do Sal;* perhaps this last word, which I am unable to identify with any place in the neighbourhood of Persia, is an error of the editions for *Sul*, the South.

told him on the king's behalf, that from the opposite or further side of the mainland there had arrived a captain of Xeque Ismaël, accompanied by horsemen, to demand the tribute which he was obliged to render to him every year; but knowing that he was there, building that fortress, he had not dared to proceed to Ormuz, but had sent from thence to demand the tribute from him; and he begged, therefore, he would tell him what he should do. Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that he might tell the king that this kingdom of Ormuz belonged to the King of Portugal, gained by his fleet and his men, and that he might know of a certainty that if any tribute should be paid to any other king, except the king D. Manoel, his lord, he would take the government of the kingdom and give it to someone who would not be afraid of the Xeque Ismael. He then sent to the ships for cannon-balls, guns, matchlocks, and grenades, and told him to say to the king that he might send all these to the captain of the Xeque Ismael, for that was the sort of money wherewith the King of Portugal had ordered his captain to pay the tribute of that kingdom that was under his mastery and command; he, for his part, would promise him, that as soon as the fortress was completed, he would enter the Persian straits and render tributary to the King of Portugal, his master, all the places which the Xeque Ismael held on that shore, and when he got there they might demand the tribute due from the King of Ormuz; for he would pay it to them in very good money.

As soon as Rexnordim had returned with this reply, it occurred to Afonso Dalboquerque that it would be necessary to content him and Cogeatar, and the three chief Moors with whom the king took counsel; for if these were contented and in his favour, as they were of the king's council, he would be able to get from him all he desired. So he made ready certain pieces of silver and red scarlet, and vermilion, and many rich cloths which he had taken

from the prize ships, and some things he had brought from Portugal; and through João Estão, scrivener to the fleet, who carried the present, he sent word, saying he desired to be pardoned for sending so small a gift, for it was sent by one who had been on the sea for upwards of two years, but he had ventured to do it by reason of the great friendship which he had towards them. They received the gifts with great delight, and sent him many thanks for them.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

How the King of Ormuz sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque, saying that he desired to see the Portuguese musketeers fire a volley, and how it was done; and how Afonso Dalboquerque wrote to the Viceroy of India concerning the state of affairs in Ormuz, and what took place with the captains.

Rexnordim became so dejected at the idea of the boldness wherewith Afonso Dalboquerque had answered him, that as soon as he reached the king, they immediately prepared a guard-boat, wherein they sent a Moor with all those things sent by Afonso Dalboquerque, to be given to the captain of Xeque Ismael on his part; and the messenger was to undeceive him, and show him that they could not pay any tribute to Xeque Ismael, as the kingdom was in the possession of the King of Portugal. Six or seven days after this had taken place, the king sent word for Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, and told him to say to Afonso Dalboquerque, his father, that he was very desirous of seeing his musketeers fire a volley, and graciously requested they might be sent to him some day. Now, as Afonso Dalboquerque was always on the alert against the evil desires and malice of Cogeatar, he sent round word to all the captains in their ships, to make ready two hundred and fifty crossbowmen and musketeers of the youngest and best

drilled, and who knew very well how to fire; for he wished to show Cogeatar how much more power he had than what our men could have informed him of. For he was well aware of the coldness wherewith Cogeatar entered into the negotiations, as he was very sorry he had granted them a site for the construction of the fortress, since he had learned from the Portuguese with whom he conversed, that in the fleet there were very few men; and it was in this particular manner he desired to be more clearly informed of the truth.

Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving these projects of Cogeatar all taking their origin from his accursed obstinacy, kept continually dissembling with him; yet, to comply with the king's wishes, he ordered some barriers to be erected along the wall of the fortress, and made them supply the crossbowmen and musketeers with all that was necessary for carrying out the design, advising also D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, who was on land, to look to them, and not permit anyone to fire except those who knew best how to do so. And when all was ready, he ordered Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, to go and present these men to the king, and tell him that with these youths and many such others, whom the king, his master, would send him from Portugal, he hoped, with God's aid, to procure for him the restitution of all those places which his neighbours had taken from him. When the crossbowmen had reached the spot where the barriers had been placed, the king came down to see them from a terrace of his palace, and they fired so well, that they seemed masters of their business.

The king, after seeing them fire, took his leave of them, and sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that he was highly pleased at the sight, and that for a long time he had not seen anything more to his liking; and he desired him of his favour, if he had not made any other arrangement respecting the ship *Meri*, to give him the refusal of her, and a pass that she might sail from Cambaya to Ormuz; for the

city was so straitened, that it would be necessary to collect merchandise from one part after another to the custom-house, in order with the proceeds of it to be able to supply the expenditure that they had been put to. He also begged he would order to be returned to him some of his Moorish servants, who had been taken prisoners in the late war, and he would pay whatever ransom might be demanded for them. Cogeatar too sent word, begging of him another vessel, and some women and children, his servants, who were prisoners in possession of our men.

Afonso Dalboquerque ordered all these to be given to him, without receiving any payment in return, continually dissembling with Cogeatar, because he desired to finish the fortress. A Moorish captain of one of the ships belonging to the King of Onor, becoming informed of the liberality of Afonso Dalboquerque towards the king and Cogeatar, proceeded to speak to him, and told him that he was from the kingdom of Onor,[1] with which the Viceroy was at peace, as might be seen from two passes of D. Lourenço, his son, which he produced, and that at the time of his arrival at this port with his fleet, he (the captain) was discharging his cargo, but Cogeatar had taken his ship from him by force, and filled it with soldiers and artillery; and since he was in no blame, but had been forcibly deprived of it, as might be learned from Cogeatar, he begged as a favour that it might be ordered to be returned to him. And, although the Moor had but small right in what he begged, Afonso Dalboquerque wished to preserve inviolate the safe pass of D. Lourenço, and ordered the restitution to be made, and a safe pass that the ship might make the voyage; and by this Moor he forwarded a letter to the Viceroy, giving him an account of what he had done, and the determination he had come to, begging him at once to send reinforcement of men,

[1] Honore, or Honawar, in the Bombay Presidency, 14 deg. 17 min. N., 74 deg. 27 min. E.

small vessels, galleys, and munitions of war, and adding that he did not send this despatch by one of his own ships, by reason of the great need he had for them. Of this letter he gave a private relation to Antonio do Campo, who kept the secret so well that Cogeatar forthwith learned all about it, and all the things which he had sent to beg of the Viceroy, and all the other intentions he had. The captains also, and fidalgos of the fleet, because Antonio do Campo gave them to understand that in the letter there were many things prejudicial to them (though really not so), became very wroth with Afonso Dalboquerque; and because of the desires they entertained of going to India, already being wearied with the labours of that war, they began henceforth to do things which disgusted him.

CHAPTER XL.

Of the speech which the great Afonso Dalboquerque made to the captains upon the insubordination which they evinced; and of the complaints they made to him; and of some words that passed with them thereupon.

When the month of January was come, wherein the great Afonso Dalboquerque had determined to make his way to the Straits, the chief tower being already in a sufficiently forward state to be able to protect itself, and his fleet filled with all things necessary for the journey, he ordered Manuel Telez to load his ship with all the provisions that could be procured, to relieve the fortress of Çocotora on the way, and with some medicines and drugs for the sick. And he ordered the factor to purchase all the goods which Manuel Telez put down on a roll; which he did with great diligence, and laded the ship, and handed over everything to the master in the presence of the scrivener. When Afonso Dalboquerque had despatched the factor to set about this

business, he went on shore to see the progress of the fortress, and the captains went immediately to him; and, as he had for some time past been aware that they murmured at the construction of the fortress, that he might be more certain of their intentions, he drew himself away along the shore with Manuel Telez, Francisco de Tavora, and Afonso Lopez da Costa, who were there, Jorge Barreto de Castro his cousin being also present, and said to them, that they now saw in what a state the affairs at Ormuz were situated, and he would beg them to tell him whether it was more serviceable to the king to finish the fortress or to sail for the Cape of Guardafum, for he had the fleet all ready and well prepared for the one course or the other.

The captains replied, that they were quite well aware of the state of affairs at Ormuz; but, nevertheless, in their opinion, it would be of more service to the king for them to make their way to the Cape of Guardafum, and lie in wait for the ships coming from India with spices for the Straits, than to stay building a fortress, which, as soon as it was left, would be taken by the Moors; and even if he left men in it they could not be sufficient in number to be able to defend it from the power of the King of Ormuz. Jorge Barreto, however, was of opinion that he ought to insure the safety of affairs at Ormuz, and complete the fortress which he had commenced; for it was a very important business in the service of the King of Portugal. Afonso Dalboquerque sided with this advice of Jorge Barreto, though he would not disclose to him any of his own intentions. And when Afonso Lopez da Costa perceived that Afonso Dalboquerque agreed with the opinion given by Jorge Barreto, he began to have angry words with him, and told him that this business was so important and of such weight, that it was imperative to set about it with slowness and circumspection; and since Antonio do Campo, and João da Nova were not present, he ought to send for them,

and all being by, to arrange what should be done, because, in his opinion, it was bad policy to retain Ormuz. Afonso Dalboquerque dissembled with him, and walked away to the *parao*, where he had taken up his quarters now some time, without giving him a word in reply. Afonso Lopez da Costa, and Francisco de Tavora, and Manuel Telez, were so disheartened at this conversation, and at the small account Afonso Dalboquerque had made of them, that they proceeded to coalesce with João da Nova and with Antonio do Campo forthwith; and on the morning of the following day they sent him a written remonstrance (by no means necessary), whereat Afonso Dalboquerque was much annoyed; yet, from his urgent desire of completing the affairs at Ormuz, he dissembled with them, and destroyed the remonstrance without punishing them for it, as they deserved; but, with great forbearance, he sent word to them by João Estão that he begged they would so keep secret the state of affairs, that Cogeatar might not come to know of it, for they were at a point when it behoved them very much for the service of the King of Portugal to remain all of them of one mind and one will; for Cogeatar was so discreet, and possessed such means of obtaining information about everything, that he knew very well how much they desired to leave their enterprise there, and proceed to India, and that they had advised him not to construct the fortress; but that Cogeatar should not be made aware of their weakness, he ordered them to spread the report that all the differences that existed between them were because they were very angry at his not giving up to them the ships in which they had a share.

CHAPTER XLI.

How the captains made another remonstrance to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and all signed it; and what he did thereupon, and what else passed with him.

The captains, upon intelligence that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had destroyed their remonstrance, in a few days' time, when he was in the principal tower, giving orders about some things necessary for the work, sent to him by Antonio Fernandes, scrivener of the ship commanded by Francisco de Tavora, another remonstrance, signed by all except João da Nova, who refused to sign. Afonso Dalboquerque, being angry with them and their conduct, took the remonstrance folded up, just as it was given to him, without reading it, and ordered it to be placed beneath a stone of the doorway of the tower, which was just then being laid, which the mariners ever afterwards named the "doorway of the remonstrances"; and the captains became so angry at this that from henceforth they laboured continually to find means to fall out with him; and all they talked about when they met together, was how to injure the progress of affairs at Ormuz, and they said that he was a traitor, and was constructing the fortress to elevate himself by its means, and make himself lord of the kingdom, and that it was all their own fault, since they had agreed that the fortress should be built, though it was very injurious to the king's interest, and that in the letter he had written to the viceroy (and of this Antonio do Campo was a true witness), he had sent word relating all sorts of evil stories about them, depriving them of their honourable character and services; and in these conversations they used to reprove João da Nova, asking him why he did not go off to India, as he was not under any obligation to remain. And, not content with these consultations which they held among themselves,

each one of them in his own particular ship persuaded the seamen to take his part against Afonso Dalboquerque, affirming to them that he had robbed them of their share in the twenty thousand *xerafins* paid by way of tribute by the king; and that the king, D. Manoel, had given him written instructions in his orders, that of the first tribute which the conquered kings might pay, he was to give a share to every man in the fleet, but he had seized upon all of it for himself, in order to rise up in rebellion with the fortress as soon as it was completed, for he never intended to go back again to Portugal. When Afonso Dalboquerque became aware of these councils and consultations, by means of which the captains were labouring to procure all the men to rebel against him, and found that it was not sufficient to rouse their spirit for the business, to have told them frequently how well it would be to see in the windows of that fortress many ladies and bands of music, and to think of the great pleasure the king, D. Manoel, would experience when he knew that they had obtained possession of the kingdom of Ormuz, and built a fortress in it, thinking by these means he would excite in them a pleasure at the idea of helping them,—and because the chief reason at which they were dissatisfied with him was the letter which he had written to the viceroy, he ordered them to be sent for, and showed it to them, telling them they might see by it that it was not true what Antonio do Campo had told them, and he made to them many other justifying statements and explanations, as far as he could apologise, but they would receive none of them; but rather, like proud and overbearing men, gave him to understand in as many words, that that was not the letter, but he had written another. And they were so indignant at what Antonio do Campo had said of the letter, though it was not true, that Afonso Dalboquerque tore it up before them, and told them to write another of their own choice, and he would sign it; and so he parted from them, very

much displeased at their refusing to accept his real exculpatory statements; and the principal in all this affair was Jorge Barreto, whom the others had already drawn quite over to their side. When Afonso Dalboquerque was departed, they ordered João Lopez, servant to Francisco de Tavora, to collect the pieces of the letter; and, although nothing more was written in it than an account to the viceroy of the then state of affairs at Ormuz, and how he had determined to maintain authority there, with a request that men, arms, and artillery might be sent him, they, perceiving this determination of Afonso Dalboquerque, agreed, as the matter was very important, not to go to India for three years, and to give up loading their holds, as they had arranged, and from thenceforth to plot all the more mischief against him.

CHAPTER XLII.

Of what the great Afonso Dalboquerque did with the masters, pilots, and all the other seamen whom the captains had incited to mutiny against him.

Now that the great Afonso Dalboquerque was aware that the captains had incited to mutiny all the men in their ships, principally masters, pilots, mariners, and gunners, who were the people of whom he made the most account, for they were always the best in the work upon the fortress, in order to remove all disaffection from them, he ordered all of them to be summoned, and showed them the instructions he carried from the king, D. Manoel, and told them that it had come to his knowledge how the captains incited them to anger against him, by saying that he had robbed them of their shares in the fifteen thousand[1] *xerafins*, paid as tribute by the King of Ormuz, and that by these instructions, as he demonstrated to them, they might see what the king's

[1] Twenty thousand, p. 153.

pleasure was in this matter, and he was not the man to appropriate anything except what belonged to himself, but that, on the contrary, he was willing to deposit as much as their claims would amount to with two responsible men, until the viceroy should decide the issue of the affair. But as they had been incited to mutiny by their captains, they would not accept any of his proposals, and began with loud voices and great tumult to cry out that they would not labour at the works, nor yet fight, as long as he refused to pay them their dues.

Afonso Dalboquerque replied to them very quietly, telling them that he excused their insubordination, and they must remember that they were Portuguese, and placed in the midst of enemies, very far from their own country, and that it would not do to have among them any feeling except profound peace and amicable feeling, for Cogeatar was very thoroughly cognisant of everything that took place in the fleet, and that they must not put any confidence in what their captains had advised them to do, for they were getting angry at the long war, and anxious to get to India, in order to fill up their cargoes; that what was their rightful due he would not withhold from them; that they ought to bear in mind how, contrary to the king's instructions, he had given them permission to make free booty in all the towns he had captured, whereby they had obtained great spoils, and had become very rich, besides having been always well treated by him, and having had their wages paid without any arrears; that if they felt galled at the labour the war involved them in, he himself was not exempt from this, yet he had done nothing herein beyond complying with the orders contained in the king's instructions; and that he desired them earnestly that they on their part would be willing so to serve him, as he had expected of them, and not by their fault ruin so great an enterprise as that they were now engaged upon, for this was the object for which they had set out from Portugal. Nevertheless, in

spite of all these considerations, and more too, which Afonso Dalboquerque mentioned, they began to urge, without paying any attention to the matter in hand, that as there was no doubt that their share would be given to them, if justice were rendered, they would be content that Jorge Barreto, Afonso Lopez da Costa, and Antonio do Campo should decide the matter. To this Afonso Dalboquerque replied that the contents of his instructions having been determined upon and arranged by the king, his master, he was not going to lay them open to the decision of any one, but rather to perform them, according to the orders contained in the same, and it would be quite sufficient for them to have seen them to become convinced; but if, on the other hand, they fancied they were right in what they said, the viceroy was at hand to settle the matter, and he would be his own advocate before him; for he also, of all the money not due to the king, had his portion, and twenty-five shares. And now, being put out of temper, he took hold of a book in his hand, and said to them that he would swear by those holy gospels that he interpreted the commission in no other manner, neither had the king ordered that he should give a share of the tribute, paid by the kings they might conquer, to the men of the fleet.

Hereat all replied that he must give them their shares, and each captain should be responsible for his own men to return the shares to him if it was decided in his favour. Afonso Dalboquerque, being desirous to be more correctly informed who the captains were who had stirred up their men to this, temporised with them, and said he was quite willing to do what they asked him upon these conditions, provided also that each one brought a warrant signed by his captain, wherein he bound himself to this, and he would order the money to be paid at once. With this reply they departed, well pleased, to their own ships, and related to their captains all that had passed; but they

could never succeed in getting from them the necessary warrant, and so the matter stood for the decision of the viceroy. This debate which Afonso Dalboquerque had had with the masters and pilots, being now brought to a close, he sent word to Francisco de Tavora to get ready to proceed to the quarry, for there was a lack of stone at the works, and it was his turn that day, and to come on the morrow to arrange with him to go thither in company; and as they had all sworn not to obey him, Francisco de Tavora went on in the morning without waiting for him, and Afonso Dalboquerque arrived a few hours later much annoyed, and, without saying a word to him, both walked up and down the beach while the boats took in their load. And while this was proceeding, Pero Vaz Dorta, the factor, arrived on horseback, coming from the city, and withdrew behind a rock to converse with Afonso Dalboquerque; and after they had conversed, on returning to the boats, he perceived Francisco de Tavora some distance off on the sea, steering for the city, so he ordered him to be signalled to stop, but he would not; and when he noticed this, he went on board, and went after him, and ordered a second signal to stop to be made to him, whereupon Francisco de Tavora, more out of shame than will, bade his men rest on their oars and wait.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of what the great Afonso Dalboquerque did with Francisco de Tavora on leaving the quarry, and of the conversation he held with the captains after coming to land.

As soon as the great Afonso Dalboquerque came up with Francisco de Tavora, as he understood how the seed prospered which Antonio do Campo had sown in the hearts of all the captains, he could not restrain himself from coming

de Tavora, I recommend you more courtesy when you next come with me than you have to-day shown me. How? Must you leave me between two rocks in the land of the enemy, and go away alone, and without my permission? I know well what punishment it is that you deserve, but I put up with it all because I must needs do so." Francisco de Tavora stood up on his feet, and, giving vent to oaths, said: "You shall not punish me, nor have you power to do so. Take your own vessel, and do as you like with it, for I promise you that if we set sail, I shall escape from you." And more words of this nature he said, to which Afonso Dalboquerque would not reply, but ordered him to return to his own vessel; and being mercifully inclined towards him, he told him he was a poor man, and lately married, and ought not to consent to enter into conspiracies with the other captains, for he would ruin himself with the king, D. Manoel. Francisco de Tavora, in a fume, told him he was richer than he himself, and wanted nothing from the king; that he was well aware that he wished him ill, because of the remonstrance that he had made; and that he would quit Ormuz and make his own way to the Cape of Guardafum, to perform the instructions contained in the king's order. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he was much surprised at his saying that he wished him ill, because of the remonstrance made by them all, since he himself had announced to him that they were about to make it, and he had asked him if he would sign it, and he had replied, smiling, and without any emotion, that if what the other captains did pleased him, he would sign it. Francisco de Tavora, being ashamed at what was now retorted upon him, held his tongue, and made no reply; and, being now come to the shore, Afonso Dalboquerque took him with him on board his own vessel.

And because the captains were now thoroughly corrupted, and these proceedings were now for some time past well

known throughout the whole city, and could no longer be remedied except by the sword of the king's justice, or by the patience of Job, he made up his mind to take some measures with them. So he summoned them to come before him, and told them that when the king, D. Manoel, had graciously appointed them to be captains of these ships, it was to the end that they should come and serve him in the enterprise at Ormuz in his company and fight under his flag, not to go fostering differences, as they were now doing with him, which indeed were very prejudicial to the interests of the king, as the King of Ormuz and Cogeatar knew full well; yet, from the moment of setting out from Çocotora until that very moment they had never given advice upon any subject but such as was opposed to the interests and honour of his highness, which he, for his part, had cared for with great judgment and much patience, which he had ever used towards them. And for all that the king had ordered him to take their advice, as they alleged, it was in his belief, that they, being what they appeared to be (that is, subordinate), would recommend him to do what seemed most to his interest, whereas they had counselled him to abandon so great an enterprise as the one they had in hand, and go frolicking about after prizes at the Cape of Guardafum, when, if they all had helped him like true Portuguese, he would have put the enterprise in the state in which it ought to be; but if, day after day, they meant to come after him with remonstrances, causing the people to be divided, and turning everything into confusion, as it now was (as Cogeatar well knew), he would not put up with it as he had hitherto done. He begged them, therefore, earnestly of their goodness to serve the king, all of them peaceably, for he would reward them for their services, and not to advise João da Nova to come to a ruptnre with him, or beg his permission to go to India; for they

war continued it would not be to the king's interest to grant such a permission; and so they had themselves told him in a council he had held with them upon the very subject at Calayate. And if they were put out at the trouble they underwent at the continuation of the work upon the fortress, they could remain on board their ships and need not go to land, for he would hold them excused, for it was not so important but that he would be happier in letting it remain as it was, than in passing over all the rest they said and did every day against him. And in addition he would order them, on the behalf of the King of Portugal, their master, that not one of them should venture to land again without his permission, because, as the Moors were now disquieted at these events, if any misfortune arose, he would take care to know which captain had been there. This conversation being now over, as he was unwilling to hear any more of the feigned arguments that they continued to adduce, he dismissed them to their ships, and suspended Francisco de Tavora from the command of his vessel, because he had told him he meant to fly; and he appointed Diniz Fernandes de Melo in his place.

CHAPTER XLIV.

How four Christians fled from our fleet, and related to Cogeatar the disagreements that existed between Afonso Dalboquerque and the captains; and of the message he sent to him, and of the rest that ensued.

Inasmuch as it was part of the plan laid down by Cogeatar to study at all times to obtain information of all Afonso Dalboquerque's doings and intentions, he immediately became aware of the differences that had arisen between him and the captains, as well as of the remonstrances they had made to him. And at this very juncture four men deserted from the fleet, by whom he was better informed of all that

was going on, and that Afonso Dalboquerque had determined, on his return from the straits (whither he was bent upon going), to establish himself in Ormuz, and break out into opposition with the aid of the fortress, as soon as it was completed, and that he was constructing it against the opinion of the captains, and without their advice, because the king, D. Manuel, had not given him any instructions to build a fortress in Ormuz. Cogeatar, having long repented of having granted a site for the fortress, became highly rejoiced at their making these assertions that the captains and men of the fleet were displeased at it, for it grieved his heart excessively to have consented to it; and their certifying him that Afonso Dalboquerque was minded to establish himself in Ormuz conduced in no small degree to his repentance, for, if this event were to come to pass, he would remain without any government, and Afonso Dalboquerque would be lord of the kingdom. Cogeatar, then, excited at the false news of this design on the part of Afonso Dalboquerque, gave an account of the affair to certain noble Moors who were admitted to his most intimate friendship, to gather from them what course he ought to pursue in regard to it. And having talked it over with them, after two days he sent word by Pero Vaz Dorta, the factor, to Afonso Dalboquerque, that the rulers of the land were coming to him every day with heavy complaints, asserting that the real reason why he was building that fortress was, that he might rise up in rebellion by its aid and destroy Ormuz; and should it be so he would not permit another stone to be put upon it.

Afonso Dalboquerque, enraged at this infamy, which the Portuguese had put upon him, replied that he was no corsair, neither had the king, D. Manuel, his master, sent him for any other object than to conquer that kingdom, which he had gained, and that Portuguese who possessed any feeling of honour were not in the habit of acting treasonably towards their king, and that he must not judge by the evi-

dence of four runaways whom he had with him, and who were equally traitors to their God in deserting his Holy Faith as to their king, and that to destroy Ormuz, if he were so minded, he had no need of anything more than the fleet he then had with him, and that the fortress which he was building was not to serve as a means to enable him to break the treaty, as the captains gave him to understand, but rather to guard and defend Ormuz as a possession of the king, his master. And for all that Cogeatar sent this message, yet the work went forwards. The factor went on shore with this reply, and told Cogeatar all that Afonso Dalboquerque had said to him; and, as he, from what he heard from the captains, was desirous of a rupture with Afonso Dalboquerque, he told the factor to tell him that the king desired to send Rexnordim to converse with him upon certain important matters before the captains, and that he must arrange some place for the meeting. Afonso Dalboquerque sent back word that the best and safest place wherein they could meet was the fortress, and he would proceed thither and wait for Rexnordim that very afternoon. When the factor went with this reply, Afonso Dalboquerque, with all the captains, proceeded to the fortress and remained there a long time, until the factor returned and told him that Rexnordim would not come, for Cogeatar had repented of the message he had sent him, and that he had better not rely upon this man's words, for he noticed that he was so pleased at knowing of the differences that existed between him and the captains, that he would not fulfil any of his promised engagements; for, in the conversation he had held with him, he had discovered that the message which the king purposed to send by Rexnordim was, that he should get up at once out of the port with his fleet and be gone.

Afonso Dalboquerque was deeply incensed at the idea of this message which the king had intended to send him; for

it was but a few days before, and when he was ready to pass on to the straits, that the king had sent him word by the very same Rexnordim not to go, for there was certain news that a great lord of the mainland, who was called the *Mesard*, was preparing himself with a large fleet to fall upon the city, and as it was ruined and without men, it would be an easy matter to take it, and if he took it he would become master of the whole kingdom. To this he had replied that, although his voyage to the strait was imperative, inasmuch as the king, his master, had set it down in his instructions, yet he would do as he was desired; for, in the contract he had made with him in the king's name, he was bound to defend the kingdom as much as if it were his own possession. Now, as this message which the king was minded to forward to Afonso Dalboquerque was agreeable to the policy of the captains and to the remonstrances they had made, Afonso Dalboquerque clearly perceived that they were to blame for this disgraceful conduct of Cogeatar; and knowing this, he dissembled with them, and without saying anything to them, dismissed them to their own ships. He also sent word to Cogeatar through Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, that from out the fleet of the King of Portugal, his lord, there were fled four Christians, whom he had arrested for punishment for certain crimes by them committed, and he desired, as a favour, that he would order them to be delivered up to him. Cogeatár told Gaspar Rodriguez that up to that moment he knew nothing whatever of them, but he would send and search for them, and if he found them, he would deliver them up to him immediately. Now, for all that Afonso Dalboquerque knew that Cogeatar had the Christians with him, yet he temporised with him, intending to complete the principal tower as far as the first story, to which work he gave great impetus. Nevertheless, after some days had elapsed, and he saw that

especially begged they would send back his four men; for, as he was the chief captain of that fleet, he was obliged to give an account with the delivery of it and of the men to the king, his master; and he (Cogeatar) must remember that but a few days ago the king and he had taken an oath of implicit obedience to the King of Portugal, his master, and to thoroughly comply with the commands of him who represented his authority. Cogeatar replied that he need not distress himself, for his men were on the further side of the mainland, tied hand and foot, that he had sent them thither, and in five days' time he would send them back to him.

CHAPTER XLV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving that Cogeatar would not deliver up the men, ordered the officers and men employed on the work, who were on shore, to be withdrawn, and of what else passed with the captains.

When the five days had elapsed which Cogeatar had required to send in search of the men, the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent him word by Gaspar Rodriguez that the time which he had sent to beg for instituting a search for his men was now gone by some days, and if they had arrived, would he send them back to him. Cogeatar told him that he had sent some of his servants to the mainland in search of the Christians, and that they had not come back and had done nothing, but he might tell the chief captain that he must return him one of his servants whom he had taken in reprisal, a man who knew the country very well, that he might despatch him in search of the men; for he was very diligent, and would set about this business in a different manner to anyone else, and then, in two days' time, he would send the fugitives back. Gaspar Rodriguez returned from the land with this reply, and informed Afonso

Dalboquerque that he perceived from the overbearing mien of certain Moors who were of the faction of Cogeatar, and also by the wording of his reply, that he would not deliver up the Christians to him, but was desirous of a rupture with him, and was fostering this delay with the intention of putting into practice some kind of treason which he had organised, for he had given orders that the entrances of two streets, which led to the houses where the factory of stone and mortar was situated, should be closed. Afonso Dalboquerque, being now advertised of this that Gaspar Rodriguez mentioned, and also to anticipate the malice of Cogeatar, determined to order a cessation of the work, and talked over the matter with João da Nova and the factor, who just then happened to be present with him in the *parao* close to the shore; and as they agreed in thinking it advisable, Afonso Dalboquerque, without further delay, issued orders to João da Nova to withdraw all the officers of the work, as well as the rest of the men who were going about the city, lest they should receive some affront from the Moors. So João da Nova proceeded forthwith to land, and caused all of them to withdraw to the *parao* so effectually, that before sunset there was not one left in the city.

When they were all withdrawn, Afonso Dalboquerque summoned the captains and certain fidalgos to his ship, and laid before the whole assembly what had passed with Cogeatar, and what Gaspar Rodriguez had told him, and desired them to tell him what to do, if Cogeatar still refused to deliver up the fugitives. The ensuing discussion of the matter ended in their agreeing that in the event of Cogeatar not delivering up the men, he ought to declare war against him and destroy Ormuz, if he were able to do so; and that he ought not to send back his Moor whom he had begged for, nor yet the others, as the king desired, for their whole conduct was a tissue of deceit and lies. But Afonso Lopez da Costa was of an opposite opinion, and

said that, in spite of what the captains had alleged, it would be as well to send him his Moor, and so get a positive proof of their lies and deceptions; for it was always in his power to make war upon them whenever he liked. Afonso Dalboquerque sided with Afonso Lopez da Costa's idea, and sent to Cogeatar his servant, and granted him the days' grace he desired; and, in the meanwhile, he told the factor artfully to withdraw the factory and the men in it. When Cogeatar knew of the orders to withdraw the factory, and saw how Afonso Dalboquerque was always beforehand with him, he sent him word by Almaçá, on the king's behalf, begging him as a great favour not to order the factory to be withdrawn, for it would be a great scandal for the merchants, and he, on his part, would receive much annoyance thereby. Afonso Dalboquerque, in reply, asked how his royal highness could expect to have the confidence of the revenue of the king, his master, and his officers, if Cogeatar had ordered walls to be built across two streets which led to the factory, and refused to send him four vagabonds who had fled from his fleet, and for whom he had sent many times to seek; and, with this reply, he ordered João Estão to exhibit before him the documents they had ratified in his presence at the delivery of the kingdom, and to inform the king that he begged he would of his favour take great care in what he was about, and not fail from his word, nor desire to make war with the King of Portugal, his master, for it would be his ruin, but look well to those documents and the seals wherewith they were sealed, and not break the peace, which he had agreed upon with him in the name of the King of Portugal, for the kingdom of Ormuz could not be defended by force of arms, but only by prudence and good counsel. The king and Cogeatar would not look at the documents, saying that they were quite aware of their contents, and intended to comply entirely with them; for

they had taken all this trouble upon themselves out of charity towards the men who had deserted, but that they need not be alarmed, for they should be produced.

CHAPTER XLVI.

How Cogeatar sent word to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, asking for a safe conduct for the Christians, and how the captains sent him a remonstrance urging him not to make war against the city, and what further took place with them thereupon.

At the end of the two days which Cogeatar had required that he might send the Christians, Afonso Dalboquerque, who perceived they were not likely to come, sent him word by Gaspar Rodriguez, that he desired him earnestly to return his men, and not make any further delay, for he would not put up with it any longer. So Gaspar Rodriguez went to land, and delivered his messages to Cogeatar, who, after conversing with him for some time upon the subject, bade him inform the chief captain that he must send back certain Moors who had been captured in the destruction of the vessels, as they were his servants, and a written deed promising not to bring the deserters to justice, and then he would send them back at once, for he was not desirous of making war upon him, but of maintaining peace and friendship; for they were all vassals of the King of Portugal, and he would always continue in obedience to him; and thereupon he added many other words to the end that his deceitfulness might take effect. Gaspar Rodriguez returned with this reply, and told Afonso Dalboquerque that Cogeatar had caused the Christians to be exhibited to him, in very good trim, and to all appearance so well satisfied with themselves, that in spite of all the promises of Cogeatar, he would affirm that they would not be restored to him. For all that Afonso Dalboquerque was quite well

aware of his tricks and lies, he continued to dissemble with him, for he was anxious to know from the fugitives who it was who had incited them to fly; and that nothing should remain untried, he sent Gaspar Rodriguez back again with the written deed which had been demanded of him for security, and desired to be informed where they should land the Moors, for he would send them back to him without delay.

As soon as Gaspar Rodriguez had set out with this message, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered João Estão to make his way quickly to all the ships and collect the Moors, who numbered about two hundred, and having embarked them in a *zambuco*, to bring them close to the shore, where he himself was in the *parao*; and as soon as they were there, he sent word to Cogeatar, that he had the Moors there, and he might now forward the Christians. Cogeatar replied that he might put them on shore, and send a captain to the jetty for the Christians because he would deliver them up there. Now, as Afonso Dalboquerque was on the alert with respect to this man's treacherous conduct, he sent D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, and João da Nova, with two hundred men, to draw up the Moors in order close to the fortress, tied one to the other, there to await a message from him; and he ordered Francisco de Tavora to proceed in a boat to the pier for the Christians, and Gaspar Rodriguez to go on in advance and tell Cogeatar that the Moors were on the land, and he must send the Christians to Francisco de Tavora, who had gone to the appointed place, to take them in charge. And, when Gaspar Rodriguez had been a long while gone, without returning with a reply, Afonso Dalboquerque despatched one of his servants to find out the cause of his delay, and he met him there on the way back. He told him that Cogeatar had detained him all that time without an answer, but he could not discover the reason of his doing so, and that he had seen the fugi-

tives, clothed in the habit of the Moors, with their swords in their belts, very happy, like men who felt sure they would not be delivered up; and after much wrangling with him, he had told him that he ought to send the Moors back as a present to the king, that the business might proceed on a more favourable footing, and he would bid the Christians to be shown to Francisco de Tavora. Afonso Dalboquerque, enraged by this reply, sent word immediately to D. Antonio and João da Nova to put the Moors back again into the *zambuco*, for Cogeatar would not deliver up the Christians, and upon the jetty there was a great collection of archers, and he would come to their support with the rest of the men, lest, if Cogeatar were plotting some treachery, he should fall upon us unexpectedly.

When the Moors were all put on board the *zambuco*, Afonso Dalboquerque disembarked, and joined D. Antonio and João da Nova, and remained there a long time at the foot of the fortress, awaiting the decision of Cogeatar; and when all was quieted down, he returned with his men to the boats, and went on board his own vessel. No sooner had he arrived, than Antonio Fernandez, who was the bearer of the remonstrances (as I have before mentioned), put into his hands a written paper signed by all the captains, to the following effect:—"Sir, we do this in writing, because by word of mouth we dare not, as you always answer us so passionately; and for all that you, sir, have frequently told us that the king gives you no orders to take counsel with us, yet this business is of so great an importance, that we consider ourselves obliged to offer you our advice; did we not do so, we should be worthy of punishment. Now, because this war, in which you are now desirous of engaging, is very much opposed to the interest of the king, our lord, we consider that your worship ought to weigh well before entering upon it, how little Cogeatar is to blame for objecting to have against all reason to pay

down in ready money fifteen thousand *cruzados*[1] of revenue every year, contrary to the honour of such a large city and kingdom; yet, if notwithstanding all this, your worship is determined to prosecute the war, and break the peace and agreement which has been made with him, it is our opinion that you ought not to do so; for it would be more to the service of the king, our lord, if we were now to quit this city and temporise with Cogeatar, and in the course of the year return in strength in order to subdue it and confirm our hold upon it, than to destroy it for ever. And if, in spite of all we can say, your worship is bent upon entering into this war, see you that it be with all the circumspection and assurance that the fleet can command, in that it is more conducive to the interest of our said lord to obtain possession, and not to destroy the city now, since it can be destroyed at any time we please; because, in case of your worship's landing in Ormuz or at the city, we are determined not to go with you, nor enter into such a war, nor such designs, and that this may be known for certain, and we be not able to deny it hereafter, we all sign our names here: this day, the fifth of the month of January, in the year fifteen hundred and eight.

"*João da Nova.*
Antonio do Campo.
Afonso Lopez da Costa.
Francisco de Tavora.
Manuel Telez."

When Afonso Dalboquerque had perused this letter, he went on board Francisco de Tavora's ship, taking with him João Estão, scrivener to the fleet, and there summoned them all to him; and when they were assembled, he told them how Antonio Fernandez had handed him a writing signed

[1] The passage on p. 131, to which this refers, has the word *xerafins*; hence it would appear that the Portuguese *cruzado* and the Persian *xerafim* were equivalent.

by them all, which he had put away very carefully to show to the king, his lord; and since they had changed their mind from what they formerly advised him to do, and were now of opinion that it would not be well to destroy Ormuz, he desired them to tell him whether they would by word of mouth affirm the fact that they would not be with him in this war, as they in their writing had asserted; they ought, however, to remember that it was but two days ago, when discussing with him whether or not war should be made upon Ormuz, if Cogeatar would not deliver up the refugees, that they had counselled him to make war upon this man, and not rely any longer on his smooth and specious words, for they were all false, yet now he found them so altered, that he thought it must either be owing to their temper, or to something which he could not quite understand, for it was not the habit of cavaliers to shrink from the hardships of war, for the king, D. Manuel, with his usual confidence in them, had sent them in his company to conquer that kingdom, and they ought to consider very thoroughly what they said, for to refuse to obey him was to act in opposition to the king's power, which had been entrusted to him over them.

The captains' reply was that they had in truth counselled him to enter into war with Ormuz, in case that Cogeatar should not deliver up the deserters; yet after having told him so, they had taken thought in the matter, and come to the conclusion that it was very much to the interest of the king, our master, not to do so, and therefore he ought to put it off as long as he could, and temporise with Cogeatar, for the king, D. Manuel, had stated in the instructions he had given him, that all he did was to be upon their recommendation, which he, on his part, never would accept, but would keep acting as he chose, without giving them any account of it, and that it was on this account that each of them was mentioning the aggravations they had received from him.

not call troubles, brought about by war, aggravations, and even if they were, then was not the season to mention them, but rather they ought to finish the fortress and defend it, in spite of the Moors. And if the aggravations they mentioned were from his conduct, they had the viceroy in India, who would do them justice, and the king, D. Manuel, in Portugal, who would punish him; but, just then, what was far more to the interest of the king was, whether they would be with him in the war or not. Then Francisco de Tavora cried out that he would be with him, and do all he desired him to do; but the remaining captains declared they would do nothing else but what they had put down in their writing. João da Nova began to say that the reason the captains had come to that determination was because he had sent to withdraw the men from the city without their advice; and that since Cogeatar had admitted that they were all vassals of the King of Portugal, the pretext on which to found a war was taken away. Afonso Dalboquerque replied to him: "This is what you ought to have said to me when I sent you to collect the men, and not now, for I did it with your counsel and that of the factor." And without caring to hear any more from them, he dismissed them.

As soon as Afonso Lopez da Costa arrived on board his own ship, he summoned all his men together, and sought to hear from them if they remained in their original determination. All replied that they would die wherever their chief captain died. The colloquy over, Afonso Dalboquerque returned to his own ship, much annoyed at this obstinacy of the captains; and while he was thus in suspense, not knowing what course to take, Fernão Soares arrived and told him that the captains were very sorry on account of the writing they had sent him, and much more so at the words that had passed with him, and begged him very earnestly to do them the favour to forget it all, for their passion had blinded them, and all were ready to serve him in the war, and perform all that he might require of them.

CHAPTER XLVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque determined to make war with Ormuz; and how the king's people, who were on guard at the watering stations of Turumbaque, were routed by ours.

As the great Afonso Dalboquerque had made up his mind to make war against the King of Ormuz, unless the fugitive Christians were delivered up, he desired, before commencing hostilities, to understand thoroughly the insubordination shown by the captains, and know whether the message they had sent him through Fernão Soares was real or merely complimentary; for if they were unwilling to remain in obedience to him, as they had asserted, he would provide other captains for the ships who would serve the king. He sent, therefore, João Estão, the scrivener to the fleet, to say on his behalf to Antonio do Campo, that he had certain charges to make against him, and he must resign his post as captain, and be taken into custody on board the flagship, and to say to the other captains, that since they were determined not to serve the king in the war, they must resign the command of their ships, and he would provide them with captains who would serve the king, and abide in obedience to him; and he told him also to make a legal statement of all that had passed with them.

When the captains perceived this determination of Afonso Dalboquerque, being ashamed of what they had entered upon, they told João Estão that they were very sorry for what they had said and done, and that they had sent to tell the chief captain this by Fernão Soares, and that they were prepared to serve him and be with him in this war he desired to enter upon. As Afonso Dalboquerque was now sure of the repentance of the captains, and as it was not the season now to punish their guilt, owing to the great need he had of them, he forgave them, and restored to them their captain-

ships, with the exception of Antonio do Campo, whom he would not reinstate, as he was informed that he had been the ringleader of all these disturbances.

And, at the close of these conversations held with the captains, he desired them to approach the shore as closely as they could in their ships, and put out warps from their sterns that they might turn back whenever they wished, and with their artillery direct the fire in batteries against the king's fortress, and each one was to have alongside his ship a *parao* to screen them from the artillery which the Moors had on the fortress wall; he also ordered his master to bring his own ship as close as he could into shore on the side of the western harbour. The captains that day battered the city so furiously, that they killed many men in the fortress, and overthrew many houses throughout the city; while the Moors had their artillery trained so high, that at low tide it could not do any injury to the ships, for it passed over their head, and at high tide it struck the *paraos* with which they had screened themselves; and if they sunk any of these each captain would put another at once in its place.

Antonio do Campo, being ashamed at seeing the captains in their own ships fighting, and himself away from his, sent begging Afonso Dalboquerque to pardon his past errors and to restore him to his ship, that he might assist his comrades with it, and he would do all required of him. Now, at that very juncture there was a great lack of men, so that for all that Antonio do Campo had been the one who plotted these disturbances, he forgave him, and ordered the ship to be delivered up to him again; and he told the captains to go on with the attack upon the fortress upon the following day, which they did with such fury that the carriages of the larger guns, being all rotten, were split to pieces. When Afonso Dalboquerque knew of this, he ordered the ships to withdraw towards the sea, and ranged himself in order to

prevent any supplies or water from entering the city, and surrounded the island in a circle with all the fleet, and ordered all the ships which were in the harbour under his safe pass to be burned, first of all requiring Cogeatar many times to surrender the deserters he had kept from him, and to bear in mind the agreement which he and the king had made when he delivered over to him the government of that kingdom in the name of the King of Portugal. And, owing to the blockade all round, there began to be in the city great want of supplies and of water, for these could not be procured from the mainland; and Afonso Dalboquerque knowing how short they were of provisions, ordered the circuit of blockade to be drawn in closer, and signified to the captains and all the men in the fleet that it was his determination not to raise the blockade until the king should deliver the city to him, and that he was no longer minded to proceed to the straits. Having agreed to this, he ordered Manuel Telez to make himself ready to transport the spoils they had collected to the fortress of Çocotorá; and on receipt of news on the way that any ships from Portugal were cruising along that coast, he was to visit the captains and order them, on the part of Afonso Dalboquerque, to proceed to his assistance, and he was also to bring back all the munitions of war he could find, for he had great need of them all.

When the people of the city saw that they were so surrounded, that from no direction could water be brought, which was what they felt most of all, the principal Moors collected together and went to the king, desiring him earnestly to provide a guard for the pools of Turumbaque, which were at the head of the island, lest the Portuguese should obtain possession of them, and from these the great lack of water could be supplied. The king immediately sent a captain, with men on horse and on foot, to remain on guard at the pools, and tents in which they could encamp.

When Afonso Dalboquerque was informed of this plan of the enemy, he sent by night a reconnoitring party; and having received intelligence of the order in which they were disposed, without any delay, he despatched D. Antonio de Noronha with one hundred men, and Francisco de Tavora and João da Nova with another hundred men, to attack them. These, when they were ready, went on board their boats and set out at nightfall; and on their arrival at the pools about two hours before daybreak, they immediately fell upon the Moors, who were thrown into confusion by the suddenness of the attack, and routed them, killing two of the king's principal captains, who had come with that guard, and many Moors, both infantry and cavalry; and they burned a few houses which stood there, and all the tents which they had taken thither for their accommodation. And when this was done they filled the pools with dead bodies of men, and horses, and camels, and betook themselves to their boats with this victory, and so returned to the ships, carrying with them two archers whom they there captured.

From these men Afonso Dalboquerque learned that some days ago the king, by the advice of the blind king and of the governors of the land, had made up his mind to rebel against him, and put to death all the Portuguese who were about in the city; for he was very sorry that he had ever granted them a place in which to construct the fortress; and that there was a great lack of water in the city, and Cogcatar, as he could not put confidence in anyone, kept the key of a cistern which would contain about eighty cubits,[1] and had a captain and company on guard over it.

[1] *Covados*, a measure used in Portugal, which contains three-quarters of a yard, or a Flemish ell.—*Vieyra*. Bluteau says that the *covado* corresponds to the lesser Roman cubit of one and a half feet, or three *palmos craveyros*, or standard palms, of which five go to the *vara*, or ell of three and one-third Portuguese feet.

Although the Moors who were on guard over the cistern were sure of support, as they were so near to the city, Afonso Dalboquerque, nevertheless, in order to disquiet them, made up his mind to attack them, and got himself ready with all his people, and set out from the ships before daybreak, and ordered Francisco de Tavora in the vanguard with forty men to attack, while he, with all the rest of the men, followed in reserve; and they fell upon the Moors so suddenly, that they put them at once to flight, and followed after them awhile, killing many Moors on foot, as well as their captain, who was on horseback; and Lopo Alvarez, who was the constable's servant, was the first who struck him with a lance. Many of our men were wounded with arrows, for the Moors on their horses fled away, and as they fled kept on shooting arrows against us, as we followed them in disorder. So Afonso Dalboquerque, being fearful lest a large force should sally out to succour them, ordered D. Antonio de Noronha to withdraw the men from the pursuit, and broke the gates of the cistern, and filled it full of corpses and dead horses, and with this victory returned to embark on board the boats, and made his way to the ships.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

How Cogeatar again ordered his people to clear out the pools of Turumbaque, and how the people whom he had appointed to guard them were discomfited by our men, and of further matters.

Two days had now elapsed since this skirmish, and there began to be a great want of water in the city, so that many children began to die of thirst, and they could provide themselves from no other quarter with dispatch, except from the wells of Turumbaque, because of the exceeding vigilance and care which the great Afonso Dalboquerque had employed in blockading the island. So Cogeatar de-

termined to send secretly and clear out the pools; and with this view he dispatched a captain with some men on foot and on horse, and many camels and beasts to bring water immediately to the city. Now, as Afonso Dalboquerque had his sources of information respecting all the intentions of the king, to wit, Moors to whom he used to give many presents from his stock, he was immediately advised of this, and prepared Manuel Telez and Afonso Lopez da Costa, with one hundred and fifty men, to go and fall upon these men and cover up the wells again. The captains started at nightfall by sea, and arrived at the wells when morning was just breaking, and at once attacked the Moors; and, as these were not in careful array, they were routed, and, without making any resistance, took to flight, and our men pursued them, and killed many as they came up with them, and then returned in a body to the wells, and killed all the camels and beasts of burden which the Moors had there to carry water, and covered up the wells. When this was done they returned to the boats, and, betaking themselves to the ships, came upon Afonso Dalboquerque on his way towards them in boats to give them assistance, if it were necessary.

The captains recounted all that had taken place, and he praised their deed greatly, and the manner in which they had attacked the Moors. And he told them that he had been informed that opposite the wells there was a rising ground running down in a point towards the sea, whereon a fort might be built, which would hold both artillery and men, to oppose the enemy when carrying water thence to the city, and it would be well to survey the site, and see what could be done with it; for, if they could cut off that supply of water, the king would have of necessity to yield, for there were no means of provision, except with great trouble and risk of lives. Having come to this determination, they all returned, and proceeded to disembark in the

harbour, and when they were about to mount the hill, they perceived mounted men coming from the city to succour a few archers who remained there after the late skirmish. Afonso Dalboquerque, as soon as he saw them, remained quiet with all his men, and ordered Afonso Lopez da Costa, D. Antonio de Noronha, Manuel Telez, and Jorge Barreto, to take up a front position among our men, and keep them back; and when they were all compactly united, he ordered D. Antonio, with one hundred men, to ascend the hill and attack the Moors; and he himself remained where he was on the beach, with the rest of the men, in sight of them.

D. Antonio achieved the ascent so valorously, that he fell upon the archers before the mounted men could get up, and, having put them to flight, pursued them along a valley which led to the mountains. The horsemen who had come out of the city, seeing our men disorganised in pursuit, began to attack them, and the archers, when they found themselves supported by the mounted men, faced about, and, joining their forces, attacked D. Antonio. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque saw our men hard put to it with the horsemen, he sent orders to D. Antonio to return to the place where he himself was; and, as it was getting late, he commanded him, through Afonso Lopez da Costa, to retire at once, and with this decisive message he proceeded to withdraw down the course of the valley, in quick marching order. When the Moors perceived that D. Antonio was withdrawing his forces, they drew nearer to him; and D. Antonio, as soon as he found himself pressed in by the Moors, faced about and made them turn back, some archers being left stretched along the ground dead; and he thus returned to the beach where his uncle was stationed, the Moors following close upon him without any order, and killing a youth close beside Afonso Dalboquerque with an arrow-wound in the head. Dalboquerque, however, noticing that the Moors came on in disorder, commanded D. Anto-

nio to fall upon them again with his people, and in this charge they killed three mounted Moors, who desired to outstrip the others, men well furnished with clothing and arms.

When the mounted men saw these were killed, they threw away their arms and the trappings of their horses to make less weight, and fled away towards the city. There were wounded in this skirmish D. Antonio (with seven arrows), Gonçalo Queimado, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, and Antonio de Liz, and others; and they withdrew again. The archers, although they saw themselves deserted by the mounted men, rallied at the mouth of the valley with the intention of avenging themselves, and began to harass our party with flights of arrows, until Afonso Dalboquerque, annoyed at their importunity, told the captains to fall upon them, and they pursued them all along the valley upwards, and punished them so severely, that they no longer dared to attack us, but collected themselves together on a hill. And in this charge Afonso Lopez da Costa, Manuel Telez, Jorge da Silveira, Fernão Feijo, and João Rodriguez Pereira, were wounded. As he had now driven off the Moors from his party, Afonso Dalboquerque withdrew to the boats, and proceeded to the ships, without coming to any determination respecting the place which he had started to survey; and from two archers who were captured there he learned that one of the three horsemen whom they had killed was the son of Rexnordim, a very gallant man, who had come from Persia with an army to serve the king in this war, and for him they made so great an outcry in the city, that they could be heard in the ships. These three captains who were killed there paid dearly for the pride they had evinced in offering the king to protect the wells.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Of the message sent by the king to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, begging for peace, and the answer he gave, and what passed in the Island of Queixome on proceeding thither for water.

As soon as the great Afonso Dalboquerque had withdrawn to the ships, on obtaining this victory, it was announced to him that, after his departure to Turumbaque, two *almadias* had gone out by night to the mainland. Now, because he was desirous of knowing the whole reason of this trip, he ordered Duarte de Sousa, with two skiffs well furnished for any contingency, to go at once and wait for them at that part whence they had set out; and, as the *almadias* returned at night, they came unexpectedly upon Duarte de Sousa, who, directly that he caught sight of them, gave them chase, and before they touched land took them both, and proceeded with them to Afonso Dalboquerque. And from the Moors who were captured, he heard that Cogeatar, in consequence of the great lack of water in the city, sent swift-rowing *almadias* to Nabandé for it by night; for these could coast along more secretly than the *paraos*. When the Moors had told him of this, he ordered their noses and ears to be cut off, and that they should be put on shore, and their *almadias* burned; and from thenceforth he ordered a watch to be set upon the shore to put a stop to this device by which Cogeatar designed to get water. When the people of the city perceived this means of supply cut off, and that they were in great likelihood of perishing with hunger and thirst, many men assembled together, with their women and children, although it was night, and surrounded the king's palace, shouting loudly, and crying out, desiring him to take pity upon them and the troubles they were suffering in the death of their fathers, husbands, children, and relations, without any hope of aid coming to them

from any quarter, and all because Cogeatar would not give up four Christians, who were worth nothing, and of whom they had no need. And further, they related many disasters which had taken place, so that it was grievous to hear them, and the cries were so loud that they were heard in the ships.

When the king perceived the troubles of his people, and the great need in which the city was placed, he concluded, with the advice of the blind king, to send and beg for mercy from the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and sent him word by Almaçá, a very confidential eunuch, that he was sorry for all that had taken place, and would swear to him, by his law, that the blame was none of his, and begged him earnestly to be graciously content with the destruction he had already done in the city, and he would do all that was desired of him. Afonso Dalboquerque replied, that if the king was desirous of making terms and peace with him, he ought first of all to order a surrender of the fortress of the King of Portugal, his master, and his men whom he had seized, and all the goods that remained in the factory, and to pay all the expenses incurred; and when all this had been satisfactorily settled, they could then deliberate in concert, for under any other consideration he would have no communications with him. So Almaçá returned with this reply to land, and the king, upon taking counsel upon the affair with the blind king and Cogeatar, and with the principal Moors of his government, answered that it was no use talking about the fortress, for he would not give it up, but he would give him as much money as he wished. Afonso Dalboquerque, on receipt of so haughty a reply, perceiving that it was due to the influence of Cogeatar, told Almaçá to inform the king that he had no need of money, nor desired anything further of him except the fortress, which belonged to the King of Portugal, gained with his men and fleet, and if he would not give it up to him, there was no

use in speaking of any agreement; but he hoped that Cogeatar, who had caused him to send that reply, would some time or other repent of having advised him to do so.

Now, as Cogeatar knew that the captains were of opinion that war ought not to be made upon the king, he sent immediately by night to tell them at the ships, where they were close on shore, that he would have them to understand that the king had paid many compliments to their chief captain, and had offered him much money not to destroy their city, which was in obedience to the King of Portugal, even as they were all of them his vassals, but he would not accept it, and that therefore the king was minded to forward a ship with a message to the Viceroy of India, giving him an account of this unreasonable conduct towards him. Afonso Dalboquerque was immediately informed of this, that Cogeatar had communicated by night with the captains; but he dissembled with them, without punishing them as they deserved, until he could learn their further intentions, and went on with the war as before. And because the fleet was very much in want of water, he sent Antonio do Campo and Pero Vaz Dorta, the factor, to the port of Nabandé, to try whether by presents or money they could obtain any water, for the inhabitants of that harbour live by it, and carry it to Ormuz for sale. When they arrived there they found a captain of the King of Ormuz, with a company of men on guard over that port, who would have nothing to say to our party, nor permit the people to sell water to them for money. And Antonio do Campo, perceiving the determination of the captain, returned to the ships and related to Afonso Dalboquerque what had taken place, and he made ready at once to go in person to the Isle of Queixome, to obtain water by force, for this was the nearest point; and he took with him Antonio do Campo and Francisco de Tavora, with one hundred men, and *paraos*, and Moors who were accustomed to the business of carrying

water to the city, and left João da Nova, with all the rest of the men, in charge of the ships during his absence.

When all was prepared, they set out at night, and reached the island before dawn. And before they disembarked, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered them to station sentries around the walls to keep a good look out over all the land afar off, and he bade Duarte de Sousa and the factor to take care and get the *paraos* loaded with water as rapidly as they could. When all this was set in order, he disembarked with all the party, and marched direct towards a place which was called Arbés, which was at some little distance from the seashore, and he ordered Jorge Barreto, with ten men, to ascend a lofty knoll, and keep watch over the land, while Antonio do Campo, with fifty men, went forward and attacked the place. As soon as Antonio do Campo arrived he made the assault without delay, and Afonso Dalboquerque, who was following up behind him, did the same in another direction in company with Jorge Barreto, who had already come up, and they killed some Moors; and as the king had no garrison of men there, the Moors who came up, finding themselves badly used by our matchlocks, betook themselves to flight, and left the place.

When Afonso Dalboquerque saw that it was deserted, and that there was nothing more to be feared, he ordered all the provisions to be carried into the boats; and while they were proceeding with this booty, they heard a gun fired in their own direction, so he ordered the men to assemble together at once, for it seemed to him to be a signal for doing so, and proceeded with them all in a body straight to the shore. And when he arrived there Duarte de Sousa informed him that as he was taking in water he had seen a captain with thirty Moors and guns on camels, and he had withdrawn to the boats as soon as he caught sight of them, and kept clear of them; yet the captains had ordered the Moors to take down the guns from the camels, and com-

menced firing, but at the first shots, seeing our men coming up, the Moors had replaced the guns on the camels and withdrawn very rapidly. So Afonso Dalboquerque finished taking in water and set off, and on his arrival at the ships, was informed that João da Nova had gone by night in his skiff to land, to parley with the renegades and with some of the servants of Cogeatar, at which he was very angry, for it was without his permission, and he had left him in charge of the fleet in his name.

CHAPTER L.

Of what passed between the great Afonso Dalboquerque and João da Nova, when he would not go to Nabandé, whither he was ordered to go.

On the day following that on which Afonso Dalboquerque had returned to the ships, he sent word to João da Nova and Francisco de Tavora that he had news that a caravan coming from Persia towards Ormuz with supplies and other merchandise had arrived at the port of Nabandé, and they were to make ready with their men to go thither, but first to come on board his ship, that he might give them instructions in what they were to do. Francisco de Tavora, on receiving the message, made ready at once, and came on board the flagship at the appointed time; and as it was late, and João da Nova did not come, Afonso Dalboquerque sent to ask why he delayed, for Francisco de Tavora had been waiting many hours for him there; and João da Nova sent word to say that the delay was owing to the fact that the men of his ship would not accompany him, and he would not go by himself. Afonso Dalboquerque, being already annoyed at what he had done during his absence at the Island of Queixome, and enraged still further at this reply, went into his boat with João Estão, scrivener to the fleet,

and a few men, and proceeded at this late hour of the night to João da Nova's ship; and on entering it, as he saw the men in an uproarious state, and an attitude of defiance, he dissembled, and bade João da Nova to cause them to embark in the boats, while he (João) went to the flagship. But he (as a man not altogether free from the blame) would not do so, and told him these men were unwilling to go and fight on land, for they were not under any obligation to do so, and if he desired them to go there, he ought to order that they should receive their share of the twenty thousand *xerafins* which the King of Ormuz had paid as tribute.

Afonso Dalboquerque told him that he would give him an answer upon this question as soon as he had ordered his men to embark. And although he reiterated his request very often, he always kept putting it off, on the ground that his men would not do so. Now, as Afonso Dalboquerque was well aware that it all arose from João da Nova and not from the men, he said to him:—"I have known for many days of the designs which you and the other captains are plotting, and have concealed it all, making always as though I did not know of them, for I desired to complete this fortress in peace, and you have all so acted that everything is likely to be lost. And not content with this, when I was in the Island of Queixome, leaving you by yourself with all my authority, in charge of this fleet, you went to land to parley with the besieged enemies, and with the men who fled from me, although you had not my permission to be able to do this. And this disobedience the men of your ship show towards me arises from your having incited them to mutiny against me, asserting that I have appropriated the share which belongs to them of the twenty thousand *xerafins* which the King of Ormuz has paid as tribute, and that the King of Portugal ordered me to divide the money in the instructions he gave me, though it is not so. And all this is done to the end, that I should quit this under-

taking, for you all of you desire to make your way to India to take in full cargoes, being tired of the war, and not bearing in mind that this is an obligation required as much from you all as from me, and that it behoves us to give a good account to the king, our master, of this kingdom which we have gained. And it is very evident that Cogeatar suffers all these troubles and necessities without being willing to deliver up to me four Christians, because he well knows that you all advise me to leave off this war and be gone, but the king, our master, shall know whose fault it is."

João da Nova was not much pleased at these matters which Afonso Dalboquerque mentioned, and began to exculpate himself, and, as regards the inciting the men of his ship to mutiny, he desired him to ask them how many times he had reproved them, and tried to compel them to embark without their obeying; but what was mentioned about the cargoes was true, for when at Calicut they had begged his permission to depart and make their way to India, it was in order to load his ship and sail away to Portugal, in accordance with the order given to him by Tristão da Cunha at Çocotora so to do, in order to carry him back news before his departure of what he had done on this coast, and that if he chose to depart without his permission he would do so with impunity. And as João da Nova was of an obstinate and haughty spirit, he began to utter a number of silly things, and make a great outcry, in such a manner that the hubbub was so loud in the ship that the Moors, who were stationed on the walls of the city on the watch, commenced crying out loudly, and fired four shots of artillery, speaking much against Afonso Dalbóquerque, as though they knew the reason for that noise and disturbance. And when he perceived these things, and that fair words were no longer of any avail, it appeared to him that for the credit of his person it would be more honourable to kill him there and then than to permit him to be disobe-

dient, and he snatched a sword from a cabin boy whom he came across, and fell upon those who were the authors of this disturbance on the deck, and made them embark, and, approaching João da Nova, seized him by the neck, and bade him embark at once.

When the ship's company beheld Afonso Dalboquerque wrestling with João da Nova, there was not one who dared say anything more, and all set about embarking. João da Nova, finding himself arrested (in excuse for what he had done, although it was very dishonourable), pulled at his own beard, which he used to wear very long, and taking out some hairs, which he wrapped in a handkerchief, began to cry out in a loud voice: "I will betake me to the king, and in presence of his council will beg of him to do justice to these hairs of my beard which thou hast plucked out in payment, forsooth, for the service I have rendered in these parts of India." Afonso Dalboquerque replied sternly to him: "I never laid hands upon your beard, and even if I had plucked it all out by the roots for what you have done, and for having disobeyed me, not even for this will the king, our master, order my head to be cut off; but if I had treated you and the other captains according to the strict letter of my instructions, when you all began to damage our affairs at Ormuz, they would not be in the state in which they are now; but I bore with you with great patience, thinking that thus the king's interest would be better served, and this was what I was ever aiming at." And not caring to hold any more intercourse with him, he made him embark, and all the rest of the mutineers as well, and returned to his own ship very late at night; and on the following day he sent João da Nova in custody, upon his oath of allegiance, to the ship commanded by Francisco de Tavora, and told João Estão, the scrivener to the fleet, to hold an inquiry, in order to discover who was guilty of this mutiny.

The result of this inquiry was that

men were found to be so guilty that it was thought to be better counsel to forgive them, considering the times they had fallen upon, and the necessity there was of them, than to punish them as they deserved; and in order to wean the men from taking further part in the mutiny, he gave to each ten *xerafins* in part payment of what might accrue to his share in the twenty thousand *xerafins* of tribute, if it were found right that they should have it, and, if not, it was to be deducted from their pay; and he ordered them to return to the ship, and released João da Nova from custody, and returned him his captaincy, not caring to hear any more of his guilt, but leaving the punishment of it for the king to settle, although he had, in the instructions given to him, granted him power for all.

CHAPTER LI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque returned to the Island of Queixome with determination of taking water, and of the rout he made of the men whom the king had there for its defence.

Notwithstanding all these differences which the great Afonso Dalboquerque had every day with the captains, and which caused him much pains, yet he did not cease to seek a remedy by which to obtain water for his fleet, of which there was great need; and although in the Island of Queixome, which was close at hand, he could no longer obtain it without force of arms, because of the numerous forces which the king had sent there after the mutiny, for all this he had made up his mind to go there, and, before he set out, desired to be informed by the Moors, whom he had captured in Arbes, in what place the captains and men lodged whom the king had sent to keep guard over the wells. The Moors told him that the headquarters were in a large town called Queixome, and from it all the other settlements were sup-

plied. Afonso Dalboquerque, upon receipt of this information, gave orders to João da Nova and Afonso Lopez to make ready with all their forces to accompany him, and to Antonio do Campo to provide the *paraos*, with Moors to beach them, in order to load with water, and he left Francisco de Tavora and Manuel Telez in charge over the ships.

So, when midnight was come, they set out, and arrived before Queixome so soon, that it was necessary to come to anchor until it was time to see where they could disembark; and when dawn began to appear Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the boats to make for the land, and disembarked with all the company, and told João da Nova and Afonso Lopez da Costa to take their division beforehand and march straight upon the place, and attack it without loss of time, and ordered Jorge Barreto, with fifty men, to attack it from the inner or land side, to draw off the Moors from collecting at any part, and they would thus all meet there; and after giving them these directions he set out with the remaining men, marching direct towards the place, to succour the captains. João da Nova and Afonso Lopez da Costa made such haste, that they arrived before Jorge Barreto at the head of the town, and attacked some large houses, wherein were three captains of the King of Ormuz, just in the act of mounting their horses, and some few bowmen. As soon as João da Nova and Afonso Lopez da Costa perceived there were people in the houses, they closed up with the doors and broke them in with axes, and got in along with them all in confusion; while Jorge Barreto, who by this time had come up, proceeded to attack them behind the houses, upon the top of the walls of some country houses. The Moors, now that the gates leading to the streets were broken open, assembled together in a courtyard and defended themselves there for some time without anyone being able to get in to them; but our men, being ashamed at the delay, attacked them with great vigour, and forced an entry. And, in

the moment of getting in they wounded João da Nova, who was the first, and the *Meirinho*,[1] and steward of his ship, and killed one of his sailors; but our party revenged themselves amply, for they put the three captains to death who were getting on their horses to flee away, and all the bowmen who were with them.

All this was done so rapidly, and the fight was so well managed, that although Afonso Dalboquerque was stationed very close to these houses, wherein all this was going on, he did not hear anything that was passing inside; and when he entered the courtyard where our men were, and beheld so much blood and so many dead Moors, he began to be loud in his praises of the captains and all the rest of the people, and averred that he would be recompensed for all his services if the king, D. Manuel, his master, could have seen them fighting from those balconies. Then he went out again from the houses towards a terrace, and commanded Aires de Sousa, and Fernão Soarez, and the others, to mount upon the horses which were there and scour the country all round, and give no quarter to anyone they should meet. This they did, and put to death many Moors, as well as women and children, and collected all the cattle they could find, and returned to the place where Afonso Dalboquerque stood. And when they were come back he ordered that the horses should be killed, that the Moors might not make use of them, and had all the supplies carried into the boats, and returned with this victory to the ships; but he would not allow them to set the place on fire, for it was well supplied with all sorts of provisions, and he was in hopes that whenever the boats returned for water they might each time take away a little. He left Antonio do Campo in his ship on guard over the pools to protect those whom he might send for water; and as soon as he arrived at the ships

[1] The exact duty of this officer is not ascertained, but probably corresponded to that of the quartermaster or boatswain.

he ordered them to beach a *paraо* full of the principal Moors who had been killed there, upon the coast of the city, and as these were honourable men and of great esteem, there was much lamentation made over them.

As soon as the *paraos* had discharged their supplies, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Francisco de Tavora and Jorge Barreto to go to Queixome, where Antonio do Campo was stationed, to bring back all the water and supplies that they could get; and after they were started, Antonio do Campo's pilot arrived with intelligence for Afonso Dalboquerque, and gave him to understand that from the mast-head of his ship he could see many ships at sea coming up underweigh opposite the Island of Lara, and begged he would say what he had best do. Now, because it was but the day before that he had come from the place, and there was no news then of such a fleet, he could not make up his mind what it could be; and in order to make more sure of it he ordered them to bring before him two noble Moors whom he had captured in the island, and inquired of them what ships these might be. One of them told him that they must be some which Cogeatar had sent for from Julfar to proceed in them with the king and all his household to the same island, for there were no means of assistance at hand, as Cogeatar would not permit any more people to enter the city while he was there, in consequence of the great dearth of supplies and water that there was; and the other Moor said that so he thought also, for the night before they were captured, a servant of Cogeatar had passed by in great haste, and told him that he was going to Julfar with a message for the Guazil to send men and ships, but he did not know for what reason.

CHAPTER LII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Afonso Lopez da Costa and Manuel Telez to go and join Antonio do Campo, and attack the Moorish fleet, and how they left him and sailed away to India.

At this news, which the great Afonso Dalboquerque received of the arrival of these ships off the Island of Lara, he sent immediately that night a despatch to Afonso Lopez da Costa and Manuel Telez to go and unite with Antonio do Campo, giving them notice (from the information he had of the Moors captured in the Island of Queixome) of the fleet and the people in it, who they were; and so also he sent to tell Antonio do Campo how he ought to act in approaching the fleet to fight with it, and by Men Rodriguez, constable of the Gunners, the bearer of the despatch, he was to send back word how he fared, for if he were in want of assistance he would go in person with all the rest of the ships. As soon as the despatch was given to them, Manuel Telez and Afonso Lopez da Costa weighed anchor and stood over to the Island of Queixome, where Antonio do Campo was stationed, and gave him Afonso Dalboquerque's message, and then they all three agreed to proceed to attack the Moorish fleet; and as they sailed along, just beginning to espy a point of the island, directly the Moors caught sight of our vessels they slipped their cables and fled away by rowing and sailing, while our captains chased them for two leagues distance, but could not come up with them. And as it was now night they returned and anchored in the port of the island, where the Moorish fleet had been anchored, and from thence wrote, through Men Rodriguez, to Afonso Dalboquerque an account of what they had done, and how they were waiting his further orders for their future proceedings.

Men Rodriguez was no sooner arrived with this message when he was sent back to order Afonso Lopez da Costa and

Antonio do Campo, since the Moorish fleet had fled, to return and take up their original positions in the blockade of the city, and Manuel Telez to go and anchor close to the flagship, as the chief captain intended to send him to carry the supplies to the fortress of Çocotora, as he had told him. Men Rodriguez set about this at once, and proceeded forthwith to the Island of Lara, where all these captains remained, and on his arrival gave them this message, to which they replied that they were just then taking in water, but when they had taken in a sufficient quantity, they would return without delay to the stations appointed for them. Men Rodriguez returned, and on the way met with Francisco de Tavora and Jorge Barreto, coming from the Island of Queixome laden with water, and they gave him an old Moor, an inhabitant of the Island of Lara, whom they had captured there, to carry with him, and this man was a pilot who had fled to Cananor from Antonio de Saldanha, on his first voyage to India. On Men Rodriguez's arrival, he handed over the Moor to Afonso Dalboquerque, and told him how he had found all these captains walking along the beach, apart from the men, and how Afonso Lopez da Costa had said with great arrogance to him: "Tell our captain general that I say what sort of men are these for him to send them their shares of the fifteen thousand *xerafins* perfumed on board?"

Afonso Dalboquerque was not pleased at this that Men Rodriguez said, and asked the Moor what fleet that was, and what men there were in it. He told him there were sixty vessels, and they brought four thousand men under a captain named Xaquear, who came by order of Cogeatar to keep guard over all those watering places, in order that his men might not get their water there. After the lapse of two days, when Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the captains did not proceed to take up their positions as he had ordered them, nor send any message, he sent Fernão Soarez in the boat of the *Flor de la Mar*, and Pero Gon-

çalvez, chief pilot, in the skiff of the *Cirne*, to go and seek for them, and tell them he was very much alarmed at not seeing them with their ships in the places he had assigned them. Fernão Soarez, on his arrival at the island, as he did not find them, put in to shore and seized a Moor, who told him that those three captains who used to be there had taken in water and furnished themselves with plenty of fresh salted and pickled meat in jars, and set sail, and steered towards the Cape of Maçandi.

Fernão Soarez returned with this information which he had obtained, and told Afonso Dalboquerque what had happened with the captains, and how the Moorish fleet was lying at anchor between the islands of Lara and Queixome. He was much annoyed at their desertion, leaving the Moorish fleet in a position to attack, and himself blockading so large a city with three ships, so that a fleet, however small it might be, could inflict much damage upon him. At so unexpected an event he remained in suspense for the space of six days, without knowing what to decide upon doing, and he was the more in doubt when he heard the great uproar made by the Moors in the city, like men who were aware of the desertion of the captains. On the one side he saw the city (owing to the great distress it suffered by hunger and thirst) surrendered if he did not raise the blockade; on the other side, he felt the great obligation he was under of supplying the fortress of Çocotora with supplies, of which it was in the utmost need, and which Manuel Telez had carried off on board his ship. After long consideration, however, he came to the conclusion that it would be safer conduct to raise the blockade, and proceed to the succouring of the fortress of Çocotora with what few supplies he had, and leave the affairs of Ormuz in the hands of God, for He would give him another opportunity, wherein He would be better able to assist him. So not without some grief at the idea of quitting Ormuz, he went on board the ship of João

da Nova, and told him that his wish was now accomplished, seeing that Antonio do Campo, Afonso Lopez da Costa, and Manuel Telez had fled away to India, and that his own determination was to proceed to the succour of the fortress of Çocotora with some supplies, as Manuel Telez had carried away those placed on board his ship; and he bade him make ready, for he was to accompany him as far as Capo Recalgate, and from that point bear away to India.

João da Nova assured him that it was no pleasure to him if the captains had fled away from him, and that he had never joined with them in such a design; but, on the contrary, he thought they had done very wrong, and he begged he would have the kindness, as he had given him permission to set out for India, to enlarge the parole which had been demanded of him. Afonso Dalboquerque granted his request, and fitted out Pedralvarez, the constable's assistant, to accompany him, bearing letters for the viceroy, wherein he gave him an account of the flight of the captains, and how they had left him when on guard over the city, having certain intelligence that the Sultan's fleet was in Diu, making ready with the King of Cambaya to fall upon him, which intelligence he had gained from some Moors who were captured in a ship belonging to Ormuz, which came from Diu, Cogeatar having sent it thither to demand this assistance. And he begged his lordship that if these captains of his made their way thither, that he would give them that punishment which they so richly deserved, for leaving their captain general at such a juncture, and deserting from him. He gave permission also to Jorge Barreto, his cousin, to go, because he begged him to do so, and he commanded João Estão and João Teixeira (whose oath was taken upon the Holy Gospels) to commence a legal inquiry throughout the ships, concerning the flight of the captains, and after it had been taken, he sent it to Portugal, to D. Manuel, the king, that he might

deserted him, and at what kind of season they had fled away; and he also gave permission to some of the men who held the king's commissions, to serve as officers and captains, and to all he ordered to be paid all that was their due with respect to their wages and allowances, that had been agreed upon up to that present time.

CHAPTER LIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out towards Çocotora, and having arrived at the island, sent Francisco de Tavora to Melinde to seek for supplies, and what took place.

Afonso Dalboquerque was just on the point of sailing with all his ships in order, when two Moors came down close by our fortress, and began to make signals with a flag; and at sight of them he sent Aires de Sousa, João Estão, and Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, to land, to see what they wanted. The Moors told them to say to the chief captain that the king was very desirous of retaining his friendship, and would do whatever he desired; but as for the four men, he could not return them to him, for they had now become his brothers. Afonso Dalboquerque, knowing that all this proceeded from some trickery and artfulness of Cogeatar, who would have discovered the diminution of the fleet by this time, replied that not once but often he had sent him word that he would make no arrangement with him, without he first of all delivered up to him his men; and now he would do so with worse will, since they had been made to abjure the faith of Jesus Christ in the mosques of Mahomet; but if he were to waive this demand, the king, his lord, would order his head to be cut off as soón as he arrived in Portugal; yet he would promise him (if our Lord only gave him a little longer life) that he would very quickly deprive him of the government of the kingdom of Ormuz, and would

finish the fortress, which he now left only begun, and then he would requite him doubly for all the loss and damage which his fleet had received. He ordered also João Estão to notify all this to him in a formal manner, and prepare a public instrument containing an account of all that had happened up to that hour.

And for all that this declaration, which he ordered to be made to Cogeatar, appeared then to be a mere piece of pleasantry, nevertheless, in the second conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz he performed it all, causing him to refund him all the expenses he had been put to without any diminution. So Aires de Sousa went with this message to land, and, without entering into any further negotiations with them, returned; and on his arrival at the ships, Afonso Dalboquerque sent for Francisco da Tavora, and took his oath of allegiance, fearing that he was minded to desert, as I have before mentioned, and set sail with João da Nova in his company. But on reaching Çoá, he missed seeing the *Flor de la Mar* one morning, and, thinking that it had taken a different course, but would return to his company, he passed the whole day without seeing it; and as he did not see it on the following day, he came to the conclusion that it had sailed away to India also. And he was very much annoyed at João da Nova parting from him without mentioning it to him, after agreeing to bear him company as far as Cape Resalgate, and made his way straight to Çocotora; and being in the latitude of this cape, they had sight of a ship, and chased it all the day long, but lost sight of it at night, and continued their voyage. And as soon as they entered into the gulf, they captured a Moorish ship, which came from Mecca very rich: and twenty days after setting out from Ormuz, they came to anchor in the port of the island, and found that the captain of the fortress was very ill, and that the garrison were suffering from such want of provisions that they had nothing left to eat but palm leaves and a

fruit they found growing wild in the woods, four of them being already dead, and all the rest very ill. But on the arrival of Afonso Dalboquerque they became very much delighted, for he provided them with supplies, and all other things that were necessary for their sickness.

To Don Afonso (the captain of the fort) he gave an account of all that had taken place at Ormuz, and of the flight of the captains, and how Manuel Telez had carried away with him all the supplies and drugs which he had entrusted him with to bring to them; and in order to please the people still more, he gave them all a share in the contents of the ship which they had taken on their way, and ordered that they should be paid eight months' salary, which was due to them. And after all had been satisfied and contented, he set about giving orders for the repair of the boats which he carried, for they were now much injured by dryrot, and the ships too in some measure required some necessary repairs. As soon as all was in good trim, he despatched Francisco de Tavora, with money and merchandise, to go to Melinde and freight his ship with supplies, for the fortress had not sufficient for the men it contained; and he told him that after taking the supplies on board, he was to go and meet him at Cape Guardafum, bringing with him whatever vessels he might find in Melinde, to go into winter quarters in May at Çocotora.

Having come to this arrangement, they set sail, and Francisco de Tavora made his way towards Melinde, and Afonso Dalboquerque steered his course for the Island of Bedalcuria,[1] to cruise about there for a few days, because the Moorish pilots had informed him that the ships which made for Cape Guardafum would be more easily intercepted in that latitude than in any other. On his arrival at the port of the island, as soon as he had cast anchor, he

[1] Probably the island called Abd-el-Kury, between Socotra and Cape Guardafum.

ordered twenty men to be put on shore, with two Moors whom he had brought from Çocotora, and who were well acquainted with the language, in order to seize upon some native Moor, and they managed so well that they took six; and Afonso Dalboquerque ordered them, after they had been brought on board, to be asked about amber (for there is a great quantity of it on this island), and also whether any Moorish ships had passed by this course to India. Thereupon they showed him a piece of amber, of about one *marco* [1] by weight, and told him it was but a few days ago since a ship from India had touched there, and been wrecked by the east winds in that harbour, and the men had taken from the natives all the amber they had, and after constructing a small *zambuco* out of the timbers of the ship, had sailed away in it. The Moors of this island are a degraded people, and live in huts covered with seaweed; there are about forty inhabitants in the colony; they go about clothed in skins; they keep large flocks and herds; their food consists of fish, milk, and flesh; the land is very unhealthy.

And because the people began to grow sick at the time that they remained there, Afonso Dalboquerque changed the determination he had formed of staying there, and ordered the Moors who had been captured to be put on shore, and set sail, and proceeded to cast anchor within shelter of the Cape of Guardafum, and there he remained at anchor all alone, always keeping a man on the look out upon the summit of the high ground, which lies upon the front of the cape, and from which a view of Bedalcuria and of all the sea thereabouts may be had; and the Moors of a settlement which is there gave him all kinds of necessary provisions and water in exchange for clothes. Afonso Dalboquerque cruised about this parallel of Cape Guardafum from the fifteenth of January to the thirteenth day of May without seeing more than four ships, three of which escaped

[1] *Marco*, a weight equivalent to eight ounces.

him, for they caught sight of him from afar off, and had the advantage of the wind, and the one which he captured carried but little merchandise, and came from the Island of Diva, which is in the sea of Ceylon.

The people of this land are very domesticated, and Afonso Dalboquerque treated them very well; and from this cape, as far as the mouth of the straits, they have no king; they are armed with shields and Moorish swords; they have large herds of cattle and many camels, of which they make use. Throughout the interior there is plenty of myrrh, which they collect and sell, and in the mountains many trees, from which they obtain incense, which our people, in company with the Moors, went to collect very often, as long as they remained there: they use no money, and give nothing for money, but arrange their buying and selling by the interchange of cloth. From the Cape of Guardafum to Feliz there are three harbours—one is called Bendariçaa, the second Bendaraxaa, and the third Bendesynuçaa; all these three have fresh water close to the sea board, and each one has its lord, and right in front stand Feliz, Metee, Barbora jazira, and Barbora fiara, and nearest of all to the gates of the straits of the Red Sea, along the same coast lies Zeilajadit, and from thence to the cape of the strait there are no more stations.

CHAPTER LIV.

How, on the arrival of Francisco de Tavora at Cape Guardafum, the great Afonso Dalboquerque immediately despatched Fernão Gomez, together with the Moor whom Tristão da Cunha had left in Melinde, to go to the Preste, and how he set off towards Çocotora, and of what further took place.

The end of April was now come, when Francisco de Tavora arrived at the Cape of Guardafum, where the great Afonso Dalboquerque was stationed, and brought with him in his

company Diogo de Melo and Martim Coelho, whom he found at Melinde, having come from Portugal; and while all three were in the latitude of Magadaxo, they captured a ship of Cambaya, laden with clothing, and after having stripped her of all she carried, they set her on fire. Afonso Dalboquerque was highly delighted at the arrival of Diogo de Melo and Martin Coelho, and divided with them the spoils of the prize ship; and after conversing upon the news from Portugal, Francisco de Tavora told him that at Melinde he had met the commander, Ruy Soarez, and had requested him to accompany him, for he was under an obligation to do so, and the other captains had gone their way to India, and in addition to this he had made him many other requisitions through his scrivener, but all the answer he got was that he was desirous of proceeding to the viceroy. He said, too, that he had also brought with him Fernão Gomez and the Moor whom Tristão da Cunha had left there under charge of the captain of Melinde, that they might be forwarded to Cape Guardafum, and thence proceed on the journey assigned them by the king; and Fernão Gomez had requested him to carry them with him since the captain had not put into execution what Tristão da Cunha had left with him to do so long ago.

Afonso Dalboquerque was much surprised when he saw them, for it was so long since they had set out that he thought they were by this time in Portugal; and he asked the Moor what road he intended to pursue, and by what means he purposed to return to Portugal. The Moor told him that his road lay through the interior of Barbora Zeila, and through the land of the Cadandin, a Moorish captain who was prosecuting a war with another captain of Preste João, for the one land is contiguous to the other; and that the caravan that went from Zeila to Preste João was always secure, for it enjoyed a safe guard from both, and his return to Portugal would lie through Tambo

Arguin, along the river Çanaga,[1] for he had already made this journey. Afonso Dalboquerque ordered for each of them fifty *xerafins* for their expenses, for the Moor was unwilling to receive more, telling him that he could not carry with him a worse enemy than money: he also wrote for them a letter in Arabic, and another in Portuguese.

The Moor was very reserved and taciturn, and not altogether pleased with Fernão Gomez, for he was very talkative, and he was afraid he would let something slip from him, whereby they would be all lost, and he desired Afonso Dalboquerque would give him another companion, but he would not, as it had already been settled by Tristão da Cunha. And having set them on their way he ordered them to be carried in a boat by Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco to land below Port Feliz, and from that point they commenced their journey, giving out to the native Moors that they were merchants who had lost their ship and merchandise, and they alone saved. After they were gone Afonso Dalboquerque still remained where he was at the cape with the other captains until the fifteenth of May, when the Moorish pilot told him that the monsoon for the ships was now passed, and if he was still of a mind to make a visit to Aden, as originally intended, he would not be able to return to winter quarters at Çocotora, for at that season the current sets towards the north, and it would be perfectly impossible for them to make the island. So with this report they weighed anchors, and set their sails, and without any thing of consequence taking place during the run, they came to anchor in front of the fortress of St. Miguel, with the determination of supplying it with the provisions they had on board, and from that place they meant to go and winter at Mascate. And because they found the people of the land had risen against the garrison, who had killed some of their

[1] This passage evidently relates to a route through Timbuctoo and along the course of the river Senegal.

men, he changed his plan, and remained here all that winter to see if he could pacify them, and ordered the factor of his fleet to see that he forwarded to the fortress all the supplies, and that none remained behind in the ships more than they would require for the voyage.

Then Afonso Dalboquerque, with the forces he had brought with him, began to wage war upon the natives, and these, after being thoroughly beaten, and paying the penalty due for the murder of our men, sent, desiring to make peace, and he received their petition, on consideration of their paying every year to the people in the fortress a tribute of six hundred head of sheep, and twenty cows, and forty bags of dates. Upon the conclusion of this agreement, and the return of all to the obedience of D. Afonso, the captain, he ordered his ships to be repaired and a *fusta* of fourteen banks of oars to be constructed to accompany him, for he was determined to pay a visit to Ormuz; and during this winter that he spent there, the storms were so violent and continuous that very often the ships were in great danger of being lost; and because the *Rey Grande* had very high castles, thereby running a greater risk of being lost than the other ships, it was necessary, according to the advice of the masters and pilots, to order them to be cut away. Francisco de Tavora was so much annoyed at this that he said to Afonso Dalboquerque that as he had ordered his ship to be cut down, he might give the command of her to any one he chose, for he for his part did not want her, and would sail no longer in her; and he grew very intemperate in his language about it. Yet, for all that these exhibitions of temper had been shown now for a long time, he would not give him any answer, and dissembled with him, though he had much reason to chastise him; for he had sent him to Melinde to search for provisions, but he omitted lading his ship with them, choosing rather to cruise about after prizes along that coast, and he brought back with him so few

supplies, that when all the ships had been furnished with what they required of necessity for their voyage, there would not have been left a sufficiency for the people of the fortress for three months, had it not been for the dates, and other things which the natives were bound to deliver.

After three days Francisco de Tavora perceived that he was much to blame for the words he had spoken in such an unreasonable manner to Afonso Dalboquerque, and sent to ask his forgiveness through D. Afonso de Noronha, his nephew, and begged that he might be restored to his ship. D. Afonso Dalboquerque, however, replied that he was now quite disgusted with the bad behaviour of Francisco de Tavora, particularly after treating him so considerately as he had done, and as he had quitted his ship without any cause, he was not going to restore it to him, and as they were now on their way to India, the viceroy might give it back to him.

CHAPTER LV.

How Manuel Telez, Afonso Lopez da Costa, and Antonio do Campo, arrived in India and made depositions respecting the great Afonso Dalboquerque to the Viceroy: and of the inquiry which he ordered to be made in the matter.

Now, as these captains had come to the determination of leaving the great Afonso Dalboquerque many days before they actually did so, and meant to go to India to the viceroy, as soon as Men Rodriguez quitted the Island of Lara, they furnished their ships with water and supplies, and set sail, and arrived in a few days at Cochim; and when they had disembarked, all three proceeded together to the viceroy, and made before him a great outcry, exclaiming that the king, D. Manuel, had sent them in Afonso Dalboquerque's company to proceed with him to Cape Guardafum, and lie

in wait for the ships that went to Meca laden with spices, but he had quitted this road and made his way to the coast of the kingdom of Ormuz, and cruised continually about there, contrary to the advice of them all, carrying on a perfectly unprofitable war; but, not content with this, he had begun to erect a fortress, although the king, D. Manuel, had not ordered him to do so; and they, when they saw how little to the interest of his majesty this was, and that he only did it of his own free will, had sent him a remonstrance, which he had answered with very evil words, for he was a very harsh sort of man, and very hasty, without bearing in mind the honour of his men; and as he would do nothing but insist upon the building of the fortress, they had made him a second remonstrance, to which he in like manner had not deigned a reply; and to show how much he despised them, and made light of what they said to him, although it was all in the interest of the king our lord, he had ordered the remonstrance to be placed beneath a gateway of the fortress, which was just being laid, as if, forsooth, his lordship intended to tread beneath his feet the remonstrance they had there presented to him, signed by themselves and by Francisco de Tavora, who was left behind in prison. They therefore begged his lordship that he would give orders to have depositions of all this taken down, as they had told it to him, by those heads of accusation which they there and then laid against him, and when the truth had been arrived at, that he would do them justice, and order their necessary papers to be made out for them to go to Portugal and demand from the king, D. Manuel, reparation for the injuries he had done to them, and for the shares of booty he had taken from them without being willing to pay them. And the viceroy ordered Gaspar Pereira, who acted in the capacity of secretary, to read him the requisition, which contained the following :—

"Of the remonstance and protestation which we, Afonso

Lopez da Costa, Francisco de Tavora, Manuel Telez, and Antonio do Campo, captains of the king our lord, make to the very honourable lord, Afonso Dalboquerque, our chief captain, you, João Estão, scrivener of this fleet, shall give us each one his copy, and more if it be necessary, for the king our lord, or for the lord viceroy. Whereas it is true that his Highness sent us in his company to these parts to construct a fortress in the Island of Çocotora, which the Moors had already made, and which we took from them by force of arms; and after completing it, we went to watch the straits of the Red Sea, that no ships should pass to Meca laden with spices; but since he has taken this city of Ormuz, and made it tributary to the king, our lord, and established in it a factory with great peace and mutual agreement, without any need of anything else, he, the chief captain, ought not to take upon himself to build a fortress, for it is very little to the interest of the king and loss of his material, and risk of the men and artillery remaining in it, in many respects and reasons which he, the chief captain, will not listen to. Nor yet does he heed a certain section of his instructions which says, that if he can build a fortress, he ought to build it in such a position and manner that it may be securely maintained and defended by the men left behind in it. And he ought to take especial care how far it is to the advantage of the king, our lord, and his estate, to build it thus. And the other reasons, in addition to these, we will lay before His Highness, or his Viceroy of India, if necessary. But he ought to bear in mind that the fortress of Çocotora was all this time standing with the greater part of its men ill, and with supplies for three months [only] counting from the time we left it, and the land contains no more supplies except those which may arrive there from abroad, and that there were yet remaining in it many Moors who certainly will endeavour to tamper with the Christians of the land, and incite them against our people,

for these Christians, being angry at being robbed of their cattle against their will, for they live by them (and the Moors had never taken their cattle from them), will be inclined to side with them and keep in favour with them, whereby it may fall out that they will cause much trouble to our people. And this fortress, which he, the chief captain, is building here in Ormuz, cannot be completed so as to contain a guard of men and artillery within five months more; and if he, some time during this month of November, does not quit the place, he will not be able to do so for the whole of this year, for the monsoon, favourable for watching the Straits, will be past, and this would be very prejudicial to the interests of the king, our lord, and the fortress of Çocotora would run a great risk of being lost. Therefore, we do request him, on the part of the king, our lord, and of our lord, the Viceroy, that he will set out forthwith to supply the said fortress, according to the instructions given by his Highness, and thereafter enter the Straits of the Red Sea. And we do also request him, on the behalf of the said lord, that he will immediately send from here this ship, *Flor de la mar*, to the Lord Viceroy, in order to be renovated and not destroyed, inasmuch as the fleet which then remains is sufficient for the watch over the Strait, and in this ship the merchandise, tribute, and ambassadors can be forwarded, which he intends to send to the king, our lord; for it will be safer for anything to go from India than from here. And much more so, as with the merchandise and money he has received by way of tribute, this year the lading of the ships may be remedied (hitherto deficientt), owing to the great failure of everything in India, which would be more to the service of the king, our lord, than to send it all to Portugal. And by João da Nova he can write of the condition wherein this city of Ormuz is, for his lordship to make such provisions thereupon as shall seem to him most beneficial to the affairs of his Highness; since,

in his instructions, since he orders him, that upon gaining possession of any kingdom, or any other thing whatsoever, he is to acquaint him immediately with the fact, that he may thereupon make such provision as shall seem best suited to his interest. But if he, the lord captain, be unwilling to perform all these things contained in this requisition, we hereby protest against all the losses, injuries, and diminutions of the material of our lord the king, and state that we are not liable to any blame, for we make this request in good time, whereby all may yet be made good. And of this, with the reply or without it (if he be unwilling to give a reply), you shall give us the said duplicates, with a similar copy of our reply if it be required. Signed and sealed by us in the port of the City of Ormuz, on the thirteenth of November in the year one thousand five hundred and seven."

CHAPTER LVI.

How the Viceroy, D. Francisco Dalmeida, after hearing the captains, ordered an information to be laid against the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and what took place with them on hearing the news which came to him from Portugal.

D. Francisco Dalmeida, upon considering the remonstrance and the articles which the captains had laid before him against the great Afonso Dalboquerque, ordered Gaspar Pereira, who acted as his secretary, to draw up an Act of accusation, and he prepared an ordinance which contained the following statement:—"I, D. Francisco Dalmeida, Viceroy of the Indies for the king my lord, command you, Gonçalo Fernandez, and Francisco Lamprea, public scrivener and judicial in these parts of India, and Pero Vaz, late scrivener of the caravel St. Jorge, and João Saramenho, receiver of the *defuntos*, that you all four open this inquiry (according to the depositions laid before you by Manuel Telez, Afonso Lopez da Costa, and Antonio do Campo) against Afonso

Dalboquerque, and prosecute the same by examination in order of certain articles which they will communicate to you; and Gonçalo Fernandez shall conduct the inquiry, and the other three of you be scriveners, and the four shall be always present at the taking down of the testimony. And as some of the witnesses are not present, all the testimony shall be taken upon oath before me, and the testimony which they require that is in Cananor shall be sent for and taken down there; and this inquiry shall be conducted in the house of Gonçalo Fernandez, inquisitor, wherein all that is done every day shall remain locked up in a chest with three keys of which each scrivener shall have one. And you four have now sworn upon oath in my presence, administered to you by Gaspar Pereira, to prosecute this inquiry well and diligently. Done in Cochim on the twenty-sixth day of the month of May. Gaspar Pereira drew this up in the year one thousand five hundred and eight.

"And furthermore I command that, if the witnesses make any additional statements beyond what is contained in the articles, to the advantage of the complainant's cause, you are to write them down; and if any witness (after having given his testimony) shall return and state that he remembers anything more, you are to write this likewise."

When the Viceroy had made an end of this dispatch concerning the remonstrance of the captains, he ordered Gaspar Pereira to deliver up all the papers to the scriveners and inquisitor who were charged with the execution of the suit, and in addition he ordered them to be supplied with a paper in seventy heads, drawn up by the said captains against Afonso Dalboquerque. What may one say hereupon concerning this affair? except that it was either hatred which the Viceroy felt against Afonso Dalboquerque, or else passion, which determined him to proceed in this hasty manner without hearing what he had to say for himself, and to receive articles against him laid by the

captains who had deserted him, leaving their captain engaged in a war fighting day and night with arms always upon him, instead of reproving them for deserting him and flying to India, after he had rendered so large and powerful a kingdom obedient to the king of Portugal with so small a fleet; yea even to hold him in blame for the want of provisions experienced by the fortress of Çocotora, when all the while Manuel Telez was cruising about Cochim with his ship laden with those very provisions which Afonso Dalboquerque had ready to send to the fortress. I had much to say upon this matter, which I omit in order not to digress from the history.

About the period when this business was going on, there arrived from Portugal Fernão Soarez and Ruy da Cunha, in company with Jorge de Aguiar, who set out from this kingdom in the year '8 as chief captain of three vessels under orders from the king D. Manuel to join the fleet at Cape Guardafum and the coast of Ormuz with certain ships, when the great Afonso Dalboquerque was to become governor of India. And after the arrival of these two captains at Cochim, as the viceroy was sitting one day in the harbour with these *fidalgos* and cavaliers of India, João da Nova, Afonso Lopez da Costa, Antonio do Campo, and Manuel Telez being also present, he began to speak as follows:—"Gentlemen, in these ships before you letters have come for me, containing very favourable news for me, which the king our lord has sent, and the import of it is, that, having now finished my term of three years, I am to return to Portugal, and Afonso Dalboquerque will take my post in the government of India. Of a truth our Lord does me a great favour herein, for I am as it were quite dead to all that is going on in the world: and my sins have deserved that before my death I ought to see the troubles which I have seen." And so he went on saying many other things which signified to them the grief he had at the death of his son.

At this news, which the viceroy gave of his return to Portugal, all became very sad, especially João da Nova, and the captains who had fled away from the war at Ormuz. Antonio do Campo, who was always the ringleader in the quarrels that took place in Ormuz between Afonso Dalboquerque and the captains, thinking that hereby he would flatter the viceroy, as well as intending to incite those who were present against Afonso Dalboquerque, stood up and said: "Sir, in announcing that the king our lord orders your lordship to quit this land, and hand over its government to Afonso Dalboquerque, your Highness has stated in this how much it is to your liking, and I hope in God that, just as the affairs of India are governed by His hand, that so now He may show him in due time the error he is making herein, for I hold it for an undoubted fact that when Afonso Dalboquerque is known by the men in India who pass their lives favoured by the love and good deeds which your lordship shows towards them, and when they find how troublesome a man he is in his actions (of which we were witnesses during the time we were with him carrying on the war in Ormuz), there will not be a person in India who will not leave him, and depart to Portugal, and those who remain with him will do so more from compulsion than of their own free will. And as all this is so, your lordship ought not to persevere in your intentions of leaving the government of India, without first of all informing the king our lord, and sending him a written account of the things that Afonso Dalboquerque has done; for it is to be believed that if his Highness knew of them he never would have sent such a message." The viceroy told him that he could not do otherwise than depart and comply with the orders of the king his lord, as soon as Jorge de Aguiar came to land; and if India were to be lost the fault would lay at the hands of that man who had advised the king to order him to return, and to leave the government in the hands of Afonso Dalboquerque.

CHAPTER LVII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out from Çocotora to Ormuz, and arrived at Calayate, and what took place with the captain of the city.

As soon as he had provisioned the fortress of Calayate, as I have already mentioned, the great Afonso Dalboquerque made himself ready to go to Ormuz, and set out on the fifteenth day of the month of August with the intention of steering to the straits, and getting news of the viceroy, and of India, for it was now some time since he had heard of them; and then, after doing what he could on that coast, he meant to make his way to India. He gave an account of these intentions of his to D. Afonso de Noronha, his nephew, captain of the fortress, and also notified them to the captains in his company. Diogo de Melo, and Martim Coelho, as they were misinformed by Francisco de Tavora of the troubles the fleet had undergone in the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz, and so were anxious to avoid the like, made a protest to Afonso Dalboquerque, which stated that they had come from Portugal to remain in the company of the viceroy, and were not under any obligation to him, and therefore they desired him to grant them the favour of a licence to sail away to India. He told them to show him their instructions, and because therein the king's order was contained that on arriving at the place where Afonso Dalboquerque was stationed they were to obey him, he obliged them to remain in obedience to him and ordered them, under penalty of death, to follow him, and not to quit his company, for they could see what a need he had of them after the flight of the captains, and he bade the scriveners of his ships to prepare papers upon this penalty which he had laid upon them.

When this business was ended, all set sail towards Cape

Resalgate, and when immediately opposite to Curiamuria (because they were too far out to sea) they held a council to steer towards the land, and stood about all day without getting a sight of it; and when night was come, Pero Gonçalvez, chief pilot, ordered them to alter their course and steer north-east. Afonso Dalboquerque, however, noticing that that course would be opposite to the way which he wanted to make by his chart, sent for him and all the pilots, and told him, that if, in the position and latitude wherein they then were, they were to sail along that point of the compass which he had said, viz., N.E., they would that night run aground, therefore he ought to take great care what he was about. But, as Pero Gonçalvez considered that in his particular business he knew better than anybody, he replied in anger, that since this was so he would give up the chargo of the ship to him, and he might steer wherever he liked, and he himself would take his chart and compasses and throw them into the sea. Afonso Dalboquerque replied to him:— "Pero Gonçalvez, look to what you say; do not bė put out, for I also know some little about this business, and it may be that the Holy Spirit speaks within me, for the course, which we must take, is that we should stand out to sea again, for if we continue in the course we are now going we shall run aground at the point of Madriçaa; but if you do not think with mė, do as you please, for I well know what will happen."

Nevertheless, as Pero Gonçalvez was obstinate, he ordered the ship's course to be kept as before towards land and the others kept to the same course; and when the midnight watch was just begun the ship of Diogo de Melo, which was in advance of the others, fired a gun, and all were awakened. Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the lead to be cast at once, and they found themselves in four fathoms of water, as though they were close in to shore. As his own ship answered her helm very well, he ran very quickly to

the tiller, and they all turned round to the seaward in a direct line as well as they could; and he called Pero Gonçalvez and said to him:—"I am the one who ought to throw my chart and compasses into the sea, for I trusted to your knowledge and not to my own; now from hence-forward look well to what you do, and do not be wishing that our Lord should perform a miracle for us in delivering us from the danger to which we were exposed." And when the ship of Diogo de Melo made the signal, there was a large bank of rock, which the men-at-arms who were on the look out in the bow heard, with the sea breaking over it, and they called out to the mariners and asked them if it was land that they could hear, and in this doubt they remained, some inclining one way and some another, until at last they saw it was shallow water. So all that night they steered out to sea, and as soon as it was morning, they stood to the land again and made their way straight to Cape Resalgate. And, while they were prosecuting their voyage in this course, Afonso Dalboquerque held a council with the captains, and told them all to get ready with their armed forces, for it was his intention, at whatever hour of the day he arrived at Calayate, to attack the city and destroy it before any assistance could be rendered to it; and as soon as they came in sight of land all armed themselves, thinking that they would arrive that same day, but as the wind dropped they cast anchor and remained where they were that night, and on the following morning they set sail and cast anchor in the harbour. As soon as he had anchored, Afonso Dalboquerque sent D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, in the *fusta*, to the city, to see what people there were collected on the beach, and what ships there were in the harbour. When D. Antonio arrived close to the shore, an *almadia* with a few Moors came up alongside of the *fusta*, and brought four she-goats, and two baskets of lemons, and two more of pomegranates, their object being to find out

who was the chief captain of these ships, for they were afraid lest it should be the great Afonso Dalboquerque. D. Antonio came with the *almadia* on board the flagship and found all the people already armed and ready to attack the city; and the Moor who brought the present, when he saw our men in such a warlike attitude, became very downcast. Afonso Dalboquerque inquired of him who the captain of the city was, and what men he had to garrison it, and the Moor told him that Xarafadin[1] was the captain, servant of Cogeatar, and very intimate with him, and that there were about two hundred bowmen as garrison. And, because while in Ormuz he had much knowledge about this Xarafadin, he sent D. Antonio to land, to inform him that the chief captain of the fleet had sent him to beg him earnestly that he would be pleased to go on board his own ship, warning him not to tell him who the captain was. So D. Antonio came to land and found Xarafadin on horseback on the beach with some Moors in his company; and he asked him after those whom he had sent in the *almadia* to the chief captain, and who the captain was, and whence they had come. D. Antonio told him that the Moors were waiting in the chief captain's ship for a present which he intended to give them, and they would soon come back, and that those ships came from Portugal by order of the king to assist another of his captains, who was cruising about that coast, called Afonso Dalboquerque, and that the chief captain of these ships had sent to desire that he would be pleased to pay him a visit, for it was very important that they should confer together. Xarafadin replied to him, that he would not go to his ship, but if he required anything from the city he might come to land with perfect safety.

[1] Probably the equivalent of the Arabic *Sharaf ed-deen*.

CHAPTER LVIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque proceeded to attack the city of Calayate, and destroyed it, and what took place there afterwards.

On the return of D. Antonio with this reply, the great Afonso Dalboquerque commanded all the men to embark in the boats, and in the *fusta*, and permitted Francisco de Tavora to command his own ship's company for that particular day, to which indeed he had already appointed as captain, Díniz Fernandes, as chief mate, Diogo de Melo, and Martim Coelho, who had already Afonso Dalboquerque's commission. When they were ready they came on board the flagship to set out thence altogether; and the people of the city, seeing that the *almadia* did not return, and that our boats were collecting themselves together with the intention of going to land, began to take refuge in large numbers in the mountains. Afonso Dalboquerque let the Moors of the *almadia* go on their parole, and stood in straight for shore with all his people, and told Martim Coelho and Francisco de Tavora, that as soon as they disembarked they were to proceed at once to attack the city on the side near the mosque, which was close to the sea, while he with the rest of the men would enter by the other end.

And having arrived at the shore with this plan in view, our men began to fire with their guns, which they carried in the boats, to scatter the Moors who were stationed on the beach; and when they found themselves harassed by our artillery, they fled away in a body as quickly as they could to the city. Afonso Dalboquerque, now that the intention of the Moors had made him alter his original design, as soon as he disembarked, with all the forces united, entered the city along with the enemy in great confusion, passing through the gates into the inner part, and pursuing them through the streets until he had driven

them out; and some who attempted to make a stand before our men were killed immediately there, and in this fight Payo Pereira and Diogo Camacho were wounded with arrows, as were also some other soldiers.

Having left the city, the Moors rallied about the distance of a cannon shot from the walls, and Afonso Dalboquerque, being anxious lest they should return and attack him because of the fewness of his men, ordered the captains to guard the gates of the city, and not permit our men to sack it, nor yet break their ranks until he should give his permission for them to do so, and all that night he patrolled the city from time to time with many men. When Xarafadin perceived that our men were so few in number (being ashamed of the feeble resistance he had made), he collected together three hundred Moors and came on to attack us. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque saw what his intentions were, he sent word to the captains not to fall upon them, but suffer them to come up to the walls; and as soon as they were enticed up, he fell upon them with all his forces and put them to flight along a mountain range, and our crossbowmen and musketeers followed after them in pursuit and wounded many, and then returned and rallied. Xarafadin no sooner perceived that he was hard pressed by our musketeers, than he turned to rally the Moors and embodied himself with them; and Afonso Dalboquerque, to prevent them returning to attack him, sent down to the ship for four cannon and placed them upon the walls, and began to fire upon them. When Xarafadin saw the cannon, and that our men had guarded and defended the city for three days already, as if they had a mind to fortify themselves therein, and to sustain a siege, he withdrew to the mountains with all his army, and remained there until he could find out our intentions.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque found himself relieved from the attacks of the Moors, he gave orders to Diogo de

Melo, and D. Afonso de Noronha, to watch the gates of the city that led to the mountains, while he himself with Martim Coelho and a hundred men stationed themselves at the other gate which led to the beach, and he also ordered a look out to be placed in the tower of the mosque, to keep watch from thence upon the movements of the Moors. When the city had been disposed in this order he gave permission to all the remaining men to sack it; and after it had been sacked he ordered Francisco de Tavora to cause all those men to transport all the provisions and clothes they had seized to the ships.

The Xarafadin, upon perceiving that our men were engaged in removing the spoils they had taken, thinking also that they were all disbanded, came down from the mountains with five hundred men, and set to work to attack the gate where D. Antonio de Noronha and Diogo de Melo were stationed, and fought so fiercely with them that he got in by sheer force, and they proceeded to retire through some narrow streets in order to make in them a better stand against the superior number of the Moors. Directly the Xarafadin had forced an entry into the city, he divided his army into two batallions in order thereby to enclose our men; and Don Antonio and Diogo de Melo, seeing the Moors disposing themselves so as to cut off the retreat, shouted out to their men to wheel round. The sentry also who was statioued on the tower, when he saw the strait our men were in, began to shout out to our people that they must hasten up, for the Moors had entered the city; and Afonso Dalboquerque, hearing the sentry's shouts, proceeded with all speed to that part where our men were fighting. D. Antonio and Diogo de Melo, however, with their company which they had already rallied, turned upon the Moors, and attacked them at close quarters with such spirit, that by the time the vanguard of Afonso Dalboquerque's company came up with them our men were on the

point of issuing out from the narrow streets in battle with the Moors, and from that point, up to the gate by which they had entered, they kept on pursuing them, and there killed many Moors, and took many arms which those who fled threw down in order to be less encumbered and to be the easier able to effect their escape.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque came up with them, and saw so many Moors defeated by so few men as there were in the company of D. Antonio and Diogo de Melo, he gave many thanks to our Lord for the great victory he had given us, and told them all when they were assembled together, that this indeed seemed the work of Portuguese cavaliers, and that the captains who had deserted him ought to be well ashamed at not participating in such a deed as this, when they came to know of the slaughter they had made, while the enemy were incomparably more numerous. Upon their defeat and expulsion from the city all the Moors drew up in view of our men, looking very sad (like men who had experienced a great loss), and among them stood Pedreanes Lamprea (one of the renegades who had deserted at Ormuz), with a helmet on his head, having escaped the day the city was entered, for they had not recognised him. In this action there were present D. Antonio de Noronha, Diogo de Melo, Aires de Sousa, Duarte de Melo, Pero Dalpoen, Lisuarte de Freitas, Antonio de Liz, Antonio Vogado, Lourenço da Silva, Antonio da Costa, Fernão Vaz, and João Teixeira, all honourable men, and of good family, and Simão Velho, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, Antonio de Sá, James Teixeira, and Bertolameu Pessoa, servants of "Mestre Sanctiago," and Jorge Doria, Gentleman of the King's chamber, and Lopo Alvarez, and Martim Vaz, the constable's servants. All these men had their lances and swords dripping with blood, witnesses of what each one of them had done that day.

So Afonso Dalboquerque remained there that night with

all the men, two hundred and thirty Portuguese, and he ordered the captains each one to fortify himself in the houses he occupied, and to hold the boats ready equipped close at hand, and for no attack which the Moors might make upon them in the night were they to sally forth until it was broad daylight. And in this order they remained all night watching the city; and when it was morning he ordered sentries to be posted, and the men began to carry off the provisions and all the clothes which they had seized. As soon as all was collected Afonso Dalboquerque massed his men, and went down to the beach, and ordered fire to be laid to all the principal houses of the city, for in them the Moors had the greater portion of their supplies; and he also ordered the mosque to be fired, which the Moors took much to heart, for it was a very large building with seven naves, all lined with tiles, and containing much porcelain fastened upon the walls, and at the entrance to the gate a very large nave made with arcading, and above these was, as it were, a terrace looking towards the sea, all covered with tiles; the gates and roof of the mosque were all of elaborate masonry. And when it was set on fire it all fell to the ground, without anything remaining in it which was not burned.

They burned there twenty-seven ships, large and small, which lay in the harbour waiting for cargoes in order to sail away to different parts. When all this was done, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered them to cut off the ears and noses of all the Moors whom they had captured, and left them on the shore, and went on board the boats and proceeded to the ships, giving many thanks to our Lord for the favour he had shown him in giving him such a city gained without danger to our men with so small a force.

CHAPTER LIX.

Of the news which the Moor, who brought the gift, related to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, concerning India; and how he sailed from Calayate to the city of Ormuz, and what took place with Cogeatar.

On his arrival at the ship, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered before him the Moor who had brought him the present, and this man was very terrified both at the destruction which he had beheld done to his city, and also at not knowing what would become of himself and the others. And when he had him before him he inquired of him what news there was from India, and what state Ormuz was in, and what men there were there, and if the king had ordered anything to be done to the fortress which he had left just commenced. The Moor told him that Cogeatar had received certain information that the Portuguese fleet had fought in Chaul[1] with Mirocen, Captain of the Sultan of Cairo, and Meliquiaz, Captain of Diu, had assisted the latter with all his fleet to take a ship, and that they had killed the chief captain of the fleet, and that Ormuz was in great want of provisions, for no rice nor corn had come into it from the interior for two years. He said, too, that the Rustazes had rebelled against the king, and gone away with all their people, because Cogeatar had put out the eyes of one of their principal captains who was called Naçaradin, and ordered another called Tajadin to be cast into the sea. And that the sons of Rexnordim, *goazil* of the city, were banished from the kingdom, and he (Cogeatar) had taken from sundry merchants their goods, and had imprisoned Almaça (a very favourite captain of his own) because he was implicated in a conspiracy for putting him to death on account of the destruction and death of the people which had taken place

[1] Chowal, 18 deg. 35 min. N., 72 deg. 57 min. E., on the coast of the Bombay Presidency. See plans in Sloan. MS. 197, f. 230.

in the kingdom through his fault. And that he had made the Christians who had fled from the Portuguese turn Moors, and given them good marriages, and treated them very well for they had made him some very good metal cannons. And that in the fortress he had not done anything more than raise the principal tower and roof it over, and wall up the gate which led to the sea, and open another from the inner side of the terrace of the king's palace. And that in the city there was a great want of water, for the ships which transported it had been all burned in the late war, and on this account Cogeatar had ordered Xarafadin, his servant, to overhaul all that coast, and bring him all the *paraos* he could find for the service of the city. And that Cogeatar had information that the captains, who had deserted the Portuguese before Ormuz, were at Cochim, and had been very favourably received by the viceroy, and that in his opinion if he went to Ormuz with that fleet, considering the great need the city was in, it could not hold out for more than two months before it would surrender.

After Afonso Dalboquerque had heard this news, he gave permission for the Moor to return and take his companions with him and the present he had brought, for it was not his custom to receive anything from people with whom he was at war; and he desired him to excuse him for having detained him, saying that if he had done so it was in order that he might not go and give information to the captain how he found him prepared to attack the city, and that the city's destruction was owing to the fault of the governors of the land, for they had failed in executing the agreement which he had made with them when he passed by this place on his way to Ormuz, as they might see by the royal passport which he had given them in the name of the King of Portugal, his master. He ordered also the factor to give him two thousand *faluzes*[1] and some stuffs, and to the rowers

[1] *Fals*, Arab. (cf. φόλις. φόλλις, *Du Cange*), a small copper coin.

five hundred, and so they went away quite content. As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had taken his leave of the Moor he ordered the captains to be convened, and gave them an account of all that had passed with him, and told them how he intended, in consequence of the leaky state of the *Cirne* and the *Rey Grande*, to steer away for India, and desired their opinion as to what he should do. All the captains were unanimously of opinion that if Ormuz was in such a necessitous condition as the Moor had told him, he ought to go and reconnoitre the place, for if it proved correct there was no doubt but that the king, on his arrival, would revert to the agreement which had been made, and there would then be a place and an opportunity for repairing his ships, and for providing the fortress of Çocotorá with supplies.

He considered the advice of the captains was very good, and bade them return to their ships and make ready to sail away on the following day; and when morning came they weighed anchor, and sailed along the coast, and came to anchor at a harbour called Temj, and remained there for two days taking water at a large river which ran between two mountain ranges, jutting out, which formed a large lake close to the sea shore, all surrounded with palms and many other trees. And after having taken water they set sail, and without touching land again proceeded to cast an anchor all together opposite the city of Ormuz. Afonso Dalboquerque ordered all the captains to range themselves in such order as to effectually prevent any help of provisions and people from entering the city, since he intended not to stir thence until the city, surrendered, provided the ships did not make so much water as to cause him to alter his plan. When Cogeatar perceived our fleet, he issued immediate orders to clear the city of all the noncombatants, and to conduct them to the side of the main land, as well as all the *paraos* and vessels which he had for their use, in order

that they might not be burned. Afonso Dalboquerque, being desirous of knowing the disposition in which Cogeatar had put the city, ordered the captains to endeavour to capture some one who knew the native tongue. And by means of a Moor, who was caught while fishing one night in an *almadia*, he learned that Cogeatar had constructed two very strong bulwarks on his fortress, with much artillery placed within them, and that five days before there had arrived at Ormùz two men and a Moor, who had escaped to him out of the ships in Calayate, and they had related to him the destruction of the city, whereat the king was much annoyed; and that these men had told him that the two captains who had accompanied him from Çocotora, had desired to go to the Viceroy in India, but he had brought them by force, and that the ships leaked so much that he would be obliged to discontinue the war, and make his way to India, and that the fleet contained very few people, and these were with him very much against their will, and in Portugal there was so much pestilence and hunger, that their king could not send him any assistance of men or ships that year; and that when Cogeatar knew of all this, he had ordered every native to procure a bow, a shield, and a sword, and provision of water for a month, and as he could not rely upon the people he had the keys of all the cisterns there were in the country; and that water was so dear at Ormuz, that a jar of it which in times of peace was worth ten pieces of money was now worth two hundred.

CHAPTER LX.

How a Moor put off from land in an *almadia* and went on board Martim Coelho's ship with two letters for the great Afonso Dalboquerque, without saying who had sent them, and of further proceedings.

Now that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had obtained this information of the state in which affairs at Ormuz were

situated, he remained just where he was without sending any one to land, waiting for Cogeatar to make up his mind; and after three days' time two Moors together came out of our fortress and made signs with a flag. Afonso Dalboquerque ordered another to be hoisted at the yardarm of his ship and signals to be made to them to come on board, but they would not come, and on the following day they did just the same. And when the native Moors saw that they made no reply, they sent a Moorish fisherman in an *almadia* on board the ship of Martim Coelho, which was stationed on the other side of the city in the western harbour, with two letters, one from Cogeatar to Afonso Dalboquerque, and the other from the Viceroy to Cogeatar.

The letter for Afonso Dalboquerque was as follows:—

"Chief Captain,—Know thou that the Viceroy has written a letter for thee and for all the Portuguese captains, that ye make not any entry into the kingdom, islands, and lands of Ormuz; the same letter I have sent to thee, and thou hast not obeyed it, nor done what he commands; and he has written another letter to the king, Ceifadin, sealed with the King of Portugal's seals, and, for greater security, Gaspar, the interpreter, and the company, came to the beach and beheld the letter bearing the king's seal, and gave credence to the seal of their king, saying that it had a large quantity of red wax; new to this seal of thy king thou hast paid no attention, desiring, as it would seem, the destruction of the kingdom. Other two letters has he written in Persian, the one to the king, the other to me; both I send thee; read them, and return them to me, since thou carest nought for the commandment and seal of thy king. Cogeamir, whom the Viceroy has sent, and other people from Cananor, who are staying here, are surprised at all these things: and I shall write them all down, and shall despatch them in a small shallop[1] that the Vice-

[1] *Jelua*, a small vessel used in the Red Sea. Arabic *djelba*.—*Engelmann*, p. 276.

roy may know that thou art a traitor to the King of Portugal."

The Viceroy's Letter to Cogeatar.

"O, peerless, nobly-born one, of good fortune, principal commander, universal protector, great lord, and captain over all Alguazils and captains, most nearly allied of all to the dignity of king, acceptable to the Most High of all, perfect Lord Ataa![1] May God augment thy dignity! This thy friend, D. Francisco Dalmeida, Viceroy, sendeth submission, and offereth to kiss thy hands. It is good that there be such friendship between us, that thou mayest send a present every year to the king. I have released Negodaquiçar[2] with a hundred men of thy kingdom, all of whom I had captive, and thou wilt hear of it from them upon their arrival before thee: and the four ships which have come thence have told me that thou hast acted in all respects as a king should act, and hast not erred in any way, and afterwards the captain began to alter it all; and when the four ships perceived that the captain was in the wrong, they made their way to me, while he proceeded to Çocotora, whom I also shall chastise as the king shall appoint, that he may learn that wheresoever he shall receive honour, and give a writing on the king's behalf, he ought not to alter it, for the King of Portugal is not a liar, and it is necessary that his captain should not depart from his commands; but as he has departed from them, he shall receive his reward. The four ships say that they are not responsible for the war, but that the fault is on the captain's side. The first agreement that was made we will not retract, and thy friend-

[1] This word is evidently a misprint in the editions for *Atar*; and the phrase "*Lord Atar*" is here used as the translation of "*Cogeatar*", i.e., *Khojah*, Lord or Master. "*Attār*", a proper name.

[2] The first part of this word represents the Arabic and Persian *Nakhoda*, captain of a ship; the latter part is a proper name.

ship with the King of Portugal is in this state, as is also that of every one who is similarly minded. It is necessary, when thou receivest this letter, that thou come to me, to the end that I may know of it, if not, thou shall know of it. But the four ships, when they arrived here, brought many Moors, both old and young; yet I liberated them all because of the friendship we hold towards thee: and it is necessary that all the ships which desire to approach these parts take courage and be not dismayed, for if a single hair of them be injured, I shall become a traitor to the King of Portugal. Send quickly a ship with thy letters, for I am waiting for this, and there is nothing remaining to say, except that Negodaxemeçadin[1] kisses thy feet. He will soon be with thee, he knows somewhat about all this, thou must believe what he says, and there must not be any doubt in what he will do in conjunction with thee: he will do whatsoever thou wishest. I send thee seven letters in Portuguese for the ships which may come and go, and one under the seal of the King of Portugal; put thy trust in it: I write no more than this: peace and greeting."

And to the same effect came the other letter for the king Ceifadin,[2] and there was no difference between them, only where the one "kissed the hands of Cogeatar", the other "kissed the king's feet".

Reply of the great Afonso Dalboquerque to Cogeatar.

"I have seen a letter which came to me from this city, but it does not state who sends it to me; my answer to it

[1] This is the Portuguese rendering of *Nakhoda Shems-al-dīn*, or "*Sun of the Faith*". The same name (combined with the title of *Coje*, i.e., *Khojah*), *Coje-Cemeçadin*, occurs in Lafitau, p. 338, in A.D. 1544.

[2] For *Seif-al-dīn*, or "*Sword of the Faith*".

is, that I obey the letter and command of the Viceroy. Now, as in this letter I am ordered, in the event of the fifteen thousand *xerafins* of tribute not being paid over to me at the stipulated time, to do as shall appear best to me, and most serviceable to the interest of the king, I declare that I require thee, on the behalf of the said lord king and of the Viceroy of India, to pay them at the time which he commands; for I shall not stir hence until thou hast paid me, or until orders shall come from the Viceroy, commanding me to do otherwise. I do not make war upon thee, nor do I shoot upon thee with arrows and cannons as thy people have done upon me. These two letters, which have reached me, written in Persian, I do not believe are from the Viceroy, for they have not his signature; as for my letters which have my signature, take great care of them, for I shall not repudiate them at thy hands, as thou dost thine, and to this end omittest to sign them."

When Cogeatar perceived Afonso Dalboquerque made a specific claim upon him, he wrote this following letter to him, and signed it:—

"Chief captain Afonso Dalboquerque, with respect to that which thou hast written to me about, viz., that the two letters in Persian were not from the Viceroy, for they did not bear his signature, thou shalt know this:—The person who brought them is present, and I could not write of my own accord a letter in the name of the Viceroy. Since thou dost not believe them, return them to me, and I will send him an answer, and the letter which is in thy hand-writing with the Viceroy's signature. If the one in Persian is not his, whose is the other? This is nonsense that you say. With respect to the fifteen thousand *xerafins*, in the time of the re-establishing of the population of the kingdom, and when the maritime commerce is flourishing, it may be possible to pay something, but just now it is but one year since thou madest this destruction upon it, and wentest away

until now, so that there has been no opportunity for obtaining it. When an opportunity was just presenting itself, thou hast again appeared before us and this news was reported everywhere, so that not a ship comes to trade with us. Thou verily desirest the destruction, not the reconstruction of this kingdom. Calayate, which is the last city left to the kingdom, thou hast sacked and destroyed, and carried away thence a hundred thousand *xerafins* and more; a hundred thousand *xerafins* make a good set-off against fifteen thousand; of all this destruction I intend to acquaint the Viceroy.

"For what thou has written, that thou wouldst not make war nor fire upon us, I do not thank thee for it; for what God willeth, that must come to pass: as for saying that thou wouldst not depart, and that thou heldest the sea, if thou profitest by remaining, remain by all means: in writing this, I write no evil; if your people read badly, this is another question. The Viceroy's letter, with thy handwriting, and with the king's seal, as thou hast readers from the king, order them to read them, that they may know the truth and the falseness. Respecting the four ships, of which thou hast written, that they fled away and acted treasonably, they have gone to the Viceroy, and behaved loyally in going to their captain, and performed their king's command, for they were witnesses that thou didst desire to destroy the kingdom, and all thy people are angered against thee; for if it were not so, they would not have combined at Calayate to speak ill of thee, neither would they have fled to the high ground, to the Arabians, if thou hadst been true and friendly to them. It is now a year since thou tookest tribute; then thou wentest away at once; but thou wast here five months before the war broke out. Whensoever I said to thee, thou oughtest to go, thou never wouldest go, but didst commence hostilities. Now, I address myself to the Viceroy; whatever may take place,

to him I intend to relate it; for he, though absent, is my friend; but thou, who wast present here, and highly honoured by the king, yet at last becamest my enemy and didst not keep thy word, nor thy agreement, neither didst thou act as a father with his son; and now thou cruisest with thy boats along the waterside, not permitting people to enter with what God has provided for us. In men, in supplies, and in arms, we have no deficiency, and if thou dost not believe it, send a man who may see everything. I am not a liar. The messenger need not fear anything. My word is my bond; and in that thou sayest that thou dost not know who writeth to thee, my name is my signature, and hereto I have set my seal and signature."

I have given the translation of these letters here that it may clearly appear how much the Viceroy laboured to render futile all that the great Afonso Dalboquerque did, although there was much reason for him to give him every assistance, for he was the Viceroy of India.

Of the Reply which the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent to Cogeatar.

"Honoured Cogeatar,—I was much pleased to know that it was thou who wrotest to me, and I have thoroughly considered this letter thou hast sent me: and in respect to the two letters in Persian which the Viceroy has sent thee, and which thou hast forwarded me, I for my part never expected that the Lord Viceroy would give so much credit to some captains who deserted me in the war, and over whom I had as much authority as he has over those whom he has with him; and if thou desirest proof, I will send it thee, and then thou shalt know whether they have worked treason or not. I am well aware what kind of things they told thee, and how they procured thy rebellion against me, and planned that thou shouldest not restore me my men, on

which all the peace and friendship between us was staked. These fugitives would not have fetched more than five *xerafins* each if they had been sold in the market-place of Ormuz; while I left for thee twenty servants of the king in the factory, under thy power and obedience, as well as the factory of the king, which was worth two hundred thousand doubloons. These thou mightest have taken from me without war if thou hadst wished, after my departure, hadst thou not taken from me these four fugitives before my very eyes, in order thereby to commence warfare, and rise up against me; and if thou hadst cared for them, thou wouldst not have confessed that thou hadst them, neither wouldst thou have said that thou wouldst restore them to me, neither wouldst thou have shown them to me; for hadst thou said that thou knewest nought of them, I should have then had no reason for making war upon thee. But what kind of obedience was that which thou hadst signed and sworn to the king, my master, and to his captains, if thou couldst yet take from me my people? and who could expect that thou wouldst pay him fifteen thousand *xerafins*, if thou tookest from him four runaways that were not worth ten? Thou art a captain, and therefore knowest how imperative it is upon such to give a good account of the men entrusted to them. I well know that my captains made thee do this, and thou shalt see them beheaded in the public square of Ormuz, for the King of Portugal, my master, has not conquered the Indies and whatever other places he has subdued, except by his captains prosecuting the war with their chief captain, and not working treason against him; and because Portuguese never yet so acted, thou shalt see what I say.

"And furthermore, in regard to the complaints which the Lord Viceroy makes against me in the two Persian letters (if they be true), taking as well done the actions of my captains, he ought to have remembered that I am the Captain-

General of the fleet of the king my master, and that the tribute, which he now sends to beg of you with honeyed words and high-sounding letters, this tribute I have made thee pay with my sword in hand, and thou thyself art hereof a true witness, for thou dost confess as much in the contracting papers, made between me and thy king, and on this account I trust in God that I shall not stir hence without the tribute, inasmuch as the viceroy so orders in his letter; because thou knowest that if I had not received this letter here, I should not have ventured to demand tribute of thee, but only my men (on whose account I began the war upon thee, by the advice of the captains, cavaliers, and servants of the king in my fleet, and of this even now I do not repent), and because thou holdest as leal and true the captains who deserted me in the war and fled from me, for all that they were minded as far as thou wert concerned to kill for thee those who were within thy house; and the house which I constructed, and which the captains led thee to suppose was for thy destruction, is this fleet, wherein I now am, and that which I made was for thy protection, for in times such as these (and there are many such as these in Ormuz) there is no reason that the men and factory of the king should be at the disposal of any who may conquer them, who would not indeed have been attacked, if it had been completed. As to what thou dost allege that my people are angry with me, and fly from me, when thou shalt see taking refuge with thee an honourable man, and a servant of the king, then believe this, but not two runaways, who escaped from prison, one of whom I had a good mind to sentence to the loss of his hands, and the other had incurred a flogging at the hands of the quarter-master, all the four whom thou hast deceived with specious words, in whom thou believedst all thy salvation was centred, these very men, to whom thou dost give such credence, were the beginning of all thy destruction, and I hope to God that they will not compass it.

"And as for what thou allegest, saying that I ought to have remained in peace and friendship for a year, and having received the tribute gone away directly, thou well knowest that I always endeavoured to repair my fleet, and was waiting for the season and trade wind, when the Straits of Meca can be navigated, which is at the commencement of the Ramadão,[1] for it was thither that the king commanded me to proceed, although I never divulged it to thee, nor to the captains nor to any one whomsoever, for it is the usual custom with chief captains to keep their instructions secret, that their enemies may not come to know what they intend to do, for if I had then mentioned the route I intended to take, in a few days Adem and Judá[2] would have been forewarned that I was on my way against them, according to the instructions given to me by the king, and with this end in view, I constructed the brigantine, which thou hast burned for me, for it was much wanted for such an expedition. And furthermore, if thou wilt be so good as to bear it in mind, the Noradin required of me on the king's behalf and on thine, that I would not depart thence, for the ships from Meçar were coming, and might possibly seize the city and hold it in possession; but I sent back word to him, that by the agreement I had made I was under the obligation to defend his kingdom, and that it only remained for the king to mention what he would have me to do.

"And to proceed yet further, what did Ormuz lose all the while I was stationed before her? Did the caravans cease to come or did they not rather come more often? And the sailing ships also, if thou hadst not hindered them, would have come too. But on the contrary, by my establishing myself here the kingdom became more

[1] The Turkish month, of thirty days, corresponding to part of March and April, generally observed as a fast.

[2] Jidda, or Djeddah, the port of Mecca, lat. 21 deg. 30 min. N., long. 39 deg. 22 min. E.

and more secure and the common people grew rich. And thou well knowest that after I delivered it over to thee, I never meddled either in the administration of justice of the country, or in the government of the kingdom, but rather gave thee licence to order the arrest of my men if in the city they did not behave themselves with due propriety. *Not a loaf was purchased without thy order, and if thou hadst set the price of it at a hundred *xerafins*, as much would have been paid, and so in the seed-pearl[1] and in everything else that was bought, all was paid as thou didst arrange. And I ordered nothing to be made in the city by the smith, the carpenter, the mason, the tailor, or by any other workman, without thy permission; wherein I demonstrated that I was more amenable to thy obedience than thou wast to mine. As for the house that I built, the king, and his father, and thou thyself gave me the site of it, and the foundation whereon I placed it, as I have proof of, under their signatures; and as for the stone and the workmen, whereby it was constructed, thou didst give them to me. Many a time did I send to ask thee if thou wert content at my building it, and thou didst answer yes. If thou wert not content, wherefore didst thou not say so, instead of taking my men from me, whereby thou hast fallen into disobedience and broken the contract? Yea, and as often as thou hast occasion to mention this war to the Viceroy, thou dost never tell him the reason of its commencement, which is a sign of guilt; and before such men thou hast to declare the whole of the affair. All this then will go before the king my master, and it will not seem very much to his interest that thou shouldst make Moors of his Christians.

"And in regard to thy statement that I have not kept the word and contract which I made with the king, nor

[1] *Aljofar*, cf. Arab., *jauhar*, *johar*; Pers., *gauhar*, *gohar*;—a jewel, or precious stone.—*Engelmann*, p. 145; *Bluteau*, vol. i, p. 260.

dealt with him as a father with a son, I have performed and maintained all that I agreed with him to do; and, if this is not so, do thou but leave him in free liberty to govern his kingdom, and I engage that he will make a recognition of the good service I have rendered him in delivering up the kingdom to him after that I had gained possession of it. Had he been free to act, and the kingdom governed by him, thou hadst not robbed me of my men nor rebelled against me; yet I hope in God yet to render him so many good offices, and to assist him in obtaining so many countries in Persia (captured according to his orders, and in obedience to the king my lord), that he may become the most powerful sovereign therein, for he deserves it because of his goodness, and because he is come of a line of kings. Again with regard to thy account that thou hast many supplies, arms, and soldiers, and art lacking in nothing, thou verily hast good need of them all; but for all these he who has overcome thee in thy prosperity will now also make thee do all that the Viceroy orders. And if thou dost not perform these orders, then shalt thou see whether the Portuguese cavaliers are disaffected with me or not, for there is not one among us this time who will corrupt the men's inclinations, only captains who with much spirit and good will are willing to die with their captain-general in the service of their king. And thou also art well aware that I know the Rustazes are against thee, because thou hast put out the eyes of the best captain and cavalier whom the King of Ormuz had, and Calcocejo,[1] who has many men, and whose orders in the land are always done, and Xeque Ale, too, are no longer under thy command. I know also what men thou hast with thee, and the intention wherewith thou hast sent Xarafadin to Calayate. And I am well informed where thou dost sleep, and what thou dost eat, and how thou dost live, and I know also that the house of Ormuz is upon a very weak founda-

[1] This name occurs as *Caecocejo* on p. 243.

tion, and must of necessity perish, if thou dost adhere to this path. I require thee once, twice, and three times to fulfil the command of the viceroy; and if thou hast aught to the contrary, show it to me and I will fulfil it entirely, according to the instructions of the king, my lord, given to me.

"If thou write to the viceroy, send him my letters, for to this end I send thee this one in Portuguese, signed and sealed with my signet; for when he hears both sides he will pronounce a better sentence. Yet again I tell thee that the cause of the war that has begun between me and thee is yet alive, and that no one from envy can put me down and hide me, for have I not already many a time told thee that I was no corsair but captain-general of the King of Portugal, an old man and a peaceable one, and that I have plenary instructions from him of which he will take from me account for all that I do? And as for what thou dost say that thou wilt speak with the viceroy for the future, and that whatsoever may happen thou wilt inform him of it, thou dost well herein and art right; for whenever I make war upon enemies it is in such a manner that it behoves them for their own sakes to go and beg for mercy of the king or of those who exercise his power. And since thou already hast begged mercy of him, I promise thee (unless thou dost comply with the order given in his letter) that thou shalt go yet again and beg it of him. In what is stated in the Persian letter about my not daring to go to him, but that I went indeed to Çocotora, know of certainty that I have fear of no one except of my king; but on the contrary I tell thee that the captain who knew both how to obtain this kingdom, and conquer a king in battle, and make him tributary to the King of Portugal, will be treated with great honour, let him go whithersoever he will, and the viceroy knows that I have performed my duty in proceeding to succour the fortress of Çocotora, as my king had

ordered me, and that I had not now fled, had I not gone to seek for the supplies which the captains carried away from me when they departed, leaving thy fleet of seventy sail against me, although I commanded them to make for it and destroy it; but this they would not do, and well it was that it turned out so, since between thee and them there was such amity."

CHAPTER LXI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque recounted to the captains and principal men of the fleet all that had passed with Cogeatar, and of the message he sent him, and of the reply he made.

After the great Afonso Dalboquerque had sent this reply to Cogeatar, he ordered the captains to be summoned, with all the Fidalgos and principal men of the fleet, and gave them an account of all that had passed with Cogeatar; and after having read the letter which the Viceroy had written to him, he said to them that he begged them, as a favour, to consider the affair very carefully, and advise him as truly as they could, what steps he ought to take in the matter, for his judgment was insufficient for the understanding of the mode of dealing which the Viceroy desired to have with him. And he explained that the Viceroy had not been content with highly favouring the captains who had fled away from the war, and deserted him, permitting many insults to be perpetrated upon him, for the service of the king our lord; but that he even had written the letter before them to Cogeatar, praising him highly about his flight and returning to him the captive Moors, whom he had forwarded, though taken in fair war, together with many words of little credit to his person, and lightly esteeming his labours, as they had seen in this letter, all which was highly favourable to the Moors, but greatly to his own disadvantage. And

since this was so, and he had no longer any hope of the Viceroy's assisting him in this undertaking, he had made up his mind to have no more disputes with Cogeatar, nor even to demand tribute from him, but to steer for India and come to the point face to face with the Viceroy. The captains, although they were deeply moved by the contents of the letter, and the slight estimation in which the Viceroy held Afonso Dalboquerque, yet, notwithstanding all this, they urged him to suffer it, and not to be put out, for all that he was on the eve of the journey; and they told him that he ought to send a declaration to Cogeatar, and notify to him the orders of the Viceroy.

Upon hearing this advice of the captains Afonso Dalboquerque suppressed the anger that he felt, and sent word to Cogeatar by Pero Dalpoem, and Gaspar Rodriguez, the interpreter, that the term appointed by the Viceroy for the payment of the tribute if it was wished to avoid the war, would end eight days therefrom; and if it were not paid by that time, that they would no longer care to demand tribute of him, but would insist on the return of the four Christians, whom he had taken from him, for the kingdom of Ormuz belonged to the King of Portugal, his lord, gained with his fleet, and would not be suffered to secede.

Cogeatar replied to Pero Dalpoem that he might tell the captain-general that he must undeceive himself, for neither to him nor to any other person whatsoever would he pay tribute, even if the Viceroy himself were to order him to do so. And, although Afonso Dalboquerque was very ill pleased with this reply, yet, because it had already been agreed by all that he ought not to make war upon him until the stated period had elapsed, he dissembled with him, and set about sending D. Antonio de Noronha, his nephew, to the Island of Queixome in the *fusta* and the boats, to obtain water, owing to the great need there was

of it throughout the fleet. And as soon as it was all ready for them, he set out without delay by night, and arrived at the island by daybreak, and as he was on the point of landing, many people ran up to prevent him disembarking; but D. Antonio, with those whom he had with him, got to land by force of arms, and dispersed the natives, and reached the wells, but as he found them filled with rotten fish which the Moors had cast into them, he returned to the ships without carrying back any water.

Nevertheless, by reason of there being no supply of water throughout the fleet, and as the men were already beginning to suffer in consequence, and as none could be obtained from the Island of Queixome and from Nabande (these were the nearest) except with a large armed force, for Cogeatar had placed many soldiers there on guard over the wells, he again dispatched D. Antonio de Noronha in the *fusta* and boats, without loss of time to bring back water from the Island of Lara, and on the following day he returned with the *paraos* laden with it. On the arrival of D. Antonio, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Pero Dalpoem and Gaspar Rodrigues, the interpreter, to land, to inform Cogeatar that the term of the eight days, given to him to enable him to pay the tribute, was now past, and that now, in accordance with the warning already given, he was determined to do as he thought most service to the King of Portugal; therefore now he no longer desired tribute, but the men of his fleet, who had been taken from him, and he trusted in his friendship and in the treaty he had made with him when he delivered over the kingdom in the name of the King of Portugal, signed by the king, and sealed with his seal. But as for the tribute, he would be obliged to pay it; for the Viceroy would send and insist upon it, since he would take care about this, and so much friendship existed between them, and he could advise the king to look well after the preservation of the kingdom,

and not seek its destruction by refusing to send back four runaways who would not be able to defend him from this attack.

Cogeatar, knowing that the king was not very well pleased with the war, desired to prevent Pero Dalpoem from giving him this message, yet for dissimulation's sake, gave place to it, and desired him to go before the king. Upon hearing the message, the king, who was anxious as to what reply he should make, cast his eyes upon Cogeatar, and said to Pero Dalpoem that he could not send back the four men, for they were now become Moors, and the law of their faith protected them; and after Pero Dalpoem had retired from the king's presence with this reply, Cogeatar told him to say to the captain-general, that the tribute, which the Viceroy had sent to demand, had been well paid by the destruction he had wrought in Calayate; and as he was constantly stationed in the harbour, seizing and destroying every thing that came to it, it was now two years since any dues had been received in the custom-house, and there was therefore no need of saying anything more. As for the four Christians whom he had sent to demand, the king had already replied upon this point, and if he was bent upon making war upon him because he would not yield them up, he might do as he pleased, for it would not hurt him in any way whether he stayed there a day, or a year, or a hundred years. He then summoned Cogeamir, the bearer of the Viceroy's letters, and told him, in the presence of Pero Dalpoem, that he was not going to decline paying the tribute, but that at present he had no means of paying it, but yet he was the servant of the King of Portugal, to whom the kingdom of Ormuz belonged, although the captain-general desired to destroy it; he therefore was to remember all these things and repeat them to the Viceroy when he returned to him; and he also told him many other lying words, full of deceit.

Pero Dalpoem made no answer, but took his leave, and Cogeatar managed that he should go forth through the gate of the castle, where he had ten metal pieces of ordnance,[1] as large and as well made as our own, and a large double-chambered mortar (*bombarda*), of the size of our *camelos*, all mounted on gun-carriages, as well as many other iron guns of good workmanship, which the renegades had made, planted upon a bulwark lately constructed there.

CHAPTER LXII.

Of the council which the great Afonso Dalboquerque held with the captains upon the reply of Cogeatar, and what they agreed upon, and the message which he sent to the Rustazes by some of their servants, and what further passed.

Upon the receipt of this reply of Cogeatar, so full of pride, the great Afonso Dalboquerque summoned the captains, fidalgos, masters, and pilots, and all the other people of the fleet, to make up their minds what to do; and all having assembled on board his ship, he recounted to them the message which Cogeatar had sent to him through Pero Dalpoem, and told them the disgust he felt in his soul at seeing how proudly Cogeatar had replied to his messages, a thing which he had never yet done until now, and only now because of the slight store which he perceived the Viceroy set upon him and upon all those who accompanied him in this war, to the service of the King of Portugal; and he explained how the captains who had deserted him, though he had been very intimate with them, had asked him whether he would make the voyage to India to save those ships which leaked so much, or rather continue to blockade the city until it surrendered; for he had certain

[1] "Falcões", falconets or howitzers.

information that it was in very great need of supplies and water, and that there had been great dissension among the inhabitants.

The captains and all the rest of the people, upon all these representations made to them by Afonso Dalboquerque, discussed this business, and, having carefully weighed everything, agreed that on condition that the leaks in the ships did not increase so as to render them liable to great risk of being unable to make the passage to India, they would remain there until the end of October, for until this time some ships might proceed thither from Portugal, on their arrival at Çocotorá, and this would be a great help in the matter. Having agreed upon this, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the captains to set their ships in order round the city as before, and by night to cruise in the boats along the shore, each one on the watch, as chance might take them, to prevent any *paraos* from passing through the blockade to the city; and they made such diligence in this matter that they took many which approached, laden with supplies, and among them three, belonging to the captains of the Rustazes, who sailed from a place which was called Jáquem.

When Afonso Dalboquerque knew that the *paraos* belonged to them, he ordered them to be given up, and wrote to them through some of their servants who were in them, that if they were willing with their army to assist him in this war, he would pay them and supply them with rations; and when he had driven Cogentar out of the city, would give up to them the government of the kingdom. The servants of the Rustazes went away, and gave the letters to Caecocejo,[1] who was the principal man amongst them; and, as the way was long, they consumed much time about it; so that when they returned with the reply, they found

[1] This name is spelled Calcocejo on p. 236.

Afonso Dalboquerque already determined to proceed to India.

The Caecocejo's reply was to the effect that he was highly pleased with possessing his friendship, and he was then engaged in making ready himself and all his relations to come and serve him in the war, for all were desirous of becoming vassals of the King of Portugal; and he would have him to know that as soon as he had arrived at Calayate, Cogeatar had caused them to be summoned, offering him many rewards, which he had, however, refused to accept. In addition to this reply, he sent a present of chickens, sheep, and pomegranates, and Afonso Dalboquerque sent him another of silk stuffs, and other things of great price, and wrote to him, thanking him greatly for his intention to come, but that he was very sorry that he could not wait for him, yet he hoped very shortly to return and take again in hand that enterprise, and then both together they would make war upon Ormuz.

Having dismissed these servants of the Rustazes, seeing that the water for the use of the men in the fleet (which was the source of more anxiety to Afonso Dalboquerque than anything else) was running very short in the ships, he ordered D. Antonio to go to the Island of Lara and fill the *paraos*, as he had done already some days ago. So Antonio set out and arrived at the island, and as he found it was already garrisoned with soldiers who had passed over from the Island of Queixome to guard the wells, he returned without taking in any supply. As soon as D. Antonio reached the fleet again, Afonso Dalboquerque made ready to proceed to the island in person, and sent Martim Coelho forward in his vessel, and he himself embarked in the *fusta* and in the boats with a large number of men, and followed after Martim Coelho. On arriving at the island, they disembarked, and proceeded to attack the Moors, and at once put them to rout, and made them quit the stations they

held, and took many camels, she-goats, and cows, and uncovered the wells which the Moors had closed up, and loaded the *paraos* and boats with water and provisions. When this was done, Afonso Dalboquerque went back to the ships, leaving Martim Coelho in his vessel on guard over the wells; and, as long as he remained there, the Moors who were in the Island of Queixome did not dare pass over to the Island of Lara. And three days after his return to the ships he sent Diogo de Melo to the Island of Lara to tell Martim Coelho that he was to take in water, and go and cast anchor off the city, where he himself was stationed. Diogo de Melo went away without loss of time, and on reaching the island told Martim Coelho what Afonso Dalboquerque had ordered, so he took in water for himself, and weighing, went and anchored in the place where Diogo de Melo was stationed.

After Martim Coelho had taken up this new position, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Pero Dalpoem and João Estão to go in his ship's skiff by night along the coast to see what our men (whom he had commanded to watch the city in the boats) were about; and while they were rowing up along the bank, a *parao* came close up to them, and not guessing what it could be, they proceeded to attack, though unprovided with arms, thinking that it was coming with supplies for the city; and as they boarded it they were all wounded with arrows, and because the affair took place of a sudden, they were so thrown aback that the Moors had opportunity to save themselves in the *parao*. Afonso Dalboquerque, thinking that it might be a stratagem of the renegades, who had advised Cogeatar to order archers to be placed on board the *paraos* which carried provisions to protect them, that very night ordered the boats, armed with soldiers, to take one, that he might learn from the Moors it would contain what this course of action proceeded from. And as our boats kept on going round the city all night, a

parao with thirty archers came to close quarters with them and they took it without resistance, and carried it to the place where Afonso Dalboquerque was stationed. And from two Moors, whom he ordered to be put to the torture, he learned that the widow of King Cergol[1] had sent one hundred and fifty archers to the King of Ormuz, distributed in many *paraos*, that they might come more secretly, in order to assist him in the war, and that Cogeatar had ordered a fleet to be built at Julfar[2] to come and burn that of the Portuguese, and that a Persian caravan had arrived at the port of Nabande, wherein there came two captains of Xeque Ismael with five hundred archers, wearing high helmets, whom Cogeatar had sent for, giving a great sum of money that they might help him in the war, and these were only waiting for a safe passage to cross over.

CHAPTER LXIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque informed Diogo de Melo of what news he had received concerning the fleet of Julfar, and went to Nabande, and fought with the captains of Xeque Ismael, and routed them.

As soon as the great Afonso Dalboquerque was informed of this fleet which was being prepared in Julfar, he wrote immediately to Diogo de Melo to be upon his guard and keep up his communications, lest they should fall upon him unawares; and in case so many ships should come that he would be unable to cope with them, he was to send him word at once, for he would come in person to help him.

[1] The king's name is given as *Sargol* in a former chapter.

[2] There are two places of the name of *Julfa*, but neither seem to have been likely places for building a fleet; one in 32 deg. 38 min. N., 51 deg. 52 min. E.; the other on the River Araxes, 38 deg. 57 min. N., 45 deg. 37 min. E.

And he told the other captains that he had news that two captains of the Xeque Ismael had reached Nabande, bringing men to reinforce the King of Ormuz, they must therefore make themselves ready, for he was determined to go thither and fight with them; and he ordered D. Antonio de Noronha to embark in his ship's boat with a portion of the men, while he, with the remaining portion, would go in the *fusta*. And lest the ships should be seen to be deserted by their companies in the sight of the city, and lest the renegades should perceive, by the absence of the ships' boats, that they were left empty (a stratagem these fellows themselves knew well enough how to practise), he agreed that this attack should be made at night, for the moon was very bright, and then they could return in time, that they might not be missed at the ships. He also posted several men to guard the ships, and left two gunners in each.

And having arranged all this, he embarked at once by night with all his men, and proceeded to join the other captains, who were already prepared; then they all together made their way straight to Nabande, where they arrived at midnight. They were, however, immediately discovered, and they heard a shouting as of many people, and, on coming nearer to land, the Moors gave another shout; which seemed to proceed from a smaller number of men. Afonso Dalboquerque, who was in the vanguard, as he did not hear any noise of people, thought they had quitted the place, and gone away; so he disembarked; but as soon as he put his feet on the ground, such a quantity of arrows were discharged at our men, without their perceiving from what quarter they were attacked (for it was night), that they could not stand to their quarters. Yet remaining with his men massed together in expectation of the arrival of the boats, and deeming it less danger to fall upon the Moors, than to wait while they wounded them all, he decided that he would attack them; and at this crisis the other captains came up,

and as soon as they had landed their men, he started off and began to enter the place. Directly the Moors caught sight of him, they drew themselves up in a body close to the mosque, and there waited, while Afonso Dalboquerque, just as he was, in company with his men, fell upon them, and attacked them with so much fury, that at the first stroke they slew many, and thus having made good use of their lances, they came to close quarters with their swords upon the Moors on a sandbank which was hard by the place, and they fought, both one and the other side, with such vigour for a good space of time, that they made the sandbank so clear that it seemed more like the terrace of a palace than a bank of sand. And being in this critical position, which did not last very long, with the greater part of the men wounded, D. Antonio de Noronha came up from behind the mosque and fell upon the Moors, who, when they saw themselves out-flanked, took to flight. And just then arrived Francisco de Tavora, and Martim Coelho with his men, and pursued them for some time, disabling many of them, who, as they thus fled away, kept turning round to fight with our people and could not quite make up their mind to retreat. Afonso Dalboquerque, while it was still night, retained his position close to the mosque with his men in close order, and fearing lest those who pursued the Moors should straggle about, he ordered the captains to withdraw them and reinforce his men. And, as soon as they were united, they entered the place and passed up a street to attack a house wherein were the two captains of the Xeque Ismael, in the act of mounting their horses, with the servants, prepared for flight, and forcing their way in, they put every one of them to death, and returned immediately to the mosque, where there was another captain with a large body of men collected together to fortify themselves in it. It was, however, of no use for him to do so, for D. Antonio de Noronha, and Martim Coelho, and all the rest of the people, who followed them,

proceeded to attack the mosque, and made an entry by force, and slew the captain, and all the people it contained, stripping them of their arms, and red helmets, and everything else they had, and then sallying out they began to sack the place. Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving that the Moors of the land were beginning to assemble together, while he had but few men with him, for it was night, made his way back with the captains towards the shore, where the boats were stationed, that he might make use of the cannons if they attempted to attack him, and he ordered the town to be set on fire in four different places, and the drum to be beaten, that the people who were dispersed up and down, sacking the place, might know where he was. When our men heard the drum, each one made his way back towards that part where the drum was being beaten, with as much treasure as he could bring away; and when they had re-assembled, the Moors no longer dared to engage them, but withdrew to the opposite side of the place, and between us and them there was a marshy piece of ground, and there they remained, without being able to extinguish the fire in the place.

In this affair on that day there were in company with Afonso Dalboquerque the following persons:—Diogo Guisado and Gaspar Machado (of the royal household), Antonio de Sá, Bertolameu Pereira, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco, Antonio de Liz (pages of the Master of Sanctiago), João Coelho, Gonçalo Queimado, and Pero Gonçalvez (chief pilot); and they were all wounded with arrows. And with D. Antonio de Noronha there were Jorge da Silveira Francisco de Melo, Duarte de Sousa, Bastião de Miranda, Antonio da Costa, Lisuarte de Freitas, João Estão, Nicoláo de Andrade, Antonio Fragoso, Pero Dalpoem, João Teixeira, Simão Velho, James Teixeira, Antonio Vogado, and many other honourable men. And with Francisco de Tavora there were, D. Jeronymo de Lima, D. João (his brother), Aires

de Sousa, Lopo Alvarez, Martim Vaz, Antonio Fernandes (page of the Count of Villa Nova), Diogo Machado Dinis Fernandez (master of the *Cirne*), and many others. And with Martim Coelho there were, Antonio da Silva, Christovão de Magalhães (his brother), Paio Pereira, Pero de Sousa, Gaspar Vaz, Christovão de Azevedo (bastard brother of Martim Coelho). And these, one and all, fought upon that day so valiantly, and performed such an honourable feat (as it was against the Persians who in those parts are reckoned for the bravest men in the world), that I thought it right for the honour of their children, to make mention of their names in this place. And I thoroughly believe, that the Persians who escaped therefrom would give a better report of the bravery of the Portuguese in their land, than that which the captains who fled away from the war left behind them in Ormuz. And just as much as the flight of our captains was a source of marvel to the Xeque Ismael, so he very much praised this rout to which our men put his captains, for hereafter he tried very hardly to make friendly terms with Afonso Dalboquerque, and sent to visit him, but by the time his ambassadors had arrived at Ormuz Afonso had already started for India. The inhabitants of this place had not their wives nor their property in the place, for they lived in dread of what now happened to them, and the spoils that were taken came from those Persians who were stationed there, and consisted of money, clothing, arms, daggers mounted in gold and in silver, bows, arrows, and many horses, which they put to death, and they burned all the supplies for them, and all their munitions of war, which Cogeatar had stored there for transmission to Ormuz.

As soon as this affair was finished Afonso Dalboquerque withdrew with all his forces to the boats, and with rowing and sailing they laboured all the remainder of the night, so that they managed to reach the ships as morning dawned.

The men who had remained behind informed him that in the city during the whole of the night there had been a great disturbance, when they saw the fire at Nabando, and all that day was taken up in attending to the wounded, who were very numerous. On the following morning, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Dinis Fernandez to go in the *Rey grande* to the Island of Lara, and take in water, and Diogo de Melo to take up this ship's position; and when the anchors had been weighed and he was sailing with his foresail set, a *parao* came from shore, rowing with all its power to reach the ship. Dinis Fernandez, thinking that it was bringing him some message, ordered the tacks to be let go, and waited for it. As soon as the Moors, who were in the *parao*, came up close to the ship, they fired a cannon at her. Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing the *parao* firing upon the ship, despatched with great haste in his boat D. Antonio, and Jorge da Silveira in his skiff, to go and cut off the return of the *parao* to the shore, with orders to run well in to the edge of the land, for it was low tide, and the artillery of the city was unable to injure them. When the Moors in the *parao* perceived that our boats pulled away from the ships, before they could cut them off, made for the land, and as our boats were now close upon them, they began to fire, with the artillery they carried, upon the people of the land who came down to the rescue, and made them keep off. D. Antonio and Jorge da Silveira, transported with great fury, wanted to land after the Moors; but Afonso Dalboquerque came up immediately in his *fusta*, and made them withdraw, for the Moors, who had rallied upon the alarm, were eight hundred archers and fifty horsemen, and our men were too few to attack them. And having got possession of the *parao* and the cannon which the Moors carried in it, they returned to the ships, and Dinis Fernandez made his way to the Island of Lara as he went.

CHAPTER LXIV.

How Diogo de Melo, who was stationed at the Island of Lara, was lost, and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out for India, and what took place until his arrival at the island.

While the great Afonso Dalboquerque was waiting for Diogo de Melo to bring his ship to anchor where the *Rey Grande* had been, Duarte de Melo, his brother, arrived in his boat, and told him that three days before Diogo de Melo had gone on board a small *zambuco*, which Manuel de Lacerda had captured laden with dates, and gone away with nine Portuguese and two Moors, but had never yet returned, nor did he know any news of them, but that the Moorish fleet which was fitting out at Julfar had arrived off the Island of Lara, and was now riding at anchor there. Afonso Dalboquerque, startled at this information which Duarte de Melo had given to him, immediately ordered D. Antonio de Noronha and D. Jeronymo de Lima to embark in the *fusta* and in his boat with men, and to go with Duarte de Melo, and see what it was that had happened. And he wrote a letter to Martim Coelho, bidding him weigh anchor and unite with them, that together they might attack the Moorish fleet which was lying off the Island of Lara, and do their best to obtain some information of Diogo de Melo, and go to his assistance, if by some chance he might happen to be in a place whence he could not come forth because of the Moorish fleet. As soon as the captains had started, they proceeded to unite with Martim Coelho, that all together might attack the Moorish fleet, which was lying at anchor, and this, directly it caught sight of our ships, weighed anchor and fled away under full sail and rowing.

D. Antonio, with the other captains, started in pursuit, but perceiving that they could not come up with them, they

turned back and sailed all round the Island of Lara, to get any information they could concerning Diogo de Melo, and in this voyage they found in the sea six dead men, and recognised them as having belonged to his company; and as they sailed along the coast of the island they captured a small *parao*, with three or four Moors, and thereupon D. Antonio de Noronha parted with Duarte de Melo, sending him on with this news, and bidding him take with him the Moors whom they had just then taken. - On the arrival of Duarte de Melo, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the Moors to be put to the torture; and then they told him that, as their fleet lay at anchor off the Island of Queixome, a small *parao*, with some Portuguese in it, came up with it, and their captain proceeded to attack it, and it would not yield, so they sent it to the bottom; and as the Christians swam about in the water they killed them all, except one whom they took alive, and the captain sent him away at once to Cogeatar, and that the Portuguese boat, being heavily armed, sank. Afonso Dalboquerque was much grieved at this disaster, and asked Duarte de Melo how his brother could have acted in such a manner, when he had warned him over and over again about the fleet. Duarte replied, that his brother had been deceived by two Moors whom Manuel de Lacerda had taken captive in a *zambuco*, who had informed him that if he would release them, they would take him to a harbour where there were sundry *paraos* stationed, and he had been drawn into this trap by them, and given a deaf ear to all the remonstrances that had been made.

When Duarte de Melo had started off with this message, Martim Coelho weighed anchor, and proceeded to unite with Dinis Fernandez, captain of the *Rey Grande*, which was lying off the Island of Queixome, intending to wait for further instructions from Afonso Dalboquerque, while D. Antonio de Noronha remained in the vessel of Diogo de

Melo, and Jorge da Silveira in the *fusta*. After having taken in a supply of water, they proceeded to the city, and found Afonso Dalboquerque very much alarmed, as well by this disaster which had befallen Diogo de Melo, as also by the great leak in the *Cirne*, which was such that thirty Moors, working incessantly at the pump, could hardly keep it under with great labour; and in this state, so sudden a storm fell upon the ships, that they had like to have all been overset, but as it did not last very long, and the cables held firmly, they were saved. As soon as the storm was over, Afonso Dalboquerque, feeling himself without men, without a fleet, and but ill-assisted by the Viceroy, made up his mind to go to India; and without holding any more communication with Cogeatar, he set sail, and steered for the Island of Queixome, where Martim Coelho was stationed, with Dinis Fernandez, to take in water there, intending thence to make his way to India; but when he arrived there, as he did not see the *Rey Grande*, he asked Martim Coelho where she was. The captain replied that, on the last new moon, so fierce a storm had struck her, that they were nearly all lost, and Dinis Fernandez had let go the cables, and he, seeing him sailing away, had inquired of him whether he also should slip his cable? But Dinis Fernandez replied that, if his ship had strong cables he might remain where he was, for the weather would soon clear up, it was owing to the spring tides that the winds blew so, and he was going to steer for the other side of the island, to be sheltered from that wind, and as soon as the hurricane was over he would return.

Afonso Dalboquerque ordered all the pilots and masters to be assembled, and inquired of them what course the ship would take, and whether she would be lost? They all told him not to be alarmed, for Dinis Fernandez was so good a seaman, that he would give a good account of her; much more so as between those islands the sea was so smooth

that the *almadias* were accustomed to go across from one side to the other without any danger. On hearing this that the pilots told him, Afonso Dalboquerque became a little more encouraged, but, nevertheless, he ordered Antonio de Noronha to go up a lofty hill which is on the island, whence all the sea round about can be perceived, taking with him some mariners, and to look about if he could see any vessel, and all those who went with him asserted that they saw a ship just doubling Cape Maçandi.[1]

D. Antonio having returned, and all being now supplied with water, they set sail, and doubling the Cape, took a ship of Guzarates,[2] which came from the Red Sea sailing for Cambaya, laden with silk stuffs, alum, and seed pearl, and some money. Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the pilot and master to be brought before him, and inquired of them if they had seen any large vessel in those parts belonging to his company. The pilot told him that, being at anchor behind the Cape, there came some fishing barques, returning from the open sea towards the shore, who told him that they were flying from a vessel of the Franks which was steering towards India. On receiving this information, he ordered the vessels to be stripped of all the merchandise they carried, and then to be set on fire, but he released the Moors, and let them go free, and then resumed his course, and without anything else taking place, came in sight of Angediva.

And after remaining there for three days he started again, and reached Cananor, where he found the Viceroy in company with the captains who had deserted him, and with the Commendador Rui Soarez, who, though under his orders, was yet not willing to put himself in the way of performing his obligations; and these had now

[1] See p. 101, Note 1.

[2] Gujerat, Gujurat, or Guzerat, a province of the Presidency of Bombay.

spent upwards of a year there, much favoured by the Viceroy, instead of being punished by him for their desertion, and for leaving Afonso in the war. And in a few days' time Dinis Fernandez arrived in the *Rey Grande* with all his ship's crew safe and sound. And for all that Afonso Dalboquerque felt it deeply, when he saw his captains in presence of the Viceroy unpunished, yet he dissembled, and delivered over to him the fleet and crews, paying them all that was due to them up to that hour, and gave him an account of the trouble he had had with the Moors and with the Christians, having spent two years and eight months in the sea, conquering the kingdom of Ormuz, as the king, Dom Manuel, his master, had ordered him, without experiencing any favour or help from the Viceroy during the whole of that period.

END OF THE FIRST PART.