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978-1-108-01137-2 - Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his Viceroyalty

Gaspar Correa

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Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his Viceroyalty

The publications of the Hakluyt Society (founded in 1846) made available edited (and sometimes translated) early accounts of exploration. The first series, which ran from 1847 to 1899, consists of 100 books containing published or previously unpublished works by authors from Christopher Columbus to Sir Francis Drake, and covering voyages to the New World, to China and Japan, to Russia and to Africa and India. Vasco de Gama (c. 1460–1524) was a Portuguese explorer who commanded the first European expedition to sail directly to India. He was later appointed Viceroy of Portuguese India in 1524. This volume, first published in 1869, contains an account of his expeditions written by the Portuguese historian Gaspar Correia (c. 1496–c. 1563), taken from his book *Lendas da India*. His work is an important contemporary history of Portuguese colonialism in India, using contemporary sources not available to later Portuguese historians.

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Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his Viceroyalty

From the Lendas da India of Gaspar Correa

GASPAR CORREA



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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108011372

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2010

This edition first published 1869

This digitally printed version 2010

ISBN 978-1-108-01137-2 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

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The Hakluyt Society.

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THE THREE VOYAGES
OF VASCO DA GAMA TO INDIA.

M.D.C.C.LXIX.

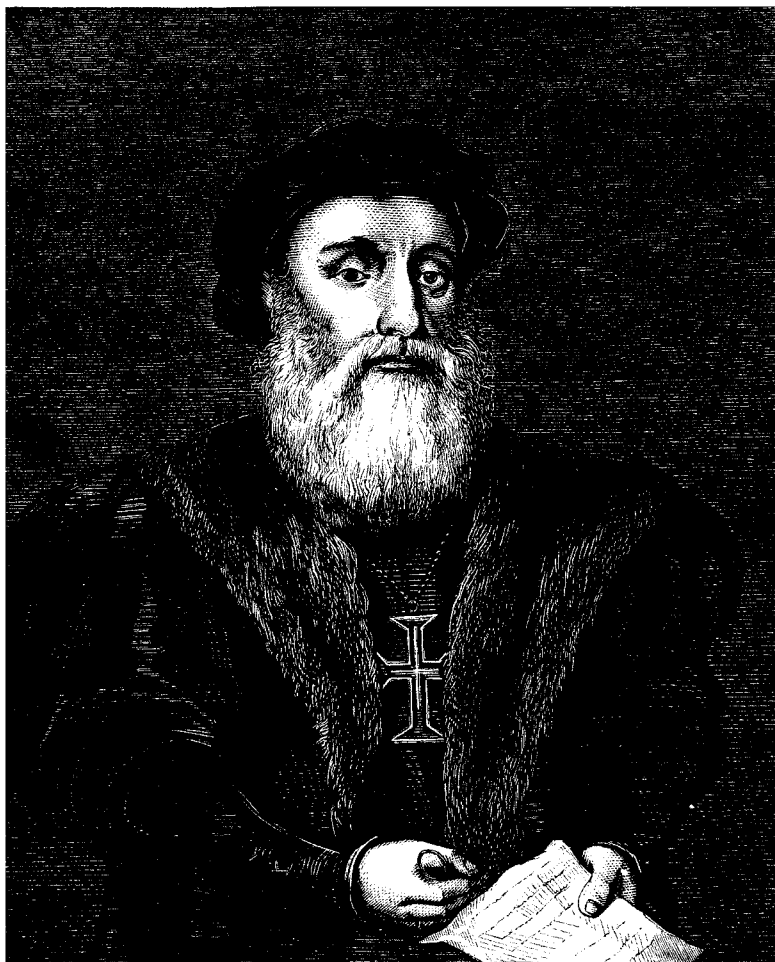
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VASCO DA GAMA.

From a Portrait in the possession of

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE LAVRADIO.

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THE
THREE VOYAGES
OF
VASCO DA GAMA,
AND
HIS VICEROYALTY.

FROM THE
Lendas da Índia
OF
GASPAR CORREA.

ACCOMPANIED BY ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE,

WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY THE

HON. HENRY E. J. STANLEY.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

M.DCCCLXIX.

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DEDICATED,
AS A TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION,
TO THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND,
PERCY SMYTHE, VISCOUNT STRANGFORD,
WHOSE LOSS IS DEEPLY REGRETTED
BY ALL WHO HAD AN OPPORTUNITY
OF APPRECIATING HIS SOUND LEARNING,
JUDICIOUS CRITICISM,
AND LOVE OF JUSTICE.

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INTRODUCTION.

Louvarei antes o Camoens sublime,
E o bravo Gama, arando ignotos mares,
E as Nereidas nuas impellindo
As naos, que ameaça o escolho.

FRANCISCO MANUEL.

THE account here given of Vasco da Gama's voyages is taken from Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India*, and is entirely new; for Correa's work, which has only been printed within the last ten years, enters into much more detail than the other chroniclers, frequently differs from them, and has not been made use of by the great majority of the historians who wrote subsequently to him.

Gaspar Correa went to India, as he says in his prologue, when very young, and sixteen years after India was discovered,—that would be in 1514. The editors of the history, printed by the Academy of Lisbon, say, however, that he sailed with Jorge de Mello in March of 1512, on the ground of a receipt of which a facsimile is given. The receipt is signed by Gaspar Correa, but bears no date. It does not appear to bear out the assumption that Correa sailed with Jorge de Mello. It runs thus :

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“ tres adiçoes

Gaspar Correa que foy de Jorge de mello que foy mestre salla
 avera ho mes de Junho sem cevada ao respeito..... 406 reis
 Recebeo de nuno Rybeiro os quatrocentos e seys reis em cyma
 conteudos.

Bastião da costa.

Gaspar Correa.”

Correa arrived in India fifteen years before Castanheda, and must have begun to write his history during the government of Alfonso d’Albuquerque, since while he was his secretary he got hold of a diary written by Joam Figueira, a priest, who accompanied Gama ; and this, he says, gave him the desire to write down all that he could learn of the deeds done in India. He wrote the history of fifty-three years of the Portuguese exploits in India, leaving off with the government of Jorge Cabral. He mentions having written part of his history in 1561. The year of his death, which, according to Barbosa Machado, occurred in Goa, is not known ; but, as the editors of the printed copy say, it must have been before 1583, since Miguel da Gama, son of D. Francisco, the second count of Vidigueira, left India on February 21st, 1583, bringing with him Correa’s manuscript. D. Miguel’s ship, the *Reliquias*, encountered many storms, and at length arrived in the Tagus, where fire broke out on board the ship, which was with difficulty extinguished, and Correa’s manuscript escaped from this danger also.

Nicholas Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Hispania* (Rome, 1672), mentions our author in the following terms, “Gaspar Correa, Lusitanus, à civibus suis laudatur eo quod scripserit. Historia da India” ;

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and the prologue of the Academy edition compares him to Polybius : so that it might be a matter of surprise that his work was not published till three centuries after it was written.

The printed edition explains the causes which operated to prevent this publication in later times : at an earlier period they must be attributed to the fact that Correa expressly intended his work to be a posthumous one, in order that he might speak the truth of all concerned ; after his death, from the corruption which had set in among the Portuguese, truth was still more unpalatable ; and it may also be supposed that many passages of Correa's history could not have passed through the censure of the Inquisition, since at that time they would have affixed upon D. Joam II. and upon D. Manuel the stigma of Judaism and necromancy.

Correa's work was hardly ever mentioned from that time till 1790, when the Lisbon Academy determined on obtaining a copy of it, for the purpose of printing it. Till lately they had not obtained more than a transcript of part of the first volume, made by two persons, apparently at the end of the last century or beginning of the present one. At length, in 1836, the second, third, and fourth volumes of Correa's manuscript, written in his own hand, were deposited in the library of the Archives by Senhor Dr. Antonio Nunes de Carvalho. The work, however, could not proceed for want of the first volume, which is lost without leaving any trace or hopes of recovery. Some years ago, however, Senhor Aureliano Basto,

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father of Senhor Joam Basto, the Keeper of the Archives, was so fortunate as to hear of a copy of the first volume in the shop of a confectioner, where he bought it for twenty-eight thousand eight hundred reis. This copy is said to be of a date but a little more modern than the time of Correa.

A second copy exists in the Royal Library of the Ajuda, in two volumes, in a handwriting apparently of the eighteenth century, or end of the seventeenth. This copy is very imperfect. In many parts the copyist has been unable to read the original, besides which he took unpardonable liberties with the text, correcting and mutilating it, and making large omissions. This copy, however, served to assist MM. Basto and Gomes Goes, also of the Archives, in preparing a copy for the press, which has been edited by Senhor Rodrigo J. de Lima Felner.

The translation now given to the Hakluyt Society has been made from a transcript taken from another copy of the first volume, the property of the Duke of Gor, and which before it belonged to his family, had belonged to the Count of Torrepalma. I was not aware till last year that copies of Correa existed at Lisbon; and the editors of the Lisbon edition did not know of the copy in the possession of the Duke of Gor. Singularly enough, the Duke of Gor's copy and that rescued from the confectioner appear to have been written by the same scribe: the handwriting, size of the volume and page, columns and headings of the pages in red ink, are similar in the two copies. A whole leaf, however, of the

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Lisbon copy had gone to wrap up sweetmeats, so that the beginning of chapter vi and end of chapter vii have been made to coalesce into chapter vi in the printed edition.

The various chroniclers who have related Gama's voyage to India vary very much in their dates, and agree only as to the date of his arrival at the river named Dos Reis, on Twelfth Day. They also differ in the number of ships that composed the squadron, some giving four and others three ships, and they vary as to where the three ships were reduced to two. Correa's account, however, differs still more from that of all the others, for he makes the departure from Melinde and arrival in India three months later than in any of the other narratives. He also very much shortens the return voyage to Melinde, which the other historians represent as one of the most arduous passages, in which the crews suffered great hardships. In this, Camoens seems to have followed Correa, canto x, stanza 144 :

“ Thus they set out, cutting through the sea serene,
 With the wind always gentle, meeting no storm,
 Until the desired land hove in sight again ;
 The ever-beloved country in which they were born.”

MITCHELL.

They also differ in the fact that Correa names Gama's ship *S. Rafael*, whilst Barros names it *S. Gabriel*; but outside the town of Vidigueira, of which Gama was made Count, there is a chapel of St. Raphael, in which an image of that saint is preserved to whom Gama's ship was dedicated. Correa is also the only

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historian who relates that Gama visited Cananor on leaving Calicut.

The following are the reasons why, in my opinion, Correa's narrative should be preferred to the others. Firstly, he came to India earlier than any of the other writers, and was the only one who made use of the diary of the priest Joam Figueira. Castanheda who went to India in 1528, is the only historian who competes with him in this respect. Damian de Goes did not visit India. Osorio takes almost all his facts from Goes, and Barros wrote much later. Secondly, the reasons given by Correa why his work should be a posthumous one, and the religious respect for truth which he professes, ought to secure to him a large share of credibility. Thirdly, in many of the points in which Correa is at variance with the other chronicles, his narrative is more in accordance with human nature and probability. The salient points of the narratives of Castanheda, Barros and others, have been added at the foot of the text, and further reasons for preferring Correa's dates and version will be found in the footnotes. The Lisbon edition does not examine which of the various accounts are to be preferred. The prologue only observes that Correa's work contains some chronological errors, and disputes what he says of the invention of nautical instruments, and of the use of portable firearms. It adds, that "these venial faults ought not to diminish the lustre of Gaspar Correa, nor raise doubts as to his good faith, and the full truth with which he relates what he saw and

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heard.” The prologue also disputes Correa’s giving the credit of the voyage of Bartholomew Dias to Joam Infante. Here, however, geography supports Correa, for the name of Rio do Infante, the term of the voyage in which Joam Infante and Bartholomew Dias doubled the Cape of Good Hope, shows that Correa had not exaggerated the position held by Joam Infante in that voyage.

I do not know to what anachronism as to *espingardas* or firelocks the prologue refers: Barros, however, and not Correa, is the person who is guilty of them in Gama’s first voyage. Correa only mentions the use of cross-bows.

Amongst the rare occasions in which Gaspar Correa mentions himself, we find the following in the year 1547 (tom. iv, p. 596). At that time “D. João de Castro (the thirteenth governor) thought it right to preserve some recollection of the former governors, so he summoned me, Gaspar Correa, as I understood painting, and because I had seen in this country all the governors who had governed in these parts; and he enjoined me to work at drawing all the governors naturally [the size of life?]. In which I occupied myself with a painter, a man of the country, who had a great natural turn, and he, by the directions which I gave him, painted their faces so like nature, that whoever had seen them, at once, on seeing the paintings, recognised them. The governor also had himself painted there after nature, armed as if he was figuring in a triumph.¹ All were painted on boards,

¹ This refers to the palm he holds in his hand, and the palm leaf crown on his head in the picture, tom. iv, p. 430.

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each one separately, full size, and all armed with corslets, and some with the very weapons with which they armed themselves, and upon them garments of dark silk, with very rich gold embroidery, and handsome swords, and above their heads the escutcheons of their arms. At the foot of each was written in gilt letters their names, and the time during which they had governed. He ordered these to be placed in the hall of their house, covered with curtains. This was a thing which looked very well, and all the ambassadors and foreign merchants delighted much in seeing them ; so much so that some kings and lords sent to fetch them all together to see them. The governor put lay figures¹ in the hall, with halberds,² and with awful features to inspire dread in the Moors who saw them. As the first governor was the Viceroy D. Francisco d'Almeida, the head of the house of the Almeidas of Portugal, a man of great merit, as has been written in this history, and as the governor was much pleased with his noble deeds, he ordered an inscription to be written in this manner: 'Rejoice, O great and warlike Lusitania, over your good Portugal, since from thee issued Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the most illustrious man who conquered these parts : and warring in them subjected them to the lordship of Portugal, with so much glory to the royal sceptre.'" The autograph manuscript of Correa contains his pen and ink sketches of these governors, which have been reproduced in the Lisbon edition. They are

¹ Cabides.² Bysarmas.

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better than the portraits in Pedro Barreto de Resende's work, which are probably copied from the portraits at Goa. There is a MS. of P. B. de Resende in the Sloane collection of the British Museum.

Vasco da Gama was born in the town of Sines, on the Atlantic, half way between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. This town is situated in a bay, (and its name may perhaps be derived from the Latin *sinus*) which is formed by a point which juts out considerably on its northern side, and terminates in some rocky islets. The town faces west. It contains the outer walls of an old castle, and the first cottages at the northern entrance are said to occupy the site of a house which belonged to Gama's family. At about ten minutes' distance from the town on the northern side of the bay there is a natural wall of granite about sixty feet high, which runs out into the sea and forms a creek, in which small vessels can at all times lie in perfect safety. When I saw it, it was almost completely filled by from forty to fifty fishing vessels, made fast to one another stem and stern. The top of this ridge of rock is occupied by a narrow path or promenade, with a parapet on either side. A path leads up from the creek to a small church on the top of the cliff. This church was built by Vasco da Gama after his appointment as Viceroy of India, as an inscription on the right hand of the door states, though it does not mention the year. There is an escutcheon on the left side of the door (on entering it.) Externally this church is very simple; within it has only a groined ceiling to recommend it. and a gal-

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estaca
sadenosas^{ra} das
salasmādoufazerom^{to}
maníficos^{to} dōvascodag
amacōdedavidíg^{ra} al
mírantevisoreidas
yndias.

lery or choro alto over the door facing the altar. Of late years a bad portrait of Gama has been suspended in this chapel. An undulating plain of sand, which is almost a desert waste, extends all round Sines, for a distance of more than three leagues, and beyond that the hills are not such as to justify an expression of Lord George Grenville's, of "Lusia's hardy mountaineer."¹

Dr. Francisco Luis Lopez, who lives at Sines, has written a *Brief Notice of Sines*, Lisbon, 1850. From it I have extracted the following details of the genealogy of Vasco da Gama, which Dr. Lopez has collected from genealogical works and the records at Lisbon and Evora.

Senhor Antonio de Lima says in his *Nobiliario* that the Gammas proceed from a knight who accompanied the famous Giraldo the Fearless at the conquest of Evora in 1166, but he does not continue the series of his lineage. In some old memoirs it is said that that valiant man was of the family of Ulloa, in Spain, which uses the same arms. The first Gama who was distinguished in Portugal was Alvaro Annes da

¹ Portugal, p. 34 (London, 1812).

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Gama, who lived in Olivença¹ in the year 1280, and was one of the famous captains who served D. Affonso III in the conquest of Algarve. He married and had children—(II) João Alves da Gama, Lopo da Gama, Bartholesa da Gama. João Alves da Gama lived in Olivença, and served in the wars of D. Diniz and D. Affonso IV. He married Guiomar Cogominho, sister of his brother-in-law, and had (III) Alvaro Annes da Gama, who served D. Affonso IV, and was with him in the celebrated battle of the Salado in 1340. He married Maria Esteves Barreto, and had—(IV) Estevão Alvares da Gama, Diogo da Gama, Commendador de S. Pedro de Trancoso. Estevão Alvares da Gama lived in Elvas in the time of D. Fernando and D. João I. He married Catharina Mendes, and had—(V) Vasco da Gama; who married, and had—(VI) Estevão da Gama, who was Alcaide Mór of Sines and of Silves in Algarve. He served D. Fernando, the brother of D. Affonso V. He married Isabel Sodré, daughter of João de Resende and his wife Maria Sodré, and had—Paulo da Gama, Ayres da Gama,² (VII) Vasco da Gama

¹ Olivença is in Spanish Estremadura. In 1300 it was ceded by D. Ferdinand to D. Diniz, King of Portugal, by a treaty for the exchange of certain castles. This treaty was executed in Castel Branco, April 19, era 1338, and is preserved in the Torre do Tombo, Gav. 18, Maço 9, No. 5. During the War of Independence Spain recovered Olivença, which was to have been restored to Portugal in 1815; and Murray's *Handbook of Portugal*, p. 51, says that it is a cause of complaint by the Portuguese that England did not do more to obtain the restitution of Olivença for them.

² I am indebted to Senhor João Pedro da Costa Basto, the

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(the navigator), Estevan da Gama, Theresa or Tareyja da Gama. Vasco da Gama is said to have been born in the year 1469. When young he served in the war against Castile. He married Catharina de Atayde, daughter of Alvaro de Ataide, Alcaide-mor of Alvor, and had—(VIII) Francisco, Estevan, Paulo, Christovam, Pedro da Silva, Alvaro d'Ataide. M. Ferdinand states that Vasco da Gama may have been born earlier than 1469, since a safe-conduct, dated 1478, has been discovered, which was given by Ferdinand and Isabella to Vasco da Gama, and Lemos to go to Tangiers, and it seems unlikely that a safe-conduct would have been given for children. M. F. Denis also thinks it very probable that Gama's eldest son was born before he sailed in 1497; and the ninety-third stanza of the fourth canto of the *Lusiad* lends itself to the supposition that Gama was already married. On the other hand it seems clear that Estevan, who appears to have been the second son, was born in 1504, after Gama's return from his second voyage, since Correa says, tom. iv, p. 122, that he was from thirty-five to thirty-seven years of age when he became governor of India on the death of D. Garcia de Noronha, April 4, 1540, and it is more probable that Gama married after his return from his first voyage, since during that voyage no allusion is ever made to wife or child, and it is only in his second voyage that we find him accompanied

head of the Torre do Tombo, for this portion of the genealogy, and for the fact of Ayres being older than Vasco da Gama, which are extracted from accredited genealogical books.

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by Alvaro d'Ataide, his brother-in-law. D. Francisco, second Count of Vidigueira, married Guiomar de Vilhena, who died in 1585, they had five sons and one daughter; the eldest of these, D. Vasco, third Count of Vidigueira, was killed at the battle of Alkasr Kebir, in 1578. D. Francisco, fourth Count of Vidigueira, was born in 1565; he was twice Viceroy of India, and died going to Madrid, at Oropesa, in July 1632: he was buried at Vidigueira in 1640; he married twice, and of his second wife, Leonor da Sylva, he had two sons and eight daughters. The second son, D. Vasco da Gama, fifth Count of Vidigueira, and first Marquis of Niza, was born December 14, 1612; he was ambassador to France and to the Popes Urban VIII and Innocent X: he died October 28, 1676. He married the Marqueza D. Ignez de Noronha December 29, 1632, and had five children; the eldest, D. Francisco Luiz Balthesar, second Marquis of Niza, was born March 1, 1636, and died at Evora August 10, 1707: he married twice during the lifetime of his father; first with D. Helena da Sylveira e Noronha, February 12, 1654: she died after childbirth September 21, 1656; of her he had an only daughter, D. Maria Josefa de Noronha, born September 4, 1656. He married a second time, November 21, 1657, with D. Brites de Vilhena, and had eight sons and two daughters: the eldest of these, D. Vasco Luis Balthasar da Gama, third Marquis of Niza, was born at Lisbon August 12, 1662: he was at the taking of Valença de Alcantara, Albuquerque, and other places; he died October 4, 1735.

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He married August 17, 1709, with D. Barbara de Lara, and had an only daughter, D. Maria Josefa Francisca Xavier Balthasar da Gama, born February 8, 1712, the fourth Marqueza de Niza, and heiress of this house. She married, June 12, 1729, with Nuno da Sylva Telles, second son of the Marquis de Alegrete, who, by his marriage, became fourth Marquis of Niza: they had six children, born between June 7, 1730, and January 18, 1738: and from these proceed the later Marquises of Niza.¹

Estevan, Vasco da Gama's second son, was governor of India in 1540, and returned to Europe in 1542; he went to Venice because D. Joam III was offended at his not taking a wife of his choosing: he died at Venice, leaving a natural son.² Paulo, Gama's third son, was killed in a naval action off Malacca in 1534. Christovam, Gama's fourth son, began his expedition in Abyssinia July 6, 1541, and was killed there in 1542. Pedro da Silva da Gama, Gama's fifth son, commanded the ship *Rainha* in the fleet that sailed from Lisbon in 1537. (G. Correa, tom. iii, p. 816; and Couto, Dec. v, lib. ii, cap. 3.) Correa mentions him three times in the year 1547, once as son of Vasco da Gama, and once as brother of Estevan da Gama, the governor. A document in the Torre do Tombo, Chancellaria de D. João III, Livro 31, fol. 18, dated Almeirim, January 26, 1541, appoints D. Pedro da Sylva, gentleman of the King's household

¹ Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1743, tom. x, 559-576.

² Antonio Caetano de Sousa. *Ibid.*

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and son of the Count Admiral (Vasco da Gama), to be captain of the fort and town of Malacca for three years, with six hundred thousand reis yearly salary, as soon as the post should be vacant; and directs that D. Pedro should do homage for this fortress according to rule, before he departed from this kingdom (Portugal).

Alvaro d'Ataide, Gama's sixth son, is mentioned by Correa, tom. iv, p. 211, as captain of the ship *S. Pedro*, which came from Portugal in 1541; he was imprisoned for a short time by D. Martim Afonso de Sousa, the governor who succeeded to Estevan da Gama, and again released by him in 1542. Diogo do Couto mentions him, Dec. vi, lib. ix, cap. 19, as a son of Vasco da Gama, who was sent by the Viceroy, D. Afonso de Noronha, as captain-major of the Malacca seas, as he was to enter into the captaincy of Malacca after his brother D. Pedro da Silva da Gama, who was there: D. A. Noronha succeeded to D. Jorge Cabral in 1550.

Ayres da Gama, brother of Vasco da Gama's father, married Beatriz (or Mecia) Alvez Garcia, and had—Estevan, Sebastian, Isabel, Catharina. The eldest of these children, Estevan, commanded some ships under Vasco da Gama during his second voyage.

According to the author of *Evora Illustrada*, Padre Manuel Fialho, whose work exists in MS. in the library of Evora, and an Imprimatur for which was given on the 22nd of February, 1707, Vasco da Gama lived at Evora all the time that he was in Portugal after his return from his second voyage, and

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his sons were born there. His house was in a street which runs out of the plaza before the west door of the cathedral. It is still shown, but has been entirely rebuilt and altered in appearance. The street is named Rua das Casas Pintadas, because, as Padre Fialho states, Gama had his house painted with the figures of Indians and Indian animals and plants, and there was some gilding on the walls, which was said to have been made from gold which Gama brought from India. Dr. Simões, the librarian of Evora, told me that he had seen old men who remembered the remains of these paintings. This house was afterwards bought by the Inquisition, whose office stands almost close by on the north side of the cathedral. The house of the Count of Vimoso, who was one of Vasco da Gama's witnesses when he did homage on his appointment as Viceroy of India,¹ still exists, opposite the west door of the cathedral. It no longer belongs to that family, and has been much modernised; but the dwelling of Garcia Resende, the chronicler of D. João II, is in its ancient condition, with a handsome window with mauresque arches.

It has not yet been explained,—and unless new documents should be brought to light, it will probably never be satisfactorily explained,—why Vasco da Gama remained in inaction from the time of his return from his second voyage in 1503 till 1524, when he went out to Goa as Viceroy. Some Portuguese are inclined to attribute this inaction of Gama

¹ See Appendix, third document.

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to his marriage; but this does not accord with Gama's character, and Magellan's marriage little more than a year before he sailed did not detain him from his enterprise. The most probable hypothesis is that Dom Manuel, who is now known to have been of a most niggardly disposition, suspicious of his servants, and very jealous of directing personally all the details of government, thought he had recompensed Gama sufficiently, and feared giving too much importance to one of his subjects. What inclines me to this supposition of Gama having given umbrage to the King, is the fact that when he was again employed, Don Manuel was dead, and another king had ascended the throne: also because D. Jayme, Duke of Braganza, who knew the justice with which Gama complained of the scanty remuneration of his services, spoke to the King upon the matter, moved thereto only by Gama's great services, and on that account he facilitated the sale of his towns of Vidigueira and Villa de Frades to Dom Vasco, so that the King should give him the title of Count of the former town.¹

Vasco da Gama was buried in the principal chapel of the Franciscan monastery of Cochim, which was probably dedicated to St. Antony, as Correa and Pedro Barreto de Resende so name it. This church was blown up in 1806 by the East India Company.² Gama's body was removed to Portugal in the year 1538, and deposited at Vidigueira. M. F. Denis

¹ Caetano de Sousa, tom. v, p. 570.

² See note, p. 428.

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states that this tomb was violated by the populace in 1840. Gama is described as having been of middle stature, rather stout, and of a florid complexion.

In the Appendix will be found the text of several inedited Portuguese documents; it is remarkable how few relating to Gama now exist. No trace is to be found of a list of the crews of Gama's ships, which Correa says was drawn up, with the names of their families, and deposited in the Casa das Minas. The Marquis of Niza, the descendant and representative of Vasco da Gama, informed me that there had been a document in his family containing regulations for the government of India, with marginal notes by Vasco da Gama, but this had been stolen in the time of his grandfather. This document would probably be the one mentioned by Gaspar Correa at p. 425.

The first document, dated January 10, 1502, is a recapitulation by D. Manuel of Gama's services, and a donation to him and to his heirs of a revenue of three hundred thousand reis, to be furnished by a tythe of the fish of Sines, and out of the taxes of Sines and Santiago. It also authorises him and his heirs to send two hundred cruzados with every royal fleet to India, to be laid out in merchandise, which should be free of all duty except a twentieth for the Order of Christ. It then grants the title of Dom to Gama, and to his brother Ayres and sister Tareyja.

A translation of the fourth document is given as a note to Correa's account of the vice-royalty of Gama. It speaks well of his integrity and of his justice, but from the details given by Correa he appears to have

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been too severe. An unmitigated panegyric of Vasco da Gama will be found in the fifth document, which is an inedited speech made by Diogo do Couto, on the occasion of Vasco da Gama's portrait being set up in the Chamber of Goa. The date of this speech is not given, but it appears from a petition of the town of Goa in December, 1609, with respect to the re-erection of a statue to Gama, that the portrait had been set up several years before. Diogo do Couto wrote an oration on the occasion of the re-erection of the statue, which it appears was not delivered. It was printed with some of his inedited works at Lisbon, in 1808. A statue of Gama had been erected on an arch near the quay of the fortress, and had been thrown down by some private individuals clandestinely at night, at which the King had been displeased, and had ordered the affair to be inquired into. He at the same time had ordered the body of D. Christopher da Gama to be sought for in Abyssinia, to be sent for canonisation. The erection of the second statue was decided upon by the Chamber of Goa on the 9th of December, 1609, and sanctioned on the 11th of December, 1609, by the Viceroy D. Ruy Lorenzo de Tavora, father-in-law of D. Francisco da Gama. Diogo do Couto says that as America was named after Vespucci, so India ought to have been named Agama, to preserve the name of its discoverer.

The sixth paper is a letter from Duarte Barbosa. It is principally a remonstrance against the misconduct of the Portuguese in India, and the violation of

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all the engagements made with the King of Cananor.¹ It also mentions the arrival of an ambassador from Abyssinia who was to be sent to the King. The truth of his embassy was doubted because he was a Moor.

The seventh letter, from King Manuel to Albuquerque, is very interesting. It is a detailed instruction ordering him to survey the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and to get information about the country of Abyssinia, to burn and destroy all that he might find at Suez, to get information about Jiddah and the distance to Mekkah, and what garrison it had.

From this and the preceding letter, it appears that Joam Serrano, who in 1512 was in the Java seas, was in Portugal during the year 1513.

Three extracts from the third chapter of Genesis in Portuguese, have been added in the Appendix, one of them being taken from a Bible for the modern Portuguese in Ceylon, in order to show the change in the language of the descendants of the Portuguese in India.

Vasco da Gama has usually been ranked with Columbus and Magellan; but the position thus assigned to him not only does not belong to him, but such an estimate is an injustice to those two great navigators. In comparing the three men, the enterprises they carried out, the difficulties they met with, and the resources at their disposal, the greatest praise would seem to be due to Magellan. However, both

¹ See pp. 231, 232, 321.