

Afonso de Albuquerque and the Consumption of Material Culture in the Indian Ocean (1506-1515)

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RESUMO

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: cultura material, consumos artísticos, arte da expansão, Afonso de Albuquerque

Nesta dissertação pretendem-se identificar as práticas de Afonso de Albuquerque enquanto consumidor de arte e avaliar até que ponto são paradigmáticas do seu tempo ou constituem um marco taxativo na periodização do consumo de arte. O governador (entre 1509 e 1515, mas na Ásia desde 1506) do que viria a ser o Estado da Índia teve um papel fundamental enquanto receptor e distribuidor de presentes diplomáticos, mas são também inteligíveis nos textos coevos apontamentos sobre as suas estratégias pessoais de usufruto e exibição de objectos artísticos. O texto explora como eram tomadas as decisões quanto à cultura material num momento de trocas intensas e sem precedentes com a Ásia. Argumenta-se que as práticas alteraram-se significativamente durante o período de governo de Albuquerque, motivadas pela sua (rápida) apreensão da geopolítica asiática. A dissertação divide-se em duas partes.

Na primeira produz-se uma leitura historiográfica do interesse português na Ásia durante os anos finais do século XV e os primeiros do XVI. Esta síntese serve para mapear a conjuntura em que as situações descritas no segundo capítulo tiveram lugar.

O segundo capítulo, mais extenso do que o precedente, produz uma leitura crítica das estratégias de consumo (aquisição, manutenção, exibição, e transferência de posse) de objectos por Afonso de Albuquerque. Divide-se em três tendências fundamentais que, de acordo com o que é proposto, formataram o interesse português por objectos asiáticos: os saques, as ofertas diplomáticas, e o consumo de corte. Na parte final do capítulo esboça-se uma proposta de interpretação de como foram recebidos em Portugal os objectos artísticos enviados, com diversos propósitos, por Afonso de Albuquerque.

ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS: material culture, consumption studies, Afonso de Albuquerque

This thesis attempts to understand the practices of material culture consumption performed by Afonso de Albuquerque, and to assess if they served as a paradigm or a new tendency in sixteenth-century art consumption. The governor (from 1509-1515, but in Asia since 1506) of the future 'Estado da Índia' had a central role as a receiver and distributor of diplomatic gifts, but contemporary documents hint at a personal strategy in the use of art. This text explores how decisions were made in a moment of unprecedented and intensive material culture exchange with Asia. It will try to argue that practices changed in the course of Albuquerque's government, following his (fast) apprehension of Asian geopolitics. This thesis is divided into two chapters.

The first consists in a historiographical reading of the Portuguese interest in Asia during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. This summary serves as a basis to understand the stage where the episodes described in chapter II took place.

Chapter II, far more extensive than the former, consists in a critical reading of the consumption strategies (acquisition, maintenance, display, and transfer) used by Afonso de Albuquerque. It is divided into three fundamental tendencies which, it is argued, shaped the Portuguese interest for Asiatica: looting, diplomatic gift-exchange, and courtly consumption. The final part of the chapter provides some suggestions on how the material culture sent by Albuquerque with various intents was received in Portugal.

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INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The history of the acquisition and transformation of Asian objects carried out by Afonso de Albuquerque, governor of Portuguese India (g. 1509-1515), opens up new avenues for the study of material culture consumption, as well as for the study of the Portuguese overseas expansion. This engagement with material culture is significant since tangible artefacts record the interests and tastes of particular social and cultural groups, and their analysis thus reorients our sense of what defined (and meant) the desire for those artefacts.¹

Since 1505 – when D. Francisco de Almeida was appointed for a three-year term as first viceroy of India by king D. Manuel (r. 1495-1521) – Portuguese governors were the privileged intermediaries between kings, acting as agents as well as making decisions themselves. Afonso de Albuquerque succeeded Almeida in late 1509 but by that time he had already been sailing the Indian Ocean for more than three years. Up to his death in December 1515, Albuquerque would be personally involved in the conquest of several Asian cities – such as Hormuz, Goa, and Malacca – and would maintain diplomatic relations with potentates as diverse as Safavid Persia, the Sultanate of Gujarat, the Kingdom of Siam, and the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara. Albuquerque has since been understood by the historiography of Portugal as one of the greatest captains and diplomats in its history.²

Historians of the European Renaissance have argued that material culture played a distinct role in initiating and controlling social relations in the European setting.³ Early sixteenth-century Portuguese narratives hint to a similar action taking place in Asia, where the Portuguese interacted with several foreign and unknown cultures.

¹ RUBLACK 2013, pp. 41-42

² In a recent (albeit controversial) public poll contest Afonso de Albuquerque was voted the 42nd greatest figure in Portuguese history (*Os Grandes Portugueses*, organized by the public broadcasting station 'RTP', 2006-2007)

The bibliography on this topic is vast. For reference see AJMAR-WOLLHEIM & DENIS 2010; BAXANDALL 1980; DASTON 2004; JARDINE 1997; MOTTURE & O'MALLEY 2011; RUBLACK 2013; WELCH 2005.

In 1498 the Portuguese captain Vasco da Gama led the first European fleet to arrive in India having travelled round the Cape of Good Hope. He met the ruler of Calicut and offered him twelve pieces of cloth, four red caps, six hats, four coral branches, six ceramic basins, one sugar box, two barrels of olive oil, and two barrels of honey. In 1515 another Asian sovereign, the Persian Shah Ismail, received from Afonso de Albuquerque a large gift of armament (including armour, firearms, and ceremonial cold weapons), garments and fabrics, jewellery, coins, and samples of tradable raw materials, amounting to more than 500 pieces. The years between these events were of unprecedented and intensive material culture exchange with Asia. They were also years of necessarily fast apprehension of Asian geopolitics by the Portuguese men acting within that geography.

The first question in this dissertation is why were there such sharp changes in the official terms of engagement with material culture during the government of Afonso de Albuquerque. Based on this query, I will narrow the field of investigation to the domain of Albuquerque's practices of consumption. This will provide a basic understanding of the relations established between materiality (whichever its geopolitical origins) and its stately functions. An underlying conviction that material culture contributed to the shaping of a period's values and practices, rather than just representing existing values and ideals, will be present. These questions will also lead to the issue of the coeval reception of an Asian materiality in Lisbon and address the reinvention of meanings and functions for objects in disparate locations.

I will argue that the stately needs and events were paramount to the development of new practices of consumption in the geography in which Albuquerque was acting. I will further argue that these practices of consumption had

⁴ Velho 1969, p. 49: "...tinha o capitão estas coisas para mandar a el-rei: a saber: doze lambéis; quatro capuzes de grã e seis chapéus; e quatro ramais de coral; e um fardo de bacias, em que havia seis bacias; e uma caixa de açúcar; e quatro barris cheios, dois de azeite e dois de mel"

⁵ CAA, II, pp. 234-235, CASTANHEDA 1552, III, pp. 303-304, and Góis 1949, IV, 10v; this episode will be further examined in chapter II.

⁶ As summarized in Rublack 2013, pp.41-42 and 85, and Jordanova 2012; for a general discussion on material culture and history see Adamson, Riello & Teasley 2011; Harvey 2009; Riello 2009; Gerritsen & Riello 2014.

⁷ For instance see Carrier 2008, pp. 1-19.

themselves and effect on Albuquerque's actions and on the artefacts involved.

Sources and Methods

This study attempts to be global and local at the same time. To a degree, it will make use of Global History understood as "a methodology that tries to understand the nature of connections and that tries to think about *impact* and *appropriation* of ideas across cultural boundaries". It will also attempt to ascertain what transformations took place within the local when it was confronted with foreign materialities – sometimes foreign in their shape, techniques and materials, other times in function.

The questions posed determine the sources and the methods to be used. Although not a single object is known to have survived from those manipulated by Albuquerque, written coeval documents abound offering evidence of both the material attributes of the objects, the contemporary shifting perceptions of their value, and the systems of consumption in which they were used. Therefore, this thesis relies on three kinds of written sources: letters sent by Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel between 1506 and 1515, extant official documentation produced between 1498 and 1515, and sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicles. All of the sources used have been published and profusely studied but systematic art historical interpretation has not been customary.

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⁸ GERRITSEN, [video file] 5:03-5:15. On how material culture fits within the mission statement of Global History see also Adamson, Riello & Teasley 2011, pp. 2-3, and O'BRIEN 2006.

⁹ As Phillip Wagoner has noted, having written sources without surviving objects is far more useful than the opposite – as is, for instance, the frequent obstruction to the study of architecture "where the material record is extensive, but only rarely illuminated through the detailed testimony of written documents", WAGONER 1996, p. 853.

¹⁰ Although more documents are certainly to be found in libraries and archives, research for unpublished documentation could not be compatible with the limited time available for the completion of this thesis. The great amount of published data extant from the years of Albuquerque's government – contrasting with the following years until mid-sixteenth century – is likely related to vicissitudes of preservation, not production. Important compilations of primary sources were published in the nineteenth century and have since been used as integral sources of information.

These documents pose one analytical problem: they favour the Portuguese side of history, leaving not much – if any – access to Asian reactions. ¹¹ Furthermore, despite not circulating extensively before the second half of the sixteenth century, Portuguese chronicles were ruled by the aims and conventions of the epic genre and were dominated by a synthesis between patriotic aims and chivalric ideals. ¹² The major sixteenth-century narratives about Portugal gravitate around two central themes, often intertwined: the Asian expansion ¹³ and the reign of D. Manuel (r. 1495-1521). ¹⁴

Although written years after the events recalled, the chronicles rely on eyewitness accounts and produced judgments on Asia based on apparent dissimilarities with Europe. However, inevitably, they differ in many fundamental aspects, as their authors had diverse backgrounds and wrote in disparate times. The purposes served by the texts were also diverse and they should therefore be read bearing in mind their contextual differences.

To filter the chronicles in the moments they present divergent information one should start by understanding the enquiry methods used by their authors. Correia and Castanheda travelled to the Indian Ocean and there they obtained more up-to-date information than was possible in contemporary Lisbon. For the chronological frame of this thesis Correia is of particular interest since he was present in most of the moments he retells. Gaspar Correia was Albuquerque's clerk between 1512 and the governor's death in 1515, and belonged to the group of partisans that supported Albuquerque against his political opponents. It is not surprising that most of Correia's writings provide detailed information and are favourable to Albuquerque's memory.

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¹¹ For studies on sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicles see AVELAR, 2006; HARRISON, 1961; LACH 1965, vol. I, pp. 187-192; RUBIÈS, 2004, pp. 4-11.

¹² Paraphrased from Rubies 2004, p. 11.

¹³ CORREIA 1859 and 1860; CASTANHEDA 1552; BARROS 1974

¹⁴ Góis 1949; curiously, in Góis' *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* the accounts of the Asian ventures still occupy circa 70% of the total volume, according to BUESCU [s.d]

¹⁶ For a critical study on Gaspar Correia see Andrade 1985.

Castanheda¹⁷ and Barros¹⁸, though not having met Albuquerque in the Indian Ocean, were acquainted with his personality in Europe sometime before 1506 and obtained information both through written and oral sources from Lisbon and India. They do not explicitly share the same opinion on the governor's feats. Castanheda, who lived in India between 1529 and 1539, praises Albuquerque's charisma and military capacity¹⁹. Barros, on the contrary, does not omit a veiled criticism to Albuquerque's corruptive personality – after all, the governor had sent to another chronicler, Rui de Pina, diamonds for him to "write good things about him" – and underlines his aggressive policies and lack of mercifulness.²⁰

Despite never having been outside of Europe, Afonso's son, Brás de Albuquerque – whom after the death of his father obtained permission to change his name to *Afonso* – wrote about the adventures of his father in the Indian Ocean.²¹ This biographical narrative, published under the title *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque* [*Comentários*], was based on privileged information Brás obtained through private letters from his father, which he often cites, and letters sent to the Portuguese sovereign.²² The reader of the *Comentários* should however be aware of its motivations, as the narrative is unashamedly laudatory of the governor's Indian policies and feats. The first edition was published in 1557 as a reaction to Castanheda's *História* (1552) and Barros' Ásia – segunda década (1553), where Albuquerque's deeds were diluted in the general history of the Portuguese expansion in Asia. A second enlarged edition of the *Comentários* followed in 1576, persisting as the definitive version.

¹⁷ For a critical study on Fernão Lopes de Castanheda see AVELAR 1997.

¹⁸ For a discussion on Barros' lifetime and writings see the introduction by António Baião in BARROS 1932, pp. XLVII-LXXXII .

¹⁹ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, cap. CLV, fol. 311: "E afora estas cousas fez outras muytas que serião largas de cõtar, mas falando em soma nenhũa virtude lhe falleceo pera ser tão singular capitão como ho forão os singulares que ouve antre barbaros, gregos & latinos (...) E por ser muyto amigo do serviço delrey, teve muitos immigos & foy magnifico nas cousas que comprião a honra delrey, & á sua."

²⁰ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. 10, fol. 142: "Sabia enfiar as cousas a seu proposito (...) era muyto frageiro e riçoso se o nam comprazia qual quer cousa, cansáva muyto os hómees no que lhe mandava fazer: por ter hum espirito apressado... Nas execuções foy hum pouco apressado e não muy piadoso, faziasse temer muyto aos mouros"

²¹ Albuquerque 1973

²² For a critical study on Brás de Albuquerque's text see the preface by Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão in ALBUQUERQUE 1973,I, p. i-xxvii.

These bibliographic references are relevant as Correia's narrative was published only in the nineteenth century and – unlike the collections of documents that also emerged in the same century – the manuscript was not widely known to previous writers. This instance leads to another line of enquiry that must be taken into account, other than the bias of the authors, to make sense of their dissimilarities. As some chroniclers borrow information from the same source (for instance Rui de Pina, frequently mentioned by Correia) the narratives of the same episode sharing a greater number of aspects cannot be guaranteed to be more plausible. First, for the reason that the initial source may not be the most trustworthy; second, because of the distortions that can be diagnosed in later texts.

Nevertheless, these documents are rich sources as they provide information on diverse aspects: on the designations and significances attributed to the material culture; on the regulations about how to consume that material culture issued from Europe and Asia; on the administration of the material wealth; and often on the protagonists involved in all these activities.

As no term is neutral the reader should always take into consideration why these authors were often willing enough to employ new words to describe their environment. This is particularly significant in mentions to objects until then experienced as foreign, such as when the Portuguese texts describe the meaning of unusual words for the epoch.²⁴ Moreover, one can notice in their descriptions of material artefacts how the adjectives predominate over other more objective attributes, likely denoting the description of familiar forms but emphasizing the richness of the Asian materials. In fact, the most common aspect that drew the

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²³ Lendas da Índia, vol. I was published in 1859 and vol. II in 1860. The collection Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque [CAA] was published between 1884 and 1935 by Raymundo Bulhão Pato and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça. Here CAA will be mentioned in the conventional abbreviation where to the title follows the number of the correponding volume and page (CAA, I, 1884; CAA, II, 1898; CAA, III, 1903; CAA, IV, 1910; CAA, V and VI, 1915; CAA, VII, 1935).

²⁴ As is the case with the *tafeciras* described by Albuquerque to D. Manuel in December 1513 as "silk cloths called *tafeciras*" [panos de seda que chamam tafeciras] (CAA, I, 222) but soon after taken for granted.

attention of the Portuguese seems to have been the matter, which was often the only unambiguous descriptive term employed in their writings.²⁵

At the same time, the main vulnerability in the usage of the chronicles as sources concerns the allure of generalisation when comparing distant periods. One should bear in mind that the material environment in the first years of Portuguese presence in Asia was necessarily different from that of mid-sixteenth century, as production and consumption norms were not yet established.

For these reasons, *Lendas*, ²⁶ *História*, ²⁷ *Ásia*, ²⁸ and *Comentários*, ²⁹ because of their scope and sources, will be the most cited narratives. The corpus published under the name *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* [CAA] will also be frequently considered.

Structure

This thesis is divided into two chapters. Chapter I sets the historical background, serving as the outline of the political and social circumstances of the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean from Vasco da Gama's arrival in 1498 to Afonso de Albuquerque's death in late 1515. The chapter begins with a survey on the entrenched idea of a Manueline Imperial project and follows with an account of the most significant topics of the *long decade* (1498-1509) from the Portuguese viewpoint. It also introduces a brief chronological map of Albuquerque's military and diplomatic deeds in order to situate the events that will be further analysed in the following sections.

Chapter II discusses the development of the modes of material culture consumption in the Indian Ocean during the government of Albuquerque. It is subdivided into three sections of diverse intentions. It starts [II.1] with an inquiry on

²⁵ As Ulinka Rublack has carefully demonstrated, matter was not an incidental character inferior to form in the creation of significance and attractiveness of Renaissance artefacts; see RUBLACK 2013, pp. 41-46

²⁶ Correia 1859 and Correia 1860

²⁷ CASTANHEDA 1552

²⁸ Barros 1974

²⁹ Albuquerque 1973

the Portuguese interest in Asian material culture as an attempt to diagnose in contemporary sources the first reactions of the Portuguese to the new object-scape in which they found themselves. It will also discuss the diverse regimes of value under which the material culture performed in such geopolitical setting.

The second section [II.2] addresses the various modes of consumption in which Albuquerque engaged. It begins with the appropriation of material culture by way of loot and wrecks, which for most sixteenth-century Portuguese was the first form of contact with Asian objects. It will be argued that the processes of selection and the regulations for the partitioning of spoils were of foremost importance to the maturation of Portuguese perceptions of Asian material culture. Subsequently it examines how diplomatic gift exchange evolved from the first time Albuquerque contacted with this foreign convention until the last great embassies he arranged. This section proceeds with an account of the uses of material culture in the years of formation of a viceregal court surrounding the governor as the official representative of the king.

The third section [II.3] sets forth several aspects of the reception in Portugal of the Asian objects sent by the governor. It will be argued that Albuquerque sent Asian artefacts as a memorialistic strategy, as a means to demonstrate the legitimacy of his enterprise, and to obtain a greater investment in Asia from D. Manuel. The section then moves to briefly examine the impact of these artefacts in the European setting, focusing on formal innovation, new techniques, and repercussions on the practices of consumption.

All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

I. THE PORTUGUESE INTEREST IN ASIA

The motivations that were behind the Portuguese interest in reaching the Indian Ocean are a topic that has drawn the attention of various historians since the beginning of the twentieth century. These explanations, of varying sufficiency, not always make a clear distinction between the real aim behind the voyages, their justification in a European (Christian) context, and what was actually accomplished. The most widely accepted theory – and perhaps the strongest conceptual model – that explains the early sixteenth-century Portuguese interest in Asia is based on the idea of a Manueline imperial project (referring to D. Manuel, r. 1495-1521), introduced by Luís Filipe Thomaz.

I.1. The *long decade*, 1498-1509³³

The title for this section borrows the expression used by Sanjay Subrahmanyam to revisit the events and processes of inter-state competition that accompanied the arrival of the first Portuguese fleets in the Indian Ocean. This long decade of eleven years (1498-1509) expired with the start of Afonso de Albuquerque's mandate as governor of Portuguese India and his rapid changing of the official policies at play. The end of the decade was also characterized by several shifts in the government of the sultanates of Bijapur, Gujarat, the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, the Persian Safavid empire, Calicut, and Malacca (among the states which would come to be connected to the Portuguese).

 $^{^{30}}$ For a review see Thomaz 1994, pp. 1-41.

³¹ THOMAZ 1994, p. 3

³² In Thomaz, 1990 and Thomaz, 1994. All mentions to the historiographical formulation of the Manueline imperial project follow these key essays.

³³ This chapter is based on the aforementioned Thomaz 1990 and Thomaz 1994, along with Aubin 1987, pp. 1-96; Aubin 2005, pp. 323-384; Costa 2005, pp. 175-179; Subrahmanyam 2012b; and Subrahmanyam 2007.

³⁴ Subrahmanyam 2007

³⁵ To understand the Portuguese actions in Asia and to comprehend the adjustments that had to be made, more than the motivations, one needs to consider the dynamics of Asian history over these years. For a survey of this topic see Sallmann 2003, pp. 30-35; BOUCHON 1973; BOUCHON 1984; BOUCHON 1987a; BOUCHON 1987b; BOUCHON 1990; BOUCHON 1991; and SUBRAHMANYAM 2012b, pp. 11-31.

In his article *L'idée imperiale manueline*, ³⁶ Thomaz investigated the historiography of the Portuguese overseas expansion and diagnosed its conceptual breaches. ³⁷ Challenging previous assumptions about the origins of the Portuguese interest in Asia, Thomaz formulated the hypothesis of a foundational imperial project imbued with messianic themes. Despite conveying the impression of it being the consequence of the Portuguese Atlantic expansion – itself another recurrent discussion within Portuguese historiography ³⁸ – the Indian Ocean expansion comprehended a much wider political and religious geography that was not fully understood from the start.

D. Manuel's expansionist project was in part inherited from the initiatives of his cousin, brother-in-law, and predecessor king D. João II (r. 1481-1495), who had previously set to centralise the thalassocratic enterprise.³⁹ D. João acted on various fronts by consistently collecting information on the East, striving for the creation of Christianised centres throughout the West-African coast, and intensifying diplomatic activity with the purpose of attaining Portuguese supremacy over the subdued territories.⁴⁰ This, along with the messianic ideology conceived around D. Manuel's ascent to the throne was later of critical importance for the overseas project, to which a messianic character was added.⁴¹

The Manueline enterprise operated within the domain of themes such as that of 'Holy War' (for it was justified by faith and considered to be God's desire), the tradition of the *Reconquista* (for it provided a precedent of cultural eccletism in the pluralist Portuguese society) and 'millenarism' (according to Thomaz this was the most original component of manueline imperialism). ⁴² As a result, the project represented "a sort of great synthesis of all late-medieval crusade projects, myths,

³⁶ Thomaz 1990

³⁷ From António Sérgio's emphasis on the demographic determinism (Thomaz 1994, p. 15) to Damião Peres' focus on the search for wheat supplies (Thomaz 1994, p. 24) and the weight of the commercial interests defended by Magalhães Godinho (Thomaz 1994, p. 35).

³⁸ Although many satisfactory studies have been produced on this issue, such as THOMAZ 1994, pp. 43-147 and COSTA 2001, followed here.

³⁹ THOMAZ 1990, pp. 149-167 and COSTA 2005, pp. 106-114

⁴⁰ Thomaz 1994, pp. 166-167

⁴¹ Costa 2005, pp. 24-28

⁴² Thomaz 1990, pp. 68-98

aspirations and utopias (...) [while] its originality resided not in its constituent parts but in their gathering in a vast and coherent whole."⁴³

Indeed, as it seems, the ultimate goals of the project were the asphixyation of Mamluk Egypt, 44 after meeting with the mythical Prester John and accomplishing the Red Sea crusade, 45 the Christian reconquest of Jerusalem 46 and the return to the Moroccan crusade project. 47

According to the much-repeated account of the first voyage to India⁴⁸ (1497-1499), the hybrid character and goal of the expedition is clear: it was both commercial and messianic.⁴⁹ Furthermore, from the title adopted by D. Manuel after the return of the expedition⁵⁰ – *Rei de Portugal e dos Algarves d'aquém e d'além mar em África, senhor da Guiné e da Conquista, da Navegação e Comércio de Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e da Índia*⁵¹ – Thomaz interpreted the ideology of D. Manuel as the universal king of king's, more interested in suzerainty than sovereignty.⁵²

The 1498 meeting of Vasco da Gama with the Zamorin⁵³ of Calicut – in which the captain-general was received by an Asian sovereign much richer than it was thought possible – prompted the understanding that an all-encompassing diplomatic protocol in Asia would not be viable.⁵⁴ Later, after the return of Pedro Álvares de Cabral to Lisbon (1501) a significant part of the members of the council of the king adhered to the opinion that the Asian project should be abandoned. Thomaz argues that it was the messianic spirit what motivated D. Manuel to keep with the Indian

⁴³ THOMAZ 1990, p. 98

⁴⁴ Thomaz 1990, pp. 53-55

⁴⁵ THOMAZ 1990, pp. 55-61

⁴⁶ Thomaz 1990, pp. 61-65

⁴⁷ THOMAZ 1990, pp. 65-68

⁴⁸ Only known from the so-called *Relação de Álvaro Velho* published as *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama*, VELHO 1969

⁴⁹ "Vimos buscar cristãos e especiaria" in Velho 1969 [1499], p. 40

⁵⁰ Used for the first time in a letter dated from 25 August 1499 addressed to the *Reis Católicos* retelling the events: THOMAZ 1990, p. 27 and COSTA 2005, p. 108

⁵¹ Adding the "Lord of Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India" to the previous formulation; on the evolution of the titles used by the Portuguese sovereign during the sixteenth century see Saldanha 1990.

⁵² Thomaz, 1990, p. 75

⁵³ The Zamorin or Samudri raja, named *Samorim* in Portuguese sources, was the ruler of Calicut. SUBRAHMANYAM 2012b, p. 19

⁵⁴ Thomaz 1990, p. 51

enterprise, with the support of the Genoese and Florentine merchants established in Lisbon who were more than willing to surpass the Venetian monopoly via the Red Sea.⁵⁵

To consider this *long decade* to have been uniform in its political ventures is, however, simplistic. In each year between 1497 and 1504 a fleet set off from Lisbon to the Indian Ocean under the command of a captain-general personally advised by the king and his council. This annual strategy issued from Lisbon soon was understood as inadequate; the extremely slow pace of communications between Portugal and India and the quick progression of the knowledge in the field often demanded decisions to be made for which there was no predefined policy. ⁵⁶

When D. Francisco de Almeida⁵⁷ first held the title of viceroy of Portuguese India in 1505 the program behind his actions was delineated in the *Regimento* consigned by the king.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the new rotating administrative system of a governor - or viceroy⁵⁹ - in three-year-long mandates set in motion a much more autonomous local decision process. Evidently, this did not invalidate the fact that the first years of Portuguese presence in Asia were of continuous apprenticeship.⁶⁰ The knowledge gathered by a captain-general (*capitão-mor*), governor, or viceroy would in part be transferred to the Portuguese council through his letters but most of the practical information was transmitted in the field to the next man holding the position. Otherwise, the trial and error system experimented before would have to be replicated. That is why years later Albuquerque would insist on the idea that he *knew* India, unlike the king and his counsellors in the Lisbon court.

The year 1505 marks the onset of the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean as an autonomous political entity with the creation of a captaincy general of

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⁵⁵ THOMAZ 1994, pp. 169-187

⁵⁶ Aubin 2005, p. 324 illustrates this hindrance with an example: the instructions Vasco da Gama put into action in India in the Autumn 1502 had been informed by Cabral's late 1500 experiences but did not benefit from the knowledge of the 1501 activities of João da Nova.

⁵⁷ For his biography see SILVA 2002.

⁵⁸ Published in CAA, II, pp. 272-334.

⁵⁹ The different titles refer to the same office; see Cunha & Monteiro 1995, pp. 91-102.

⁶⁰ AUBIN 1987

India.⁶¹ The captain-general of India (whether a viceroy or a governor) had to focus on five areas of administrative responsibility: military and naval affairs, diplomacy, trade, and personnel management.⁶²

The policies developed during Almeida's government (1505-1509) abided to the above-mentioned *Regimento*. The priorities included, on the one hand, the loading of ships with spices and other mercantile goods; on the other, it comprised territorial concerns such as the erection of a fortress near the opening of the Red Sea and the expansion of the Portuguese positions along the coast of the Indian Ocean⁶³ to be used as resting points to support defense and trade. In only a few years Almeida built a fortress on the island of Angediva (1505), in Cananor (1505), and inKollam (Coulão, 1505). He also rebuilt in stone the wooden fortress of Cochin (which up to the 1510 occupation of Goa was the defensive, mercantile, and administrative centre of the Portuguese in Asia)⁶⁴, and sent squadrons to intercept the commerce between Hormuz and Dabul. In 1506 his son, D. Lourenço de Almeida, on his way to the Maldives, docked in Ceylon and set a *padrão* in Koţţe. D. Francisco also sent fleets to 'discover' Malacca, Pegu, and the bay of Bengal.

Since the seminal writings of Luís Filipe Thomaz, historiography has accepted the recurring duality between two factions in the king's council of diverging general purposes. The 'militarist' party, vowing for the imperial dominance and active suzerainty, and the 'commercialists', with an interest in the low cost and security provided by commercial activities. ⁶⁷ The existence of a disunity of intentions is manifest in the many documents that survive but this conceptually useful duality should not become an oversimplification. ⁶⁸

⁶¹ Aubin 2005, p. 325-331; Thomaz 1994, p. 207. Although the term *Estado da Índia* only became widespread in the second half of the sixteenth century, the entity it came to refer to already had a normative framework since 1505.

⁶² DISNEY 2009, p. 161

⁶³ CAA, II, p. 291-311

⁶⁴ The first Portuguese fortress in Asia was built in wood, in Cochin, in 1503 by Afonso and Francisco de Albuquerque; it was named by Afonso *Castelo Manuel*, using the name of the Portuguese king, although Francisco de Albuquerque would have preferred the (quite immodest) name *Castelo Albuquerque*. On early sixteenth-century Portuguese fortification in India see CID 2012 and TEIXEIRA 2008; on Portuguese wood fortification see SILVA 1994.

⁶⁷ THOMAZ, 1994, p. 189

⁶⁸ As has been alerted by Subrahmanyam 2012b, pp. 48-55.

If inside the European context the geographic expansion was justified in religious terms, the dynamic reality the navigators faced in Asia – with its diverse spiritual, social and human realities – demanded a much wider approach. The navigators came across structured commercial networks stretching from the East-African coast to Japan. In contrast with the South Atlantic that to a great extent had never been sailed before, the Indian Ocean had exploited routes, ports, and monsoons which rapidly absorbed the Portuguese. ⁶⁹ To add to this, they did not find any significant naval opponent, either in sailing or artillery skills.

There are many unclear episodes of Albuquerque's life before his journeys to Asia, despite having been the second governor of Portuguese India from 1509 (although effective only after January 1510) until his death in December 1515 and one of the most studied protagonists of the Portuguese overseas expansion. Many interpretations have been produced concerning his upbringing and his relations to the royal family and other patrons. It is known that he was friends with two of the men recognised as the orchestrators of the crusadistic elements of the imperial plan: Duarte Galvão and D. Martinho de Castelo Branco. It is also known that these two men were close to D. Manuel, acting one as his clerk (Galvão) and the other, among many things, as his testamentary (D. Martinho). Queen D. Maria (r. 1501-1517) seems to also have been an influential personality in overseas decisions, often acting on behalf of Albuquerque.

In April 1503 Afonso de Albuquerque left Lisbon to Asia for the first time. He shared the command of a fleet with his cousin, Francisco de Albuquerque. But unlike Francisco, who disappeared in the return journey, Afonso made it safely back to Lisbon in September 1504 bearing the reputation of the builder of the first Portuguese fortress in Asia, the *Castelo Manuel* in Cochin.⁷²

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⁶⁹ Curvelo 2009, p. 24

⁷⁰ Afonso de Albuquerque has been the object of several biographical studies, such as Albuquerque 1973 [1774]; Baião 1913; Prestage 1929; Sanceau 1938 [1936]; Brochado 1943; Bouchon 2000 [1992]. A fresh study is expected to be published this year (2016) by Alexandra Pelúcia.

⁷¹ BAIÃO 1915; VITERBO 1903; BOUCHON 2000, pp. 17-41

⁷² The previously mentioned *Castelo Manuel* in Cochin.

In April 1506 Albuquerque departed for the second (and last) time from Lisbon, again sharing the authority with another captain, Tristão da Cunha, named captain-general (capitão-mor). 73 A total of fourteen ships sailed under their command with a crew of c. 1300 men drafted from the city's prision. Albuquerque controlled directly five of those ships from the flagship Cirne. 74

Although apparently being under the authority of the captain-general, Albuquerque had a more far-reaching endeavour. In secrecy, he had been given a letter-patent by D. Manuel containing indications for his appointment as governor after D. Francisco de Almeida's mandate expired in late 1508.

The journey was marked by a series of disturbances and misunderstandings between Albuquerque and Cunha. They laid over in Brazil, twice in Guiné, discovered the island they named Tristão da Cunha, and explored the coast of Madagascar. After a great readjustment of the fleet in Mozambique, they proceeded to loot major cities in the East-African coast, such as Oja and Brava. Although looting in Africa was forbidden according to the Regimento provided by D. Manuel – his intention was to secure these cities as friendly stopovers for ships sailing between Europe and Asia – the crews pressured the captains to increase their gains.⁷⁵

One year after leaving Lisbon, in April 1507, the fleet reached the Island of Socotra, the destination of their mission. ⁷⁶ Socotra was at that point considered by the Portuguese to be a crucial point for the blockage of the Red Sea and Egypt. The long stay on the island motivated a series of disagreements between Albuquerque and Cunha, and in August they left and took separate paths. 77

⁷³ Meaning he was also Albuquerque's superior. See Воисном 2000, p. 98; Tristão da Cunha had been chosen in 1504 as the first governor of India but a sudden illness prevented him from leaving Portugal and he was replaced by D. Francisco de Almeida. In 1506 he had already recovered. On the option for Almeida see SILVA 2002 and AUBIN 2005, p. 329; for his biography see ANDRADE 1974.

⁷⁴ Bouchon 2000, pp. 98-100

⁷⁵ Looting will be explored in Chapter II.2.1.

⁷⁶ On Socotra see BIEDERMANN 2000.

⁷⁷ Despite unexpectedly finding there a fortress controlled by the Fartaki Sheik – whom they defeated after a brief siege - the rebuilding of the fortress, for which they had brought a wooden structure [castelo de madeira] from Portugal, took them more than three months. BIEDERMANN 2000, pp. 293-294; on these wooden structures see SILVA 1994.

Subsequently Albuquerque entered the Gulf of Oman sailing up to the Strait of Hormuz, having in mind the further subjugation of the Persian Gulf. Before reaching Hormuz – the capital city of the homonymous kingdom – Albuquerque managed to subdue the western cities of the Gulf of Oman, either by physical assault or through diplomatic measures. Between September and December 1507 he subjected Hormuz to the Portuguese authority and later as a consequence interacted – via a local messenger – for the first time with a Persian ambassador.

From this brief overview, how can we summarize the Portuguese interest in Asia during the *long decade*? Ultimately, the relations with India provided the Portuguese king with precious religious capital as the defender of the Christian faith, and a progressively more conspicuous commercial profit. Moreover, Asia rendered D. Manuel's international recognition as the king of king's, even if he never admitted the title of emperor. His political alliances bestowed upon him a great influence in several parts of the world. However, to be effective, all this required the construction of visible signs through his deliberate association to both symbolic and tangible policies, which would clearly indicate connection, superiority or subordination to observant viewers.

I.2. Reorientations, 1509-1515

Major political and social changes took place in the coasts of the Indian Ocean after Afonso de Albuquerque became governor of Portuguese Asia in December 1509. ⁷⁸ Three interconnected, medium and long haul routes of transcontinental commerce were in use during the early sixteenth century in the Indian Ocean. ⁷⁹ The first of these had India at its centre, and included the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the areas between the West African and East Indian coasts. The second also included India, joined by Java, Sumatra, Burma, Thailand and the old

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⁷⁸ Not without the disagreement of several of the Portuguese captains who favored D. Francisco de Almeida, who had Albuquerque imprisoned in Cochin; on these captains see GUERREIRO & RODRIGUES 1992

 $^{^{79}}$ Here is followed Curvelo 2009, pp. 19-20 and Oliveira 2003, p. 39.

Mekong kingdoms. The third was centred in Southeast Asia, China and Japan. All of these were directly convulsed by Albuquerque's actions.

It is broadly agreed that Albuquerque's government corresponded with the activation of the imperial military plan. In fact, as early as 1510 the governor engaged with Deccan's inland kingdoms via diplomats and clergymen, to set forth the foundations for strategic *friendship*. This was accomplished via a concerted military and diplomatic action, embracing foreign nations as diverse as the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara the Safavid Persian empire, the small kingdoms of the Malabar coast, and the Southeast-Asian sultanates.

In January 1510 Albuquerque prepared his first official diplomatic envoy, headed for Vijayanagara. He aimed to forge an alliance with the Hindu empire to avenge the death of D. Fernando Coutinho and other Portuguese noblemen, who had died during a failed attack to Calicut. Albuquerque understood that having a common enemy was enough reason to conceive an alliance. The chosen ambassador was friar Luís do Salvador who had previously visited Vijayanagara, in 1500 (arrived there in 1504), with a similar mission. This first diplomatic episode will open the following chapter on diplomatic gift exchange.

During the 'long decade' the diffuse Asian geopolitical stage was not yet entirely comprehended by the Portuguese. There is a considerable debate on the motivations and aptness revealed by Albuquerque to pursuit the rapid reorientations of the Indian policies when necessary. Nevertheless, the role of local mediators and

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⁸⁰ On friendship [amizade] as the foundation of Portuguese diplomacy see Halikowski-Smith 2006, in particular p. 109. For studies on the sixteenth-century Portuguese diplomatic activity in Asia see Biedermann 2005; Costa 1895; Halikowski-Smith 2006; Macedo 2006 [1978]; Maciel 2013; Martinez 1986; Martins 2014; Pissurlencar 1952; Pissurlencar 1941; Subrahmanyam 2012a; and Xavier 2014.

⁸¹ The *Reino de Narsinga* or *Bisnaga* in Portuguese sources. On Portuguese diplomatic contacts with Vijayanagara see ALVES 1993 and SEWELL 1900.

⁸² On Portuguese diplomatic contacts with Persia see Couto 2010; Couto 2011; Cunha 2009; Farinha 1991; Flores & Matthee 2011; and Gulbenkian 1986.

⁸³ On Portuguese diplomatic contacts with the Indian Hindu kingdoms see AUBIN 1987; JAFFER 2004; MATOS 1994; and SMITH 1969.

⁸⁴ On Portuguese diplomatic contacts with Southeast Asia see ALVES 1999; BORSCHBERG 2008; DALRYMPLE 2004; FRANÇA 2004; HEVIA 2004; OLIVEIRA 2003; PINTO 2013; and SMITH 1968.

⁸⁵ Alves 1993, p. 15; Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 88

other more accustomed intermediaries was crucial for the encounters between different worlds.⁸⁶

Indeed, the 1510 capture of Goa – the first Asian city where the Portuguese exercised full sovereignty⁸⁷ – , accomplished without instructions sent from Portugal, seems to have been motivated by local intermediaries. In February of the same year Albuquerque left Cochin to the Red Sea with 23 ships under his command. In the island of Angediva, off the coast of Goa, the fleet met Timayya⁸⁸, who convinced the governor that there were *rumes*⁸⁹ in Goa and that it would be easy to takeover this Bijapuri territory. After a brief strife the Portuguese seized the city.

During that first occupation of Goa in the early months of 1510 two ambassadors - one from the Persian Shah Ismail and another from the King of Hormuz - came to the city with messages and gifts for the *sabaio*⁹⁰. When they found him dead, the Persian envoy requested an audience with Albuquerque instead. Days later, as the ambassador announced his return to Persia, Albuquerque prepared an envoy to accompany him. ⁹¹ He chose Rui Gomes de Carvalhosa, a *degredado*⁹², who was to be accompanied by an interpreter and a servant. He carried a letter and a message to Shah Ismail, Khâja Atâ⁹³ and to the King of Hormuz. As had happened before with the envoy to Vijayanagara, Albuquerque gave Gomes a *Regimento* on what should be done and said (and avoided) by him and his men. ⁹⁴ Rui Gomes was ordered to suggest the prospect of a concerted action of Portugal, Shi'i Persia and

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⁸⁶ SCAMMELL 1980; COUTO 2005; HALIKOWSKI-SMITH 2006; PISSURLENCAR 1952

⁸⁷ Santos 1999b, p. 121

⁸⁸ Spelled *Timoja* in Portuguese sources, Timayya was the corsair who would convince Albuquerque to seize Goa in 1510. See Воисном 1994

⁸⁹ The ambiguous term used by the Portuguese for Ottoman Turks and other Muslims of uncertain provenance, as explained in ÖZBARAN 2001.
⁹⁰ The term used by the Portuguese for Yusuf Adil Shah, the sultan of Bijapur, and later to his

The term used by the Portuguese for Yusuf Adil Shah, the sultan of Bijapur, and later to his successors; other common designations in Portuguese sources include *Hidalcão* and *Idalxá*.

⁹¹ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, II, p. 135-ss

 $^{^{92}}$ On the impact of this punishment on the Portuguese overseas expansion see CRUZ 1998, pp. 175-179

⁹³ Spelled *Cogeatar* in Portuguese sources; see AUBIN 2005, p. 353, n. 174.

⁹⁴ The *Regimento* is reproduced in CAA, II, p. 79-83. An account of the event can be read in ALBUQUERQUE 1973, II, chap. XXIII; see also COUTO 2009 and JESUS 2010.

Christian Ethiopia (the yet to be located land of the mythical 'Prester John') against the Sunni Arabs of Mamluk Egypt and the Ottoman Turks. 95

Rui Gomes de Carvalhosa was poisoned in Hormuz and the embassy never reached its destination — the small retinue meant there was no one qualified to replace him. It is easily recognised that, although much happened unforeseeably, Albuquerque's prompt adaptation to the new conditions was vital to a positive outcome, in view of the plan's long-term goal. If Albuquerque's 1508 approach to the Persian ambassador in Hormuz must not have been favourable to the Portuguese good recognition, the 1510 actions began with the refreshing of contacts. As we have seen, Persia was from then on thought to be one of the fundamental allies for an attack to the common enemy, Egypt, via the East.

After being defeated by exhaustion in the Mandovi at the hands of Adil Shah of Bijapur during the summer of 1510, Albuquerque laid over in Cannanore with the recently arrived fleet from Portugal. There he was met by Duarte de Lemos, appointed Captain-general of the Arabian Sea by D. Manuel, and Francisco Pantoja with the *nau Meri* - the great merchant vessel of the king of Cambay⁹⁶ captured by Pantoja near Socotra. This episode will be examined both in chapters II.2.1 and II.2.2, in light of the diplomatic activities it instigated.

The year 1510 was the first significant diplomatic hub for Albuquerque. He successfully wrested the port of Goa from Bijapur in November and again received a great number of foreign embassies in the city he had foreseen as the 'key' to India. ⁹⁷ Although the Portuguese were the foreign power intruding in the Indian Ocean, they did not take diplomatic initiative. The great diplomatic missions dispatched by Albuquerque were, in fact, answers to Asian emissaries he received.

While Vijayanagara ambassadors were in Goa, the Portuguese captain Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcelos attempted to flee the port without the consent of

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⁹⁵ DISNEY 2009, p. 133: In sum, "Albuquerque projected severing the spice route from India to Egypt, opening a canal at Suez, clearing the way to Jerusalem for Christians and capturing and burning Mecca."

⁹⁶ That is, the sultan of Gujarat, Mahmud Begarha. He is mentioned in Portuguese texts as the king of the city of Cambay; see SMITH 1969.

⁹⁷ Chave de toda a Índia, as analysed in SANTOS 1999a, from CAA, I, p. 28.

the governor. Although his ships had departed from Lisbon with a fully commercial purpose, he had been restricted by Albuquerque to remain under his supervision, claiming he needed his support to regain Goa. But pressured by his merchant patrons Vasconcelos set sail to Malacca in December 1510. He never reached the Ocean, since Albuquerque promptly understood his intentions and blocked the river mouth. This event motivated a series of severe punishments to Vasconcelos, his captains, and his Italian patrons, which were either killed or deported back to Europe. 98

This incident may have been related to Albuquerque's rerouting of the early 1511 expedition intended to the Red Sea but shifted to Malacca. The reasons he presented for the diversion of the course were related to the vengeance of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira's 1509 attack and the rescue of the nineteen Portuguese men held captive by the sultan, but it was surely also important for Albuquerque to secure for himself the leading role in the seizing of the South Asian sultanate. ⁹⁹ Some historians argue that the capture of Malacca signals a shift in Albuquerque's policies, giving in to commercial interests and relaxing the Imperial messianic project. ¹⁰⁰

As we will see, the voyage to Southeast Asia offered many opportunities for an update on Albuquerque's worldview and an access to an until then unknown object-scape. It was during the arrangements for the 1511 attack to Malacca that the Portuguese performed their first contact with Chinese merchants. ¹⁰¹ There were five junks among the foreign ships in the port of Malacca whose captains and crews had been detained by the sultan. The merchants, anticipating the Portuguese offensive, approached Albuquerque with offers of assistance in order to obtain security for themselves. Albuquerque did not accept any assistance from them except the *barcas* (boats) of their junks to be used for disembarking the Portuguese men. When the merchants asked for his permission to go away to China, Albuquerque asked them to stay for a few more days to see for themselves the outcome of the attack to Malacca. His purpose was that they could carry the news to their sovereign (their

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⁹⁸ Described in detail by Giovanni da Empoli, as published in NOONAN 1989, pp. 149-178.

⁹⁹ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 67

¹⁰⁰ Bouchon 2000, p. 244-246

¹⁰¹ A recent synthesis on the capture of Malacca is Costa & Rodrigues, 2008b.

'king') of all the events for which he sent them a galley from where they could witness the destruction of the city from the sea. 102

Eventually the Chinese merchants obtained permission to leave the port during the monsoon season. Albuquerque allowed them to purchase pepper from a Malaccan muslim, provisioned them, and offered "some things he had from Portugal", pleading in exchange that they made a digression through Siam (the Ayutthaya Kingdom) to guide a Portuguese envoy to the king. The encounters with the Malaysian sultanates and the loot from the city of Malacca provided Albuquerque with an extraordinary amount of material wealth.

Albuquerque's fleet back to India embarked in Malacca in late 1511. ¹⁰⁴ According to the accounts, the governor's flagship was *Flor de la Mar*, and the other captains were Pero d'Alpoim, auditor of India, in the ship *Trindade*, Jorge Nunes de Leão in the *Enxobregas*, and Simão Martins in a large junk laden with merchandise "which had been taken in the sacking of the city". ¹⁰⁵ In the junk travelled thirteen Portuguese men, fifty men from Cochin to protect the goods, and sixty Javanese carpenters from the dockyard with their wives and childrendestined to serve the Portuguese king at Cochin in repairing ships. The losses in the *Flor de la mar* wreck and the disappearance of the junk will be examined further in the following chapters.

¹⁰² Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 108-111

¹⁰³ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 128-129: "...os Capitães Chins foram a elle, e pedíram-lhe licença pera se irem, por quanto o tempo da sua moção era chegado (...) e elle por lhes fazer mercê lha deo, e mandou dar a todos os mantimentos, de que tivessem necessidade pera sua viagem, e fez-lhes mercê de algumas cousas, que ainda tinha de Portugal, e pedio-lhes (pois se queriam ir) que fizessem o caminho por Sião, porque queria mandar em sua companhia hum messageiro com cartas pera o Rey" ¹⁰⁴ CORREIA 1860 p. 268

¹⁰⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 189-190: "[Afonso de Albuquerque] foi-se embarcar na náo Flor de la mar, e Pero Dalpoem Ouvidor da India em a náo Trindade, e Jorge Nunez de Lião em a náo Enxobregas, e Simão Martinz em hum Junco grande, o qual hia carregado de muitas mercadorias, que se tomáram no despojo da Cidade, e levava Simão Martinz em o Junco treze Portugueses, e cincoenta Malabares de Cochim pera guarda delle, e sessenta Jaos carpinteiros da ribeira, muito bons officiaes, que Affonso Dalboquerque levava com suas mulheres, e filhos pera servirem ElRey de Portugal em Cochim no concerto das náos, por haver muita falta delles na India."

In February 1512, upon his arrival in Cochin Albuquerque was surrounded by a cheering mob that carried him to the church under a brocaded canopy. His return to the Malabar coast was marked by a resurfacing of confidence among the Portuguese and their Indian allies in the faculties of the governor.

In September 1512 Albuquerque departed from Cochin to Goa to support the Portuguese troops fighting again the Bijapuri. A series of battles in Banastarim ensued and only after several days of confrontation to expel the *rumes* could the Portuguese again welcome Albuquerque in the city that would later become the capital of the Portuguese state of India.

After Goa was secured Albuquerque occupied himself with the of the foreign ambassadors who had arrived in the meantime bearing precious gifts. The first to be received was a messenger from the Adil Shah of Bijapur, asking for friendship and the opening of the port of Dabul where many of his ships had been blocked. Albuquerque accepted some of the Bijapuri proposals, and assigned a retinue to travel back with the ambassador and negociate a peace treaty. This retinue was composed of Diogo Fernandes, *adail* of Goa, one scrivener and one interpreter, six horses and a native captain with twenty peons to attend them on the way. ¹¹⁰

Subsequently, Albuquerque received the ambassador from the sultan of Gujarat fearing he would discover the Portuguese plan to enter the straits of the Red Sea before Albuquerque could set sail to Aden. A second Gujarati ambassador arrived soon after, asking for peace, with whom Tristão Déga was sent as an

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¹⁰⁶ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 224: "...e o dia que chegou desembarcou logo, e da ribeira, donde o Capitão estava com toda a gente, o leváram debaixo de um paleo de brocado á Igreja, estando-o esperando á porta o Vigairo della com as reliquias; e depois de fazer oração, e dar muitas graças a Nosso Senhor polo livrar dos perigos, que tinha passados, se foi á fortaleza, acompanhado de todos, e fazendo-lhes muito gazalhado, os despedio á porta, ficando só com o Capitão e Officiaes delRey"
¹⁰⁷ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 228

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 265-266: "...porque havia dias que em Goa andavam alguns Embaixadores dos Reys da India, entendeo logo Afonso Dalboquerque em seus despachos, e mandou ao Secretario que lhe trouxesse todos os papeis, e cartas do Hidalcão; e depois de os ver, mandou chamar o seu Embaixador, e disse-lhe que se o Hidalcão queria ter paz, e amizade com ElRey de Portugal seu Senhor, que elle era disso muito contente; mas que os apontamentos que trazia não eram conformes ao que lhe o Hidalcão tinha por muitas vezes escrito, e que pera se declarar este negocio com elle, determinava de mandar hum Embaixador em sua companhia. (...) despachado este Embaixador, mando Afonso Dalboquerque em sua companhia, pera assentar paz, Diogo Fernandez Adail de Goa, e o filho de Gil Vicente por seu Escrivão, e João Navarro por lingua, e seis cavalgaduras, e hum Capitão da terra com vinte peões pera os servirem polo caminho"

ambassador together with João Gomes as his scrivener and a "present of things from Portugal and India." Albuquerque had specific instructions from D. Manuel to make peace with Gujarat and desired to get permission from the sultan to build a fortress in Diu. Albuquerque also received an envoy from Malik Ayâz. This late 1512 season crammed with diplomatic encounters reveals the first explicit moment of foreign recognition of the Portuguese potency in Asia and the first steps toward the development of a new gift-giving policy, specific to the geography in which Albuquerque was acting.

Around the same time Albuquerque received news that an ambassador from "Prester John, king of Abyssinia" (*Prestes João Rey dos Abexins*) was retained in Dabul. Albuquerque was very pleased with this news, as he had received orders from D. Manuel to gather information on Prester John¹¹³, his country, and the Portuguese men sent there by land by D. João II. The ambassador was promptly sent from Dabul to Goa where Albuquerque orchestrated a state parade to receive him in September and subsequently dispatched him to Lisbon. The same state parade to receive him in September and subsequently dispatched him to Lisbon.

In February 1513 Albuquerque finally set sail to the Red Sea where he aimed to conquer Aden. The control of the Red Sea was a fundamental stage for the completion of the imperial plan; it was also the first and most significant of Albuquerque's failures. His opponents often invoke the collapse of the stairs used by the Portuguese to reach the top of the city wall as a metaphor for Albuquerque's logistic incapacities. Despite the flop, the governor turned the incursion into a prospecting trip and gathered new information on the geography of the Red Sea, which he subsequently sent to Portugal.

Every Portuguese chronicler records an event that took place in July, when all

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¹¹¹ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 267-268: "E depois de ter visto os apontamentos, e condições, com que ElRey D. Manuel mandava que se fizesse a paz, determinou de mandar em sua companhia Tristão Déga por Embaixador ao Rey, e João Gomez por seu Escrivão, com hum presente de cousas de Portugal, e da India; e a Instrução que levava era pedir-lhe fortaleza em Diu"

¹¹² Named *Miliquiaz* in Portuguese sources; he was the ruler of Diu; see Aubin 1971a.

On the myth and the figure of the 'Prester John' as the Ethiopian ruler see VILHENA 2001 and AUBIN 1976.

 $^{^{114}}$ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 273

¹¹⁵ See Aubin 1976

¹¹⁶ See JESUS 2013

the members of the fleet experienced a collective apparition in the sky. A cross made of light, placed above the coast of Ethiopia, was later explored by Albuquerque as the divine validation of the Portuguese enterprise. ¹¹⁷ In that same year the directions and the support received from D. Manuel had been scarce, and the urgent need to define a sustainable policy for the Portuguese presence in India was obvious. During his campaign in the Red Sea, Albuquerque updated his conception of the world, already expanded by the Southeast-Asian exploration: from then on, defining a policy compatible with extensive areas was imperative. His grasping of the 'value of India' is patent, for instance, when he writes to Portugal contending that the distribution of Asian products in Asia itself would be more advantageous than their shipping to Lisbon. ¹¹⁸ To achieve this he needed to show the wealth of India in metropolitan Portugal and multiply the pacified positions under Portuguese rule in the Indian coast.

When Albuquerque returned from the Red Sea in August 1513 he was informed of three diplomatic missions dispatched by Persia to the king of Hormuz and the sultans of Gujarat and Bijapur. This seems to have marked the moment when, being informed in detail of the content of the gifts they carried with them, something changed in his gift-giving policies, as will be examined in the following chapter.¹¹⁹ The second half of 1513 set off a moment of intense acceleration and complexification of the relations with foreign sovereigns in India.

In contrast, 1514 was one of the calmest years of Albuquerque's administration. The governor remained in Goa for the greater part of the year. It is from this period that we have more information on the living structures in the city, mostly recorded by Gaspar Correia. In that same year the governor sent Pero de Albuquerque to Hormuz with instructions to collect the tribute (páreas) from the king as he considered Portuguese suzerainty to be in place since his 1508 incursion. A misunderstanding had occurred concerning the tribute the Portuguese wanted to

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¹¹⁷ Thomaz 1990; Bouchon 2000, p. 268

¹¹⁸ CAA, I, p. 404; Bouchon pp. 277-282

Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 71: "...partio-se pera Goa, onde foi muito bem recebido de todos, e ali achou hum presente, que lhe mandára hum Embaixador do Xeque Ismael, por hum criado seu, o qual se partíra de Goa com determinação de o tornar a ver, como fosse vindo do mar Roxo, antes de sua partida pera a Persia"

collect from Hormuz. They understood the payment as the acceptance of a vassalage connection of the king of Hormuz as a subordinate of D. Manuel. However, the Muslims understood the payment as the duty for a free-transit pass, without any political attribute. 120

In March 1515 Albuquerque sailed to Hormuz to join his cousin, Pero. There he finally met Miguel Ferreira, the Portuguese ambassador he had sent two years previously to Persia. He organized a reception to the Persian envoy who had accompanied him and dispatched another Portuguese man, Fernão Gomes de Lemos, to serve as ambassador to Shah Ismail.

Albuquerque subdued the city to the Portuguese authority in April after murdering Rais Hâmed (*Rexamed*), the regent of the kingdom. By the end of the year, after suffering for long moments of pain, he ordered his fleet back to Goa. He died in his ship in front of the city in 16 December 1515. He was buried in the church of *Nossa Senhora da Serra*, in Goa, but his remains were transferred by his son in 1555 to the family's mausoleum in Nossa *Senhora da Graça*, in Lisbon.

Contrary to what a superficial reading of Portuguese sixteenth-century chronicles could hint, the Portuguese expansionist project did not develop in a linear progression. Historiography has attempted to justify the pretence shifts in the project with the continuous update of the geographic dimensions of Asia, but this is easily understood as an oversimplification. There never was a continuous religious, economic and political project for the domination of the Indian Ocean. If the large contextual imperial ideas explain a fraction of the totality, it nonetheless leaves out the individual subjectivity of all the protagonists in the geography of action.

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 $^{^{120}}$ Aubin 1973c; Couto & Loureiro 2007; the Portuguese understood the payment as implying the assumption of a vassalage bond, while in Hormuz the payment of *páreas* was meant as a free trade tax without any political implication.

¹²¹ The several projects are further elaborated in Thomaz 1994, pp. 190-193

II. THE CONSUMPTION OF MATERIAL CULTURE

II.1. The Portuguese interest in Asian material culture

A recent study on sixteenth-century consumption of *Asiatica* argues that the Portuguese "did not collect exotic Asian objects (...) instead, they used them casually in everyday life inside their homes and wore them on the streets". This was only possible due to a particular taste developed in the early decades of the Portuguese overseas expansion and due to the availability of those objects in Lisbon. In fact, since the late fifteenth-century African ivories from the Gulf of Guinea had been arriving in Lisbon after they were purchased by commercial middlemen and visiting Portuguese merchants in the West African coast. 123

The chief element that defined luxury items for Europeans was the matter – the substance – and the high quality of the manufacture produced from the best materials. While European manufactures were the favoured collectible item for rich European potentates, the Asian cheaper products – often made from the highest quality materials – were favoured by middle-class Portuguese. However, this moment of an established taste and availability was preceded by a fragment of time when the taste was acquired.

The earlier moments of reported Portuguese interest for Asian material culture can be inferred in a small number of mentions produced under various circumstances. ¹²⁵ The common aspect of early sixteenth-century Portuguese descriptions of the riches of Asia is on the continuous emphasis on the value and great amount of precious materials it contained. ¹²⁶

¹²² CRESPO 2015, p. 121

¹²³ On these Luso-African ivories see Mark 2007

 $^{^{124}}$ Rublack 2013 and the introduction to this dissertation.

¹²⁵ Not concerning the medieval *Schatzkammern* objects, which included 'rarities' arrived in Europe via trade routes connecting South and East Asia to Cairo and Alexandria, by means of the Red Sea or the Silk Route. These included European jewels, rich Indian textiles, Chinese porcelain, ivories, rock crystal articles and rare objects such as 'unicorn horns' (narwhal tooth), coral branches, bezoar stones, coconut and Nautilus shells, among other things. For a synthesis see JORDAN-GSCHWEND 2004.

¹²⁶ Garcia de Resende in his description of India in his *Miscelânea*, written during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, recalls the precious gems, such as rubies, diamonds, emeralds, pearls, spinels, amethysts, turquoises, chrysolites, saphires, chrysoberyls (cat's eyes), in RESENDE 1973, p. 64: "Tem

It is widely proclaimed that the Portuguese interest for Asian material culture began with the systematic import of articles to Portugal and was determined by commercial and practical reasons. ¹²⁷ But before import could be possible, the act of choosing in Asia what to buy or commission (and bring back to Europe or not) was itself the first manifestation of interest. It was within the Asian stage that the Portuguese power of choosing had the favourable circumstances to materialise for the first time. This selection process surely had an influence on what would later be requested, for what Europe thought of Asian objects was conditioned by these primary choices.

When meeting unfamiliar political and social entities, Portuguese navigators attempted to come to terms with them conceptually as well as physically. ¹²⁸ Interest, as a state of curiosity, was thereby created by two findings: the discovery of new forms of materiality, and the discovery of the potential of old and well-known articles. As Peter Mason has argued regarding the concept of the exotic, the interest too "is not something that exists prior to its 'discovery'. Rather (...) it is the very act of 'discovery' that produces the [interest] as such". ¹²⁹ If the discovery of the exotic, as mentioned by Mason, means a purely conceptual action to take place in the long run, the manifestation of an interest is based on a physical and more immediate discernment.

The first conceptual reactions of the navigators to the Indian material environment were attempts to frame what they saw within their (European and Christian) worldview.¹³⁰ What they experienced was justified by their expectations, so that in 1498 Vasco da Gama thought that the Shaivite Temples in Calicut were churches and worshiped to their 'saints'.¹³¹ Prior to their arrival in India there was no

rubis, diamantes taes, que nam tem preço ou contia, / esmeraldas muy reaes, perlas de muy gram valia, / espinellas, e tem mais cabunclos, / ametistas, turquesas, e chisolitas, / çafiras, olhos de gato... / e outras mais que nom sam ditas"

[/] e outras mais que nom sam ditas"

Most authors agree that the first Asian items arrived in Portugal as personal property and house furnishings of the seamen; see: COUTO 1938; COUTO 1958; DIAS 2004, pp. 21-55; SILVA 1989; SILVA 1995; JORDAN 1985; VITERBO 1904

¹²⁸ As summaried and elaborated in Subrahmanyam 2012a.

¹²⁹ MASON 1998 (summary)

¹³⁰ See MITTER 1977

¹³¹ VELHO 1969, pp. 43-44: "We were taken to a big church, were we found what follows: first, the body of the church was of the size of a monastery, all made in stonework with tiles on the roof. Near

Portuguese interest in the unknown material culture, but soon its potential to create an alternative explanatory model of Asia was used in Europe. 132

The interaction with the tangible world seems to have first become manifest in the desire of the Portuguese king to know more about what he could not personally experience. Curiosity was one of the fundamental aspects of D. Manuel's instructions to his overseas governor and captains, as his documents clearly state the demand for paintings and drawings, detailed written reports from several sources, and requests for uncommon objects to be sent. Although none of them survive, Albuquerque often mentions in his letters to D. Manuel the attachment of drawings he ordered to be made, likely compiled as record of the terrain for potential future use. If these drawings and reports had a manifest practical function – to serve as sources for future captains –, the motivation behind the requests for objects is not so evident.

Convenience – a practical concern – as the foundation for an interest in Asian material culture put forward by Portuguese traditional historiography is an insufficient argument to understand early sixteenth-century practices of consumption. This is very clear during Albuquerque's term as governor of Portuguese India as, for instance, he did not want to use Chinese porcelain in his ships because they broke easily. Instead he ordered from Portugal a much more

the main door there was a *padrão* made in metal wire, as high as a mast, on top of which there was a

bird that seemed to be a rooster; there was another padrão, as high as a man, and very thick. On the middle of the church there is a pinnacle, all made in stonework; and there is door as wide as a man, and stone steps, coming up from the metal wire door; inside there was a small image, which they said was of Our Lady Mary. And in front of the main door of the church, along the wall, there were seven small bells. Here the captain-general prayed, and us together with him. (...) And many other saints were painted on the walls of the church, wearing crowns, and the painting was in a different manner, because the teeth were so big they came out of their mouths by an inch, and each saint had four and five arms" ["nos levaram a uma grande igreja, em a qual estavam estas coisas seguidas: primeiramente, o corpo da igreja é da grandura dum mosteiro, toda lavrada de cantaria, telhada de ladrilho. E tinha à porta principal um padrão de arame, da altura de um mastro, e em cima deste padrão está uma ave, que parece galo; e outro padrão, da altura de um homem, e muito grosso. E em o meio do corpo da igreja está um coruchéu, todo de cantaria; e tinha uma porta larga quanto um homem cabia, e uma escada de pedra, porque subiam a esta porta, a qual porta era de arame; e dentro estava uma imagem pequena, a qual eles diziam que era de Nossa Senhora. E diante da porta principal da igreja, ao longo da parede, estavam sete sinos pequenos. Aqui fez o capitão-mor oração, e nós outros com ele. (...) E outros muitos santos estavam pintados pelas paredes da igreja, os quais tinham diademas; e a sua pintura era em diversa maneira, porque os dentes eram tão grandes que saíam da boca uma polegada, e cada santo tinha quatro e cinco braços"]

¹³² See the 1499 letters from D. Manuel to the *Reyes Católicos* and the Pope; publ. in REGO, I, doc. 1, pp. 3-5; doc 2, pp.6-11

expensive silver tableware set, while in the same years Lisbon received great amounts of Chinese porcelain. 133

It is indisputable that the regimes of value under which the Portuguese men perceived Asian material culture differed from the regimes of value from where that same material culture had been produced and used. That is the main argument supporting the misunderstanding and misperception of Asian products, and what explains, for instance, why Asian water basins and ewers would be used by the Portuguese as wine jugs.¹³⁴

The Portuguese interest in Asian material culture was regulated by the Portuguese evaluative tradition: textiles and pearls were the most desired items (and were also the most expensive articles in Portuguese inventories), followed by a new appraisal for precious cold weapons and horse trappings. This interest was therefore mostly manifest in Asian technologies (from embroidery and gem carving to weaponry) that had an impact on how the precious matter could be shaped into the European taste.

A mutual interest would occur at the same time, when Asia discovered the European exotic, recognised when, for instance, the Vijayanagara sovereign Krishna Deva Raya requested a chair to be sent to him, and the Persian Shah Ismail sent for fire weapons and technicians. 135

II.2. Modes of consumption

The most evident manifestation of an interest for Asian material culture is its consumption. ¹³⁶ This interest for Asiatica could be manifest in two ways: the

and chair, as was examined in SIMÕES 2012. See also SUBRAHMANYAM 2012а.

¹³³ Which was available to a wide social range. On Portuguese consumption of Chinese porcelain see MATOS 1993, MATOS 1996, and CANEPA 2015, pp. 124-313; on global consumption of Chinese porcelain see for instance Kerr 2004 and Gerritsen & McDowall 2012.

 ¹³⁴ On the misunderstanding of Asian products by the Europeans see CARRIER 2008 and MASON 1998
 135 An Asian interest in the European exotic material culture would come to happen later in Japan in relation to the European articles introduced by the Portuguese, such as fire weapons, glasses, clocks,

One of the most recent synthesis on the history of consumption states in its introduction that "what counts as consumption depends on the observer" (Trentmann 2012, p. 3). This statement reveals how pressing it is to define in clear terms what can be understood as the study of consumption in an art historical perspective. Therefore, in this thesis it is inextricably associated with

consumption of material culture by the Portuguese inside Asia, and the consumption in Portugal of Asian material culture. As was stated in the previous section, in this timeframe, while the former was guided foremost by practical concerns the latter had a clear focus on the European evaluative tradition, focused on the high quality of the matter.

The present study of consumption has at its essence the interpretation of Afonso de Albuquerque's engagement with material culture – his practices of consumption – encompassing the procedures of acquisition, use, and transfer of objects inside Asia and from Asia to Portugal. This is all the more important since we know more of the consumption practices of some kinds of objects than we do about their materiality. Therefore, this chapter puts forward highly visible modes of engagement with the material culture performed by early sixteenth-century Portuguese in Asia: loot, diplomatic gift exchange, and courtly representation.

The choice for these categories requires three levels of clarification that will take place in the course of the narrative. First, it will be argued that these categories are paramount to the understanding of the role of objects in the Portuguese shifting worldview. They are also helpful to comprehend the ensuing creation of a demand for new objects inside Asia, which would only be embraced in the later years of Albuquerque's government. In addition, these categories are functional to investigate the role of objects in relation to the Portuguese self-presentation in Asia. Last, but of no less importance, all these modes of consumption participated in the relation between plural cultures and reveal aspects of mutual intelligibility.

It should be noted from the beginning that although these modes of consumption are here examined in independent diachronic approaches, they were part of the same historical process and thus often develop inside the same temporal frame. Even if each category is impervious to another, the material culture is not.

the social life of finished goods – the only available to Afonso de Albuquerque. The study of art consumption takes into account not necessarily the interpretation of the objects per se, but of what is made out of them; in Michael Yonan's words, the *social accessibility* of the objects. (YONAN 2011, p. 236; although the author focuses on the study of collecting, which is part of the broader study of

consumption).

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Diverse objects sustained the activities of consumption. The material heterogeneity comprehended objects such as precious materials (metals and gems), raw tradable goods, and manufactures (textiles and vestments, weapons, jewellery, furniture and tableware), but also people who possessed specific artistic or mechanical skills (artillerymen, painters, jewellers, weavers and embroiderers), along with other resource-intensive objects of consumption (living animals).

An argumentation on the problems posed by the sources has been presented in the introduction to this thesis. There are also analytical difficulties that need to be made clear when regarding this approach: the contextual documentation that supports this thesis is often vague in its attempts to distinguish between everyday and exceptional objects. 137 Recurrent adjectives such as rico (rich) pertain to the tacit opulence of the objects, and it was expected that the reader would associate the implicit monetary value to the quality of being desirable. However, other words as the lindezas (beauties) mentioned by Castanheda concern the contemporary perception of those objects, which may or may not have been costly. These examples both pertain to exceptional objects. The everyday utilitarian material culture, as it frequently happens, seldom permeated coeval texts. 138

Other aspects remain extremely elusive, such as the connection between demand and production. As will be pointed out, much of the demand was supplied by ready-made objects which would be combined in such a way that they would act in diverse modes. 139 But often the discussion on the design of the products and the customization of pre-assembled items (and who decided on them) was left out of the written records.

Some plausible modes of consumption were left out of this investigation. The most obvious are those of religious implements - which surely occurred under Albuquerque's consulate 140 - and systematic collecting practices - which do not

¹³⁷ Dannehl 2009, p. 126

¹³⁸ And for that reason it is something that would likely only be made clearer by the knowledge provided by archeological investigation.

¹³⁹ For instance, as it happened with the personal property of Albuquerque's captains – often looted or purchased, either in Europe or in Asia – which could be bought by Albuquerque and enhanced with precious gems to serve as diplomatic gifts for Asian potentates. ¹⁴⁰ As explored in SILVA 2008a and CRESPO 2014, pp. 21, 37, 64

seem to be recognisable in coeval textual sources.¹⁴¹ This choice is mostly due to the more frequent and specific written mentions to aspects referring to the three selected modes, as opposed to others.

II.2.1. Loot and Spoils

...durou o saco até noite fechada, em que se tomou despojo de grão valor, o mór que nunqua se tomou n'estas partes, nem outro tal tomará. 142

The first contact most of the sixteenth-century Europeans had with Asian material culture in the Indian Ocean took the form of loot, whether it occurred during the attack to coastal cities or after they took control of rival ships. These are two circumstances of appropriation of random material culture that persisted for centuries in the globalized world.

The act of selecting what to loot is an active process, thus being of foremost importance for the understanding of the choices and hierarchies of value present in the minds of the navigators. To some extent, Portuguese sources reveal what was perceived as being worthy in unexplored foreign cities which (for them) exhibited an alien object-scape made up of a variety of different materialities.

While some aspects of the loot and spoil selection are transversal to various cultures – for instance, the option for objects of intrinsic value (which stresses the material worth or the uniqueness of the artifact) and the capture of slaves – others tell us more about what was valued by the Portuguese than by the looted and spoiled countries. This section aims to examine how the progressive acquaintance with a foreign object-scape translated into the patterns of spoil-selection.

During the government of Afonso de Albuquerque, officially sanctioned looting of cities did not persist for long. The diplomatic initiatives soon were

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 $^{^{141}\,\}mathrm{As}$ defined in BIANCHI 1997.

¹⁴² CORREIA 1860, p. 248

¹⁴³ The relatively peaceful introduction of the Portuguese to Asia, which occurred in Calicut in 1498, rapidly deteriorated as a consequence of the actions of Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500. For this chaper see Pelúcia 2010.

favoured over the destructive processes of military attack. Malacca was the last city looted by the governor after its takeover on 24 August 1511.¹⁴⁴

FIRST INSTANCES

During his first journey to the Indian Ocean between 1503 and 1504, under the command of his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque, Afonso apparently did not seize any loot. His first cases of plunder in the Indian Ocean were performed in the East African coast while under the command of Tristão da Cunha, during the first months of 1507. In fact, looting the East African coast – where peace and a secure place for layovers were sought – was forbidden according to the king's *regimento* 145 but the captains seem to have had trouble in keeping the mariners (most of who had been fetched in Lisbon's prison) under control during the seizing of the cities.

In the course of the exploration of Madagascar, Tristão da Cunha looted the Swahili trading post of Lulangane¹⁴⁶ where he obtained "many cloths, silver, and gold". ¹⁴⁷ Two very destructive ravages followed in Oja (Angoja) ¹⁴⁸ and Brava, performed to please the King of Malindi (Melinde), a Portuguese ally since 1498. Though nothing was plundered in Oja, Brava provided substantial wealth to Cunha's captains and mariners.

The loot captured inside the sovereign's palace in Brava was reserved by the captain to himself, his captains, and other noblemen. ¹⁴⁹ At least since 1505

Albuquerque would later complain about his income because peace in the seas meant less revenue for his treasury from looting, see CAA, I, pp. 402-403: "...e as despesas e guastos dessa pobreza minha, que por bem de meu carguo nam posso leixar de fazer, que sam mayores que o proveito de quá nem o ordenado que me sua alteza daa, porque algua cousa que me sostinha nessas joyas e partes das presas, já hi nam ha nada disto na India, porque se nam toma nao nem barco, todalas cousas tenho assosseguadas, chãs e mui mansas."

¹⁴⁵ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 209-210. When the Portuguese pilots, seamen and gunners asked Albuquerque for part of the 15.000 *xerafins* tribute in Hormuz, in 1508, he replied that "they should remind themselves that contrary to the king's instructions, he had given them permission to make free booty in all the towns he had captured in the African coast, whereby they had obtained great spoils and had become very rich".

¹⁴⁶ According to OGOT 1992, p. 860 Lulangane was located "on the islet of Nosy Manja in the Mahajamba Bay"

¹⁴⁷ Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 39-40: "...mandou saquear o lugar, onde acháram muitos panos, prata, e ouro"

¹⁴⁸ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, I, pp. 44-48

Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 58: "...foi-se o Capitão mór com todos aos paços do Rey, que eram mui grandes, e mui fermosos, nos quaes até então não consintio que entrasse ninguem, onde achou

everything that entered the possession of the men sailing under the authority of the Portuguese king was subject to severe regulations concerning the distribution of the plunder between the crown, the captains, and the seamen. The *regimento* consigned to the viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida is in a great part concerned with the *presas*, that is, the prizes obtained from corsair activity – maritime assaults sanctioned by the king – or from the spoils of subdued cities. This was "a part of Portuguese activity of lesser interest to the Crown, and more to the taste of the noblemen (*fidalgos*)". However, it also concerned the Crown, as looting provided an additional incentive to reward the seamen and "it was felt that at least some check could be kept on it by making it 'official'". The provided an additional incentive to reward the seamen and "it was felt that at least some check could be kept on it by making it 'official'".

City spoils were distributed differently from those originating from assaulted ships. Before the partitioning of corsair spoils, the viceroy could take for himself any jewel worth up to 500 *cruzados*. From the remainder, the king received 20% (1/5 named the *quinto*), the treasury 53,3% (two thirds of what was left after the *quinto* was deducted), and 26,6% was distributed among the viceroy, the captains of the ships, pilots, and other mariners.¹⁵²

The king's fifth was an established rule applied to both corsair ventures performed on royal ships and to private corsair ventures (the *alevantados*). ¹⁵³ However, many of the captains denounced each other for not declaring the right amounts of the totality of the prize, therefore benefiting from what should be part of the king and treasury's share. ¹⁵⁴

The limits set on the distribution of the prize obtained from the plunder of cities were similar but justified a particularization and a different section inside the document. D. Manuel equally demanded his *quinto* (20%); from the remainder,

muita prata, e muito ouro, muitos panos de seda, e outras coisas muito ricas, e muito dinheiro em xerafins, e tudo repartio pelos Capitães, e gente nobre da armada."

¹⁵⁰ The first document known to affirm this practice is D. Francisco de Almeida's *regimento* from 1505, published in CAA, II, pp. 272-334. See also Pelúcia 2010, pp. 60-66; Subrahmanyam 2012b.

¹⁵¹ Both quotes from Subrahmanyam 2012b, p. 66.

¹⁵² CAA, II, 325-326. Also Subrahmanyam 2012b, p. 66 table 3.2.

¹⁵³ Subrahmanyam 2012b, p. 66-67

¹⁵⁴ For one of the complaints against Albuquerque see CAA, III, p. 339.

¹⁵⁵ The 1505 *regimento* included a section "on the division of the prizes from the sea and from land", as in CAA, II, 330-331: "...Que ajam as partes das presas do mar e asy da terra. Porquem nam posa vyr duvida de quaaes presas se entendera as partes que vos damos, e asy aos capitaões e jeente

the viceroy could take 25% had he been present to perform or oversee the plunder. When the gove2rnor was not present, the captain of the fleet who performed the conquest could take 20% of the total (after the deduction of the *quinto*), while the remaining amount should be divided between the captains and seamen.

The most conspicuous difference in these apportionments concerns the requisite of presence. The loot from a ship would have to be distributed among all of those specified in the *regimento*, had they been present or not; but the spoils from a city would only be owned by those who had participated in the pillaging. This may help explain the scarcity of detailed information about looted ships and their contents, as apparently most of them were not regularly reported. As we will see, many letters were sent to Lisbon complaining about the irregularities performed by captains and factors, and even the governor in such situation.

Both the corsair ventures and the plunder of cities occurred as a consequence of episodes of extreme physical and psychological violence, often manifest in the written reports. As the symbolic military gains were more preponderant for sixteenth-century narratives, they are rarely specific about the personal profits provided by the articles of commercial value.

GULF OF OMAN

In August 1507, after a five-month stay in the island of Socotra, Albuquerque parted from Tristão da Cunha and organized his own fleet to carry out what he claimed to be D. Manuel's directives. Albuquerque's fleet entered the Gulf of Oman up to the Strait of Hormuz, having in mind the subjugation of the Persian Gulf.

Before reaching Hormuz, the principal city of the homonymous kingdom, Albuquerque managed to subdue the western cities of the Gulf of Oman, either by physical assault or through diplomatic coercive measures. The assailed and looted cities were Qurayat (Curiate), Muscat (Mascate), and Khawr Fakkân (Orfacão).

darmada, como antes fica decrarado, e se se entendera soomente no do mar, vos decraramos que nos praz que as ajaes vos e todos asy do que se tomar na teerra como no mar, gardada a regra e ordenança do que se hade tirar pera nos do noso quinto, e de todo o mais que nos aveemos daveer, porque da parte que vos damos, tirado o noso, como atras fica decrarado, se faram as dytas partylas..."

Despite some diplomatic attempts, Hormuz was overcome only following a devastating massacre after which the city too was partially looted.

In Qurayat,¹⁵⁶ as later in Muscat,¹⁵⁷ fulfilling its needs, the fleet seized armour and both fire and cold weapons. A very pragmatic loot policy was then in place. Brás retells in his *Comentários* a curious episode occurred during the assault on Muscat: after eight days of finding the city emptied of riches, a soldier accidentally knocked down a wall finding inside a room where many goods were hidden.¹⁵⁸ On this raid, the mentioned prizes are always salable commodities (*mercadorias*) and weapons, and rarely there seems to have been an explicit interest in movable furnishings or precious articles.

A rare sign of clear appreciation for a precious article on the part of Albuquerque can be traced in an incident that happened during the pillage of Khawr Fakkân (Orfacão). While the Portuguese were violently cutting ears and noses from the defeated inhabitants of the city, Nuno Vaz de Castelo-Branco found an old Muslim man who revealed by his fine attire to be an honourable man. He had him brought to Albuquerque who discovered him to be one of the three governors of the city. After having provided information on the history of the Kingdom of Hormuz, the man extolled the deeds of the Portuguese, 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 such hero's army had any superiority over that of the Portuguese". This mention to having read the life of Alexander astonished Albuquerque, who then "asked him where he had read it, for he himself was well read and well inclined to imitate Alexander's actions".

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¹⁵⁶ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 94: "...Tomáram-se neste lugar vinte e cinco peças de artelharia, e muita quantidade de arcos, frechas, e lanças, e outras armas" ¹⁵⁷ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 109: "Tomáram-se neste lugar muitas armas, arcos, frechas, lanças, e

¹³⁷ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, I, p. 109: "Tomáram-se neste lugar muitas armas, arcos, frechas, lanças, e outras armaduras de ferro a seu modo, e muito cobre, trinta bombardas antre grandes, e pequenas, e muitas mercadorias de toda a sorte, que os nossos queimáram polas não poderem levar."

¹⁵⁸ Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 107-108: "Os nossos começáram a saquear em oito dias, que ali estiveram, e não acháram cousa de que podessem lançar mão: e hum dia, entrando hum soldado em huma casa, levando huma chuça nas mãos, foi dar por desastre com ella em huma parede do frontal da casa, e fez hum buraco, por onde entrou dentro, e ali achou muitas mercadorias, porque os mouros daquelle lugar, com receo que tinham da gente do sertão, que os vinha roubar, faziam huma casa dentro nas suas, sem nenhum portal, nem janela, e tinham-nas cheas de muitas mercadorias. Sabido isto dos nossos soldados, dali por diante não ficou casa, que elles não arrombassem, onde acháram cousas de muito preço, e a cobiça dellas lhe fez esquecer o trabalho, que tinham passado..."

According to Brás' narrative, "the Moor then drew from his pocket a book written in Persian, bound in crimson velvet, according to their fashion, and gave it to Albuquerque, 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."

The book was presumably a copy of the poem by Nizami (d. 1209), entitled *Eskandar Nameh*, the History of Alexander the Great. Albuquerque probably had read one of the Latin versions of the *Vita*, by then widespread in Europe. 161

The arts of the book in Safavid Iran underwent significant developments during the fifteenth century after the reopening of the diplomatic contacts with Ming China. ¹⁶² The most common Persian bookbinding consisted in lacquer decoration in which the traditional leather covering was replaced by a layer of painted and varnished decoration, often with gold decoration over the black ground. ¹⁶³ This technique had already been perfected in the last three decades of the fifteenth century, so that it is interesting that the *Eskandar Nameh* was bound in

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¹⁵⁹ Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 133-134: "...e antre estes Mouros, que neste lugar foram cativos, tomou Nuno Vaz de Castelo-branco hum, que achou em huma casa, que por sua muita velhice não pode fugir; e porque em seus trajos lhe pareceo homem honrado, não o quis matar, e trouxe-o a Afonso Dalboquerque, o qual se lançou aos seus pés, e elle o mandou levantar, perguntando-lhe que homem era? O Mouro lhe disse, que era hum dos tres Governadores daquelle lugar, e por ser muito velho, e não poder andar, seus filhos, por salvarem as vidas, o deixáram no campo, e se tornára a aquella casa, onde aquelle Cavaleiro o achára. Afonso Dalboquerque lhe perguntou pelas cousas de Ormuz, e elle lhe deu larga enformação dellas, e contou-lhe muitas cousas antiguas daquelle Reyno, porque era muito velho, e muito lido : e louvou muito o esforço dos Portugueses, e disse-lhe que verdadeiramente não lhe podia negar que eram pera conquistar todo o Mundo; porque lendo elle a vida de Alexandre, que aquella terra conquistára, não achára que a sua gente tivesse nenhuma ventage á Portuguesa. Afonso Dalboquerque espantado do Mouro dizer que lêra a vida de Alexandre, perguntou-lhe onde a lêra, porque elle tambem era lido e muito affeiçoado a suas cousas. O Mouro tirou hum livro do ceio escrito em Parse, enquadernado em veludo carmesim ao seu modo, e deu-lho, que Afonso Dalboquerque mais estimou que quantas cousas lhe podéra dar, e ouve-o por bom propostico pera a determinação, que levava pera conquistar Ormuz : e mandou dar a este Mouro hum vestido de escarlata, e outras cousas de Portugal, com que ficou muito contente, e muito mais de se ver livre com suas orelhas, e narizes."

¹⁶⁰ NOONAN 1989 and ALBUQUERQUE 1875, p. 99, n. 1

 $^{^{161}}$ Barletta 2010, p. 12, presumably from Plutarch or one of its adaptations.

¹⁶² STANLEY 2003, p. 189

¹⁶³ STANLEY 2003, p. 185

crimson velvet. The cloth cover, more fragile, was likely an old and prized copy. 164

When the Portuguese reached Hormuz they no longer had a need for weapons as their warfare superiority was established. During the attack they looted gilt swords, knifes, and silk-brocaded vestments, which they considered as objects belonging to noble people. 165 As will be mentioned in subsequent chapters, years later the Portuguese living in India were recognised by their much richer attire than those of their European counterparts. 166

In Naband (Nabande), near Hormuz, after Albuquerque managed to secure the kingdom through both warfare and diplomatic measures, the Portuguese fought for the first time a Persian qizilbash army. 167 Also there, for the first time they had the opportunity to see (and subsequently loot) Safavid vestments and weapons, such as daggers decorated with gold and silver, bows, and arrows. 168

After these months of prey and diplomacy in the Gulf of Oman, Albuquerque was constrained by his captains and the viceroy, D. Francisco de Almeida, to return to Cochin and give up Hormuz. Whatever he might have obtained to himself until then was later arrested by the viceroy in 1509. 169

After the transitional year of 1509, the first conspicuous moments of plunder occurred during the attack and first takeover of Goa against the Adil Khan of Bijapur, in the summer of 1510.¹⁷⁰ The Portuguese found firearms that must have been brought from the Middle East or that were locally produced, as the greater part of

¹⁶⁴ See Aslanapa 1979

¹⁶⁵ Albuquerque 1973, I, р. 157: "...e quando chegáram [a terra] eram já os Mouros tão pegados com as casas, que se lançáram ao mar, e Cogeatar tambem com elles, deixando no parao muitas espadas guarnecidas de ouro, e prata, e agomias, e vestidos de borcado, e de seda, tudo despojo de gente honrada, que lhe os nossos tomáram, e com elle se tornáram pera onde Afonso Dalboquerque estava."

¹⁶⁶ CAA, I, 296

¹⁶⁷ Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 330-ss. On the qizilbash see Scarce 2003 ??

¹⁶⁸ Albuquerque 1973, I pp. 335-336: "Os moradores deste lugar não tinham ali suas molheres, nem suas fazendas, porque vivam com receo disto que aconteceo, e o despojo que se tomou, foi aquella gente da Persia, que ali estava, que era dinheiro, vestidos, armas, adagas guarnecidas de ouro, e de prata, arcos, frechas, e muitos cavalos, que lhe matáram, e queimáram-lhe todos os mantimentos e monições de guerra"

¹⁶⁹ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 57: "...mandou o Visorey derrubar as casas, em que Afonso Dalboquerque pousava, e tomáram-lhe tudo o que acháram nellas" ¹⁷⁰ Аьвиquerque 1973, II, p. 212

the Muslims fighting for Adil Khan were Turkish and *Rumes*.¹⁷¹ Moments of rapid development of armament technology soon followed, resulting from the combination of European (Bohemian) and Asian (Ottoman, Mamluk, and Deccani) technologies.¹⁷²

ARABIAN SEA: NAU MERI 173

In January_1510 Albuquerque sent captain Francisco Pantoja to Socotra to fetch the governor's nephew, D. Afonso de Noronha, captain of the fortress of the island. During the cross over the ocean, Pantoja captured the great merchant vessel of the sultan of Gujarat, Mahmud Shah I, the *nau Meri*. The ship of 600 or 800 tonéis¹⁷⁴ was destined to Mecca, having on board Muslim pilgrims and riches for trade in the Red Sea under the Muslim captain Ali Khan (*Alecão*), a relative of the sultan of Gujarat. When Pantoja reached Socotra the newly arrived captain-general of the Persian and Arabian Sea (*capitão-mor do mar da Arábia e Pérsia*¹⁷⁵), Duarte de Lemos, demanded him to hand over and unload the ship, claiming his right to Albuquerque's share as the prey had taken place in his captaincy. Lemos subsequently sailed with the *nau Meri* and Pantoja to Cannanore, where they arrived in September 1510.

In Cannanore Lemos informed Albuquerque of the disappearance of his nephew, D. Afonso de Noronha. His ship, *Santa Cruz* had wrecked near the shore in Naband but some of the seamen were able to swim to the shore and had been held captive. ¹⁷⁶ At the time it was thought D. Afonso had managed to escape, though he was one of the first men to disappear in the sea. An emissary from the Gujarati sultan arrived soon afterwards and informed the Portuguese governor of the forty

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 $^{^{171}}$ An ambiguous name for the Ottoman Turks; see $\ddot{\text{O}}\textsc{zbaran}$ 2001

¹⁷² As will be explored in the following chapter, Albuquerque later sent from Goa to his king some models of the *new* weapons made in Portuguese India. This has already been explored for instance in CHASE 2007, p. 131.

¹⁷³ See Pelúcia 2010, pp. 29-32. A synthesis can be found in Aubin 1971a; the sources are Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 149-151; II, p. 243-246; Góis 1949, II, cap. XXXIII, fl. 128; Correia 1860, p. 67, pp. 123-126; Castanheda 1552, Liv. III, cap. XXXV; Barros 1974, déc. II, p. 169-170; CAA, VII.

¹⁷⁴ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 150: 600 t*onéis*.

¹⁷⁵ The position previously held by Afonso de Albuquerque, see LACERDA 2006, p. 57.

¹⁷⁶ Albuquerque 1973, II, pp. 242-246

men held in Cambay after the sinking of Noronha's fleet, asking for the return of Ali Khan and of the people sailing in the *nau Meri*.¹⁷⁷

The prize taken by Lemos was never recorded. As a result, none of the shares, including the *quinto* were distributed, much to the displeasure of the captains. ¹⁷⁸ Between 7 and 8 September 1510, 25 or 26 slaves were selected among the passengers to be sent to the hospital in Cannanor and to three Portuguese ships. ¹⁷⁹ Later the only mentions are to the cloths eventually consigned to the Cochin factory, ¹⁸⁰ but the reputation of the ship surely meant a much costly cargo.

One of the most valuable assets provided by corsair activity was the wide range of people carried by captured ships. The Arabian Sea, beyond being the setting of numerous commercial routes, had already at the time a long history of being crossed by pilgrim ships on their way to Mecca. This movement was a regular practice, as the *Hajj* – the pilgrimage to Mecca – was one of the five pillars of Islam and should be accomplished at least one time in the lives of both Sunni and Shia Muslims.

As a result, among the people captured often were found (cultural and linguistic) interpreters of invaluable assistance. It was in one of these ships that were captured two Castillian Jews, later converted to the Christian faith with the names Francisco de Albuquerque and Alexandre de Ataíde. These two men became close to Albuquerque and were often mentioned in the captains' letters resenting their influence.

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¹⁷⁷ Albuquerque 1973, II, pp. 246-254; Aubin 1971, p. 21

¹⁷⁸ CORREIA 1860, p. 125: [queixa-se Pantoja de Duarte de Lemos ao governador, porque não dera parte das presas ao feitor de Cananor como era devido] "...que inda da nao nom era tirado a quarta parte da carga. O Governador lhe disse: 'Tambem a mym se me deve minha joya, mas nom falleys n'ysso nada até vermos o que Duarte de Lemos faz da nao.' O que assy ficou."

¹⁷⁹ АUBIN 1971, р. 23, n. 121 from CAA, IV, 288, 290, 291, 295, 297, 298, 300, 302, 303

¹⁸⁰ CORREIA 1860, pp. 138-139: "...[nao Meri] de que se descarregou muyta roupa, que foy perá feitoria de Cochym, e fiqou em Cananor, e foy a Goa, que depois muyto anos durou a roupa da nao meril, que era muy poderosa." Years later they will still be mentioned in a letter from Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel (30.XI.1513), CAA, I, p. 144: "...inda até gora gastam as vosas naaos as cotonias da não mery em suas velas, e nós nam temos nenhua parte"

¹⁸¹ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 268; Castanheda 1552, III, p. 71

SOUTHEAST ASIA

On his way to Malacca Albuquerque fought *Naodabedega*, the captain of a *pangajaoa* – a kind of rowing boat – from Pegu. From him he took "a bracelet with a bone, said to come from a beast from the kingdom of Siam, called *Cabis*; and when they removed the bracelet from his arm all his blood spilled out and he died". Barros is more detailed when he mentions that the bone was set on the inside of the bracelet, with the gold part on the outside and the bone on the inside touching the skin. 183

The greater value of the bracelet was due to its hemorrhagic-holding properties. All narratives state that the bearer of the bracelet could not shed blood and die from physical wounds.

MALACCA

Albuquerque arrived in Malacca in July 1511 and without delay demanded that the Portuguese men held captive by the sultan since the 1509 be handed over to him. While he demanded this as the prerequisite for the non-destruction of the city, Mahmud Shah required a pact of non-aggression before the transfer of the captives should be made. As an agreement was not reached, Malacca was subject to two Portuguese attacks during the summer of 1511, ultimately falling into Portuguese hands on 24 August. 184

A large part of the city was immediately burned down, including the sultan's palace and the mosque. Contrary to Albuquerque's command, the fire was started by the Portuguese captains. The displeased governor soon ordered it to be put down

¹⁸² Góis 1949, III, 35-35v: "...lhe viram ho corpo todo atassalhado das feridas que lhe deram sem dellas sair nenhum sangue, mas em ho despojando dos vestidos, dalguas peças douro que trazia sobre si, lhe tiraram do braço hua manilha em que andava hum osso, que he de huas alimarias que ha no Regno de Siam, que se chamão Cabis, aho q em lhe tirando esta manilha se vazou todo ho sangue, & morreo supitamente: ha virtude daquelle osso, segundo depois dixeram a Afonso dalbuquerque, he de quem ho traz nam lhe poder sair nenhum sangue do corpo, por muitas feridas que lhe dem." Also CASTANHEDA 1552, II, p. 107

¹⁸³ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VI, cap. II, p. 260: "...hua manilha de osso encastoáda em ouro da fáce de cima, & osso da banda da carne do bráço donde a elle trazia"

¹⁸⁴ On the capture of Malacca and the Portuguese presence in the Malay Archipelago during the sixteenth century see Borschberg 2008; Borschberg 2007; Costa & Rodrigues 2008b; Pinto 2013.

¹⁸⁵ About the palace built by Mansur Shah in the 1460's see SHERWIN 1981

but a great part of the palace disappeared nonetheless.¹⁸⁶ The subsequent spoiling of the city took three days. Barros states that although the city was very rich, the plunder in house furnishings (*roupa & alfayas de cása*) amounted to little more than 50.000 cruzados.¹⁸⁷ This contrasts with Correia's claim that the total sum of the spoils from the palace had been estimated at more than 400.000 *cruzados*. ¹⁸⁸ It is not likely that all the spoils taken from private houses were recorded.

The most precious articles were taken from the merchants' district, where 35 marcos of gold, 25 marcos of silver (circa 8 kg and 5,7 kg, respectively) and 'infinite' bronze were found buried on the ground. All this took place despite looting being forbidden in the quarters of the Quelins 190, Pegús 191 and Iaos. 192 The native merchants' and the Gujarati districts were the main targets of the plunder. 193

Correla provides a thorough description of the spoiling of Malacca which he claims to have heard from Albuquerque.¹⁹⁴ In those three days were found so many precious articles that in the haste to move then to the ships the Portuguese left the city streets filled with precious things. The men came upon "so many things that they could simply select and embark (...) and the minor things were abandoned and wasted on the streets because they did not want them".¹⁹⁵ Among the preferred articles were fragrant substances and cloths: benzoin, musk (bottled and in pods), caskets with damask, satin, taffeta, and white silk cloths, camphor, *aguila*, "houses full of sandalwood", and rich porcelains.¹⁹⁶ The articles were conveniently carried together as the odoriferous woods contributed to the preservation of the cloths.

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beijoym, almisquere em jarras, caixões cheos de peças de damascos, cetys, tafetás, seda branca,

¹⁸⁶ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, LX, p. 126: "...depois de os capitaes pegarem fogo aos paços do rei, do principe, e dos mandarins (...) pesou muyto ao governador porq sabia quanto fato avia daver dentro & qndo quis mãdar apagar o fogo ja era tudo ardido, & perdeose ali muyto movel & mui rico"

¹⁸⁷ Barros 1974, déc. II, liv. VI, cap. VI, pp. 281-282

¹⁸⁸ CORREIA 1860, pp. 247-248

¹⁸⁹ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, LX, p. 127

¹⁹⁰ The natives from the Choromandel Coast residing in the Malay archipelago.

¹⁹¹ The merchants from Pegu.

¹⁹² Javanese.

¹⁹³ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, LX, p. 127

¹⁹⁴ Full description in Correia 1860, pp. 246-248

¹⁹⁵ CORREIA 1860, p. 247: "...foy tão grande moltidão das cousas que sómente escolhião e mandavão embarquar (...) e das cousas somenos erão as ruas cheas, esperdiçadas, que as nom querião levar" ¹⁹⁶ CORREIA 1860, p. 246: "...foy tanto que as ruas erão cheas de mercadarias de todas sortes, muyto

Some men also found buried gold bars and bottles filled with powdered gold and Chinese seed pearls after which they dug out the city. Inside a buried room under the sultan's palace they found "many riches of gold and silver things". 197 Correia once again claims to have heard from Albuquerque that inside the palace pearls and seed pearls had been found as well as gold vessels and jars [obatygas e guindes d'ouro], four metal lions, and a four-footed stool [huma terpeça de quatro pés] with gems worth 60.000 cruzados. 198

To these articles found inside the palace one can add the king's dais (estrado), a golden chair and "many carpets and silk curtains with gold brocade", which could not be saved from the fire but caused a great impression on the Portuguese governor. 199

Close to the palace was also burned an impressively "large wooden house that stood over a car with thirty wheels, each as big as a quarto" [a type of lead cannon ball] that had been "ordered by the king of Malacca so that the king of Pão [the Sultan of Pahong] could walk around the city before the marriage to his daughter". 200 The car measured 30 palmos [c. 6,6 metres] on each side and was made of solid timber inlaid with gold, and had a silk canopy topped by a high pinnacle covered with silken flags. ²⁰¹ This caused a great impression on Albuquerque who wrote about it to the king. 202

canfora, aguila, casas cheas de sandolo"; CORREIA 1860, p. 247: "...almisquere, de que achavão jarras cheas em pó e em papos, (...) e riquas porcelanas"

¹⁹⁷ Correia 1860, p. 247: "...alguns forão dar com jarras, que estavão soterradas, cheas d'ouro em pó, e barras, e aljofar da China, com que todos tornarão a dar mór revolta, e a cavar casas, em que acharão grandes riquezas d'estas cousas em que se acupavão, e todo mais quebravão ... o Governador mandou Pero d'Alpoym, e Ruy d'Araujo, e Antonio Fernandes, o preto, e João Mendes Botelho, e Ruy de Brito Patalim, que fossem ás casas d'ElRey e lhe trouxessem o que achassem, e quebrassem e destroissem as casas, e quando se tornassem lhe pusessem o fogo; os quaes forão, e acharão, em huma casa soterrada, debaixo da terra muyta riqueza de cousas d'ouro e prata."

¹⁹⁸ CORREIA 1860, pp. 247-248

¹⁹⁹ Castanheda 1552, III, LVI, p. 116-117

²⁰⁰ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, LVI, p. 118: "...& assi foy queymada hua grande casa de madeyra que estava assentada sobre hum carro que tinha trinta rodas, cada hua tamanha como hum quarto. E esta casa mandara fazer el rey de Malaca pera andar nela pela cidade el rey de Pão que ele casava com hua sua filha, & tinha pera isso aparelhadas grandes festas, & hua das invenções dela era esta casa, que estava toldada de seda por dentro, & embandeirada por fora, & toda ardeo."

²⁰¹ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 120: "...Queimou-se aqui huma casa de madeira mui grande, e mui bem lavrada de macenaria, que seria de trinta palmos em quadrado, toda cozida em ouro, a qual estava assentada sobre trinta rodas, cada huma tamanha como hum quarto, e tinha hum corucheo, que era o remate da casa, mui alto, cheio de bandeiras de seda, e ella toda emparamentada de pannos mui

Sixteenth-century sources do not agree on the provenance of a group of seven elephants and their howdahs (*castelos d madeira & suas seelas com andores destado*) very colourfully painted, with gilded woodcarving and ivory implements. ²⁰³ Brás associates them to the sultan's palace while Castanheda and Barros assert they came from the prince's camp situated outside the city. The prince had moved temporarily to the outskirts of the city with the intent to counterattack but was eventually expelled by the Portuguese. ²⁰⁴ All narratives agree that the seven elephants with their painted and gilded howdahs were taken to Albuquerque and paraded throughout the city.

Barros curiously adds that the howdahs "in their carving quality and richness of the trappings displayed more the circumstances of peace than those of war." This reveals an understanding of the necessary distinction between two fundamental kinds of apparatus, similar in their function but diverse in their character: war display and peacetime stately ostentation. The distinction was a curiosity for sixteenth-century European readers as the theme of the 'elephant with castle' had a long tradition of being associated with war in Europe. ²⁰⁶

Portuguese chronicles underline the great amount and unusual character of the armament captured (and fought against) in Malacca, since such foreign weaponry presented a series of difficulties to the Portuguese. One of the most harmful weapons were the blowguns with poisoned darts which killed all men they

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ricos de seda, porque havia de andar dentro nella o Rey de Pão com sua mulher, filha do Rey de Malaca, pela Cidade, com grandes tangeres, e festas, e em as casas do Rey"

²⁰² CAA, I, p. 138

²⁰³ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 148: "...os nossos entráram de roldão nos seus paços, e tomáram-lhe tudo o que ali tinha, que não pode levar, e seus andores muito ricos dourados, e pintados, e sete Alifantes com seus castelos, e sellas, e com esta vitoria se tornáram pera a Cidade"; Castanheda 1552, III, LX, p. 128; and Barros 1974, déc. II, liv. VI, cap. VI , p. 282: "...& por despójo trouxeram sete elefãtes do serviço do principe todos selládos, & as guarnições dos assentos eram de marfim lavrádos douro & cores em q suas molheres caminhávam, que parece nam poderê tomar com a presa da fogida" ²⁰⁴ Castanheda 1552, III, LX, 126

²⁰⁵ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VI, cap. VI, p. 282: "...as guarnições dos assentos eram de marfim lavrádos douro & cores (...) & no lavramento & riqueza da guarniçam dellas mais mostrávam o estado da páz que da guerra"

²⁰⁶ See DRUCE 1919 for an examination on the theme of the elephant and castle as a subject for European medieval manuscript illumination. Bestiaries adopted the convention of the (often stone-built) castle which may have been thought to be an essential attribute of the animal. This "is perhaps natural in view of the frequent references in early writers to the use of elephants in war", cit. DRUCE 1919, pp. 1-2.

touched but one, Fernão Gomes de Lemos (who would be sent in 1515 as ambassador to Persia), only because his wound had been immediately burned.²⁰⁷

To a certain extent, these firearms seem to have been similar to the ones used in the West Indian coast, as at least one of them had reportedly been brought by the Gujarati. ²⁰⁸ However, local techniques surely had an influence on later Portuguese firearm production. According to Brás de Albuquerque, during the first attack to the city the sultan's forces had 8.000 firearms, of which the Portuguese took 3.000 after the assaults, being 2.000 made out of bronze²⁰⁹ and 1.000 of cast iron "in the style of our *berços*". He adds that in Malacca there were smelters as good as the ones from Germany. ²¹⁰ It should be reminded that bronze firearms are lighter and far more resistant to corrosion – and consequently preferred over iron on ships – while at the same time being stronger than wrought iron and not as brittle as cast iron.

During the first attack to the city, the sultan allegedly had more than 20.000 fighting men – Javanese, Persian, and Khorasani (*Coraçones*) –, twenty war elephants equipped with castles and "plenty of artillery and arms of every kind which the Gujarati had brought to him from Cambay", ²¹¹ in addition to the matchlocks (*espingardões*). ²¹² When the sultan retreated, Albuquerque ordered the men to carry off with them fifty large bombards (*bombardas grossas*) that had been captured in stockades upon the bridge. ²¹³ It was customary that when armies retreated cannon were often abandoned to the enemy, which provided a great

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²⁰⁷ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 117 and 121

²⁰⁸ CASTRO, 2011?

²⁰⁹ In his text he calls *metal* to bronze, that is the combination of copper (*cobre*) and tin (*estanho*).

²¹⁰ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, p. 144: "Tomáram-se tres mil tiros de artilheria, e destes seriam dous mil de metal, e hum tiro grande, que o Rey de Calicut mandára ao Rey de Malaca. Os outros eram de ferro da feição dos nossos berços, e toda esta artilheria com seus repairos, que lhe não fazia aventaje a de Portugal; Espingardões, zarvatanas de peçonha, arcos, frechas, laudeis de laminas, lanças da Jaoa, e outra diversidade de armas, foi cousa de espanto o que se tomou, a fóra muitas mercadorias de toda a sorte." Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 145: "…em Malaca havia oito mil, e póde-se isto crer por duas rezões: a primeira, porque em Malaca havia muito cobre, e muito estanho, e tão bons fundidores como em Alemanha"

²¹¹ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 110

²¹² Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 122

²¹³ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 121

opportunity for the triumphant party to improve their metalworking skills and to enlarge their armoury. 214

Before the second and final attack to Malacca, Albuquerque ordered the blacksmiths he had brought from Goa to set their forges and begin to readjust the weapons. 215 The knowledge gathered by the incorporation of new firearm technologies surely had an impact on later Portuguese offensive capacities, even if most historians agree that the success of the attack was in great part due to the prodding of the war elephants carrying the sultan, which withdrew and crushed the men behind him.²¹⁶

The goods looted in the city were distributed among the Portuguese captains and crewmen. The items kept by Albuquerque to himself can be better grasped from the descriptions of their loss in the wreck of his flagship Frol de la mar.

FROL DE LA MAR

In late 1511, having already built a fortress (A Famosa) and a factory, and having appointed Portuguese officials for them, Albuquerque prepared his fleet to sail to Cochin. 217 The governor's flagship was Frol de la Mar, a nine-year-old nau; the other captains were Pero d'Alpoim, auditor of India sailing in the Trindade, Jorge Nunes de Leão in the Enxobregas, and Simão Martins in a large junk which was laden with merchandise taken in the sacking of the city. 218

In the junk travelled thirteen Portuguese men together with fifty others from Cochin meant to guard the products and sixty Javanese carpenters from the dockyard with their wives and children, taken to serve the Portuguese at Cochin in

²¹⁴ Chase 2008, p. 62

²¹⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 127: "... e nesta detença, que se fez em esperarem pelas aguas vivas, mandou Afonso Dalboquerque aos ferreiros, que trouxera comsigo de Goa, que assentassem suas forjas, e começassem a concertar algumas armas, que estavam desconcertadas, e fizeram armazem pera as béstas, porque tinham muita necessidade delle" ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, p. 119

²¹⁷ Correia 1859, p. 258: "partio o Governador de Malaca em primeyro de Dezembro d'este anno"

²¹⁸ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 189-190 "[Albuquerque] foi-se embarcar na náo Flor de la mar, e Pero Dalpoem Ouvidor da India em a náo Trindade, e Jorge Nunez de Lião em a náo Enxobregas, e Simão Martinz em hum Junco grande, o qual hia carregado de muitas mercadorias, que se tomáram no despojo da Cidade, e levava Simão Martinz em o Junco treze Portugueses, e cincoenta Malabares de Cochim pera guarda delle, e sessenta Jaos carpinteiros da ribeira, muito bons officiaes, que Affonso Dalboquerque levava com suas mulheres, e filhos pera servirem ElRey de Portugal em Cochim no concerto das náos, por haver muita falta delles na India..."

repairing ships. The Enxobregas and the junk were to sail in close company, for it was feared the Javanese could rebel and take command of the junk.²¹⁹

As is well known, Albuquerque's Flor de la mar grounded in the Strait of Malacca, in the so-called Baixos de Capacia²²¹ said to be overlooking the kingdom of Daru (Reyno de Darú). The governor saved himself on board of an improvised raft hung by a cord attached to his belt, wearing nothing but a dun jacket and breeches.²²² Brás' and Correia's accounts narrate that Albuquerque, after reaching the Trindade, ordered a raft to be prepared with boards placed on timbers, and subsequently approached the grounded ship saving all Portuguese men and some merchandise.²²³

Probably more pertinent to the research of the lost objects is the disappearance of the junk loaded with the spoils of Malacca. The junk approached the Flor de la mar in the moment the Portuguese were building the raft, never to be seen again. According to the four Portuguese men that managed to escape in a boat, later reaching the Samudera Pasai sultanate (Pacém), the Javanese had insurrected and killed all onboard, taking control of the ship. 224

Portuguese texts recount that with the Malacca fleet were lost "the richest spoils that ever were seen since India had been discovered". However, it should be stressed that all the sources mention the losses of the Flor de la mar together with those of the junk. 225 It was the later that carried the greater part of the riches. The Flor de la mar transported part of Albuquerque's share and "many women who were

²¹⁹ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 214

MA 1970, p. 285, n. 3: "Mien hua ch'ien - cotton shoals - A translation of the Cham 'kapah', or Malay/Hindustani 'kapas', 'cotton'; called 'Kafasi' by the Arabs, 'Capasia' by the Portuguese, 'Capacia' by the Italians, and 'Capaciar' by the French"

²²² Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 215: "ordenou Afonso Dalboquerque de mandar fazer huma jangada de taboas sobre huns páos, em que se meteo, vestido em huma jaqueta parda, e atado com huma corda, porque o mar não o levasse" ²²³ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 217

²²⁴ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 215-216: "Estando os nossos fazendo a jangada, o junco, em que hia Simão Martinz, veio na volta da terra, muito perto donde estavam aquelles pedaços de Flor de la mar com a nossa gente, e víram bem o trabalho em que estavam, e dali se tornou outra vez na volta do mar, e não o viram mais; e o caso foi, que os Jaos, que hiam neste junco (...) se alevantáram e matáram a todos, sem escaparem mais que quatro Marinheiros, que com a revolta se metêram em huma almadia, e foram ter a Pacé"

²²⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 218: "Nesta náo Flor de la mar, e no junco, que se alevantou contra os nossos, se perdeo o mais rico despojo que nunca se vio"

greatly skilled workers in embroidery, and many young girls and youths from all those countries, whom Albuquerque was carrying to the queen D. Maria."²²⁶

Nevertheless, sources somewhat disagree on what was lost in the wrecks. According to *Comentários*, Albuquerque carried in his flagship some objects intended to be sent to king D. Manuel as a present. These included the (seven?) "castles of woodwork, ornamented with brocades, which the king of Malacca used to carry upon his elephants and very rich palanquins for his personal use, all plated with gold", and a great sum of gold jewellery and precious stones, likely looted from the city.²²⁷ But there was also

"...a table with its feet all overlaid with plaques of gold, which Milhrrao²²⁸ presented to Albuquerque for the king, when the lands of Goa were delivered to him; for when he [Albuquerque] arrived at Cochin with the intention of leaving this table with the factor (*feitor*), who could forward it to Portugal, so great was the hurry to embark, in order to avoid the monsoon which was getting well forward in its season, that it was forgotten, and then he took it with him."²²⁹

Brás also retells that the objects Albuquerque grieved for most of all were the bracelet seized from *Naodabeguea* and "the lions which he brought because they were found on certain ancient tombs of the kings of Malacca, taken by him with the intention of placing them on his own tomb in Goa as a memorial of the feat of taking Malacca".²³⁰

²²⁶ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 218: "...muitas mulheres grandes lavradeiras de bastidor, e muitas meninas, e meninos da geração de todas aquellas partes, do cabo Comorim para dentro, que Affonso Dalboquerque trazia pera a Rainha D. Maria"

Perhaps including the gems worth 60.000 *cruzados* from the four-footed stool [*terpeça de quatro pés*] mentioned in Correia 1860, pp. 247-248.

²²⁸ The ruler of Honnavar (*reino de Onor*).

²²⁹ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 218-219: "...Perdêram-se os castelos de madeira emparamentados de brocado, que o Rey de Malaca trazia em riba de seus Alifantes, e andores mui ricos de sua pessoa, todos forrados de ouro, cousa muito pera ver, e muitas joias de ouro, e pedraria, que trazia pera mandar a ElRey D. Manuel; e se perdeo huma meza com seus pés, forrado tudo de ouro, a qual Milrrhao deo a Afonso Dalboquerque pera ElRey, quando lhe entregou as terras de Goa; e chegando a Cochim com fundamento de a feixar ao Feitor, que a mandasse, foi a pressa tamanha no embarcar, por bem da moução que se hia gastando, que lhe esqueceo, e levou-a comsigo, e os nossos por sua parte tambem perdêram muito."; CAA, I, p. 47: "...aly me deo hua tripeça forrada toda douro, que foy delrrey de narsymgua, pera voss alteza, e com os pees feytos em torno forrados todos douro, obra muy bem feita, e porque os homees quamdo nesta partes vem algua cousa bem feita louvan a, e quamdo daly vem a nacer algua cousa que obriga, encomendam se a ese murmurar"

²³⁰ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 219-220: "...e o que Afonso Dalboquerque mais sentio desta perda, foi a manilha, que se tomou a Naodabegea, a qual trazia em muita estima pera lhe mandar, por ser cousa de admiração o effeito della; e assi sentio muito perder os liões que trazia, por se acharem em humas sepulturas antigas dos Reys de Malaca, e trazia-os pera pôr na sua em Goa por memoria daquelle

These "very beautiful and of very fine work" metal lions, their original placement, and their intended destination were described in various ways. Góis states that they were two, hollow and made of iron, and that they had been removed from the "door of the king of Malacca" and selected by Albuquerque as a gift to D. Manuel.²³¹ Barros adds that the lions had been given by the

"...king of China to the king of Malacca, who esteemed them so much that he had them placed by the door of his palace, and Afonso de Albuquerque had brought them as the major token of all his triumphs in the capture of that city, and [Albuquerque] used to say that with their loss had gone all his honour, for he did not want in his tomb any other sign of the memory of his achievements."

These are the two most harmonious descriptions, as Góis and Barros agree on their placement but not on their intended purpose. Brás states they were six and had been found "on certain ancient tombs of the kings of Malacca" and Correia claims having heard from Albuquerque that the *four* lions had been used as censers and stood under the sultan's bed. Correia further states they were estimated at 40.000 *cruzados* each.²³³

It is not likely the lions were ever bound for the king, as the governor put a substantial effort in recuperating them after the wreck and bemoaned their loss associating it with his memory. Evidence of their esteem is further revealed by Barros, who states that later Albuquerque wrote from India to Jorge Botelho ordering him to find divers from the land – accustomed to dive for seed pearls – who could find the lions, adding that "he should spend on that as much as it was necessary, because since he was loosing his wealth, he might as well not loose his honour". ²³⁴ Payments were made to divers but no mention to any *salvado* was

feito, e de todos os despojos, que se ali tomáram, estas duas peças sós tomou pera si, que por serem de ferro eram muito pera estimar."

²³¹ Góis 1949, III, 52v: "hos mais que estavam na nao salvaram, & algua roupa, mas nam dous leões de ferro vazados muito fermoso, & de obra muito prima, de quatro q estavão á porta delRei de Malaca, que Afonso dalbuquerque levava pera mandar a Portugal a elRei, de q estes dous ihão nesta nao" ²³² BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VII, cap. I, pp. 312-313 "...dous liões de férro vazados, óbra muy prima &

²³² BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VII, cap. I , pp. 312-313 "...dous liões de férro vazados, óbra muy prima & natural que elrey da China enviára de presente a elrey de Malaca; os quáes por honra elrey Mahamed tinha á pórta dos seus páços, & Afõso Dalboquérq os trazia por a mais principal péça de seu triunfo da tomáda daquella cidáde, & dizia por elles q em os perder perdéra toda sua honra, porq nã quissera em sua sepultura outro letreiro nem outra memória de seus trabalhos."

²³³ CORREIA 1860, pp. 247-248

²³⁴ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VII, cap. I , pp. 312-313: "...Por aver os quáes, nos primeiros navios que da India depois de elle lá ser partiram pera Maláca, particularmente escrevéo a Jórge botélho capitam de

found.²³⁵

Also lost were the "extremely beautiful" embroideresses "from every nation of the land" whom Albuquerque had captured to be sent to Queen D. Maria, and some earrings he had intended to send to D. Manuel and D. Maria. Of all that was on board - both in the ship and the junk – not much was saved beyond the sword, gold crown and a ruby ring which the king of Siam had offered to D. Manuel. It appears that the *Flor de la mar* carried both looted articles (the bone bracelet, the metal lions, and the elephant howdahs) and diplomatic gifts (the table with golden feet and the Siamese offers). It was the junk that carried the larger part of the loot, including the king's *quinto* and "some of the governor's share with value in India".

The acts of looting ships and spoiling cities – two types of generalized acts of stealing during a general disturbance – were peculiar instances of rapid appropriation of Asian products. In these cases the priorities seem to have been of two kinds: military, by seizing fire weapons and related armament (which had two perks by simultaneously providing the Portuguese with greater military power and depriving the defeated of potential to counterattack); and precious treasurable articles.

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hua caravella: encomendando lhe muyto que viesse áquelle lugar, & visse se per algum módo de mergulho com gente da terra costumáda pescar aljôfre lhe podiam tirar aquelles liões, & que despendese nisso quanto quissese que elle lho mandaria pagar, porque já que perdia a fazenda nã queria perder a honra."

²³⁵ CAA, VI, p. 49

²³⁶ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 144: "...Tomáram-se tres mil tiros de artilheria, e destes seriam dous mil de metal, e hum tiro grande, que o Rey de Calicut mandára ao Rey de Malaca. Os outros eram de ferro da feição dos nossos berços, e toda esta artilheria com seus repairos, que lhe não fazia aventaje a de Portugal; Espingardões, zarvatanas de peçonha, arcos, frechas, laudeis de laminas, lanças da Jaoa, e outra diversidade de armas, foi cousa de espanto o que se tomou, a fóra muitas mercadorias de toda a sorte. Tudo isto, e o mais que deixo por não ser proluxo, mandou AA repartir polos Capitães, e por toda a gente da Armada, sem tomar pera si mais que seis liões grandes de metal, que trazia pera a sua sepultura; e a manilha, que tenho dito, e humas meninas de todas as nações daquella terra, e alguns brincos, que tudo trazia pera mandar a ElRey D. Manuel e á Rainha D. Maria, perdeo-se na náo Flor de la mar, tornando pera a India, como adiante se dirá."

²³⁷ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, p. 219: "...quanto vinha na náo, e no junco, não se salvou mais que a espada, e coroa de ouro, e o annel de rubi, que o Rey de Sião mandava a ElRey D. Manuel" Góis mentions that from the *Flor de la mar* were saved some of the cloths, Góis 1949, III, 52v

²³⁸ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, LXXVIII, pp. 161-162 "...& nele levava muyta fazenda del rey seu señor q lhe coubera do seu quinto, & assi algua sua que valia na India"

Spices were not favoured loot material as they demanded a much higher volume than the "small stuffs" to be profitable. Indeed, in the regimento a distinction was drawn between two purchasing agents (feitores), one for the spices and another one for "small stuffs" (coisas miúdas), including gems, pearls, and seed pearls. 239 This official distinction between the two categories was clearly manifest in the coeval selection of spoils.

Up to 1511 knowledge on how to loot also developed. This is noticeable for instance when the Portuguese became acquainted with processes of concealing goods (as in Muscat by hiding them inside walls, or as in Malacca by burying them), which made their spoiling much more destructive for the cities' constructions.

The signs of a Portuguese appreciation for foreign materialities can be traced from mentions to plundered goods. Spoil was a mode of acquisition of material culture where the protagonists could choose what they interacted with, as opposed to gifting. Within this chronological and geographical frame the practice of buying much less shopping²⁴⁰ – was not documented in the remaining sources pertaining to Albuquerque, even if it surely occurred.²⁴¹

²³⁹ The factors were governed by diverse sections in the *regimento*. See CAA, II, pp. 299-300 for the spices (*especiaria*) and CAA, II, p. 308 for *coisas myudas*.

240 In the sense posed by Evelyn Welch in Welch 2005, pp. 1-8.

²⁴¹ Albuquerque avoided as much as possible to buy what could not be included in the state expenses, even if he accused other men in India of doing the same. For instance, in December 1513 the governor wrote to D. Manuel complaining about the greediness of the Portuguese men, because while "in India, (...) they are deceitful, and would tell a thousand lies and use a thousand artifices to obtain one ruby" (CAA, I, p. 173). Months later, in September 1514, Albuquerque and his interpreter (one captured in the Arabian Sea) devised a complex stratagem to - ironically - obtain 5.000 rubies without charge. According to Gaspar Correia, Albuquerque "went to the port of Batkul (Baticalá) where many ships were loading with cartazes, and saw a ship with the Portuguese flag. After asking whose ship that was, he heard it belonged to a rich chatim from Batkul who was loading it to Hormuz. The governor spoke with his interpreter, so that he found a way to obtain from the chatim five thousand rubies of those large pouches of twenty units [corja]. These are small rubies that are to be set around bigger gems and these large pouches [marca grande] are worth 30 to 40 cruzados, and for the five thousand units the governor wanted to send to the queen, who had asked for them, the governor would need 250 corjas, which were valued at 15.000 pardaus. And to have them at the expenses of the chatim, and without work, he agreed secretly with his Jew to do as follows..." The long plot starts with the governor approaching the merchant who came to greet him with refreshments. Subsequently, Albuquerque inquired him angrily about how he had obtained the flag. The chatim claimed D. Francisco de Almeida had given it to his brother, to which Albuquerque replied that he had not the same merit and honour as his brother to be using the same flag. As a punishment, the Portuguese governor was to burn his ship and cut his hands immediately - he even had the merchant lay his hands over a stool while waiting for the cleaver - had not the Jewish interpreter intervene. In an illusory outcome, the interpreter stepped in claiming for mercy and 'saved' the

Moreover, accounts of plunder reveal not only the materiality of the articles but also the responses and reactions to them. The Persian book of Alexander and the Chinese lions found in Malacca were cherished by Albuquerque for what they meant – one was the biography of the hero he aimed to parallel²⁴²; the others embodied all his accomplishments – and for that reason they were prized more than anything else.²⁴³

merchant's hands and ship. Later on the interpreter recommended the merchant to get 6.000 rubies of those measured in large pouches, because Albuquerque would like to buy some of the best to offer D. Manuel. Grateful, the merchant ended up offering all the rubies, worth 18.000 pardaus. (CORREIA 1860, pp. 388-389: "[Albuquerque] foi ter ao porto de Baticalá, onde no porto estavão muytas naos que carregavão com cartazes, onde vio estar huma nao com huma bandeyra das quinas de Portugal, e perguntando que nao era lhe disserão que de hum rigo chatim morador em Baticalá, que a carregava pera Ormuz. O Governador fallou com o seu judeu, o lingoa, que tivesse modo como ouvesse do chatim como lhe ouvesse em Baticalá cinco mil rubis de corja de marca grande. Estes rubis são miudos, que encastoão derrador d'outras peças grossas, e estes de marca grande, que são vinte peças a corja, valem a corja a trinta e corenta cruzados a corja, que nos cinco mil que o Governador queria pera mandar á Raynha, que lhos mandava pedir, era 250 corjas, que valião quinze mil pardaos. E pera os aver com o dinheiro do chatim, e sem trabalho, fallou ysto em segredo com o judeu lingoa. Então, vindo de terra visitação do Rey com muyto refresco, que lhe mandou per hum seu regedor, tambem chegou o chatim dono da nao com dous barcos carregados de fardos d'arroz e d'açuquere, e muytas galinhas, e fruitas verdes e de conserva, que offereceo ante o Governador. O judeu em segredo disse ao Governador que era o dono da nao que tinha a bandeyra; o Governador se fez muyto menencorio contra elle, e lhe perguntou se a nao era sua. Disse que si. Então lhe perguntou quem lhe dera aquella bandeyra. Respondeo que o Visorey dom Francisco a dera a hum seu irmão, que morrêra e lha deixára pera sua honra, e que por honra de sua chegada a mandára pôr na nao. Disse o Governador: "Teu irmão teve merecimento pera ter essa honra"; mas elle que a nom tinha, e sem licença pusera bandeyra d'ElRey na sua nao, por ysso lhe mandaria queimar a nao, e a elle cortar as mãos. E logo mandou, que ally presente elle, hum mouro da galé lhas cortasse. Polo que logo o chatim foy tomado, e lhe puserão as mãos sobre hum banco pera lhas cortarem, e ouve detena em se buscar o cutello; polo que entanto o lingoa se deitou aos pés do Governador, lhe pedindo misericordia, que o chatim bradava a todos os fidalgos que estavão com o Governador, que todos lho pedirão; com que o Governador fez que contra sua vontade lhe perdoava, mas que o avia de trazer a banco na galé. E o levarão á proa da galé, onde o aferrolharão em hum banco, onde elle muyto apertava com o lingoa, em tanta maneyra que de todo foy perdoado, e que se fosse pera terra. Ao qual, se embarcando, o lingoa disse que lá polos outros chatins buscasse trezentas corjas de rubis de marca grande, que o Governador avia mester pera mandar pera Portugal. Com que se foy a aterra, e nom tardou muyto que tornou com os rubis, e outros de mór preço que apresentou ao Governador, que mandou ao lingoa que os guardasse e lhos pagasse logo. O que o lingoa levou o chatim á proa da galé, e sobre huma tavoa lhe pôs muytos xarafns, que tomasse quanto custarão os rubis; o que nada quis tomar o chatim, inda que o lingoa o muyto apresiou, e s'embarcou e foy pera terra, onde o Governador mandou ao feitor d'armada, que estava em terra, que presente ElRey chamasse o chatim, e lhe pagasse os rubis, que erão dezoito mil pardaos; mas o chatim nom quis tomar pagamento, dizendo que tinha de seu dozentos mil pardaos pera servir o Governador; que nom queria senão honra e seguro pera sua nao, que levasse a bandeyra, e a tivesse nos portos em que estivesse. O que o feitor mandou dizer ao Governador, que lhe mandou o seguro com as honras da bandeyra que pedia, que o feitor deu ao chatim, com que fez grandes festas, e deu ao feitor boas peças.")

²⁴² See Barletta 2010 for a study on the depictions of Alexander as a symbol of Imperial European domination and how they impacted the development of views of empire and modernity.

²⁴³ Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 133-134: "...mais estimou que quantas cousas que podéra dar"

II.2.2. Diplomatic gift-exchange ²⁴⁴

...porque Afonso Dalboquerque, em quanto governou a India, usou sempre de artificios com os Reys, e Senhores della, polos amedrontar, e trazer á sua amizade, e conservar a authoridade do estado delRey D. Manuel... ²⁴⁵

In the geography in which Afonso de Albuquerque acted, gift-giving was a diplomatic convention practiced by all states. Both Hindu and Islamic nations had a well-established system of regulations where reciprocity and symmetry were decisive for the commensurability of the political dialogue. However, the part that diplomatic gifts played in Early Modern Euro-Asian contacts has been overlooked by art historians. Afons of the political dialogue.

The foremost theorist of the *gift* is undoubtedly Marcel Mauss who in his 1925 *Essai sur le don*²⁴⁸ laid down the foundations of social theories of reciprocity and gift exchange. Particularly since the 1954 English translation of the book²⁴⁹ gift and gift-giving practices have been under the scrutiny of both medieval and early modern historians of the European tradition.²⁵⁰ Since then the debate between formalists and substantivists taking place in the field of economic anthropology has not significantly permeated art historical investigation. As such, the discussion on gift-giving keeps fluctuating between two axes, where some regard the phenomenon as a ritual while others tend to focus on gifting as an economic behaviour.²⁵¹

In the present study, gifting is regarded as "a special form of transaction in which goods were transferred from donor to receiver with the consent of the

Specific studies about the sixteenth-century Portuguese diplomatic activites in Asia include BIEDERMANN 2005, COUTO 2009, HALIKOWSKI-SMITH 2006, MACIEL 2013 and MARTINS 2014.

²⁴⁵ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 281

²⁴⁶ Subrahmanyam 2012a, p. xiv; the fundamental issue of incommensurability in the encounters between different (cultural and religious) groups was studied by Sanjay Subrahmanyam. His conclusions seem to broadly confirm that it was the courtly encounter that was the crucial site for forging mutual perceptions and representations in Eurasia.

²⁴⁷ The acceleration of gift-giving practices during the years of Albuquerque's government has already been hinted in a notice made by Sousa Viterbo (VITERBO 1904) and by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça in the introduciton to CAA, VI (p. x).

²⁴⁸ Mauss 2002 [1925]

²⁴⁹ In 1954 by Ian Cunnison and in 1990 by W. D. Halls.

²⁵⁰ See Curta 2006 for a synthesis on the historiography of the European Medieval gift.

²⁵¹ See CUTLER 2001 for this summary and DAVIS 2000 for an example of the fusion of these two tendencies in a historicized approach.

former, but for social prestige and not for material or tangible profit."252 The gifts under examination are of a very specific kind: they served diplomatic functions, being neither religious nor economic in their agenda. ²⁵³ These were gifts of power, for they were exchanged between holders of authority "who understood their symbolism and defined their status by participation in gift-giving sequences". 254 They were also a privileged mode of consumption of material culture, as they made objects available that otherwise are not likely to have been known in far-off courts.

It is sometimes difficult to understand what Portuguese sources mean by 'diplomatic encounter' or 'ambassador' and consequently what constituted in the early sixteenth century a 'diplomatic gift'. Whereas in the first years the contact between Indian potentates and Albuquerque (on behalf of king D. Manuel) was established via emissaries (mensageiros) carrying letters or oral messages who occasionally received a gift of cloths, in more complex diplomatic missions – as those sent to Vijayanagar, Safavid Persia, Hormuz or Gujarat, among others – we can identify a diverse strategy.

Additionally, in sixteenth-century Portuguese political vocabulary three orders of gifts can be discerned: refresco, mercê, and presente. These terms were employed not necessarily in relation to the materiality of the gift but rather to the circumstances and the perceived relevance of the recipient. Refresco stands for refreshments, consisting of food or drinks presented to the fleets at the first moment of a reception. The same food could be referred to as a mercê if the offer was made on land, so far as the shortage of food supplies of the recipient was not being emphasized. Similarly, a mercê usually implied a gift smaller than a premeditated presente, and would not presuppose mutual commitment.

The obligation networks forged by diplomatic gift-exchange (presente) would often generate asymmetries. This inequality could be perceived by the interlocutors in terms of monetary and symbolic value, innovation, representativeness, and in

²⁵² Curta 2006, p. 671

²⁵³ MICHAELS 1997 is a study on the evolutional stages in the forms of Indian gifts, from the early Vedic offerings to the ritualized obligatory gift bestowed out of a sense of moral duty (dana). Discern the meaning of a gift in a Christian, Hindu, and Islamic setting. But not the religious gift - the secular political gift, even if nothing was apolitical. ²⁵⁴ Curta 2006, p. 698

their ceremonial consignment. Articles lasting in their value (such as gems, precious metals, and cloths) and technologies (in particular weaponry) were usually preferred by the Portuguese to perishable goods (such as spices) or goods that demanded special and expensive maintenance (animals, especially large ones). As will be explained, diplomatic gifting could include specifically requested items, not exclusively spontaneous or conventional choices.

Another aspect that characterized Portuguese-Asian contacts during Albuquerque's government was the early perception of diverse layers of diplomacy. In terms of gift exchange a clear discernment between sovereigns, governors, ambassadors, and messengers was soon established, even if the latter were all official representatives of a state. Despite being gifted smaller presents than a sovereign, Portuguese men soon grasped the benefits of visiting rich courts and would dispute the privilege of serving as ambassadors. However, if during the first years it would be the king or governor to finance and provide for all the embassies, the awareness of them being a profitable and safe affair led to the later practice of them being personally funded by the ambassadors.

Therefore, 'diplomatic gifts' are understood in this chapter as the material culture exchanged in diplomatic missions between Albuquerque — as a representative of D. Manuel — and Asian potentates. These involved articles selected by the governor himself and sent through embassies he arranged as well as, conversely, articles he received from foreign ambassadors.

FIRST INSTANCES

Although the Portuguese were the foreign power intruding in the Indian Ocean they rarely took diplomatic initiative. ²⁵⁵ After Vasco da Gama's failed audience with the Zamorin of Calicut in 1498 a prejudice was forged against the usefulness of diplomacy with Hindu courts. ²⁵⁶ Warfare became the staple approach

²⁵⁵ In a 1514 letter to D. Manuel Albuquerque boasted of the ambassadors and kings that took the initiative to visit him; CAA, I, 312: "...ambaxadores dos Rex e primcipis destas partes que vos vem buscar"

That is, non-Islamic courts, since in 1499 Vasco da Gama returned to Lisbon with the information (provided by the Jewish trader later known as Gaspar da Índia) that Asia had only a huge number of Christian kingdoms and Muslim lands. Only in 1501 Pedro Álvares Cabral returned with the vision of a tripartite scheme of Christians, Moors, and Gentiles. During the next decate the geopolitical vision

but it was soon understood not to be enough. The fundamental issues at stake – such as the securing of friendship (*amizade*) with the Indian potentates, the mass conversions to Christianity, and the establishment of trading posts in strategic points – were conditioned by the Portuguese capacity to dialogue in a symmetric fashion with their interlocutors.²⁵⁷ This implied a long process of learning and awareness of the diverse Asian political conventions.

The 1505 *regimento* of the first viceroy of Portuguese India clearly stated that he should never give any gifts.²⁵⁸ Two exceptions were made explicit: in order to make a fortress in Kollam²⁵⁹ and to the king of Vijayanagara.²⁶⁰ All other cases were left to his good judgement.

GULF OF OMAN AND HORMUZ (1507-1508)

In the last months of 1507 and early 1508 Albuquerque raided the Gulf of Oman and conquered Hormuz against the will of his subordinates. Although he was not yet governor of Portuguese India, he availed himself of the authority of D. Manuel's patent letter he carried and later accomplished one the most precocious cases of extension of the *Estado da Índia* by diplomatic measures.

and the religious categories would further multiply, and the Portuguese would come to understand the division of Islam into at least two groups (the Shi'i supporters of the Safavids and the Sunnis) and their own differences with the Christians of Kerala (Subrahmanyam 2007, p. 263) The awareness of a belief system outside the cannon of the Abrahamic religions was not thoroughly formed in the minds of the Portuguese during the first decade of the sixteenth century. Consequently, a body of protocols devised in conformity to each of the diverse cultures encountered in Asia was far from being consummated. As was thoroughly examined by Dejanirah Couto, at the time of the government of Albuquerque the Portuguese were not familiar even with the Persian Shia court etiquette, influenced by Kizilbash ideologies and the nomad ways of the Turkmen shamanistic culture (Couto 2009, p. 289). For nearly one century the Portuguese had a tradition of communication with Maghreb Muslims, replicating in the Indian Ocean the protocols drafted during those contacts. But these did not include the exchange of gifts as an alliance was never sought in northern Africa. Thus, a new paradigm was needed.

²⁵⁷ Halikowski-Smith 2006

²⁵⁸ CAA, II, p. 326: "Dadivas que nom dee: Porque, das dadyvidas [sic] e graças que se fazeem aos reys e senhroes da teera, teemos visto per experiencia que se segue dano a noso serviço, porque huma vez que se deem sempre o querem quasy por foro, e quando se lhe negam seguese diso escamdallo, por se evytarr vos defemdemos e mandamos que nam dees nenhumas dadyvas, asy do de nosa fazenda como da vosa a neemhuums reys nem senhores, sallvo quando tam proveytosas e necesaryas vos parecesem por noso serviço que se nam devesem escusar, e quando neste caso de necesidade o fezeseis serya de modo que parecese que por aquella soo vez se lhe fazia, e a temperança disto leixamos nos a vosa booa despriçam."

²⁵⁹ CAA, II, p. 314: "Dadivas pera se fazer coullam. (...) e gastares ate mil cruzados douro por uma soo vez"

²⁶⁰ CAA, II, p. 327: "Que falla no que hade emviar a elrey de narcimga"

The first cities in the Indian Ocean submitted to Albuquerque through statesmanship were Qalhat (*Calaiate*) and Sohar (*Soar*), in the Gulf of Oman. As was customary, both cities gifted the fleet with refreshments, which seems to have disoriented Albuquerque. ²⁶¹ According to him, the submission of these cities belonging to the kingdom of Hormuz would only be determined by the following conquest of the capital city and the takeover of the kingdom, so until he was certain of their obedience all gift-giving should be interdicted. ²⁶²

In Qalhat, the captain declined receiving the present saying 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.²⁶³ As he did not know how the affairs would turn out, Albuquerque claimed he would receive nothing in way of a present and ordered payment to be made for all that was brought to him. The inhabitants were unwilling to receive payment saying that the present which the rulers of the city had sent him was a sign of friendship; nevertheless, Albuquerque forced them to take payment.²⁶⁴ Months later the city would be destroyed under his command.²⁶⁵

In Sohar, however, peace letters were written and sealed and in exchange for the refreshments Albuquerque sent "some things from Portugal" to the *alcaide* and two other prominent men.²⁶⁶ He also offered a silver basin and a gold chain to a Moorish captain as compensation for his assistance.²⁶⁷ These cannot be classified as diplomatic gifts, inasmuch as they were not an official stately exchange.

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²⁶¹ CORREIA 1859, p. 794: "O Capitão mór folgou com o presente porque era cousa de mantimento, e primeyro que respondesse mandou pagar tudo o dobro do que valia, que os messageiros nom quiserão tomar, e elle mandou que logo tornassem a levar tudo pera terra, porque elle nom avia de tomar nada de fraça senão da mão de seus amigos"

²⁶² CORREIA 1859, pp. 795-799

²⁶³ Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 84-86 (Qalhat): "trouxeram-lhe hum presente de laranjas, limões, romans, e galinhas, e alguns carneiros; e porque com todas estas boas palavras, e presente, não deixava de andar muita gente ao longo da praia, e pela Cidade armados, e vestidos como Turcos com seus arcos, lanças, espadas, e cimitarras, e na ribeira tinham huma estancia com quatro bombardas, não lhe quis o grande Afonso Dalboquerque tomar o seu presente, dizendo-lhe, que não avia de aceitar nenhuma cousa de pessoas, a quem ouvesse de fazer a guerra, se não quisessem ser vassalos delRey de Portugal"; CASTANHEDA 1552, II, cap. LIV, p. 102

²⁶⁴ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 86

²⁶⁵ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 87: "...segundo a informação que Afonso Dalboquerque teve de alguns Mouros, parece que foi destruida por Alexandre, que conquistou toda aquella terra". The mosque is described in detail in Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 298-299

²⁶⁶ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, I, p. 122-123

²⁶⁷ Albuquerque 1973, I, р. 123: "...hum bacio de prata de agua ás mãos, e huma cadea de ouro..."

Diplomatic incidents and misunderstood conventions occurred from the moment when the Portuguese fleet anchored in the port of Hormuz in late 1507, as Albuquerque ordered that a salute should be made to the city with all the artillery. ²⁶⁸ This was perceived in Hormuz as an affront, confirming the apprehension felt since the Portuguese had captured Qalhat.

After days of conversation and an assault to the city, the Portuguese and the king of Hormuz signed a peace treaty and agreed on an annual tribute of 15.000 *xerafins* to be paid to D. Manuel. According to Brás' account two copies were made of this treaty,

"...one in gold leaf, 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 gold seals hanging appended by chains, namely, the seals of the king, of Cogeatar, that of his governor, and that of the city; the other copy, by the king's desire, was written in Persian, which is the common language of the land, written on paper, with letters of gold and blue dots. Both these copies were sent by Afonso de Albuquerque to D. Manuel in silver caskets, and they ought to be in the *Torre do Tombo* unless by some carelessness such antiquity worthy of high remembrance, was allowed to perish."

After the peace treaty was signed the king asked Albuquerque for a Portuguese flag to be placed on his palace. As the Portuguese were not prepared for that mission – apparently a solitary decision by Albuquerque – they did not have any extra flag, so one was made in the city. ²⁷⁰ This flag could have been modeled after the flag given in 1506 by D. Manuel to Albuquerque, also made of white and crimson

²⁶⁸ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 140: "...como a armada toda foi surta, mandou salvar a Cidade com toda a artelharia"

²⁶⁹ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 177: "...e desde concerto se fizeram duas cartas, huma em huma folha de ouro do tamanho de huma de papel, feita a modo de libro, escrita em Arabigo com letras abertas ao boril, e suas brochas de ouro com sellos de ouro dependurados por cadeas, a saber, hum do Rey, outro de Cogeatar seu Governador, e outro da Cidade. A outra carta quis o Rey que fosse em Parse, que he a lingoa commua da terra, e esta se fez em papel com letras de ouro, é pontos de azul, e ambas estas cartas mandou Afonso Dalboquerque metidas em caixas de prata a ElRey D. Manuel, as quaes devem de estar na Torre do Tombo (senão ouve descuido em deixar perder huma antiguidade como esta, digna de muita memoria)"; CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LXIII, p. 124: "E de tudo isto forão feytas duas escripturas hua em lingoa persiana pera ficar ao capitão moor, outra ê lingoa arabia pera que mãdasse a elrey de Portugal, & esta foy feyta em hua folha douro batido do tamanho de hua folha de papel. E as letras erão abertas ao boril, & metida ê hua caixa de prata feyta da feytura de hu livro, a qual se fechava co tres brochas, & ambas erão assinadas por elrey, por Cojeatar, & por Raix noradim, & ê cada hua avia hu selo pêdête; ho do meyo era douro, & este era del rey, os dos cabos erão de prata; ho da mão dereyta de cojeatar, ho da ezquerda de Raix noradim. A escritura ê lingoa Persiana era escripta em papel com letras douro; & os pontos dazul metida tambê ê outra caixa de prata cô os mesmo selos como a outra."

²⁷⁰ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 178: "...e como na Armada não avia nenhuma que lhe podessem mandar, disse ao Feitor [Pero Vaz Dorta] que fosse a terra fazela de cetim branco com huma Cruz de Christus"

satin with the cross of the Order of Christ.²⁷¹ The desired flag was presented to the king and Cogeatar on 10 October 1507 in a parade coordinated by Albuquerque – who however decided to remain in his ship fearing an entrapment.²⁷²

Days after the handover of the flag Albuquerque asked the king for an interview in the *cerame*.²⁷³ The place was described as being "covered with carpets, with carpeted benches and a platform with two chairs of silk and cushions of the same type."²⁷⁴ The chairs were assigned to Albuquerque and the king, whereas the Portuguese captains and noblemen were seated on the benches to the right and the noblemen from Hormuz to the left. Contemporary Portuguese sources describe the foreigners in detail not giving any equivalent information about the Portuguese, which may reveal the fascination felt to some degree towards them. Also, the descriptions were written to draw attention to the special features of the foreigners, likely because the audience would know in what form the Portuguese attire would be.

After the meeting Albuquerque received for the first time diplomatic gifts – that is, objects given to himself as representative of the Portuguese king – in what appears to have been unexpected to him. Brás' description recounts that Albuquerque "took his leave of the king and all the lords, and proceeded to embark, and the king gave him a gold belt and a dagger ornamented with gold, and a horse very richly caparisoned, and two pieces of jeweled brocade, and to the captains and fidalgos he gave each a piece of silk." The Portuguese offered nothing in the way of 'countergift'.

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²⁷¹ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 27: "...[D. Manuel] lhe mandou huma bandeira de cetim branco franjada de retros cramesim, e branco, com huma Cruz de Christus de cetim cramesim no meio"

²⁷² Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 178-179

²⁷³ A wooden jetty projecting into the sea to protect the harbour.

²⁷⁴ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 182: "...o qual foi todo alcatifado de muitas alcatifas, e ao derredor bancos cubertos com ellas, e hum estrado com duas cadeiras de seda, e almofadas do mesmo teor"

²⁷⁵ Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 184: "...após o encontro no cerame o Rey Ihe deu huma cinta de ouro, e huma adaga guarnecida de ouro, e hum cavalo mui bem aparelhado, e duas peças de brocado pedrado; e aos Capitães e Fidalgos deu a cada hum sua peça de seda"; Castanheda 1552, II, LXIV, pp. 117-118: "despois de tudo isto assêtado se tornou pa a frota, onde Ihe el rey Dormuz mãdou huu presête; hua cîta douro & pedraria q foy avaliada em dous mil cruzados, & hua adaga do mesmo que valia qnhêtos; & quatro aneis, cada hu co hua pedra de muyto preço; & hu cavalo arabio fouveyro (?) selado, & enfreado de sua ppria pessoa, & duas peças de brocadilho. E assi mandou pera cada capitão da armada hua peça de seda. Ho capitão mór lhe mandava tãbê outro presête disso que tinha..."

An interesting moment of gifting by Albuquerque follows months later when a Persian ambassador arrived to collect the tribute from Hormuz, not being informed of the Portuguese presence. When Rexnordim²⁷⁶ addressed Albuquerque requesting instructions the captain refused that any payment be made to a king other than D. Manuel. Displaying the bellicose personality he was famous for, Albuquerque then proceeded to collect from his ships cannonballs, matchlock bullets, and grenades, and told him that he might send all those to the captain of the Shah Ismail, "for that was the currency the King of Portugal had ordered his captain to use to pay the tribute of that kingdom that was under his mastery and command."²⁷⁷

The practice of offering bullets and cannonballs to an adversary was also practiced by the Bahmani sultanate against the Adil Shah of Bijapur, which hints at it being a war convention. Although this clear strategy of intimidation cannot be considered diplomatic gifting it should be stressed for its unusual character. The offering and selling of weaponry to Muslim states was severely vetoed by Papal bull and was one of the main concerns expressed in the 1505 *regimento*. Damião de Góis provides the only mention to a waiver that had been obtained by D. Manuel from Pope Julius II, which is said to have legitimized the exchange of weapons with Muslim sovereigns. 281

²⁷⁶ Or *Reyz Nordim*, the chief councillor of the king of Hormuz.

²⁷⁷ Albuquerque 1973, I, pp. 195-196: "...e mandou trazer das náos pelouros de bombardas, béstas, e espingardas, e bombas de fogo: e que dissesse ao Rey, que mandasse tudo aquillo ao Capitão do Xeque Ismael, porque aquella era a moeda, em que ElRey de Portugal mandava aos seus Capitães, que lhe pagassem as pareas daquelle Reyno, que estava de seu senhorio e mando"; CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LXV, p. 129: "...mãdou ho capitão mór tomar algûs pelouros de bőbardas, assi grossas como miudas. E tambê despingardas, & assi setas. E mandou os ao êbaxador do Xeque ismael per hum cavaleyro; mãdandolhe dizer que aquela era a moeda q se lavrava em Portugal pera pagar pareas a quem as pedia aos reys & sñores que erão vassalos delrey dom Manuel rey de Portugal & das Indias, & do reyno Dormuz"

²⁷⁸ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 232: "elle era certificado que os Senhores do Reyno de Deccan estavam alevantados contra o Hidalcão, e os seus guazis lhe mandavam cada dia cartas, e frechas quebradas, que era sinal de homens cercados"

²⁷⁹ This was probably stated in the *In Coena Domini* bull promulgated in 1511 by Pope Julius II but

²⁷⁹ This was probably stated in the *In Coena Domini* bull promulgated in 1511 by Pope Julius II but enforced since 1502. It can be found in item 5: "...excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui equos, arma, ferrum, lignamina, & alia prohibita deferunt Saracenis, Turcis, & aliis Christi nominis inimicis, quibus Christianos impugnant." in Cherubini 1742, p. 507-508.

²⁸⁰ CAA, II, p. 326

COUTO 2009, p. 282, n. 23 and Góis 1949, IV, p. 10v: "...& quanto as peças que hião neste presente defesas na bulla de coena domini, Afonso dalbuquerque as podia mandar por ter commissam del Rei pera assim o fazer quando necessario fosse, aos Reis, senhores seus aliados, & confederados, por para isso ter dispensaçam do Papa."

After this episode in which Albuquerque saw his power disputed from abroad, sources reveal for the first time an intention from Albuquerque to *gratify* a foreigner with gifts: *Rexnordim*, Khaja Ata, and three other *mouros principais*. Upon their return from the delivery of the projectiles to the Safavid ambassador, Albuquerque offered them "pieces of silver and red scarlet, and vermilion, and many rich cloths which he had taken from the captured ships, and some things he had brought from Portugal." Through João Estão, scrivener to the fleet, 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". There are no records of the reactions to these articles but it is not likely the gift of cloths was very much valued in the rich city of Hormuz.

VIJAYANAGARA, BIJAPUR, PERSIA, GUJARAT (1510)

The first year of Albuquerque's government was characterized by an increase in the number of diplomatic contacts, perpetuating previously established bonds as well as inaugurating new ones. Unlike what had happened with Hormuz and Persia in 1508, it was not during Albuquerque's government that diplomatic dialogue with Vijayangara and Gujarat was inaugurated.

Although the Hindu empire was known in Europe, the Portuguese did not seek to establish relations with Vijayanagara in their first expeditions. Vijayanagara in the beginning of the sixteenth century was busy fighting the Deccan Sultanates for the Raichur region – between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra – and for the control of the diamond mines of Golconda.²⁸⁴ Portuguese contacts with Vijayanagara - or Karnataka, named *Bisnaga* in Portuguese sources – were inaugurated by an unofficial

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ALBUQUERQUE 1973, I, p. 196: "Tornado Rexnordim com esta resposta, pareceo a Afonso Dalboquerque que seria necessario contentalo, e a Cogeatar, e a tres Mouros principaes, com quem se o Rey aconselhava; porque tendo estes contentes, e da sua parte, que eram do conselho do Rey, teria delle tudo o que quisesse, e fez prestes certas peças de prata, e escarlata roxa, e vermelha, e muitos panos ricos, que tomára nas náos das presas, e algumas cousas que trouxera de Portugal.

Albuquerque 1973, I, p. 196: "E por João Estão, Escrivão da Armada, que lhe este presente levava, lhe mandou dizer, que lhe perdoasse mandar-lhe aquella pouquidade, pois eram cousas de homem que passava dous annos que andava no mar, e que se atrevêra a fazelo pela muita amizade que com elles tinha. Recebêram o presente com muito contentamento, e mandáram-lhe grandes agardecimentos por elle."

²⁸⁴ Alves 1993, p. 10

emissary, the Franciscan friar Luís do Salvador.²⁸⁵ Having been in India since 1501, in 1503 he made his way to the capital city of Vijayanagara, in the interior of the peninsula. Fr. Luís do Salvador arrived in the court at the time of a dynastic struggle and only after more than one year – during which time Narasa Nayaka (d. 1503) founded the Tuluva dynasty – was he received by the sovereign, Vira Narasimha Raya (r. 1505-1509).

The Portuguese friar was received very positively and through him D. Manuel was offered an alliance, including access to one or more of the ports of Vijayanagara and the possibility of joint actions on land and sea against the Deccan sultanates, sealed by a marriage proposal of the sovereigns' daughters to each other's sons. 286 The proposal reached Lisbon but nothing came of it, as sending a Portuguese princess to a 'pagan' (*gentio*) court in distant India was unfathomable. In 1505, bearing a letter and a gift of cloths and bracelets, fr. Luís do Salvador returned to the port of Cannanore (*Cananor*) in Kerala, where D. Francisco de Almeida had just landed. 287 In November 1506 fr. Luís embarked to Portugal with gold necklaces and precious stones, rings, and rich cloths from Vira Narasimha Raya to be delivered to D. Manuel. 288

D. Francisco de Almeida's relations with Vijayanagara have been subject to a particular scrutiny as he distanced himself from the political dialogue with the Hindu empire replacing it with the goal of personal profit. In 1506 he did not send Pêro Fernandes Tinoco, the appointed factor of the 'small stuffs', selected by D. Manuel, ²⁸⁹ but instead dispatched to the interior capital two of his personal collaborators: a Castilian whose name is unknown and Baltasar da Gama, son of the interpreter Gaspar da Gama and famed lapidary. ²⁹⁰

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²⁸⁵ On Portuguese relations with Vijayanagara see ALVES 1993 and SEWELL 1900.

²⁸⁶ SUBRAHMANYAM 2012a, p. 13-14 elaborates on the asymmetry between the meanings of the exchange of princesses in the Vijayanarara and Portuguese political vocabularies.

²⁸⁷ An analysis of the agency of Fr. Luís do Salvador can be found in ALVES 1993.

ALVES 1993, n. 70: "huns colares de ouro & pedraria muyto ricos, & aneis, & panos de muyto preço"

He came from Portugal "pera tratar pedraria, de que elle tinha muito conhecimento, e com escrivão e feitoria ordenada"cit. in ALVES 1993, n. 56

²⁹⁰ ALVES 1993, p. 14 claims this may have been caused by his private interest in the trade of precious stones.

In 1510, soon after being instated as governor, Albuquerque prepared his first official diplomatic envoy, headed to Vijayanagara. He aimed to forge an alliance with the Hindu empire to avenge the death of D. Fernando Coutinho and other Portuguese noblemen, who had died in January in Calicut. Albuquerque understood that having a common enemy was enough reason to conceive of an alliance. The ambassador chosen was again fr. Luís do Salvador who had already been to Vijayanagara at the service of D. Francisco de Almeida and who returned to India in the 1507 fleet captained by Jorge de Mello Pereira.

The governor conceived the mission in great detail, having written instructions to his envoy stating what should be said, but again no gift was sent with fr. Luís.²⁹² Nevertheless, fr. Luís had instructions to make it explicit to the king that in order to have friendship with D. Manuel he should send his ambassadors to visit the Portuguese sovereign with gifts; Albuquerque later specifies that these would ideally be "jewels and things from his lands."

After the departure of fr. Luís to Vijayanagara in January 1510, two ships from Diogo Lopes de Sequeira's fleet arrived in Cochin coming from Malacca. Sequeira had been sent in 1508 by D. Manuel from Lisbon to initiate diplomatic contact with the sultanate of Malacca, having brought from Europe with him as gifts a piece of scarlet cloth, three pieces of *ruães de sello*, four pieces of coloured velvet and satin, a large gilt mirror, a sword with a golden enameled handle, a shield and a spear, and six large Flemish bottles with scented water. ²⁹⁴ Curiously, the *regimento* consigned by the king to Sequeira stated that the captain should give the presents as if they were his own and not from the king. ²⁹⁵ In this instance, diplomacy failed and

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²⁹¹ ALVES 1993, p. 15; ALBUQUERQUE 1973, II, pp. 88-ss

²⁹² Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 91-95 (*Instrução que levou Fr. Luis*)

²⁹³ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, II, 94

²⁹⁴ CORREIA 1860, p. 33: "o presente que se deu ao Rey foy huma peça de grã, e tres peças de ruães de sello, e quatro peças de veluudos e cytys de cores, e hum grande espelho dourado, e huma espada de cabos d'ouro esmaltada, e huma adarga e lança, tudo como compria, e seis frascos grandes de Frandes d'agoas cheirosas, com que tudo o Rey muyto folgou, mandou muytos agardicimentos"

²⁹⁵ CAA, II, p. 418: "Item – as cousas que levaes pera dardes de presente, asy a elrey de mallaca como allguns outros reys e senhores das ilhas e terras omde tocardes e esteverdes, lhe mandarees apresentar asy como vos parecer que a cada hum deves dar, e mamdarlhe-es os ditos presentes da vosa parte, e nam da nossa"

Sequeira had to leave Malacca after an ambush where twenty Portuguese were made prisoners by the Sultan.

In February 1510 Albuquerque left Cochin to the Red Sea with 23 ships under his command. In the island of Angediva, off the coast of Goa, the fleet met the Indian corsair Timmayya (*Timoja*)²⁹⁶, who convinced the governor that there were *Rumes* in Goa and of the possibility of an easy takeover of the territory. Subsequently, after the completion of the first occupation of the city, Albuquerque made Timmayya aquazil-mor of Goa in a parade that included trumpets and local music. In the end of the parade Albuquerque invested Timoja by placing in his hand a drawn wide-blade silver sword and a ring "for it was the custom of the country to give such things to those who were entrusted with any high position in the government". 297

The mention of a 'custom of the country' to which Albuquerque, as representative of the Portuguese sovereign, chooses to abide is of paramount interest to the process of development of a new policy of gift-giving specific to the new geography in which he was acting.

During the first occupation of Goa in the early months of 1510 two ambassadors – one from Shah Ismail and another from the king of Hormuz – came to the city bearing messages and gifts for the sabaio.²⁹⁸ When they found him dead, the Persian envoy requested an audience with Albuquerque to whom he offered the horses, silk cloths, pieces of silver and gold, and other jewels that he had brought.²⁹⁹ In this audience Albuquerque proposed for the first time a Portuguese alliance with Persia against the Ottoman Turks and Mameluk Egypt. The Safavid ambassador asked him to persuade Goan Muslims to be Shia, not Sunni, and asked permission for the Persian coinage to have currency in Goa. 300 Albuquerque refused both requests.

²⁹⁶ On *Timoja* and the Portuguese see Воисном 1994.

²⁹⁷ Albuquerque 1973, II, pp. 130-131: "Afonso Dalboquerque mandou a todos os principaes dos Gentios, e Mouros, que se ajuntassem, e o fossem receber, os quaes o trouxeram com muitas trombetas, e tangeres ao seu modo; e depois de lhe fazerem sua cortesia, segundo o costume da terra, disse-lhes Afonso Dalboquerque, que elle fazia Timoja Aguazil mór do Reyno de Goa em nome delRey de Porugal, (...) e meteo-lhe hum terçado nú guarnecido de prata na mão, e hum annel, porque era costume da terra darem isto a quem avia de governar."

⁹⁸ The governor of Goa before the Portuguese takeover.

²⁹⁹ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 131: "...cada hum per si com sua embaixada, e seu presente de cavalos, pannos de seda, e ouro"; Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 132: "...cavalos, peças de prata, e outras joias" Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 134: "...que corresse a moeda do Xeque Ismael em Goa"

As the section on courtly consumption will show, this request for a foreign currency to be accepted in Portuguese territory was plausibly what motivated him to order the issuing of Portuguese currency in Goa and Malacca.³⁰¹

When the Persian ambassador announced his departure, Albuquerque prepared a counter envoy to accompany him.³⁰² He chose Rui Gomes, a *degredado*, accompanied by an interpreter and a servant, and gave him a letter and a message to Shah Ismail and to the king of Hormuz with whom he was to meet. As had happened before with the envoy to Vijayanagara, Albuquerque gave Gomes an *instrucção* on what should be done and said (and avoided) by him and his men.³⁰³ The Portuguese governor also wrote to Khata Aja, the minister of the king of Hormuz, asking him to give his ambassador all the horses and money he might need, in spite of Gomes not bringing any gifts.

Rui Gomes was poisoned in Hormuz and never reached Persia; for this reason we cannot be sure of how he would have been received. Regardless, the *instrucção* was renewed to the following envoys to the Safavid court, but not the absence of gifts.

After the second and final capture of Goa, in November 1510, Albuquerque received a great number of foreign embassies in the future capital of the *Estado da Índia*. The first to arrive were the emissaries from the Zamorin (*Samudri raja*) of Calicut, offering friendship and a place for the construction of a Portuguese fortress. A curious observation is mentioned by Brás de Albuquerque, stating that

"...in order to give a greater air of authority to this business, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Pantoja, then the chief *alcaide* of the fortress, to proceed to the ambassadors

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³⁰¹ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 134: "se espantava muito delle cometer-lhe tal cousa, porque os Reys estimavam muito suas insignias reaes, que era viverem seus povos e vassalos debaixo da obediencia de suas leis, e receberem sua moeda, e correr em seus Reynos naquella valia que lhes elles punham, e que se não sofria hum Rey consentir ao outro lavrar moeda em sua terra."

³⁰² ALBUQUERQUE 1973, II, pp. 135-ss

³⁰³ Published in CAA, II, pp. 79-83 and Albuquerque 1973, II, pp. 140-145. Curiously, one of articles states that the ambassador should attempt to convince the Shah to send some of the finest jewels or things unseen from his land to D. Manuel ("Trabalhay camto poderdes por xeque ysmaell mandar a elRey nosso senhor algumas yoas booas ou cousas novas della dessa terra que em portugall nom tesesses vystas"). See Jesus 2010.

and bring them to him, while he himself waited in the hall of reception with all the captains and noblemen". 304

The intention to 'give a greater air of authority' to the event through the creation of an ordered distance between himself and the foreign ambassadors is a precocious phenomena in the Portuguese diplomatic activities in India. The complexification of the conversation protocol was from then onwards understood as a useful mechanism for the Portuguese to be taken as a serious political presence.

After the ambassadors returned to Calicut with a Portuguese envoy, an ambassador from Vijayanagara arrived in Goa.³⁰⁵ He bore letters from his king and from fr. Luís, who informed Albuquerque of an alliance being forged between the Hindu kingdom and the Adil Shah of Bijapur against the Portuguese. A wide-blade sword (*terçado*) was offered to the ambassador by Albuquerque on behalf of D. Manuel.³⁰⁶

Albuquerque's letter replying to fr. Luís found him dead, and the prospect of an alliance between Portugal and Bijapur – and the consequent market control of the Persian horses by the Deccani sultanate – alarmed the king of Vijayanagara enough to immediately dispatch new ambassadors to Goa. ³⁰⁷ The diplomatic dynamics were continuous.

SOUTHEAST ASIA (1511)

The voyage to Southeast Asia – between April and December 1511 – offered many opportunities for an update of Albuquerque's worldview and access to an until then unknown object-scape.

When Albuquerque arrived in the port of Malacca he began to correspond with the sultan, asking for the Portuguese captives in exchange for *amizade*, and demanding the payment of Sequeira's burned fleet and a place to build a fortress.³⁰⁸

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³⁰⁴ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 36-37: "Afonso Dalboquerque pera mais autorizar este negocio, mandou a Francisco Pantoja Alcaide mór da fortaleza que fosse por elles, e os trouxesse; e elle os esperou na sala com todos os Capitães, e Fidalgos, e recebeo-os com muito gazalhado, e mostras de folgar muito com sua amizade."

³⁰⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 41-46

³⁰⁶ CAA, II, p. 88

³⁰⁸ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 100-ss

As neither party was willing to concede on each other's demands the Portuguese orchestrated an attack. In the presence of a Malaysian envoy, Albuquerque made a curious use of material culture as a token for a larger threat. He used a ring as a symbol of the personal riches of the sultan, and transferred it from one finger to the other, demonstrating the ease with which he could loose it, since "as a sign [of all these things being in position, Afonso de Albuquerque] gave him a sign, by shifting a ring from one finger to another; which he did forthwith in presence of his messenger, who took this message to the king". 309

It was during the arrangements for the first attack to Malacca that the Portuguese performed their first contact with Chinese merchants stationed in the port. When they obtained permission to leave the port during the monsoon season Albuquerque offered them "some things he had from Portugal", pleading in exchange that they make a digression through Siam (the Ayutthaya Kingdom) to guide a Portuguese envoy to the king. 311

The chosen ambassador was Duarte Fernandes, who had been among the men held in Malacca since 1509 and had rapidly gathered knowledge about the culture of the region, even managing to speak a local language. In addition to the letter, Fernandes carried a Portuguese-style enamelled sword, garnished with gold and gems intended for the king, Ramathibodi II.³¹²

³⁰⁹ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 105: "...que fosse certo que se se não arrependesse da guerra que queria ter com os Capitães e gente delRey de Portugal, que cedo perderia seu estado; e que lhe dava por sinal disto assi ser, mudar hum annel de hum dedo pera o outro, (o que logo fizera perante seu messageiro), o qual se foi logo com este recado ao Rey."

³¹⁰ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 108-111

³¹¹ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 128-129: "os Capitães Chins foram a elle, e pedíram-lhe licença pera se irem, por quanto o tempo da sua moção era chegado (...) e elle por lhes fazer mercê lha deo, e mandou dar a todos os mantimentos, de que tivessem necessidade pera sua viagem, e fez-lhes mercê de algumas cousas, que ainda tinha de Portugal, e pedio-lhes (pois se queriam ir) que fizessem o caminho por Sião, porque queria mandar em sua companhia hum messageiro com cartas pera o Rey" ³¹² Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 129: "fez logo prestes Duarte Fernandez, que fora cativo com Ruy de Araujo, e sabia muito bem a lingua, e por elle escreveo ao Rey de Sião o acontecido em Malaca, e que sua determinação era destruila, e fazer nella fortaleza, e lançar os Mouros fóra, que folgaria que as gentes da sua terra viessem viver a ella. E que ElRey D. Manuel Rey de Portugal seu Senhor, por ser certificado que elle era Gentio, e não Mouro, lhe tinha muita afeição, e desejava de ter paz, e amizade com elle, e lhe tinha mandado, que todas as náos, e gentes de seu Reyno, que quizessem ter trato em seus portos, lhe désse todos os seguros, que lhes fossem necessarios; E por este Duarte Fernandez lhe mandou huma espada das nossas, toda guarnecida de ouro, e de pedraria, feita ao nosso modo"; Góis 1949, III, p. 39: "...hua spada guarnecida douro esmaltado, com suas cintas do mesmo jaez"

At the mouth of the river leading to Ayutthaya (*Udiá*), Fernandes and the two Chinese captains were received by two hundred launches sent by the Siamese king. Fernandes was then taken up the river to the city, and was received in the palace inside a large hall, "all hung with brocades and upholstered with very rich tapestries". ³¹³ The king was

"...seated on a lofty chair, dressed in the Chinese fashion; and close to him, to his right and left, were seated all his wives and daughters, clad in brocades and silken clothes, with a great display of gold ornaments and jewellery, and further down on each side many other women of noble birth, dressed after the same manner". 314

Such display caused a conspicuous impression in the mind of the Portuguese.

After Duarte Fernandes had entered the hall he made his obeisance to the king after the Hindu manner, went up to him and gave him Albuquerque's letter and the sword, which the king received with words of acknowledgement. The envoy remained in Ayutthaya for some days during which he was shown the city and a white elephant – one of the traditional tokens of political legitimacy and portent of good things, and the most prized of all the possessions of the king. After some days the king granted him a farewell audience, sending in his company an ambassador to Albuquerque with a letter to D. Manuel and the counter-gift of a ring set with a ruby, a gold cup, and a gold sword. As was previously observed, these articles would be among the few saved from the wreck of *Flor de la Mar*. The same and the counter-gift of a ring set with a ruby, a gold cup, and a gold sword.

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³¹³ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 173 "como desembarcáram, o Capitão com toda sua gente levou Duarte Fernandez ao Paço, onde o Rey estava esperando em huma sala grande, armada toda de brocados, e alcatifada de muitas alcatifas"

³¹⁴ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, p. 173: "estava assentado em huma cadeira alta, vestido ao modo dos Chins, e junto com elle de huma parte e da outra da sala todas suas mulheres, e filhas, assentadas, vestidas de brocados, e pannos de seda, com muitas joias de ouro, e de pedraria, e dali pera baixo outras muitas mulheres honradas, vestidas do mesmo theor, que era cousa muito pera ver"

³¹⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 173-174: "Entrado Duarte Fernandez na sala, fez sua cortezia ao Rey ao modo dos Gentios, e chegou a elle, e deo-lhe a carta de Afonso Dalboquerque, e a espada, que o Rey recebeo com muitas palavras de agardecimentos"

³¹⁶ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, p. 174: "Passados alguns dias, o Rey despachou a Duarte Fernandez, e mandou em sua companhia hum Embaixador a Afonso Dalboquerque com huma carta pera ElRey D. Manuel, e hum annel de hum rubi, e huma coroa, e espada de ouro"

³¹⁷ CAA, I, p. 58: "he hua espada, e hum Roby e hua copa douro"; Góis 1949, III, 41v: "...hum anel com hum rico robi, & hum estoque douro, & hua copa douro"; it is more likely that Brás misunderstood the word *coroa* for *copa* than a crown had been offered by the king of Siam. Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 219: "quanto vinha na náo, e no junco, não se salvou mais que a espada, e coroa de ouro, e o annel de rubi, que o Rey de Sião mandava a ElRey D. Manuel"

The Portuguese reception to the Siamese ambassador in Malacca was probably not as complex as that of the Ayutthayan. The ambassador seems to have been dispatched without any gifts given to himself or his king, although Góis mentions "some very rich bracelets with gems and three golden cups" sent as a gift to the king's mother. 318

Correia narrates that the Portuguese captains alerted Albuquerque that the mission "should not be so simple, and should include gifts, which was customary among these people". A second Portuguese man, Simão de Miranda de Azevedo, was then sent with six servants bearing Portuguese cuirasses lined with crimson satin, a spear, a leather shield and a garnished helmet.³¹⁹ Miranda de Azevedo was instructed to mention how that simple gift was all Albuquerque had to serve the king with, for he was a man of war and his weapons and allegiance were the best he could offer.

Brás' version states that Miranda de Azevedo parted together with the Siamese ambassador carrying

"...some cuirasses lined with crimson velvet; a long corselet with a complete suit of arms; a helmet with the chin-piece very richly garnished; a buckler of buff with its cordings very richly made and set in brocaded guige (a sling/strap by which the shield is slung over the shoulder); three cloths of arms made of velvet and satins of various colours, stamped in patterns and trimmed with gold tassels (that had belonged to the king of Malacca and had adorned the wooden house wherein the king of Pão, his son-in-law, was to go around in procession through the streets of the city); a basin for hand washing, decorated with animals; two double-handed vases of the same pattern; a small kettle of fine workmanship; two cups decorated with animals all of silver; a cross-bow with its furniture; four branches of coral, very thick and of fine quality, much valued in that country; and a piece of crimson cloth".

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³¹⁸ Góis 1949, III, 41v: "huas manilhas muito ricas de pedraria & tres boçetas douro"

CORREIA 1860, p. 263: "D'esta embaixada deu o Governador conta aos capitães, que a todos pareceo bem; mas que nom fosse assy tão singela, e que era rezão que mandasse presente, que he o costume d'antre estas gentes; o que pareceo bem ao Governador, e então mandou Simão de Miranda d'Azevedo, muyto bem concertado com seis homens de seu serviço, e mandou ao Rey humas coiraças de cetym cremesym, e huma lança e adarga, e hum capacete gornicido, dizendo que elle era homem que andava na guerra, que nom tinha outras joyas com que o servir, senão com aquellas armas com que guerreava os imigos, e com ellas ajudava e defendia seus amigos"

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 176-179: "E com esta instrução lhe deo hum presente pera o Rey, que

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 176-179: "E com esta instrução lhe deo hum presente pera o Rey, que lhe mandou em nome delRey de Portugal, a saber, humas couraças de veludo cramesim; hum cosselete comprido de todas as peças; hum capacete, e barbote mui bem guarnecido; huma adarga danta com seus cordões muito ricos, metida em huma funda de brocado; tres pannos darmas de veludo, e cetins de cores entretalhados, e borlados de ouro, que foram do Rey de Malaca, com que tinha armado a casa de madeira, onde o Rey de Pão seu genro havia de andar pela Cidade, (como atrás fica dito) e hum bacio de agua ás mãos de bastiães; e duas albarradas do mesmo theor; e huma caldeirinha bem lavrada; e duas taças de bastiães, tudo de prata; e huma bésta com seu almazem; e

Besides this present to the king, according to Brás, Albuquerque offered some articles to the Siamese ambassador as well. The list deserves two remarks. The first, to the conversion of the looted cloths from the Malaccan "wooden house" into diplomatic gifts, which may indicate an apprehension of what was valued in the receiving country, as is further corroborated by the mention to the great value cof the coral branches. A second remark should be made to the offering of Portuguese armament promptly bought from Portuguese captains. Also striking is that this present to the Siamese king was the first diplomatic gift bestowed by Albuquerque without the advice or provision from D. Manuel.

In Malacca Albuquerque acquired considerable experience of gift receiving and giving. After the first Siamese ambassador others came to visit the governor to ensure trade agreements in the newly occupied port city. From the Chăm Pa kingdom (Campar), whose king was the son-in-law of the former sultan of Malacca, were sent ten launches down to the Muar River – the border between the Malacca and Pahong (Pão) sultanates – with a messenger and gifts. These consisted of eight packages of high quality incense ($Ienhono\acute{e}$) and two packages of "a paste which is made of the dragon blood which serves as a varnish for painted articles" (azulacre). Both of these were things from his lands. Albuquerque showed gratitude for his gift and gave "some pieces" as a compensation for the present. 324

From Java came to Malacca an ambassador with a present of a dozen lances "with their slings of wood fastened into the iron", a long piece of cloth "whereon was painted a representation of the manner in which the king goes to battle, with his carriages, horses, and elephants armed with their wooden castles, and a figure of

quatro ramais de coral muito grosso, e fino, por ser de muita valia naquella terra, e huma peça de escarlata; e fez mercê ao Embaixador do Rey de Sião de algumas peças, de que foi muito contente."; also in Góis 1949, III, 41v

³²¹ CORREIA 1860, pp. 262-263, the king of Siam would later ask one of his courtiers to put the armour on so he could see what the Portuguese looked like in war, but the man could not sustain the great weight of the armour and fell on his back, which amused the king very much.

³²³ Góis 1949, III, 42 and Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 180: "hum presente de oito fardos de lenhonoe muito fino, e dous de huma maça, que se faz do sangue do dragão, que serve de verniz pera cousas pintadas, e mandou-lhe dizer, que aquella era a fruta que se colhia na sua terra, e que se desejava muito sua amizade"

³²⁴ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 180-181: "Afonso Dalboquerque lhe mandou agradecer muito o presente (...) e mandou-lhe algumas peças em recompensa do seu presente"

the king therein painted, riding in certain wooden palaces placed above the carriages", twenty small bells and players "who could play upon them with carved sticks (...) harmonizing very well and producing a very pleasant sound", and two large bells "they play at war". The ambassador was returned with one of the elephants which had been captured in Malacca "for in that country [Java] they were held in very great esteem", one piece of scarlet and another of crimson velvet, all to be given to the Javanese king. 326

Utemutaraja, a rich Javanese merchant, offered Albuquerque a present of sandalwood and begged for a safeguard for himself and for all the settlement in which he lived, declaring that he desired to have peace and friendship with him. Striving to keep him on his side, Albuquerque sent him some gifts, although their contents were not recorded in Portuguese texts.

When António de Abreu was sent to discover the 'Spice Islands' – the Molucca Islands – he was given instructions to deliver "presents and gifts to the kings and lords of those lands, for which Albuquerque provided him with scarlet cloths and 'Mecca velvets' 128". It is after the Siamese embassy that the practice of countergifting seems to have become the norm.

³²⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 181: "partido o embaixador de Campar (...) despachou outro, que havia muitos dias que ali andava do Rey da Jaoa, o qual lhe trouxe de presente huma duzia de lanças muito compridas, com suas fundas de páo metidas no ferro, e hum panno muito comprido, em que vinha pintado o modo, em que o Rey vai á guerra, com suas carretas, cavallos, e Alifantes armados com seus castelos de madeira, e o Rey ali pintado em huns paços de madeira em riba das carretas, e tudo isto muito bem pintado, e mandou-lhe vinte sinos pequenos, que he a sua musica, e tangedores, que os tangiam com páos feitiços, e concertavam-se muito bem, e faziam muito bom som; e mandou-lhe dous muito grandes, que tangem na guerra, e soam muito longe"; also in Góis 1949, III, 41v

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 181-182 ...por elle mandou ao Rey da Jaoa hum Alifante dos que tomára em Malaca, porque lá são muito estimados, e huma peça de escarlatam e outra de veludo cramesim, e deo-lhe embarcação pera sua pessoa, e pera levar o Alifante"; also in Góis 1949, III, 42

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, pp. 122-123: "mandou hum presente de sandalos a Afonso Dalboquerque, e secretamente pedir-lhe seguro pera si, e pera toda aquela povoação [Dupe] em que elle vivia"; "Afonso Dalboquerque aceitou sua amizade, e mandou-lhe o seguro, e por vezes algumas dadivas, trabalhando sempre polo ter da sua parte."

³²⁸ The recurring *veludos de Meca* (Mecca velvet) referred to certain pieces of Ottoman coloured cut and voided velvet made in Aleppo and Bursa, according to CAA, I, p. 168: "...e se per vir de levante poderdes aver cetins avilutados de cores, que cá chamamos veludos de mequa, fazen os em alepo, em bruça e torquia"

³²⁹ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 183: "e o regimento que deo a Antonio Dabreu foi (...) em todos os Portos e Ilhas a que chegasse désse presentes e dadivas aos Reys e Senhores da terra, e pera isso lhe mandou muitas escarlatas e veludos de Meca, e outras muitas mercadorias"

GUJARAT, BIJAPUR (1512)

After the return to the Malabar coast, Albuquerque occupied himself with the recapture of Goa and Benastarim. But soon the area was secured from the Bijapuri, and Albuquerque could devote himself to the dispatch of the foreign ambassadors who had arrived in the meantime.

The first to be received was a messenger from the Adil Shah, asking for friendship and the opening of the port of Dabul where many of his ships had been blocked. Because Albuquerque contended some aspects of the Bijapuri proposals, he sent Diogo Fernandes, *adail* of Goa, with a scrivener and an interpreter to negotiate a peace treaty. Their mission was secured by six complete services of horses and a native captain with twenty peons.³³⁰ The recently defeated opponent did not send any gift, nor did Albuquerque.

Next, the governor dispatched an ambassador from Gujarat fearing he would discover his plan to enter the straits of the Red Sea before Albuquerque could set sail to Adem. A second Gujarati ambassador arrived soon after, who would be dispatched with a Portuguese envoy. The chosen ambassador was Tristão Déga, together with João Gomes as his scrivener and a "present of things from Portugal and India". This gift included some articles previously sent by D. Manuel to be offered to Timmayya, thus transformed in a gift to the sultan, while to the Gujarati ambassador was offered a gold chain weighting 40 *cruzados*. Albuquerque had

³³⁰ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 265-266: "porque havia dias que em Goa andavam alguns Embaixadores dos Reys da India, entendeo logo Afonso Dalboquerque em seus despachos, e mandou ao Secretario que lhe trouxesse todos os papeis, e cartas do Hidalcão; e depois de os ver, mandou chamar o seu Embaixador, e disse-lhe que se o Hidalcão queria ter paz, e amizade com ElRey de Portugal seu Senhor, que elle era disso muito contente; mas que os apontamentos que trazia não eram conformes ao que lhe o Hidalcão tinha por muitas vezes escrito, e que pera se declarar este negocio com elle, determinava de mandar hum Embaixador em sua companhia. (...) despachado este Embaixador, mando Afonso Dalboquerque em sua companhia, pera assentar paz, Diogo Fernandez Adail de Goa, e o filho de Gil Vicente por seu Escrivão, e João Navarro por lingua, e seis cavalgaduras, e hum Capitão da terra com vinte peões pera os servirem polo caminho"

³³¹ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 267-268: "E depois de ter visto os apontamentos, e condições, com que ElRey D. Manuel mandava que se fizesse a paz, determinou de mandar em sua companhia Tristão Déga por Embaixador ao Rey, e João Gomez por seu Escrivão, com hum presente de cousas de Portugal, e da India; e a Instrução que levava era pedir-lhe fortaleza em Diu"

³³² CAA, I, p. 202: "e mamdey lhe ho presente que vosa alteza mamdava a timoja, e alguas outras cousas que pude aver"

³³³ CAA, V, pp. 446-447: "vos mãdo que des a cide ale embaixador dell Rey de Cambaya hu colar douro de mella que pesa setemta cruzados de que em nome de sua allteza lhe faço mercê"

specific instructions from D. Manuel to make peace with Cambay and desired to get permission from the sultan to build a fortress in Diu.

He also received an envoy from Malik Ayaz, a rich merchant and governor of Diu. Albuquerque ordered he should be taken round to inspect the city's arsenals, "which at that time were full of artillery, saddles and horse gear, weapons, and all kinds of munitions and materials of war".

A curious moment that reveals a not yet fully recognized political geography, happened when an ambassador from the ruler of Binkapur (*Reino de Vengapor*) – believed by the Portuguese to be the sovereign of a prominent inland Hindu kingdom – was received with great pomp by Albuquerque. He had in fact brought a present of "sixty horse trappings with their briddles, of very beautiful workmanship and finish, and twenty-five saddles with theirs stirrups and gear". Binkapur was a province of Vijayanagara known for its skills in making horse tack, and this was a predominantly commercial contact. The local ambassador was dispatched with a gift to his king of "pieces of brocade and crimson cloths, and fine jewels" and the request to buy from him two hundred saddles and caparisons. 336

In December 1512 news arrived in Goa that in Dabul there was retained an ambassador from "Prester John, king of Abyssinia" (*Prestes João Rey dos Abexins*). Albuquerque was very pleased with this news, as he had received orders from D. Manuel to gather information on Prester John, his country, and the Portuguese men sent there by land by the former king, D. João II. 337 The ambassador was promptly sent from Dabul to Goa, where Albuquerque commanded all the *fidalgos* and

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, p. 268: "antes que se partisse, mandou-lhe mostrar os armazens delRey, que naquelle tempo estavam com muita artilheria, muitas cubertas de cavallos, e armas, e todas as mais cousas necessarias pera a guerra, e as estrebarias com muitos cavallos"

³³⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 270-271: "chegou hum Embaixador do Rey Vengapor a visitalo da vinda de Malaca, e feito de Benestarij, e trouxe-lhe de presente sessenta cubertas de cavallo com suas testeiras, e colas, obra muito bem feita, e acabada, com vinte e cinco sellas com seus estribos, e guarnições (...) Afonso Dalboquerque despachou muito bem este Embaixador, e mandou-lhe dar por seu dinheiro os cavallos que pedia, e muitas cousas pera o Rey em retorno do seu presente, fazendo delle sempre fundamento"; "...he o seu Reyno entrada verdadeira e segura pera Narsinga (...) e nelle se fazem cubertas, sellas, e tudo o mais necessario pera cavallos, donde se Goa podia prover de todas estas cousas, tendo dellas necessidade"

³³⁶ CAA, I, pp. 39-40: "...mandey a elrrey de vemgapor presemte de peças de brocados e ezcarlatas e joyas bõoas"

³³⁷ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 273; also Boavida 2004.

captains to proceed to meet him in their boats, while the governor expected the Abyssinian on the beach with all the clergy and inhabitants of the city. As it was previously known the ambassador had brought as a gift a piece of the Wood of the True Cross, he was received with processional crosses on the beach. Later on, the piece of the True Cross was processed under a canopy to the Cathedral. Albuquerque ordered that the ambassador – named Mateus – should be entertained and supplied with all necessary things for his own expenses as well as those of his wife, and of a young man and woman of Abyssinia who were in his suite.

By his request the ambassador was sent to Portugal to meet D. Manuel. Albuquerque provided him with a number of furnishings for his service, clothing, money, and rich boxes to carry his gifts. In January 1513, over 400 *cruzados* of the related expenses were declared, including a gold case to host the piece of the True Cross, a gold scroll case (*canudo*) for his letter, ³³⁹ a copper basin, porcelains, another gilded box, two gold bracelets, one gold necklace, two painted cloths from Cambay (*patolas*), one painted cloth fom Vijayanagara, one Baju³⁴⁰ with gold threads (*um pano das ilhas de seda de vivos de ouro*), silk and cotton cloths, two rich silver daggers, two gold rings with two rubies (worth 18 *cruzados*), a piece of damask, two musk pods, one silk belt with gilded pieces, a Portuguese mattress, and a silk velvet coat. ³⁴¹

The piece of the True Cross was said to have been sent to the Abyssinian king by the Warden of Jerusalem, "with whom he was in friendly communication." It was installed inside a gold casket, commissioned by Albuquerque "in order that it might go with greater ceremony and reverence before the king" D. Manuel. ³⁴² In fact,

³³⁸ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 274: "chegado á banda de Goa, mandou Afonso Dalboquerque todos os Fidalgos, e Capitães em bateis que o fossem receber; e porque este Embaixador trazia hum pedaço do Lenho da Vera Cruz pera ElRey D. Manuel, foi-se á ribeira esperalo com toda a Clerisia, e gente da cidade com Cruzes em procissão, e dali leváram o Lenho debaixo de hum páleo á Sé"

³³⁹ Góis 1949, III, 105v: "Ihe apresentou hua Cruz feita em redondo, com hua argola de prata, que era do lenho da Cruz que em nosso Senhor lesu Christo padeçeo morte por nos salvar, metida em hua caixeta douro cõ sua fechadura, & chave que elRei reçebeo em geolhos"

³⁴⁰ Mendonça 1927/1929, p. 69 and p. 117

³⁴¹ CAA, II, pp. 107-108, 109-110; CAA, V, pp. 384, 399, 412, 432,

³⁴² ALBUQUERQUE 1973, III, p. 277: "e que o Lenho da Vera Cruz, que trazia, lhe mandára o Guardião de Jerusalem, com o qual tinha muita amizade (...) e porque este Lenho da Vera Cruz fosse com mais authoridade, e veneração diante delRey, mandou-lhe Afonso Dalboquerque fazer huma caixa de ouro, em que veio"

Albuquerque often intervened in the diplomatic articles he was given before dispatching them to Portugal. This is made clear in a letter he wrote to D. Manuel, stating that

"If the cup the king of Siam sent to you is broken, I will order another one for you, so that the service and gift arrives in one piece; if the king of Cambay sends you a gold dagger, I will improve it; if the piece of the True Cross comes inside an old rag, I will order a gold box for it; if the letters from Prester John arrive wrapped in a waxed cloth, I will order a gold box for them; because these things reflect you possessions and your service, and are not deceitful, but sincere and filled with recognition" 343

There are two known drawings of the case made by Albuquerque to carry the piece of the Wood of the True Cross.³⁴⁴

Persia (1513)

In July 1513 Albuquerque left the Red Sea after the failed attack to Aden and a long survey mission. The fleet arrived in Diu where they were received by Malik Ayaz with gifts: refreshments, a gold dagger and wide-blade sword (*terçado*) with their gold girdles to Albuquerque, and daggers with silver sheaths and gold handles, and mother of pearl caskets, ³⁴⁵ which Albuquerque distributed among the captains.³⁴⁶

The second half of 1513, following his return from the Red Sea, set off a moment of intense acceleration and complexification of the relations with foreign sovereigns in India. In terms of diplomatic relations, the year was marked by the relations with Safavid Persia. The Portuguese apprenticeship of Indian practices of

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³⁴³ CAA, I, p. 317: "se a copa que vos mamda elRey de Siam se quebra, mandovos fazer outra, porque vaa ho serviço e presemte que vos mamdaram imteiro; se vos elRey de Cambaya mamda hua adaga douro, mamdoa muy bem correjer; se a vera cruz vem em hum pano velho por mais desymulaçam, semdo achada, mamdo lhe fazer hua caixa douro; se as cartas do preste joham vem em hum pano emcerado, mamdo lhe fazer hua cayxa douro pera elas, porque todas estas cousas Redumdam em voso estado e em voso serviço, e nam sam falsas, mas verdadeiras e cheas de comprimentos"

³⁴⁴ For a comprehensive analysis of this piece of the Wood of the True Cross see BOAVIDA 2004. The two drawings belong to two copies of the *memorandum* of the arrival of the ambassador in Lisbon, and slightly differ in size, although not in shape. See Figure 6.

³⁴⁵ CORREIA 1860, p. 353: "...chegando o governador lhe mandou pera cada navio uma fusta carregada de vacas, carneiros, galinhas, arros, manteiga, açucar, hortaliça, água e lenha, e para a nau do governador duas fustas, e lhe mandou uma adaga e treçado com suas cintas tudo d'ouro, e pera os capitães adaga de bainhas de prata e conteiras e punho douro, e cofres de madrepérola, e assim para o secretário e escrivães do governador, para cada um tudo bem repartido; o que tudo Cide Alle, o torto, apresentou ao governador e perante ele repartiu por todos"

³⁴⁶ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 67; Correia 1860, p. 354

diplomatic consumption was based not only on first hand contacts – as receivers and senders – but also on research and observation. One of the most scrutinized characters was Shah Ismail, the Safavid emperor, who used to send ambassadors all throughout India in the attempt to persuade Sunni Muslims and Hindus alike to convert to the faith of Shia Islam. In 1513, while Albuquerque explored the Red Sea, the Persian emperor had sent ambassadors to Cambay, Hormuz, and Bijapur. According to Brás these envoys transported "one hundred horses each, and very rich tents for their lodging, and silverware for their tables". 347

After finding the *sabaio* dead and Goa in the hands of the Portuguese, the ambassador to Bijapur went to deliver his present to the Adil Shah in the city of Calbergate. In Goa he left a gift of Persian cloths and a diamond ring to be offered to Albuquerque upon his return, and sent a messenger to meet the governor in Canannore. The following offerings made in Calbergate to the Adil Shah were witnessed by Diogo Fernandes, *adail* of Goa, who had been sent by Albuquerque to the city and recalled "horses caparisoned with very rich housings, and brocaded cloths, and Persian silk-stuffs, and some pieces of gold and silver, and emeralds, and a medium-sized turquoise bowl". Though the embassy did not fulfill its purpose, the Adil Shah sent "some jewels" to Ismail. 151

In the meantime, while in Cannanore, Albuquerque received a message from Diu informing him of the arrival of a shallop (*gelua*) from the Red Sea with an envoy from the Qadi of Cairo on board. According to the news, the envoy had brought gifts for the sultans of Gujarat and Bijapur encouraging them to make war upon the

³⁴⁷ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 95: "o anno de treze, que Afonso Dalboquerque entrou o estreito do mar Roxo, tornou a mandar Embaixadores aos mesmos Reys com cem cavalgaduras cada hum, e tendas muito ricas pera seus aposentamentos, e baixelas de prata de seu serviço. A instrucção de suas embaixadas era, que aceitassem a sua carapuça, e mandassem ler o livro da sua oração em as suas Mesquitas; e com o mesmo requerimento mandou outro ao Rey de Ormuz"

 $^{^{348}}$ Possibly the city of *Calberga*, according to Walter de Gray Birch in Albuquerque 1875, p. 36, n. 1 349 CAA, I, p. 242

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 96: "O Embaixador, que hia pera o Hidalcão, chegou á Cidade de Calbergate, onde elle estava, e levou-lhe certos cavallos de presente, com cubertas muito ricas, e pannos de brocado, e seda da Persia, e algumas peças de ouro, e prata, e esmeraldas, e huma porcelana de Turquesa meaã (e dizi Diogo Fernandes Adail de Goa, que Afonso Dalboquerque lá tinha mandado, que se neste tempo achou presente, que era cousa muito pera ver;) e como ali chegou, mandou logo hum messageiro visitar Afonso Dalboquerque a Goa, como atrás fica dito."

³⁵¹ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 96: "deo-lhe algumas joias pera o Xeque Ismael"

Christians.³⁵² The threat of a concerted action of Egypt, Gujarat and Bijapur against the Portuguese was a strong motivation for the alliance with Shi'i Persia against the Sunni states.

Albuquerque was met in Canannore by the messenger sent by the Persian ambassador during the month of September 1513. The envoy asked for a safe conduct so that he might pass on to Hormuz, and also asked for a Portuguese ambassador to be sent with him to meet the Shah Ismail. Because Albuquerque wanted the Persians to see by themselves the Portuguese fortresses in India, he asked the messenger to meet him later in Cochin, so that he had the time to prepare his own envoy. Albuquerque then gave a present (fez mercê — which could mean both a sum of money or objects) to the messenger of the Persian ambassador who, according to Brás, "was so pleased that he had Albuquerque's portrait made from life to be shown to the Shah". The ambassador was offered a Malaysian parrot that had been brought by Duarte Barbosa.

Albuquerque set sail to Cochin in December and from there he dispatched Miguel Ferreira, a man of "good temperament and demeanor", with four horses and the same *instrucção* that had been given to Rui Gomes three years earlier. Ferreira was given 1.000 gold *pardaus* to dress himself and his four men and for travel expenses. According to Gaspar Correia, Ferreira acquired rich silk vestments and a

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³⁵² Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 87: "chegado a Cananor, dahi a poucos dias lhe veio recado de Fernão Martinz Evangelho, que estava em Diu, em que lhe dizia, que áquelle porto era chegada huma gelua do estreito, na qual vinha hum messageiro do Cadi do Cairo, que trazia vestiduras pera o Rey de Cambaya, e pera o Hidalcão, e pera todos os seus Guazis, com muitas benções, e muitos perdões, esforçando-os com muitas palavras que fizessem guerra aos Christãos"

³⁵³ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 92-93: "Neste tempo chegou a Cananor o messageiro do Embaixador do Xeque Ismael, que andava na Corte do Hidalcão, que atrás tenho dito que viera a Goa com recado a Afonso Dalboquerque, sendo no estreito do mar Roxo (...) e porque Afonso Dalboquerque desejava que elle visse todas as fortalezas da India, e principalmente a que se fazia em Calicut, despediu-o, e disse-lhe que fizesse o caminho por Calicut, e o fosse esperar a Cochim, que lá o despacharia, porque tambem queria que visse as muitas náos, que aquelle anno vinham carregadas pera Portugal, e a grandeza dellas, e toda a outra Armada, que se estava concertando, e o grande trafego da ribeira. Porque ainda que Miguel Ferreira levava na sua instrucção todas estas cousas pera as contar ao Xeque Ismael, quiz Afonso Dalboquerque que este messageiro fosse tambem testemunha de vista das grandezas delRey de Portugal"

³⁵⁴ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 94: "e fez mercê ao seu messageiro, de que foi muito contente; e elle ficou-o tanto da pessoa de Afonso Dalboquerque, que o mandou tirar polo natural pera o levar ao Xeque Ismael"

³⁵⁵ CAA, VI, p. 7

³⁵⁶ CORREIA 1860, pp. 357-358: "homem cavaleiro de boa disposição e parecer de pessoa", CAA, I, pp. 389-390

set of a gold enameled sword and dagger for himself. 357 He did not carry any diplomatic gift, as Albuquerque himself had not received any from the Shah.

Ferreira left Cochin to Dabul where he met the Persian ambassador together with an ambassador from the Adil Shah also travelling to Persia. The ambassadors embarked and sailed to Hormuz, and then Tabriz (Tauriz), where they met Shah Ismail. 358 Inside the palace, the Shah called for the Portuguese ambassador before the Bijapuri, revealing his interest in Albuquerque's deeds. Miguel Ferreira had become very ill on the way and the Shah commanded his personal chief physician (fysico mór) to attend upon him, under penalty of being beheaded if he did not succeed.³⁵⁹ Days later the Shah asked to see the portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque made by the ambassador's messenger. 360

When Ferreira was dismissed from the Persian court he was again accompanied by another Persian ambassador carrying a present to Albuquerque. They would only meet the Portuguese governor in 1515, in Hormuz.

Also during the last months of 1513, knowing the alguazil of Canannore had been doing things detrimental to the Portuguese, Albuquerque gave him "a gold chain, which hung around his own neck", to keep him in his friendship despite all his wrongdoing.³⁶¹ In that way he introduced him into an obligation network that not even the Portuguese were aware in previous years.

GUJARAT (1513)

³⁵⁷ Correia 1860, pp. 357-358: "Miguel Ferreira se concertou de ricos vestidos de seda, e rica espada e punhal de ouro de esmalte (...), e seu esquife e cama bem concertada, e todolas cousas de seu servico"

³⁵⁸ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, pp. 99-100

³⁵⁹ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 100: "mandou ao seu Fysico mór que o fosse ver, e trabalhasse muito polo dar são; porque não no fazendo assi, lhe havia de mandar cortar a cabeça" ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 101: "...e o messageiro, que fora ter com Afonso Dalboquerque, que a

esta prática estava presente, lhe mostrou o seu retrato que levava"

³⁶¹ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 91-92: "sabendo que o Alguazil de Cananor fazia algumas cousas mal feitas contra o serviço delRey de Portugal, e dizia muitos males delle, por lhe não consentir suas tyrannias, e maldades, e tambem porque favorecia o Alguazil velho, que estava em Calicut, que elle fizera lançar de Cananor por ser nosso amigo, mandou-o chamar, e deo-lhe huma cadeia de ouro, que tinha no pescoço, dizendo, que lha dava por quantos males dizia delle; mas que quanto ás cousas do serviço delRey seu Senhor lhe rogava muito, que as tratasse de maneira, que os Officiaes delRey se não queixassem mais delle", "...por cima de saber que este Mouro era muito máo homem, e muito perjudicial ao serviço delRey, dissimulou com elle por ser muito aceito ao Rey de Cananor, e ficáram amigos."

In Canannore, Albuquerque had been informed of Malik Ayaz' departure to the court of the king of Cambay, "carrying a considerable quantity of silver and gold, jewels and rich cloths, and two hundred horses, to entice the king and his governors; carrying also, as a present for the king, the sword which he [Albuquerque] had at a former time presented to him". 362 Both Albuquerque and Malik Ayaz had been pressing the sultan for the influence over Diu, and since Muzzafar Shah II seemed to be inclined to surrender Diu to the Portuguese, Malik Ayaz transferred himself to Champanel with gifts. 363

As a reaction, Albuquerque prepared two ambassadors to Gujarat, Diogo Fernandes de Beja and James Teixeira, who departed in October 1513.³⁶⁴ They travelled with twenty men and were given 2.000 *pardaus* (twice as much as Miguel Ferreira had been given on his way to Persia). Correia recalls that Diogo Fernandes, who "was a wealthy and magnificent man", made rich vestments for himself, and prepared rich furnishings for his bedding and table, including silverware, and a tent to rest.³⁶⁵ They were consigned a gift that included one gold necklace, ten *covados* of black velvet [circa 6,6 metres], one piece of Persian green brocade, two pieces of Chinese brocade, a basin and pitcher to wash hands "all very well gilded", ³⁶⁶ one

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³⁶² Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 89: "e que Miliqueaz era partido pera a Corte do Rey de Cambaya sobre o negocio de Diu, e levava muita prata, e muito ouro, muitas joias, e muitos pannos ricos, e duzentos cavallos pera peitar ao Rey, e seus Governadores, e que tambem levava pera dar ao Rey a espada que lhe Sua Senhoria dera"

³⁶³ MATHEW 1986, p. 33

³⁶⁴ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 108-ss

³⁶⁵ CORREIA 1860, p. 368: "Diogo Fernandes era homem abastado e grandioso; fez muitos ricos vestidos, e coisas de seu serviço de cama e mesa, e prata para sua mesa, e tenda para pousar" The usage of the tent is further described in Correia 1860, II, p.369: "para mostrar suas grandezas não queria pousar nas casas, e fóra no campo mandava armar sua tenda, que era do Reyno, de três esteos, que era de lonas, que ele mandou forrar por fora de panos brancos e de cores entretalhados, e por dentro forrada de panos de seda do estreito; que tinha dentro repartimentos de cama e sala, e apartamento pera a gente; na qual podiam caber quinhentas pessoas; em que na sala estavam cadeiras rasas, e escabelos cobertos com alcatifas, e sua camara alcatifada, e leito dourado, com paramentos e colchas de seda, e almofadas de cetins do reino, de cores"

³⁶⁶ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 108: "e por elles lhe mandou de presente hum colar de ouro, e dez covados de veludo preto, e huma peça de brocado verde da Persia, e duas da China, e hum bacio de agua ás mãos com sua albarrada, tudo muito bem dourado."

dagger ("a beautiful thing to behold"), and one piece of brocade in fur ("very costly"). 367

Furthermore, "in order for this embassy to depart in greater dignity than the other ones (...) Albuquerque gave them twenty horses and silverware to serve at their table, and many local servants". ³⁶⁸ In an important note Correia remarked that some of these were objects sent to him by the king to keep in the treasure and offer as gifts to whomever he chose. ³⁶⁹ This excerpt – from the man who was Albuquerque's clerk at the time – informs us that D. Manuel dispatched objects to India with the specific purpose of serving as diplomatic gifts, but the decision of where to send what fell upon the governor. At this stage, what was dispatched by D. Manuel is probably more representative of what was valued in Europe, as opposed to what was valued in the Indian Ocean.

The voyage of the two Portuguese ambassadors is amply narrated in Portuguese chronicles. While they were in Surat they were given two kaftans (cabaias), because "it was the usage of the land". Diogo Fernandes argued that "the ambassadors of the king of Portugal, in whose name they had been sent, had not the custom of receiving anything except from those kings they were sent to". They soon understood it was a serious offense not to accept the kaftans and took the gift.

On their way to meet Muzafar Shah II they were instructed and advised on the protocol customs of the court by several intermediaries to whom they offered

³⁶⁷ CORREIA 1860, p. 368: "...e lhe deu hum bacio e gomil de prata d'agoa ás mãos, lavrado dourado, muyto riquo, e huma peça de brocado de pello, de muyto preço; que erão peças que o Governador tinha, que lhe ElRey mandára pera ter em thesouro pera dar de presente a quem comprisse."

³⁶⁸ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 108-109: "E porque esta embaixada fosse com mais authoridade que as outras, polo desejo que tinha de fazer assento em Diu, mandou-lhe dar vinte encavalgaduras, e prata pera serviço de sua meza, e muitos peões da terra pera os servirem, e deo-lhes hum regimento do que haviam de fazer."

³⁶⁹ Correia 1860, p. 368: "...que erão peças que o Governador tinha, que lhe ElRey mandára pera ter em thesouro pera dar de presente a quem comprisse"

³⁷⁰ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 109-110: "depois de passarem com elle [Deturcão] suas cortezias, estiveram praticando todos, até que vieram duas cabayas, que o Deturcão mandou trazer pera dar a Diogo Fernandez, e James Teixeira (porque aquele he seu costume). Diogo Fernadnez lhe disse, que os Embaixadores delRey de Portugal, em cujo nome elles ali vinham, não eram acostumados a tomar nada, senão dos Reys a que eram enviados; e porque Deturcão se houve injuriado disso pela necessidade que tinham delle, por lhe fazerem a honra lhas tomáram (...) e ao outro dia pela menhaã mandáram por Duarte Vaz e Ruy Paez certas peças a Desturcão, que elle tambem refusou de tomar, e com tudo aceitou-as."

presents. ³⁷¹ The Sultan received the Portuguese ambassadors in Ahmedabad (*Madoval*), but before being in his presence they exhibited their gifts to the *aguazil mor*.

The Portuguese were received in the palace where they had to go through many courtyards and rooms before arriving in the presence of the sultan. During the reception, Muzafar Shah II was lying down on a portable bed (*catre*), surrounded by his captains and courtiers.³⁷² Correia describes the complex reception in detail:

"The best dressed men went before the ambassadors carrying a towel over their hands, holding the necklace, the dagger, the basin and pitcher. The alderman then offered those things to the king who asked for those things to be placed over his bed, and held the dagger, and removed it from the scabbard, showing his appreciation, and kept looking at the enamel, which he had never seen before; (...) once our men had withdrew from the porch the king demanded the piece of brocade be unfolded, and he was so pleased with it that he said in India there was no such cloth."

During the meeting the Portuguese ambassadors were taken aside and again given two brocade kaftans – while their attendants were given coloured velvet kaftans, a lesser-valued cloth – which they dressed right away.³⁷⁴ In the end they were offered kaftans, daggers, and cummerbunds (*camarabandes*)³⁷⁵ which they put on before kissing the hand of the sovereign.³⁷⁶ The *aguazil* subsequently consigned them a gift of things from Cambay – a gold dagger to the governor and twenty lesser

³⁷¹ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 112, such as Malik Gopi

Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 114: "postos a cavallo, foram-se direitos ao Paço, e depois de descidos, passadas muitas casas, e pateos, foram ter a hum muito grande, onde o Rey estava lançado em hum catle, com todos os Capitães do seu Reyno postos pelas paredes em ordem, segundo seuas presidencias, e chegáram a elle, (levando diante de si o presente, que lhe Afonso Dalboquerque mandava, por ser este seu costume,) e fizeram-lhe sua cortezia ao nosso modo, e o Rey lhes fez muito gazalhado"

³⁷³ CORREIA 1860, pp. 370-371: "Hião diante os mais bem vestidos homens, que em huma toalha sobre as mãos levavão o collar, e o punhal, e o bacio, e gomil. O que o regedor, que hia diante, offereceo a ElRey, que mandou que o collar pusesse sobre o catele, e o punhal tomou elle na mão, e tirou da bainha, com que mostrou que folgava, e o esteve olhando, e o esmalte que nunqua vira; e o bacio, e gomil, e peça, pôs junto do catele. (...) Depois dos nossos saydos da varanda, ElRey mandou desenrolar a peça do brocado, de que fqou tão contente que dixe que na India no avia tal panno"

³⁷⁴ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 115: "Passado isto, apartou-os Melique Coadragui pera o cabo do pateo, e ali lhes trouxe duas cabaias de brocado pera Diogo Fernandez, e James Teixeira, e outras de veludo de côres pera os mais que com elles hiam. Acabado de as vestirem, tornára outra vez a fazer cortezia ao Rey, ao modo da terra"

 $^{^{375}}$ A girdle, from the Persian 'kamar-band', i.e. 'loin-band', according to YULE & BURNELL 2013, p. 188 376 ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 119

daggers to the Portuguese captains"³⁷⁷ and a portable bed (*catre*) made in mother of pearl to D. Manuel.³⁷⁸

This gift further included "a beast, because it was a monstruous thing and unknown in these parts [Europe]". This was a rhinoceros previously offered to a Persian ambassador but kept in Surat after its shipment failed. The ambassadors arrived in Surat in 8 May 1514 and spent the winter in the city, only managing to arrive in Goa on 15 September. The rhinoceros was sent to Lisbon where it was incorporated in the king's menagerie. It would later be sent to Pope Leo X and famously drawn by Albrecht Dürer while on its way to the Vatican. The variation of the variat

PEGU, SIAM, GUJARAT, VIJAYANAGARA (1514)

In January 1514 Albuquerque finally arrived in Goa after a long period of absence. He met two ambassadors sent from the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam bringing "very rich pieces". ³⁸² Accompanying them was Manuel Fragoso, a Portuguese man that had been sent with Miranda de Azevedo to Siam with

³⁷⁸ CORREIA 1860, pp. 373-374: "riqas cousas de Cambaya, em que foy hum catele de lavor de madre perola, cousa riqa, com varandas e paramentos; cousa pera ElRey" ³⁷⁹ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 119-120: "Despedidos, vieram-se a casa do Codamacão, e elle lhes deo

³⁷⁷ CORREIA 1860, p. 373

³⁷⁹ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, pp. 119-120: "Despedidos, vieram-se a casa do Çodamacão, e elle lhes deo huma carta do Rey pera Afonso Dalboquerque, e hum presente de cousas de Cambaya, e huma bicha por ser cousa monstruosa, e nunca vista nestas partes, a qual estava em Champanel, e que elle lhe mandaria a Çurrate. (...) Passado o Inverno, pedíram a Desturcão que lhes désse embarcação, como lhe o Rey tinha mandado, porque se queriam partir, e elle lhes mandou dar tres cotumbar, (que são huns navios pequenos,) e nelles mandáram embarcar o fato, e a bicha, que já era chegada, a qual veio a este Reyno, e ElRey D. Manuel a mandou ao Papa, e no caminho se perdeo a náo em que hia"

³⁸⁰ The animal had been offered in 1513 in Champanel to a Persian ambassador sent to Gujarat, but an incident constrained his departure. An altercation with the oldest son of the king of Mandao, who was also at court, pressured the Safavid to depart to Hormuz earlier than expected and without carrying out his mission. The sultan of Gujarat offered him in return for a previous gift two elephants and a rhinoceros, among other things. The ambassador embarked in Surat to Hormuz, leaving behind his servants to ship the animals and the baggage, which the Sunni merchants managed to strand and eventually return to Surat. (ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 98: "O Rey de Cambaya aborrecido do que o Embaixador fizera, despachou-o que se fosse, tendo-o já desenganado do requerimento a que viera, e deo-lhe dous Alifantes, e huma alimaria, que se chama Ganda, e outras muitas peças em retorno do presente que lhe trouxera" and Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 98-99: "Os criados, depois delle partido, fizeram prestes huma náo, em que embarcáram os Alifantes, e bicha, e todo o fato. Os Mouros da terra como não eram contentes do requerimento, com que o Embaixador viera, emmasteáram a náo com hum masto eivado, e alargando-se da costa com hum pouco de vento rijo, que lhe deo, quebrou, e tornáram árribar a Çurrate, e o Rey tornou áver o seu presente. O Embaixador foi seu caminho na outra náo, pouco contente do gazalhado do Rey de Cambaya, e selo-hia muito menos, depois que soubesse o que os Mouros tinham feito aos seus criados.")

³⁸¹ On D. Manuel's menagerie and *exotic* animals in Lisbon see JORDAN-GSCHWEND 2009 and FERREIRA & SIMÕES 2011. See Figure 7 and Figure 8.

³⁸² Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 103: "onde achou Embaixadores dos Reys de Pegú, e Sião, (...) com presentes de peças muito ricas, e cartas de muitos cumprimentos"

instructions to "compose a book of all the things, merchandise, costumes, and habits of the land, and the location of its ports." Both the gifts and the book were promptly ordered to be sent to the ships loading for Lisbon.

One of the most significant and awe-inspiring diplomatic receptions to a foreign ambassador in Goa was intended for a Vijayanagara envoy in 1514. The ceremonial will be further examined in the subsequent chapter as it reveals a complex knowledge of social conventions from Albuquerque. The governor arranged the gifts to be brought to him carried by "honourable Hindu men" each sitting on one of the four elephants sent by him to bring the ambassador. Each man carried gifts – "pearls, gemstone jewellery, and other rich pieces from his land"³⁸⁴ – inside gilded silver basins.

Inside the palace, the governor received the ambassador with great pomp and the ambassador was even allowed to place the jewellery he brought around the governor's neck, waist, wrists, and ankles. The ambassador told Albuquerque that his king "would like to see a spear, a sword and a shield used by [Portuguese] men in war". The complex understanding of weapons in the Hindu empire, which drew a distinction between fighting weapons, ceremonial weapons, votive offerings, and symbols of authority, seems to have been understood by Albuquerque. To fulfill this request, the governor bought the desired pieces from some of his captains and added that "those were war weapons, and there were other smaller leisure ones that men carried when they were not fighting".

The Islamic practice of exchanging and asking for gifts - which was not

³⁸³ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 103-104: "...na companhia destes Embaixadores vinha Manuel Fragoso, que elle tinha mandado com Antonio de Miranda ao Rey de Sião, pera lhe fazer hum livro de todas as cousas, mercadorias, trajos, e costumes da terra, e da altura em que os portos della estavam, que Afonso Dalboquerque com os presentes mandou logo a Dom Garcia de Noronha, pera que as náos da carrega, que estavam prestes pera partirem pera estes Reynos, os mandasse a ElRey D. Manuel"

³⁸⁴ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, pp. 139-140: "...trazia diante de si quatro Alifantes com seus castelos de madeira emparamentados de seda, e em cada hum delles vinha hum homem honrado Gentio, com bacios de agua ás mãos de prata dourados, em que traziam perolas, e joias de pedraria, e outras peças ricas da terra, que lhe o Rey mandava de presente"

³⁸⁵ Elgood 2004a, p. 36

CORREIA 1860, p. 378: "folgaria de vêr huma lança, e espada, e adarga com que os nossos pelejavão na guerra. Do que muyto aprove ao Governador, e lhe mandou huma espada d'ambolas mãos, e hum pique e huma rodella, dizendo o Governador que aquellas erão as armas da guerra, que também tinhão outras mais pequenas pera folgar, que trazião quando nom pelejavão"

common in Europe in this period³⁸⁷ – seems to have flattered Albuquerque. The Islamic literature that codified gift-giving customs, such as the *Book of Treasuries* and *Rarities* and the *Book of Rarities and Gifts*,³⁸⁸ had no European equivalent.

In the end of his mission the ambassador was dispatched with "a present of very rich pieces to the king, some of which had been brought from Hormuz while others had come from Portugal". 389

The diplomatic gift received on behalf of D. Manuel was immediately wrapped and boxed in individual boxes inside a nailed and sealed trunk and sent to Lisbon. Some of the articles – a gold cup and a gold sword with a ruby of great value on the hilt – were later mentioned in the oration by Camillo Porcio to Pope Leo X.

Also in 1514, Diogo Fernandes and Tristão de Ega would be again sent to Gujarat carrying a gift to the sultan. This gift included a gold necklace, a black velvet cloth, ³⁹² a gold dagger with rubies on the handle (bought from Diogo Fernandes who had had it made in India) and its girdle, a silver basin, a gilded silver vase (*albarrada*), a silver cup, a partially gilded silver pitcher, a small silver candlestick, and a silver bowl (*bernegal*). ³⁹³

HORMUZ, PERSIA (1515)

In February 1515 Afonso de Albuquerque embarked to Hormuz. Upon his arrival he met Miguel Ferreira – the ambassador he had sent in late 1513 to Persia –

³⁸⁷ For a study on European gift exchange see BUETTNER 2001; the author argues that reciprocity, in early fifteenth-century France, "played a vital economic role in ensuring not only the flow of things but also some redistribution of wealth" (BUETTNER 2001, p. 598), and that it was a tacitly understood practice.

³⁸⁸ Sharlet 2011; on the ideas of giving in Indian religions, from the Hindu tradition to Buddhism and Jainism see Brekke 1998.

³⁸⁹ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 143: "Como foram prestes, partíram-se, e por elles mandou Afonso Dalboquerque hum presente de peças muito ricas ao Rey, que Pero Dalboquerque trouxe de Ormuz, e outras de Portugal"

³⁹⁰ CORREIA 1860, p. 378: "O presente mandou logo o Governador presente sy empapelar e meter em bocetas, e tudo dentro de hum caixão pregado e assellado, entregue ao feitor pera o mandar a ElRey nas naos da carga; dizendo aos capitães que erão presentes, que aquillo erão premicias da India, que erão de seu dono que era ElRey nosso senhor"

³⁹¹ In Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 203: "...poderoso Rey de Narsinga, que sabida a vitoria de Malaca, mandou por seus Embaixadores hum copo de ouro, e huma espada de ouro com hum robi no punho de grandissimo preço"

³⁹² CAA, VI, p. 12

³⁹³ CAA, II, p. 132

who had returned with a gift to the governor.³⁹⁴ This was a personal present to Albuquerque, not to D. Manuel, as a distinction was often made in India between the high-ranking administrators and sovereigns. Ferreira was in company of a Persian envoy who carried himself another gift which was to be consigned to D. Manuel.

The personal gift brought by Ferreira consisted of

"...silks and brocades, horses caparisoned with very rich housings, several coats of mail and other Persian arms; two suits made of brocade, trimmed with gold buttons; a girdle, target, and short broadsword; other objects all made of gold; and half an *alqueire* of turquoises [around the equivalent to the volume of 6,55 liters], just in the same condition as when they came out of the mines". 395

In Brás' account, this present "was of great intrinsic value" and Albuquerque divided it among the captains, except for the horses which he kept for royal service, and "as the pieces of gold seemed to him to be good (...) he redeemed them of the captains at his own expense, and sent them to the king of Portugal through D. Garcia de Noronha".

In March, Albuquerque and Reixnordim, in the name of the king of Hormuz, swore an oath of peace and submission of the Hormuzian kingdom to Portugal. ³⁹⁶ After the ceremony, Albuquerque offered Reixnordim a brocade kaftan with gold buttons and a strand of large coral beads. To the king he sent via Miguel Ferreira – who was now acquainted with Persian protocol conventions – a gold enameled necklace, asking to be pardoned "for his gifts were not worthy enough for him receiving them". ³⁹⁷ He would later offer the king a strand of gold beads filled with

³⁹⁴ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 158

ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 138

395 ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 102: "e em sua companhia mandou o messageiro, que com elle viera por Embaixador a Afonso Dalboquerque, e hum presente de muitos pannos de seda, e brocado, e cavallos acubertados com cubertas muito ricas, e saias de malha, e outras armas, que os Persas costumam, e duas vestiduras de brocado com botões de ouro, com que se vestem, e huma cinta, adaga, e terçado, e outras peças, tudo de ouro, e meio alqueire de turquezas, assi como sahem da minha; o qual presente, que valia muito, repartio Afonso Dalboquerque por todos os Capitães, sem tomar nenhuma cousa pera si, senão os cavallos, que tomou pera ElRey D. Manuel, que mandou entregar aos Officiaes da sua feitoria. E porque as peças de ouro lhe parecêram boas, e serem de hum Principe tamanho, como o Xeque Ismael, comprou-as aos Capitães polo seu dinheiro, e mandou-as a ElRey por D. Garcia de Noronha seu sobrinho."

³⁹⁶ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 167-168

³⁹⁷ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, pp. 167-168: "Feitos estes juramentos, mandou Afonso Dalboquerque dar a Reys Nordim huma cabaia de brocado com botões de ouro, e hum ramal de contas de ouro muito grossas, e a Reys Mudafar outra de cetim cramesim com botões de ouro, e por Nicoláo Ferreira mandou hum colar de ouro esmaltado muito rico ao Rey, mandando-lhe pedir muitos perdões, por não ser cousa como sua pessoa merecia"

amber, a gilded basin,³⁹⁸ a chemise made by order with a piece of yellow satin lined with black velvet and ten gold aiguillettes (*pontas douro*),³⁹⁹ and a gold necklace.⁴⁰⁰

Days later, in Hormuz, the Persian ambassador was brought to Albuquerque in a reception coordinated at length by Albuquerque with instructions provided by Miguel Ferreira. The diplomatic offers sent by the Shah Ismail to Albuquerque consisted of two hunting jaguars, sitting on horses with their handlers; four horses with their rich saddles, steel chanfrons, and platted mail skirts set on top of a quilted cotton blanket, and varnished, so that they shone like gold; silver basins filled with satin, damask, and brocade cloths, all held by twelve men; silver basins with uncarved turquoise stones, held by two men; a set of gold basin and ewer weighting 60 *marcos* [c. 13,7 kg]; one dagger and wide-blade sword with straps all made in gold and precious gems, valued at 20.000 *cruzados*; and a "a brocade kaftan belonging to Shah Ismail himself". 403

According to Correia when Albuquerque was presented the kaftan the Persian ambassador "urged him to wear it, and the dagger and the wide-bladed sword; and so the governor draped the kaftan over his shoulders, wraped its sleeves

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³⁹⁸ Correia 1860, p. 421: "hum ramal de contas d'ouro cheas d'ambre, grossas como collar, e hum bacio de prata d'agoa ás mãos dourado"

³⁹⁹ CAA, VI, p. 303

⁴⁰⁰ CAA, VI, p. 341: to the executors of a certain Jam Pereira were paid 113,5 *cruzados* in exchange for the necklace, of which 10 *cruzados* were due to its shape and workmanship. It is curious that the precious objects of unrenowned Portuguese men could be considered fit for kings.

⁴⁰¹ CORREIA 1860, p. 423: "E dizendolhe Miguel Ferreira o presente que lhe avia de trazer, o Governador lhe disse a ordem em que todo avia de vir"

⁴⁰² CORREIA 1860, pp. 423-424: "Primeyramente diante hião as trombetas tangendo, e logo dois mouros em rocis, que levavam sobre as ancas duas onças caçadoras prezas nas trelas; e logo após elles quatro cavallos ginetes, sellados e enfreados, gornições de prata, acubertados até mea perna de cubertas de laminas assentadas sobre acolchoado d'algodão, e envernizadas que reluzião como ouro, e em cyma dos arções dianteyros huma saya de malha fna; e logo vinhão os homens de dous em dous, com as peças nos braços, as primeyras tafetás, então ceys e damascos com rosas d'ouro, e então brocadilhos, e então brocados riqos, que todos serião quatrocentas peças; e atrás dous bacios d'agoa mãos, cheos de pedras troquezas por lavrar, e atrás hum bacio e hum gomil d'ouro, que ambos pesarão sessenta marcos, e huma adaga e traçado com suas cintas, tudo d'ouro e pedraria, que foy estimado em vinte mil cruzados, e huma cabaia de brocado da propia pessoa do Xequesmael, muy rica; e atrás o embaixador nobremente vestido, que trazia a carta do Xequesmael em folha d'ouro, enrolada, metida nas voltas da touqa"

⁴⁰³ Albuquerque 1973, IV, p. 176: "Vinham logo diante de todos dous Mouros de cavallo, que eram caçadores de onças, com cada hum sua nas ancas, e apôs elles vinham seis cavallos, hum diante do outro, selados com suas cubertas muito ricas, e testeiras de aceiro, com saias de malha nos arções; e apôs elles hiam doze Mouros a cavallo mui bem vestidos, que levavam as joias de ouro, peças de seda, e brocado em bacios de prata de agua ás mãos"; CORREIA 1860, II, pp. 423-424

around his neck, and put on the dagger and sword, saying he would not wear the kaftan because it was only fit for a king". 404

This was a personal offer to the governor and he would later transform the Persian kaftan in a vestment for the image of *Nossa Senhora da Serra*, kept in the chapel he founded in Goa. The articles of the gift were for the greater part distributed among the Portuguese captains, but he sent the barding (crimson horse caparisons with gold damascening in their chanfrons, a saddle garnished with silver, a mail skirt, and a coloured felt blanket "which although very cheap was very beautiful to see" to the *infante* D. Luís (b. 1506) to the *basin* and ewer to queen D. Maria, the dagger, basin, bowl and cup to D. Manuel, and the jaguars would later be offered to the king of Hormuz. There is also a mention to some goshawks sent by the Shah.

One of the concerns manifest in the directions given by Albuquerque to the Portuguese diplomatic agents was related to the gathering of information. As had previously happened with Manuel Fragoso, who had produced a book about Siam,

⁴⁰⁴ CORREIA 1860, p. 424: "e lhe apresentando a cabaia, dizendo que o Xequesmael lhe rogava, como bom amigo, que a vestisse e trouxesse com o traçado e adaga. O Governador, mostrando muyto prazer, tudo tomou, e deitou a cabaia sobre sy, abraçando as mangas polo pescoço, e pôs o treçado e adaga com as cintas, dizendo ao embaixador que nom vestia a cabaia porque a nom podia vestir senão Rey como elle, mas que a guardaria e mostraria por sua grande honra"

⁴⁰⁵ CORREIA 1860, p. 376: "fez a capella de Nossa Senhora da Serra, que elle prometeo por sua devação quando se salvou nos baixos do estreito, sobre que andou com a nao Serra em que hia"; Albuquerque would later declare in his will his wish to be entombed in this chapel.

⁴⁰⁶ ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 210: "...e por elle mandou a ElRey D. Manuel huma bacia, taça, e pucaro, e huma cinta, e adaga tudo de ouro, que era do presente, que lhe o Xeque Ismael mandou, e humas cubertas de cavallo cramesim de laminas, com sua testeira lavrada de tauxia de ouro, e huma sella guarnecida de prata, e huma saia de malha, e hum feltro entretalhado de cores, o qual ainda que fosse de pouco preço era muito pera ver"

⁴⁰⁷ For a study on D. Luís' household, although focused on a later period, see CRESPO 2010/2011.

⁴⁰⁸ There are different accounts about which articles were intended to be given to D. Maria or D. Manuel. One of the articles that has certainly arrived in Lisbon was a Persian $t\bar{a}j$ that Damião de Góis claims to have seen: Góis 1949, III, 121v: "entre os quaes vinha esta carapuça que eu mesmo tive na guardaroupa do dito senhor [D. Manuel] em meu poder". On the Persian $t\bar{a}j$ see SCARCE 2003, p. 322.

guardaroupa do dito senhor [D. Manuel] em meu poder". On the Persian $t\bar{a}j$ see SCARCE 2003, p. 322. 409 Likely because they were too expensive to maintain and the Portuguese had no tradition of hunting with jaguars, therefore attaching no honour to it. See CAA, VI, p. 258: "Mandado de Afonso de Albuquerque a Manuel da Costa feitor de Ormuz para dar ao embaixador do Xa Ismael em cada dia duas cabras para as onças que cumpriu" and CAA, V, p. 497: "Mandado de Afonso de Albuquerque a Lourenço Moreno para dar ao embaixador do rei de Ormuz quatro cruzados para mantimento das onças que tem para levar a el rei de Portugal"

⁴¹⁰ CAA, VI, p. 291: "Mandado de Afonso de Albuquerque a Manuel da Costa feitor de Ormuz para dar a Joham de briones meio xerafim que terá gasto por ter a seu cargo os açores enviados pelo Xa Ismael"

also Miguel Ferreira had been instructed to record the events of his journey to $Persia.^{411}$

In that way, when Fernão Gomes de Lemos left Hormuz to Persia in May 1515⁴¹² he was in possession of more information about what he would find than any of the previous envoys. ⁴¹³ This was the third ambassador sent to Persia by Albuquerque and would be the last embassy he would prepare before his death, later that year. Fernão Gomes de Lemos was provided with 10.000 *reis* to spend on his clothing and travel expenses, ⁴¹⁴ not including the expenditures of the other members of his delegation. ⁴¹⁵

The *regimento* and the details of the present Lemos carried must have been prepared according to the indications of Miguel Ferreira. The gift included

"...two cannons with gunpowder and devices: a falconet and a bombard; six rifles with gunpowder and their devices; some cold weapons from head to foot, with their mail skirts; two breastplates in crimson velvet with their surrounding plate skirts; one sword garnished with gold, with its handle, nozzle, and black velvet sheath with some buttons held in gold thread and lined with green silk, and its belt garnished with gold; one enamelled dagger garnished with gold, handle and nozzle, and a gold sheath; four crossbows with their ornaments, case and spare strings; two spears with head and shaft lined with beaten gold; one black velvet cap in the style of the ones from the Shah Ismail, garnished with gold and 181 rubies; two gold bracelets, one very large and the other smaller, having the larger a very big ruby, 6 small rubies and 29 diamonds, while the smaller bracelet had a big cat's eye, 2 middle-sized rubies, 23 small rubies all around, 62 small diamonds, 3 emeralds, and 20 small emeralds; four enamelled gold rings, three with three perfect large rubies, and one with a sapphire and 27 surrounding rubies; one choker with a large ruby in the middle, and 3 middle sized rubies, and 20 small rubies, and with two turquoises and three drop-pearls in the jewel, and one other very large pearl; one amber pear with 100 rubies and 60 small diamonds, with a gold chain; five gold portugueses, five gold cruzados, five Malaccan gold católicos, five Goan gold manoeis, five silver tostões; 30 quintais of pepper [c. 1761 kg]; 20 quintais of ginger [c. 1174 kg]; 10 quintais of cloves [c. 587 kg]; 5 quintais of cinnamon [c. 293,5 kg]; 20 quintais of sugar [c. 1174 kg]; 1 quintal of cardamom [c. 58,7 kg]; 10 quintais of tin [c. 587 kg]; 10 quintais of copper [c. 587 kg]; 2 faráçolas of benzoin [c. 33 kg]; and 6 pieces of thin cloths." $^{\rm 416}$

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⁴¹¹ Martins 2014, p. 54 (Correia 1860, p. 410). These books remain undiscovered; a surviving example of the same type of source is the "Comentarios" made by Don García de Silva y Figueroa in his 1614-1624 embassy to Shah Abbas, published in Loureiro, Gomes & Resende 2011; on these sources for diplomatic consumption and gifting see PINTO 2011b.

⁴¹² Соито 2009, р. 297

 $^{^{413}}$ His journey is described in detail in Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 204-209

⁴¹⁴ CAA, II, p. 145

⁴¹⁵ CAA, II, pp. 145-146, for instance, João de Sousa was given 5.000 *reis*.

⁴¹⁶ CAA, I, pp. 391-392: "Item — primeiramente dous tiros de metal com sua polvora e seus aparelhos, a saber, huum falcão e hum berço; Item — seis espinguardas com sua polvora e aparelhos; Item — huas armas bramcas do pee atee cabeça com sua fralda de malha; Item — dous corpos de couraças postos em veludo cremesim com suas escarcelas á Redonda; Item — hua espada guarnecida de ouro, punho e

Other accounts also mention a "full suit of armour in steel with gilded parts, (...) one rich chair with Portuguese brocade, commissioned for this purpose, with two cushions of the same brocade, and one riding saddle with the pommel in crimson satin, richly wrought in gold thread." The rifles and cannons were sent together with gunmen, including the best rifler (*espingardeiro*), who was sent to demonstrate his skill in front of the Shah, and a young captive to load and shoot the cannons.

The dispatch of tin and copper is particularly interesting as the mines of the Persian plateau were starting to run short on these raw materials at the beginning of the sixteenth century. ⁴¹⁹ But, more interestingly, among these gifts were the first objects offered by Albuquerque in India identifiable as being of Indian manufacture, typology and features: the bracelets, one with the abundant number of 7 rubies and 29 diamonds; and another one with cat's eyes (which held no interest in Europe), 25 rubies, 71 diamonds and 9 emeralds, on a total of 105 gems of various sizes.

On the other hand, four enameled rings were sent, displaying a European technique that aroused great interest in India and Persia. The neck jewellery was

bocal e conteira, baynha de veludo preto com huns botões de fio douro e emxarrafas de Retroz verde e suas cintas guarnecidas douro; Item – huum punhal guarnecido douro, punho, bocal e conteira, e anilado, com hua archama (sic) douro; Item – quatro beestas com seus atavios e almazem e cordas de sobresalemte; Item – duas lamças com alvados e contos ferradas douro batido; Item – hua carapuça de veludo preto da feição das do xeque Ismael, guarnecida douro com cento e oitenta e huum Robys; Item – duas manilhas douro, hua muito grande e outra mais pequena: a grande com hum Roby muito grande e seis pequenos e vinte e nove dyamães, e a pequena com huum olho de guato grande e dous Robys meãos e vinte e tres Robys pequenos darredor della e sessenta e dous diamães pequenos com tres esmeraldas e bj pequenas; Item – quatro anees douro anilados, os tres delles com tres Robys grandes em perfeiçam, e outro com hua çafira e xxbij Robys ao Redor; Item - hua joya de pescoço com hum Roby grande no meyo da sorte dos anees e tres Robys meãos e xx pequenos com duas turquesas e tres perlas da feição de perilha na joya e huua muito gramde; Item - hua pera dambar com cem Robys e sessemta diamães pequenos com hua cadea douro darelhana; Item - cimquo portugueses e b cruzados douro, e b catolicos douro da moeda de malaqua de mil e R rs cada huum, e b manoees douro da moeda de guoa de iij^C R rs cada huum, e b manoees douro da moeda de guoa de iij^C R rs e b tostoens; *Item* – xxx quimtaees de pimenta, xx quintaes de gingivre, x quintaes de cravo, b quintaes de canela, xx quintaes daçuquar, hum quintal de cardamomo, x quintaes destanho, x quintaes de cobre, duas farculas de beijoy, bj peças de beatilhas."

⁴¹⁷ CORREIA 1860, p. 443: "hum arnês branco enteiro, dourado por partes,(...) e lhe mandou huma riqua cadeira de brocado do Reyno, que pera ysso mandou fazer, com duas almofadas do teor, e huma sela gineta com o carapação de cetym cremesym, lavrado de fio d'ouro de riqo lavor, riqos cordões como pertencia"

⁴¹⁸ CORREIA 1860, p. 443; CAA, VI, pp. 273-274

⁴¹⁹ Allan 2003, pp. 203

also probably made in India and exhibited gems of different origins – amounting to twelve rubies, probably from Vijayanagara or Ceylon, two turquoises from the Persian plateau and three drop pearls from Gujarat.

The articles sent to Persia in 1515 were bought by Albuquerque from the Portuguese captains in Hormuz (the weaponry and armour⁴²⁰), taken from the factory (the raw materials and spices⁴²¹), or selected among the governor's treasury (the jewellery). As had happened in previous circumstances, the articles selected by Albuquerque seem to have always been premeditated, and if the treasury could not provide them they should be made or bought.⁴²²

The jewellery to be offered was selected from the treasury, kept by the factor. The receipt lists the two bracelets (with rubies, diamonds, the cat's eye, and emeralds), the four enamelled rings (with rubies and a sapphire), the neck jewel (with rubies, turquoises, and pearls), the amber pear (with gold, rubies and diamonds and a gold chain), and the black velvet cap (with gold and rubies), indicating the number of gems and the weight or value of the gold spent in each piece. This information, together with the great number and types of gems, is a symptom that the pieces were made in India and could be weighted before the setting of the gems. The symptom that the pieces were made in India and could be weighted before the

Explicitly made on purpose in India to be sent to the Shah were the chair with

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⁴²⁰ One of the rifles (huma espingarda de fero (...) com sua guarnição) was bought from Jorge Fernandes, a gunman (CAA, VI, p. 289), and one of the crossbows was bought for 3 cruzados (CAA, VI, p. 309). The dagger with gold embellishments was bought from D. Garcia de Noronha, Albuquerque's nephew and captain, for 65 xerafins (CAA, VI, pp. 307-308). To Pero de Alpoim were paid 45 xerafins for "some new breastplates set in crimson velvet with gilded riveting and its tassels set in purple velvet" (CAA, VI, p. 319). A helmet was bought for 2,5 pardaus (CAA, VI, p. 366), and a set of armour, including breastplates set in white satin and a thin mail, was bought from Vasco Fernandes Coutinho for 50 cruzados (CAA, VI, p. 367). To Pero de Alpoim were paid 8.367 reis for two gilded silver cups weighting 2 marcos, 6 onças and 2,5 oitavas [c. 639,4 g], one of which was offered to the Persian ambassador and the other to a Persian captain (CAA, VI, p. 339). The factor of Hormuz, Manuel da Costa, received 6.075 reis for a gilded silver ewer weighting 2 marcos and 2 onças [c. 516 g] to be offered to the Persian ambassador, and 22,5 xerafins for a silver and golden dagger offered to another Persian captain (CAA, II, p. 148).

⁴²¹ CAA, VI, p. 277

⁴²² See CAA, II, p. 60: "Mandado (...) para dar a três cunhados do Rei de Cochim que nesse dia foram a Afonso de Albuquerque três patolas de seda, um barde de seda, e doze beirames (...) e se não tiverdes na feytoria estas cousas mandovos que a compres pera lhas dar"

⁴²³ CAA, II, pp. 149-150

⁴²⁴ On contemporary goldsmiths working in Goa see CRESPO 2015, CRESPO & PENALVA 2014, and SILVA 2008a.

Portuguese brocade and two cushions. Similarly, also the king of Ternate had specifically requested for a Portuguese chair in an earlier letter to D. Manuel, hinting at a specific novelty disseminated via the Portuguese.⁴²⁵

Under D. Francisco de Almeida, diplomatic gift-giving was planned in Portugal as a constituent part of embassies sent by D. Manuel. It was the king's secretary who apparently was in charge of assembling the present, but the decision of what to offer was performed by the king. In the Indian stage, Albuquerque was much more informed of the diplomatic conventions at play and soon was compelled to rethink his engagement with the material culture.

A recurring remark in sixteenth-century Portuguese chronicles is made to the "things from [one's] land" listed in every diplomatic gift. The perception that the Portuguese were dealing with rich states and were being given precious articles unavailable in Portugal not only persisted but also increased in time. The tendency to select representative things from the land as gifts may have been caused both by the cultural expectations and as a strategy to demonstrate their commercial potential.

As the Portuguese in India did not receive from Portugal as many representative and valuable possessions as desirable – which one can imagine would ideally be similar to those brought in 1508 by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to offer in Malacca⁴²⁷ – a share of the articles looted was converted into potential gifts and kept in the government's treasury. Nevertheless, a small amount of Portuguese pieces was always mentioned in the lists of gifts given. These Portuguese pieces were often bought from Portuguese captains and noblemen (*fidalgos*) and frequently refined with better materials. This practice is mostly clear after the 1513 decline in the shipment from Portugal to India of precious articles – likely because they were expected to be received in Portugal, not the other way around – and the

⁴²⁵ CAA, III, p. 233

⁴²⁷ A piece of scarlet cloth, three pieces of *ruães de sello*, four pieces of coloured velvet and satin, a large gilt mirror, a sword with an enameled gold handle, a shield and a spear, and six large Flemish bottles with scented water (CORREIA 1860, p. 33).

ensuing decrease in the number of Portuguese things in Asia.⁴²⁸ On a later moment Portuguese-style articles, such as some of the pieces sent in 1515 to Persia, were being produced in India with the intention of *representing* things from Portugal to the unacquainted.

II. 2.3. Courtly Representation

...& elle nestes auctos por temorizar os mouros mostrávase muy põposo, no trájo, no asento, & nos auctos de sua pesoa...⁴²⁹

As the official representative of the king, Albuquerque paid special attention to the management of his personal authority. It was important for governors and viceroys to publicly demonstrate their legitimacy and authority in order to effectively carry out their functions. The material culture circulating in the hands of the governor responded to the diplomatic needs developed, as well as to a maturation of courtly display.

The notion of 'courtly representation' – forged and developed by (European) medievalists – becomes useful to the analysis of events at court in respect of their communicational and representational content. Numerous attempts have been made to define 'court' and to provide a viable analytic framework for the study of this phenomenon. In this chapter 'court' will be broadly understood as the apparatus surrounding the highest-ranking person in the state (the governor), including his residence and accompanying people. All of these aspects could be

⁴²⁸ For instance CAA, I, p. 296.

⁴²⁹ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VI, cap III, p. 263

⁴³⁰ KONRAD 2011, p. 237. In FUESS & HARTUNG 2011 the authors assess the suitability of a study of court interactions in the Muslim world. For a study on the Eurasian courtly encounters see SUBRAHMANYAM 2012a, in particular the introduction for a discussion on the historiography and methodologies of historical cultural interactions.

⁴³¹ On the topic see Norbert Elias' paramount study of the emergence of court society (*Die höfische Gesellschaft* originally published in 1969, and translated into English as *The Court Society* in 1983), ELIAS 1983, where 'court' was understood for the first time in a typological way. Since then, several attempts to define 'court' have been produced ranging from a definition based on the spacial entity – the palace –, to the actors of that residential component – a structured conglomeration of people –, to a definition based on the occurences congregated around a ruler – a series of periodical events; see FUESS & HARTUNG 2011, p. 2-4

individually manipulated to fit a larger program connected to representation and production of one's power and perceived authority.

Courtly representation encompasses ritualized forms with various functions. 432 Inside Albuquerque's European mindset, courtly display was modelled as a means of communication between, on the one hand, foreign courts and court societies – chiefly the rival Indian sultanates – and, on the other hand, between court elite and its subjects – both the captains Albuquerque desired to control and the remainder of his new subjects. Courtly representation also has an integrative effect by producing and assuring the court society's cohesion and identity. 433

The understanding of a complex and composite court as those devised in Lisbon or Évora was not likely in the mind of the first captains of Portuguese India. However, the overseas court had to fulfil a more diversified role, serving as the setting where states met and "were forced to make sense of one another". ⁴³⁴ Foreign ambassadors were received in courtly ceremonies and were expected to perform in a certain way, or at least to satisfy a certain dimension of civility to be taken seriously. ⁴³⁵

This section deals with three forms of courtly representation performed by Albuquerque. ⁴³⁶ First, the state ceremonial: which pertains mostly to the diplomatic receptions staged by the Portuguese governor. Second, courtly ritual: the everyday life in Portuguese India and how it was used by the governor to emphasize the distance between himself and the others. And third, the objects Albuquerque chose to associate himself with.

STATE CEREMONIAL - DIPLOMATIC RECEPTIONS

State ceremonial was the medium that externally communicated the hierarchy and structure of the society, working as an effective means of legitimization of actual (and potential) political rule.⁴³⁷ An analysis of the staging of

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 $^{^{\}rm 432}$ Here I follow the synthesis provided by Konrad 2011, pp. 235-237 from Giesey 1987.

⁴³³ KONRAD 2011, p. 237

⁴³⁴ SUBRAHMANYAM 2012a

 $^{^{\}rm 435}$ Following the concept of 'civility' as proposed by Elias 1978-1982.

⁴³⁶ GIESEY 1987, p. 42

⁴³⁷ KONRAD 2011, p. 236

public ceremonial situations provides an interesting insight on the strategies of adaptation to prevailing political, social and cultural contexts. Diplomatic receptions to foreign ambassadors were the most common form of state ceremonial performed by the Portuguese in early sixteenth-century India. These were favourable moments for Albuquerque to present himself as a serious contender for the leadership of Portuguese India.

The first decades of the Portuguese presence in India were a moment of change in the conceptualization of the power relations among the Portuguese. Only after the occupation of Goa – the first Asian city where the Portuguese exercised full sovereignty⁴³⁸ – did the Portuguese develop a idea of power associated to a more permanent foundation. But the definition of Goa as capital city, or the circumscription of a *Portuguese State* in India, did not occur at once.⁴³⁹ The capital of any state can be defined by the permanent presence of its sovereign and all the bureaucratic apparatus surrounding him. In a political entity subordinate to the sphere of a kingdom, such as the State of India, the centre of government and the person vested with authority to rule in the name of the king – the viceroy or governor – would be identified by a set of distinctive signs.

As Luís Filipe Thomaz stated, D. Francisco de Almeida's capital was the deck of his ship. 440 The Portuguese presence in Asia during the 'long decade' was predominantly military; as a result, for the most part everyday life unfolded aboard warships or merchant vessels, extending the functions of an ordinary dwelling to the sea. The absence of a fixed abode did not prevent the governors from carrying out receptions inside their ships. 441

The attention and effort placed by Albuquerque in the diplomatic receptions he hosted – manifest in the symbolic political communication, in gift selection, in the

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⁴³⁸ Santos 1999b, p. 121

⁴³⁹ SANTOS 1999a is the first and most comprehensive analysis of the mechanisms through which Goa became the capital of the Portuguese State of India.

⁴⁴⁰ Thomaz 1995, p. 213

⁴⁴¹ On the everyday life aboard the 16th century Portuguese fleets see Domingues & Guerreiro 1988.

creation of the setting, and in the organization of the participants – can be traced thorough the descriptions provided by chroniclers.⁴⁴²

In 1507, while in the gulf of Oman, the receptions Albuquerque (at the time captain of the fleet that was to conquer Hormuz) had to perform were triggered by the initiative of the cities where the Portuguese fleet arrived. Two of these receptions can be compared as they reveal one of the simplest forms of ceremonial apparatus, occurred weeks apart, and both aboard Albuquerque's flagship.

The first reception occurred in Qalhat, to an emissary from the Muslim ruler of the city; the second occurrence was in Hormuz, with the city's intermediary, a Muslim captain of a ship belonging to the sultan of Gujarat. On both occasions the captain sat on the quarterdeck on a 'rich chair' covered with velvet cushions and golden furnishings, placed on top of a carpet with another cushion where his feet rested. The vertical hierarchization of the participants in the meeting was accentuated by the placing of Albuquerque's chair on top of a dais. In Qalhat the captain had an estoc placed over a cushion by his side while in Hormuz there were two pages on each of his sides holding his buckler and estoc.

In both these receptions Albuquerque clearly recognized the need to present himself "in a stately manner, because the Muslims from those lands recognize one's worth from the way one is attired". ⁴⁴⁶ The awareness of a 'stately manner' [de Estado] constrasts with the 'celebration manner' [de festa] mentioned about a second Hormuz encounter with the ruler of the city. The choice of words may be

This comitment has already been diagnosed by several historians, being the most recent MARTINS 2014, pp. 194-195.

⁴⁴³ CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LIV, pp. 10-ss; CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LXI, p. 117; BARROS 1974, dec. II, liv. II, cap. III, p. 55

About the vertical and horizontal hierarchies at play in the early sixteenth-century Portuguese conceptions of space see Senos 2002, p. 116-118

⁴⁴⁵ CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LIV, p. 102: "...estava assêtado ê huma cadeyra rica posta sobre huu estrado dalcatifas, & dalmofadas de veludo, & tinha hua sobre os pes, & sobre outra hu estoq rico, estavão ao redor dele todos os capitães da frota, & fidalgos; & cavaleyros q vinhão nela armados: & a tolda da nao toda alcatifada. os mouros quando entrarão ficarão espantados de ver a magestade real cõ que ho capitão moor estava que parecia huu grãde Principe, & quiserãlhe beijar os pês, & ele não quis"

⁴⁴⁶ CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LIV, p. 102: "E ele se pos destado pareles, porq os mouros daqlas partes seguudo vee que os homes se tratão assi os estimão"; CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LXI, p. 117: "Ho capitão mór como soube q ele avia de vir, pos se de grande estado pera autorizar ho carrego que trazia, & pera que os mouros ho tevessem em muyta conta"

concerned with the occasion more than the material features of the ceremony. However, a difference can be noted in the overall attire of the participants.

In Qalhat Albuquerque wore "a brown velvet doublet and pants, and a crimson velvet French gown [roupa francesa] lined with brown satin; in his head he wore a bonnet in the same brown velvet on top of a gold coif". The captain also put on an enamelled gold collar in which hung a gold whistle. 447 He did not carry any weapons besides the estoc placed over the cushion, but was surrounded by armed captains and fidalgos sitting on carpet-covered benches on the quarterdeck. In Hormuz, Albuquerque was armed with "brocaded cuirasses with bocetes 448 and a thin mail skirt, and a gold helmet"449 and he rose to welcome the Muslim captain and invited him to sit on silk cushions, which had not happened with the Qalhat delegate.450

Albuquerque's attire was exclusively composed of European objects and clothing, worn in a European fashion, selected among his personal belongings. Later when Albuquerque was received by the king of Hormuz in the cerame 451, the

 $^{^{447}}$ Castanheda 1552, II, LIV, p. 102: "...tinha vestido huu gibão de veludo pardo, & humas calças do mesmo, & huma roupa frãcesa de veludo carmesim forrada de cetim pardo, & hua gorra na cabeça do mesmo veludo encima dhua coyfa de rede douro, & hu colar douro esmaltado em q tinha dependurado hu apito tãbee da mesma maneyra."

⁴⁴⁸ BLUTEAU 1712 [vol. 2] describes "*BOCETE, Bocête. Couraças de brocado, com Bocetes, & Fralda*". The frequently mentioned "brocaded cuirasses" probably resembled the brigandine, a piece of armour constructed with metal plates sewn into a fabric jacket and lined throughout with overlapping scales of metal which were attached to the jacket by rivets (bocetes).

⁴⁴⁹ CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LXI, pp. 117-118: "Ho capitão mór como soube q ele avia de vir, pos se de grande estado pera autorizar ho carrego que trazia, & pera que os mouros ho tevessem em muyta conta; & assentou-se em hua cadeyra de veludo, & cravação dourada sobre hua alcatifa, armado de huas coyraças de borcado co bucetes & fralda de malha muyto fina & hum capacete douro. E dous pajes cada hu de sua ilharga hum co hua adarga & outro com hu estoque, tudo muyto rico. E todos os fidalgos & capitães armados; & assêtados ao derredor da tolda onde ele estava, & a gente da nao em pé toda armada; & estava com tanta majestade que bee se sentio no capitão da nao meri quando entrou que ficou espantado, & debruçou se lhe no chão pa lhe beijar os pés. Mas ele não ho consentio"; a similar description can be found in BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. II, cap. III, p. 55; ALBUQUERQUE 1973, I, p. 143: "...todos os Capitães, e Fidalgos armados, assentados na tolda em bancos cubertos de alcatifas".

 $^{^{450}}$ "Afonso Dalboquerque levantandose com gasalhado o recebeo & fez assentar a sua ilharga em huas almofadas de seda." Before this deceitfully warm welcome Albuquerque had specifically ordered the Meri captain to come into the ship from the side of the bombard carriages, so that he could notice them. BARROS 1974, dec. II, liv. II, cap. III, p. 55: "...em entrando em a náo, posto que foy per cima das carretas & repairos da artelharia (por assy o ordernar Afonso Dalboquérque) & em toda ella avia bem que ver".

⁴⁵¹ The jetty above the sea would allow simultaneously the king to display all the pomp convenient to his status, and the Portuguese to arrive on their barques. The cerame was the privileged setting for

governor wore a 'celebration attire'. Castanheda explains this to be a velvet satin french gown [roupa francesa] lined with tawny satin, a crimson velvet doublet over a velvet shirt, an estoc hanging from his belt, and scarlet pants with crimson velvet shoes, all topped by a crimson velvet bonnet on top of a black silk coif. The somber colors used in the previous receptions (described as the maneira de estado) were replaced with a much more colourful, more celebratory display maneira de festa). A page was beside Albuquerque dressed in the same colourful manner, carrying his buckler. Albuquerque and the Portuguese men sat on a bench, while the king, Khata Aja and Reixnoradim sat on the floor "for it was their custom to be seated as women", in Castanheda's words.

But this meeting with the king of Hormuz was not simply a reception. It was the ceremony where the signature of the contract of vassalage between the Portuguese crown and the King of Hormuz was to take place. The dais was covered with rich carpets and topped by a canopy of golden cloths and silk.⁴⁵⁴

After the occupation of Goa in 1510 Albuquerque had inevitably to receive foreign ambassadors in the city – from Bijapur, Persia, and Gujarat, among others – although the Portuguese sources do not provide much information about any public state ceremony arranged for these meetings. The governor took up residence in the

the encounter as it allowed the king to display all the pomp convenient to his status while allowing the Portuguese to come close in their barques.

⁴⁵² CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LXIV, p. 116: "E vindo ho dia ê que avia de ser a vista ho capitão mor se vestio de festa, porq assi estava cõcertado. E levava hua roupa frãcesa de ceti avelutado forrada de cetim aleonado, & hua gorra de veludo carmesim êcima dhua escofia de seda negra, & hu gibão de veludo carmesim sobre hu cotão do mesmo; & calças descarlata com chapins de veludo carmesim. E na cîta hu estoq rico. E junto coele hu paje vestido do mesmo que lhe levava hua adarga. Hião coele os capitães da frota, & assi os fidalgos todos cô vestidos ricos, & assi hia a môr parte da outra gête"

⁴⁵³ CASTANHEDA 1552, II, LXIV, p. 116: "...e ê entrando, el rey moveo logo parele & lhe abayxou a cabeça, q he a mor cortesia q lhe podia fazer: porque a não fazê os reys naquela terra senão a outros reys. Ho capitão moor se chegou aele cô muyto grande reverencia, & lhe tomou as mãos q âtre os mouros he sinal damizade. E tendoho por elas falou a Coieatar & a Raix noradi, que lhe fizerão tãbê muyto grãde cortesia, & logo se assentarão jûtamête ho capitão moor em huu escabelo que pera isso estava, & elrey & Cojeatar & Raix noradim ê hua alcatifa, por quanto he seu costume assentarense como molheres"

⁴⁵⁴ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. II, cap. IV, p. 62: "Pera mayor solemnidade do qual assentárã q fosse este cõtracto jurado por elrey & seus governadores & por Afonso Dalboquerque, em hua ponte de madeira tã metida dêtro no már q podésse elrey estar nella cõ todo aparáto de seu estado, & Afonso Dalboquérque em os seus batées. (...) veo elrey a esta ponte acõpanhado de Cóge Atar, Raez Nordim, & de seus officiaes & mires de sua casa que sam os nóbres della, vestidos de fésta com todolos instrumêtos de prazer q elles usam nos taes têpos; estãdo a põte toda cubérta de ricas alcatifas & toldada de panos douro & seda daquellas partes onde elrey se assentou em seu assento esperando q Afonso Dalboquérque viésse".

former Adil Shah [*Sabaio*] palace, which for the first half of the century would function as the residence of the Portuguese viceroys.⁴⁵⁵ The Governor however did not remain in Goa for long and only inhabited the palace for three significant slots of time: November 1510 to April 1511, early 1513, and from January to December 1514.

Castanheda recalls that "it was a beautiful thing to see all those ambassadors and how much they ennobled the city, making it feel as if a great court was in residence, and the governor detained them so that they could see each other." Most of the ambassadors Albuquerque dispatched were sent back with Portuguese envoys, who acted as counter-ambassadors and who would later became 'experts' on the lands and customs they met. These would be the first men to make sense of foreign courts and who would later incorporate and adapt ther knowledge to Portuguese protocol.

Up to 1511, the emphasis of Albuquerque's receptions seems to have been placed on military issues: the governor made sure all ambassadors could see the fortresses under construction and the Portuguese military equipment, while courtly ceremonial was kept at a bare minimum.

The same omissions to courtly ceremonial occurs in relation to the encounters with captains and ambassadors in Malacca, one year later, as well as in 1513 after the incursion into the Red Sea, when Albuquerque faced a rapid increase in the number of approaches from foreign envoys. Curiously, because the governor in all his diplomatic contacts used to send his own ambassadors, he never personally participated in ceremonial receptions in foreign courts.

The 1513 Persian ambassador was the second Safavid envoy Albuquerque met, after the 1510 encounter in Goa, and once again Albuquerque did not properly receive him. This was both due to the ambassador's unpreparedness – he intended

⁴⁵⁶ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, XLVII, p. 96: "E era fermosa cousa de ver todos estes êbaixadores quanto ennobrecião Goa, que parecia que estava ali hua grande corte, & ho governador os detinha pa q hus vissem os outros, & todos jûtos vissem fazer aquela fortaleza".

⁴⁵⁵ CARITA 1995, p. 22. The *Sabaio* palace was abandoned in 1554 during the government of D. Pedro Mascarenhas (g. 1554-1555), who decided to move to the Palace of the Fortress [*Palácio da Fortaleza*], the residence of the captain of the city, claiming he was too old to climb the long staircase in front of the Palace.

to meet the Adil Shah, not the Portuguese, in Goa – and his urgency in getting back to Tabriz. In Chaul, the ambassador was received aboard a Portuguese galley, not the captain's flagship. The implications of this choice are clear. Galleys were used in sixteenth-century Europe for ceremonial purposes while being at the same time adapted to the developments of on-board artillery, and the level of prestige that an oar vessel enjoyed was likely unattainable by the large *round* sailing ships.⁴⁵⁷

Again, the place selected for the meeting was the stern deck, probably inside the poop cabin, which was decorated with carpets and had the walls covered with 'Mecca velvets'. Both Albuquerque and the ambassador sat in the cabin's bench on brocade cushions covered with crimson satin [almofadas de brocado forradas de cetim carmesim]. This appears to have been a very private meeting, similar to the previous receptions, which would explain the lack of detail provided in Portuguese narratives. The only other men present were Portuguese captains, the clerk and the interpreter.

Albuquerque was wearing a jerkin [pelote] and an open surcoat [loba] that touched the floor⁴⁵⁸ both made out of black damask and trimmed with black velvet. He had on his head a big black velvet cap on top of a coif made out of golden and black threads. On his belt the governor wore a gold *kris* with precious stones, worth 15.000 *cruzados*⁴⁵⁹, and a collar of large loops. His long white beard was held with a knot on the tip, making him appear 'very honourable'. 460 Contrasting with the governor, the captains were very colourfully dressed.

⁴⁵⁷ On the 16th century Iberain ships see CASADO SOTO 2001.

⁴⁵⁸ Gaspar Correia, writing during the first half of the sixteenth century, adds to his contemporary readers that that was the fashion of Albuquerque's time [com pelote e loba aberta roçagante, que então se costumavão].

⁴⁵⁹ The mention in the sources to the Malay term for a specific type of dagger (*kris*), not often mentioned in Portuguese documentation, could hint at it having been acquired during Albuquerque's stay in Malacca. For more information on coeval *krises* see CRESPO 2015, p. 38-43.

⁴⁶⁰ CORREIA 1860, pp. 356-357: "...e se embarcou na galé muito concertada à popa com alcatifas, e armada de veludos de Meca, com os capitães vestidos louçãos, e o governador com pelote e loba aberta roçagante, que então se costumavão, tudo de damasco preto barrado de veludo preto, e na cabeça uma crispina de fio de ouro e preto, e em cima uma grã gorra de veludo preto, das antigas, e na cinta um cris de ouro e pedraria que valia 15.000 cruzados, e ao pescoço um colar de adobens grosso, e a barba branca e comprida com um nó nas pontas, com que tinha muy honrada presença. (...) o qual [embaixador] entrando fez ao governador grande acatamento, o qual se alevantou, e o tomou pola mão e o assentou no banco da popa, onde ele estava assentado, recostado a umas almofadas de brocado forradas de cetim carmesim. Em pé diante do governador com o barrete fora

By 1514 Albuquerque had already gathered a significant amount of information provided by his envoys to Vijayanagara, Gujarat, and Kerala. In that year the governor wrote to D. Manuel requesting special trust to manage diplomatic trade, and the permission to open the letters directed to the king. ⁴⁶¹ The governor knew the dangers of protocol mistakes and was acquainted with the importance of time.

The two most striking and complex receptions coordinated by Albuquerque happened in 1514 – in Goa, to an ambassador from Vijayanagara – and in 1515 – in Hormuz, to a third Persian ambassador. The Goa reception is the only state ceremony that undoubtedly took place in the *Sabaio* palace inside the city.

In January 1514 an ambassador from Vijayanagara arrived bearing gifts. Albuquerque gave him lodging in the house of a rich Hindu *tanadar-mor*, Crisna, who seems to have advised Albuquerque on the coordination of the celebration. It included a monumental parade to fetch the ambassador from Crisna's house, featuring more than one thousand men and elephants, whose drivers carried the gifts: two ankle bracelets and two wrist bracelets, one belt [*arelhana*] with a neck jewel, a string of pearls, and a gold dagger [*gemedar*] set with gems, valued at 50.000 *pardaus* - in silver plates. 462

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estava o secretario e Ucefe, judeu lingua, homem de muito crédito, que sabias todas as línguas e todos os modos dos mouros"

⁴⁶¹ MARTINS 2014, pp. 147-148 and CAA, I, p. 312: "...a mim nam convem examinar os ambaxadores dos Rex e primcipis destas partes, que vos vem buscar, nem lhes abrir suas cartas nem suas extruçõees, sem vosa espiciall carta asynada e aseelada, em que me daes comisam pera o tall feito; porque nam seria Rezam ir hum embaxador com recados a vos alteza escamdilizado e agravado de mim, senam bem recebido e despachado e segura pasajem"

⁴⁶² CORREIA 1860, pp. 376-377: "em janeiro, veo a Goa embaixador de Bisnegá com presente ao Governador pera assentar grandes pazes, por caso de muyta necessidade que tinhão de cavallos, que todos levavão os mercadores do Balagate, que mandava o Hidalcão, que todos tomava. Sabido polo Governador a rezão da vinda do embaixador, e o que trazia, deu ordem como o mandou aposentar no arravalde, nas casas de Crisna hum gentio que era tanadar mór e justiça dos gentios, que tinha grandes casas (...) e ordenou com o Crisna o dia que o embaixador lhe avia de lecar o presente com grandes aparatos, que foy por esta maneyra, a saber: que o capitão da cidade, com toda a gente de cavallo e com seus alabardeiros, trarião o embaixador; diante virião os naiques com mil piães da terra, esgrimindo com suas armas, com seus atabaques e tangeres e trombetinhas, e detrás os alifantes todos em fo hum após outro, todos cobertos com alcatifas, e em cyma seus naires, que trazião nas mãos bacios de prata d'agoa mãos e em cyma cada hum sua peça, que erão duas manilhas dos pés e duas dos braços, e huma arelhana com huma joya pera o pescoço, e hum fio de perolas, e hum gemedar, que era huma arma que elles trazem na cinta como punhal, tudo gornecido d'ouro com pedraria, que foy estimado em cinquoenta mil pardaos."

A Portuguese captain, Pedro Mascarenhas, was sent with men on horses to wait for the ambassador outside the city. When the cortege arrived at the square in front of the palace a gun salute was fired from the fort and music (trumpets and drums) was played. The trays with gifts were given to Portuguese men, who then carried them inside the palace. Following the gifts entered the ambassador, led by hand by Pero Mascarenhas to a large room where Albuquerque was waiting. The reception room was decorated with tapestries on the walls [muito bem armada], and the governor was sitting on a crimson velvet chair under a brocade canopy, with all the captains and fidalgos sitting along the walls. Albuquerque was dressed in black damask, with a surcoat and jerkin trimmed with black velvet, and a collar and golden kris, which one cannot help but notice being similar to the attire he wore in Hormuz six years before. The ambassador bowed twice on his way to Albuquerque — who had stood up at his presence — and was allowed to place the jewellery he brought around the governor's neck, waist, wrists and ankles.

In the end, the governor organized a parade where Portuguese armed men processed from one door of the city to another along the main street (*rua direita*). Because they were turning outside the city walls and reentering the city

⁴⁶³ CORREIA 1860, pp. 376-377: "Com a qual ordem forão ás casas do Governador, onde estavão com elle muytos fidalgos, e lhe tangerão atabales e trombetas, onde chegando ao terreiro das casas a forteleza tirou muyta artelharia; e decerão nos degraos das casas, e homens portuguezes tomarão os bacios com as peças e as levarão diante do embaixador, que o capitão levava pola mão até chegar ante o Governador, que estava em sua camara alcatifada e paramentada, e elle vestido de damasco preto, loba e pelote barrado de veludo preto, e seu collar e cris d'ouro, como atrás contey."

⁴⁶⁴ Albuquerque 1973, IV, pp. 139-140: "Avisado Afonso Dalboquerque da sua vinda, e a pessoa que era, mandou Pero Mascarenhas Capitão da fortaleza com muita gente de cavallo, que o fosse esperar fóra da Cidade. Chegado a elle, fez-lhe sua cortezia, vindo já acompanhado de muita gente de cavallo, e hum Capitão com muitos peões da terra, e trazia diante de si quatro Alifantes com seus castelos de madeira emparamentados de seda, e em cada hum delles vinha hum homem honrado Gentio, com bacios de agua ás mãos de prata dourados, em que traziam perolas, e joias de pedraria, e outras peças ricas da terra, que lhe o Rey mandava de presente, e com este aparato chegáram aos paços do Çabayo, onde Afonso Dalboquerque estava, e ali o esperou em huma sala grande mui bem armada, e hum docel de brocado com huma cadeira de veludo cramesim, em que estava assentado, e todos os Capitães, Fidalgos, e gente nobre, que estavam em Goa, em pé ao longo das paredes"

⁴⁶⁵ CORREIA 1860, pp. 376-377: "O embaixador entrando a porta da camara, o Governador se alevantou da cadeira em que estava assentado, e esteve em pé, fazendolhe o embaixador grande çalema, e chegando mais perto tornou a fazer outra. Então o Governador deu hum passo, e tomou o embaixador pola mão, o qual lhe apresentou as peças, dizendo que ElRey de Bisnegá como grande amigo lhe mandava aquellas peças, e lhe rogava que as tomasse como amigo, que elle com sua mão lhas avia de vestir. (....) Então o embaixador com sua mão lhe pôs ao pescoço 'arelhana e o fio de perolas, e o gemedar na cinta, e nos braços e pernas as manilhas, que se abrião e fechavão com fechos. Então lhe deu huma carta com folha d'ouro, com palavras e firmezas de grandes amizades e offerecimentos, e lhe pedindo a passagem dos cavallos pera sua terra."

continuously the parade lasted for two hours, and the ambassador left the city having counted more than 10.000 men. 466

One year later, in April 1515, Afonso de Albuquerque received a Persian ambassador in Hormuz who had been sent with Miguel Ferreira (departed in 1513) bearing gifts and a letter from the Shah. The reception took place in a large square in front of the king's palace, where the king of Hormuz stood observing the reception from a window. In coeval texts this type of reception is suitably called *vistas*, stressing the importance of the display and ostentation character of the event. In fact, a previous audience to the ambassador had already happened aboard the governor's flagship but – as Hormuz was by then considered a Portuguese vassal city and Albuquerque had access to its urban space – the public display of the powerful connections was thought to be a fundamental issue.

According to Gaspar Correia, "after being informed by Miguel Ferreira of the contents of the present brought by the ambassador, [Albuquerque] ordered how it was all to happen". Along dais with three steps and a canopy was made for the occasion. Its walls and floor were covered with tapestries and the governor's chair was placed on top of the three steps. Albuquerque wore a black damask coat [sayo] and gown [loba], with his necklace and gold kris, and "his beard very long and

⁴⁶⁶ CORREIA 1860, p. 378 "O Governador tinha ordenados a gente da ordenança, que estavão prestes com seus piques e atambores e pifaros, que o embaixador chegando á rua direira entrarão os da ordenança pola porta da cidade, que vinhão de fóra; com que o embaixador esteve quêdo agardando que acabassem de entrar, e aguardou espaço de duas horas, porque a gente corria pola rua direira e tornava a sayr pola porta do Mandovim, e corrião derrador da cidade e tornavão a entrar pola porta da cidade, nom quebrando o fio, tirando muytas espingardas. O embaixador e os seus contavão a gente, que passarão de dez mil homens; que a gente acabou d'esgotar, então sayo o embaixador e se foy a sua casa, espantado de vêr tanta gente, e porque o capitão lhe disse que sempre assy andavão por se nom desacostumarem das armas."

⁴⁶⁷ Or, according to Correia, in a trench then recently built by Albuquerque.

⁴⁶⁸ The only other *vista* where Albuquerque participated was the 1508 reception in the king's *cerame*, also a public ceremony where the vassalage contract was signed.

⁴⁶⁹ Góis 1949, III, 121v: "ho reçebeo em hua praça publica em cadafalso alto, em lugar donde elRei Dormuz podia ver tudo, de hua janella dos seus Paços, nas quaes vistas deu ho Embaixador a Afonso Dalbuquerque algus presentes pera elRei dom Emanuel, entre os quaes vinha esta carapuça que eu mesmo tive na guardaroupa do dito senhor em meu poder, & assi outros parelle que reçebeo"; Correia 1860, p. 423: "Então o Governador mandou chamar Miguel Ferreira, e lhe disse que falasse com o embaixador que ao outro dia o queria ver, que seria dentro da tranqueira, que pera ysso a fizera. E dizendolhe Miguel Ferreira o presente que lhe avia de trazer, o Governador lhe disse a ordem em que todo avia de vir."

white." Around the governor's dais were the captains with their swords on their belts and behind them there were pages carrying spears and shields. 470

As had happened with the Vijayanagari ambassador, the Persian was brought from his lodge by a captain, D. Garcia de Noronha, and other Portuguese men who carried the gifts to the square. The procession of the gifts is thoroughly described by Gaspar Correia, who witnessed the event. The parade started with trumpeters, followed by two hunting cheetahs riding on horses with their handlers, four well-bred horses with their barding and caparisons, men carrying pieces of cloth (first taffetas, then satins, damasks, and brocades, amounting to four-hundred pieces) who walked two by two, two men carrying silver basins filled with turquoises, and other men carrying a set of gold basin and ewer, a gold dagger and wide-bladed sword set with gems, and a brocade kaftan belonging to Shah Ismail himself. Behind the gifts, the ambassador entered in the square with the gilded letter from the Shah wrapped in his $t\bar{a}j$, followed by Miguel Ferreira, D. Garcia de Noronha, Pero de Albuquerque, and all the city's armed men.⁴⁷¹

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⁴⁷⁰ CORREIA 1860, p. 423: "Pera este recibimento foy feito hum estrado grande de tres degráos, paramentadas as paredes derrador com hum rico drosel; o estrado alcatifado, e o Governador assentado em cadeira gornicida, vestido em sayo e loba de damasco preto, e seu collar, e crís d'ouro, como já disse, com sua barba grande comprida muyto branca; ao redor do estrado os capitães e fidalgos, bem atabiados de suas pessoas, com espadas na cinta, e detrás seus pages com lanças e adargas, e todos com barretes fóra."

⁴⁷¹ Correia 1860, pp. 423-424: "Então foy dom Gracia de Noronha com toda a outra gente armada a casa do embaixador, onde cada huma peça de seda punhão nos braços a hum homem, aberta, e os homens de dous em dous. Primeyramente diante hião as trombetas tangendo, e logo dois mouros em rocis, que levavam sobre as ancas duas onças caçadoras prezas nas trelas; e logo após elles quatro cavallos ginetes, sellados e enfreados, gornições de prata, acubertados até mea perna de cubertas de laminas assentadas sobre acolchoado d'algodão, e envernizadas que reluzião como ouro, e em cyma dos arções dianteyros huma saya de malha fina; e logo vinhão os homens de dous em dous, com as peças nos braços, as primeyras tafetás, então ceys e damascos com rosas d'ouro, e então brocadilhos, e então brocados rigos, que todos serião quatrocentas peças; e atrás dous bacios d'agoa mãos, cheos de pedras troquezas por lavrar, e atrás hum bacio e hum gomil d'ouro, que ambos pesarão sessenta marcos, e huma adaga e traçado com suas cintas, tudo d'ouro e pedraria, que foy estimado em vinte mil cruzados, e huma cabaia de brocado da propia pessoa do Xequesmael, muy rica; e atrás o embaixador nobremente vestido, que trazia a carta do Xequesmael em folha d'ouro, enrolada, metida nas voltas da touga; e detrás d'elle Miguel Ferreira, com dom Gracia e Pero d'Alboquerque; e detrás muyta gente armada com lanças e adargas. E n'esta ordem vierão"; ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 176: "Chegado Dom Garcia aonde o Embaixador estava, fez-lhe grandes cortezias, como era rezão fazer-se a hum Embaixador de tamanho Principe, e começáram a caminhar nesta ordem. Vinham logo diante de todos dous Mouros de cavallo, que eram caçadores de onças, com cada hum sua nas ancas, e apôs elles vinham seis cavallos, hum diante do outro, selados com suas cubertas muito ricas, e testeiras de aceiro, com saias de malha nos arções; e apôs elles hiam doze Mouros a cavallo mui bem vestidos, que levavam as joias de ouro, peças de seda, e brocado em bacios de prata de agua ás mãos; e logo apôs estes hiam as trombetas de Afonso Dalboquerque, e atabales tangendo, e todos os Capitães, e

Gaspar Correia mentions how the ambassador took off his shoes before stepping on the carpeted dais, and how the governor, who sat atop the three-stepped platform, rose to meet him on the second step. The ambassador made his curtsey by touching Albuquerque's right hand with the tip of his fingers and kissing it, "which was the greatest curtsey he could have made". The Safavid kissed the letter from the Shah, placed it upon his head, and presented it in that way to the governor.⁴⁷²

As was examined in the previous section, the ambassador proceeded by presenting the kaftan and urging Albuquerque to wear it together with the dagger and wide-bladed sword, as it would be a great token of friendship for the Shah, but Albuquerque "draped the kaftan over his shoulders, wrapped its sleeves around his neck, and put on the dagger and sword, saying he would not wear the kaftan because it was only fit for a king."

The implications of all these choices are clear. The viewers – in particular the city's elite – could easily perceive the postures of subordination and superiority imbued in the vertical hierarchy imposed by the dais, the occupation of the city's main square, and the subservience postures of the Persian envoy. All this action was at the same time being supervised by the king of Hormuz from the windows of his palace.

The convention of the robe of honor [khilat] had a long tradition in the

Fidalgos apôs elles em ordem, de huma parte, e da outra, e detrás de todos ho D. Garcia com o Embaixador, e nesta ordem chegáram aonde Afonso Dalboquerque estava."

⁴⁷² CORREIA 1860, p. 424: "...largando os çapatos foy pera o Governador, e no meo do estrado tornou a fazer outra cortezia. Então o Governador se levantou em pé, e tendeo a mão direita, a qual lhe o embaixador toquou com as pontas dos dedos, com que foy á boca e beijou, que he a mór cortezia que se podia fazer, e então beijou a carta, e a pôs sobre a cabeça, e a deu ao Governador, e lhe apresentando a cabaia, dizendo que o Xequesmael lhe rogava, como bom amigo, que a vestisse e trouxesse com o traçado e adaga. O Governador, mostrando muyto prazer, tudo tomou, e deitou a cabaia sobre sy, abraçando as mangas polo pescoço, e pôs o treçado e adaga com as cintas, dizendo ao embaixador que nom vestia a cabaia porque a nom podia vestir senão Rey como elle, mas que a guardaria e mostraria por sua grande honra; e a carta tomou, e meteo no seyo"

⁴⁷³ CORREIA 1860, p. 424: "e lhe apresentando a cabaia, dizendo que o Xequesmael lhe rogava, como bom amigo, que a vestisse e trouxesse com o traçado e adaga. O Governador, mostrando muyto prazer, tudo tomou, e deitou a cabaia sobre sy, abraçando as mangas polo pescoço, e pôs o treçado e adaga com as cintas, dizendo ao embaixador que nom vestia a cabaia porque a nom podia vestir senão Rey como elle, mas que a guardaria e mostraria por sua grande honra"

Islamic and Hindu practices of gift exchange. ⁴⁷⁴ In the Iranian protocol, bestowing someone clothing from one's own body carried powerful meanings as a gesture of obeisance and submission. ⁴⁷⁵ Despite that in later years the practice of receiving a robe from a sultan came to be described as an *exotic* experience for European envoys, Albuquerque does not seem to have fully regarded the honour in that way. ⁴⁷⁶ The Portuguese governor understood the poisoned meaning of the gift likely because of the instructions provided by his informants, in particular Miguel Ferreira. Had Albuquerque accepted the kaftan he, as a representative of a foreign power, would imply the symbolic acceptance of the sultan's authority, but in draping it around his own neck while fabricating and acceptable excuse for not wearing it, Albuquerque did not entirely despise the gift as a sign of allegiance.

The Portuguese ability to assess value and exchange goods was learnt primarily through observation and practice rather than through any written form of instruction.

COURT RITUALS

Court rituals were the privileged medium that internally communicated the hierarchy of the society. ⁴⁷⁷ The most common forms of internal courtly representation that had an impact on material culture were everyday meals. But the everyday life went virtually unrecorded by the chroniclers. Gaspar Correia provides the most detailed account of Albuquerque's everyday life in Goa, between his return from the Red Sea in September 1513 and early 1515. Correia's portrayal should however be read with caution since his intention was probably to inform his readers of the dissimilarities between the Goan and Lisbon lifestyles and on the idiossincrasies of the governor, therefore not being comprehensive.

⁴⁷⁴ About the tradition of the *khilat* in pre-colonial and colonial India see the essays in Gordon 2003, in particular the editor's "Introduction – Ibn Battuta and a Region of Robing", pp. 1-30 and Gavin Hambly's "The Emperor's Clothes. Robing and 'Robes of Honour' in Mughal India", pp. 31-49; about Ottoman robes see Stanley 2012, about Mamluk robes see Stowasser 1984, and about Safavid robes SCARCE 2003. For a recent synthesis on the practice with a focus on the importance of the textiles on the symbolic communication see SAUER 2015.

⁴⁷⁵ MITCHELL 2009, p. 94 and MASKIELL & MAYOR 2001a, p. 25

⁴⁷⁶ STANLEY 2012, p. 151

⁴⁷⁷ Fuess & Hartung, 2011, pp. 2-5

Albuquerque used to wake up at dawn and go from the *Sabaio* palace to church – probably Nossa Senhora da Serra, the chapel he commissioned in 1513 – with his personal guards carrying halberds. After mass, Albuquerque went to supervise the construction work in the fortress, riding alone with a stick [*cana*] and a straw hat [*sombreiro palhete*]. ⁴⁷⁸ Horse riding was an exclusive practice of Albuquerque, which he extended to a few captains on Sundays and exceptional occasions such as the public receptions. ⁴⁷⁹

Every captain had the obligation to feed his men inside his own house or ship. In Goa, Albuquerque provided a room inside the palace where all the *fidalgos* and more than four-hundred men were fed, according to Correia, and who could only fit because of the large dining table encircling the room.⁴⁸⁰

Albuquerque ate inside a smaller room, accompanied by some of the *fidalgos* and captains. ⁴⁸¹ He had his personal French chef, João da França, ⁴⁸² and accompanied all his meals with the sound of trumpets and kettledrums. ⁴⁸³ The governor always carried a gold bracelet on his left arm with a piece of alicorn – possibly Narwhal tooth – as an antidote for the familiar threat of poison. ⁴⁸⁴

Since 1514 Albuquerque ate exclusively from his silver tableware, sent from Portugal by the king and paid for from his salary.⁴⁸⁵ The governor had asked for it because the porcelain ware kept breaking when at sea. In fact, as early as 1508, after his incursion through the gulf of Oman, Albuquerque wrote to his king about all the

⁴⁷⁸ CORREIA **1860**, pp. 364-365

⁴⁷⁹ CORREIA 1860, p. 364. After attending Mass together with their men [gente de sua mesa], the captains spent their time strolling through the city or chatting in the the "many steps before the governor's house, where they sat". Gaming was strictly forbidden and the only games allowed were board games and chess [tavolas e enxadrês] according to CORREIA 1860, p. 367.

⁴⁸⁰ CORREIA 1860, p. 363: "o governador estava aposentado nas casas do Sabayo, que tinhão grande sala em que dava mesa a todolos fidalgos, e a mais de quatrocentos homens, porque a mesa fazia volta por outra banda"

⁴⁸¹ CORREIA 1860, p. 397

⁴⁸² Mentioned in April 1514 in Albuquerque's words as "bombardier, my cook" [bombardeiro, meu cozinheiro], in CAA, VI, p. 57, also in Ferreira 2000, p. 56.

⁴⁸³ Correia 1860, p. 363: "O governador sempre comia com trombetas e atabales."

⁴⁸⁴ In fact, in September 1514, in Cochin, Albuquerque was forced to make use of the *alicorne* as he and several of his captains were poisoned by a displeased Portuguese man. CORREIA 1860, p. 397: "...ao que o governador logo deu alicorne, que trazia metido em huma manilha d'ouro no braço esquerdo; que derão a todos, com que todos forão remediados de perigo de morte"

⁴⁸⁵ CORREIA 1860, p. 409: "...a tolda estava armada de pannos de tapeçaria de Frandes e huma copeira de muyta prata posta á bitacora, que este anno lhe viera do Reyno, que elle mandára pedir a ElRey de seu ordenado, queixandose da perda que recebia em dar de comer em porcelanas"

setbacks he had to face, including all the broken ceramics due to the constant roll of the ocean. Also In March 1515, upon his arrival to Hormuz, the governor received Miguel Ferreira aboard his ship and had a Flemish tapestry and all his silverware placed on the sideboard [copeira] in the European courtly fashion.

On Sunday, the governor's men [homens que comiam à mesa do governador] wore their richest weapons and armour, covered themselves with silk capes [cubertas de jorneas de seda], and hid their faces with scarves while they awaited the governor and accompanied him to church. As they could not regularly ride or own horses, the pride of the Portuguese fidalgos was placed in the richness of their weapons. Weapons embodied a role in society that was fully conditioned by their many uses, from luxury object, to diplomatic gift, and to battle instruments.

Despite having a great number of rifles their use was not yet widespread. Men who knew how to handle firearms were scarce, as the recently failed attack on Aden had made clear. To solve this shortage Albuquerque instituted a weekly shooting competition on Sundays with the reward of a half *arratel* [c. 229,5 gr] of gunpowder and one *cruzado*. He further determined that all men who could serve as riflemen would also be paid one *cruzado* each month and be certified as gunners. In the afternoon, the governor and all captains and *fidagos* went with the state's horses outside the city to practice fighting and riding in the Arab-style saddles. Twice every month Albuquerque went to the countryside together with the Portuguese men armed with pikes brought from the fortress storehouse to exercise.

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⁴⁸⁶ CAA, I, p. 8: "louça toda perdida com arcos podres e quebrados"

⁴⁸⁷ CORREIA 1860, p. 409

⁴⁸⁸ This appears to have been an amusement for them, as in the end the men who revealed their identities were invited by the captain to his table. CORREIA 1860, p. 363: "E tanto trazião os homens o ponto da honra e cavallaria, que todas suas gentelezas erão quem teria mais riqas armas, e ao domingo, por galantaria, se armavão de riqas armas e cubertas de jorneas de seda, e rebuçados os rostros com lenços hião aguardar o governador, e hião com elle á igreja, e tornavão com elle da missa; o que o governador lhe muyto grangeava e honrava, pedindolhe por mercê que se dessem a conhecer; o que alguns nom querião fazer, e os despedia com grandes honras, e os que se descobrião os levava a jantar e assentava junto de sy, fazendolhe muytas honras."

⁴⁸⁹ Correia 1860, p. 363. They would be granted a *privilégio de bombardeiro*; see Castro 2011.

⁴⁹⁰ CORREIA 1860, p. 363: "e costumou cada mez duas vezes sayr ao campo com toda a gente em soiça, onde elle tambem hia com seu pique ás costas metido antre todos, e quando se recolhia fazia primeiro ajuntar, e contar e atar, todos os piques, e levar ao almazem, onde estavão em cavides muyto guardados."

It has been recognized that to fulfil representational needs he availed himself of references to both European and Asian exercises of regal representation. Every evening at dinner Hindu dancers [bailadeiras] danced and sang during meals and all twenty-four state elephants were put on display in front of his palace, in a public presentation well adapted to the needs of the local elite and visiting merchants and diplomats. As has been stated by Zoltán Biedermann, this probably evoked the habit of $darb\bar{a}r$ practised by the sultans of the Deccan.

Sundays in Goa were the days where the representative apparatus and ritualized pomp tended to be concentrated. Besides the shooting contest and the practices of fighting and riding, the *naiques* – the Hindu captains – each with two-hundred armed men filled the square in front of the governor's palace, playing trumpets and demonstrating their fighting abilities.⁴⁹³

More than state ceremonials, the everyday apparatus surrounding Albuquerque would be distinctly foreign for any European observer. To fulfill pressing representational needs Albuquerque seems to have adopted some Asian customs with exceptional facility, always placing himself at the centre of the routine.

OBJECTS AND IDENTITY

There are clues that suggest Albuquerque chose to associate himself with specific types of objects during his term as governor. Some of those objects were premeditated and of his individual choice, while others resulted from the initiative of other people or from circumstances that Albuquerque manipulated to his own representative needs. Among the former can be identified the gold collar and *kris*, his black heavy clothing contrasting with the long white beard, and the Portuguese coinage, while among the unplanned objects can be recalled the Persian book with the Life of Alexander, the metal lions captured in Malacca, and the Persian portraits that were made of him. Albuquerque intended to use the potential of these objects to construct his personal identity intertwined with the collective memory of the Portuguese.

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 $^{^{491}}$ Santos 1999a and Biedermann 2006

⁴⁹² Santos, 1999a, p. 232; Biedermann, 2005, p. 20; description in Correia 1860, pp. 363-364. The following govenor, Lopo Soares, would later interrupt this practice.

⁴⁹³ CORREIA **1860**, pp. 363-364

The kris and gold collar are frequently mentionned in the description of Albuquerque's stately attire. Albuquerque had a precise understanding of what a Javanese dagger was as in April 1512 he wrote to Lisbon describing two crises as "the daggers used by the Javanese, with golden sheaths and gems, with their handles made out of gold set with precious stones." 494 In spite of this perception, the Portuguese chroniclers who associated it with the governor could use the term to broadly mean an Asian dagger. In 1596 Linschoten's Dutch Itinerario would still describe "the daggers made in Minangkabau which they call crises in India and are very famous and treasured (...) they are considered the best weapon in all the Orient, and the Javanese and Malaysians display them with pride and rely on them very much". 495

Albuquerque's old-fashioned attire, recalled by his contemporaries, was another of his continuous distinctive marks. The wide black gown [loba] - whether worn over a jerkin, doublet or armour – came to be associated with Albuquerque in his sixteenth-century portraits. 496 These pictures present a series of problems and cannot be trusted to depict his likeness since all of them were made after Albuquerque's death and the most paradigmatic – the picture of the former Gallery of the Viceroys and Governors of India, nowadays in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, in Lisbon – did not even originally depict Albuquerque. 497

However, the governor was portrayed from life by several Persian painters during the last year of his life. As the previous section recalled, in 1513 a servant of the Persian ambassador portrayed the Portuguese governor and the picture was

⁴⁹⁴ CAA, I, p. 58: "...crises, que sam adagas dos jaos, com as bainhas d'ouro e pedraria e os punhos, com bocaes douro e pedraria"

⁴⁹⁵ Linscнотел 1997, p. 117: "...um lugar chamado Menancabo, onde são feitos os punhais a que na Índia chamam crises, que são muito famosos e estimados. São considerados a melhor arma de todo o Oriente, e os javaneses e malaios ostentam-nos muito e fiam-se grandemente neles"

⁴⁹⁶ The sixteenth-century portraits comprise the painting formerly in the Old Goa gallery of the viceroys and governors of Portuguese India, commissioned by D. João de Castro in 1547; the drawing in the 'Lendas' by Gaspar Correia; and the painting in the 'Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu' (c. 1560). According to the readings of Reis, MATEUS & Reis 2015, p. 227-228 it is scholarly agreed that "Gaspar Correia (d. 1560) gave instructions to a local painter regarding the first portraits of the 12 rulers" before Castro in the gallery of the viceroys and governors, explaining why all sixteenth-century versions of Albuquerque depict the same composition - "long beards, turned to his right side and with his right forefinger pointing upwards"

⁴⁹⁷ See Reis, Mateus & Reis 2015 for a discussion on the restoration of the (said) portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque and on the evolution of the representation of the governor throughout Portuguese history. See Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3.

later shown to the Shah during Miguel Ferreira's audience. After the pacification of Hormuz, in 1515, local rulers sent their embassies to secure peace with the Portuguese and many of them sent painters to portray Albuquerque from life, due to his fame.⁴⁹⁸ Unfortunately, none of these pictures have been identified.

One of the most misunderstood and precocious of Albuquerque's activities in Asia was the coinage of Portuguese currency in two of the newly conquered cities: Goa in 1510, and Malacca in 1511. ⁴⁹⁹ In both cases this was the first money ever issued inside the cities. Through the correspondence with D. Manuel it seems that Albuquerque planned to issue coin in Hormuz as well, in 1515, but the task could not be finalized due to the governor's health. The first coinage does not seem to have been a long premeditated action. After the occupation of Goa in 1510, a visiting Persian ambassador requested permission to issue Persian coin; this request for a foreign currency to pass in Portuguese territory was plausibly what motivated Albuquerque to order the issue of a new coin in Goa and Malacca. ⁵⁰⁰

Portuguese chroniclers provide two divergent descriptions of the appearance and insignia in the coins, even if they agree on the intentions, on the ennoblement provided to the cities by having strong coin, and about its material (being made out of pure gold, silver, copper and tin). It is on the stamp, the names and the value of the coins that the chroniclers disagree. To add to the contradictions – or perhaps explaining them – Portuguese coins minted in the kingdom were used at the same time in India, overlapping their values and names.

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⁴⁹⁸ Albuquerque 1973, IV, 297v: "E porque a fama de sua pessoa & grãdezas, corria por todas aquellas partes, & tinhã nova dos embaixadores que lho Xeque ismael mandava (que elles aviam pola mór cousa do mûdo) mandavã criados seus, q lho levassem tirado polo natural"

⁴⁹⁹ Many studies have been produced concerning the so-called Indo-Portuguese numismatics; the most relevant are Cunha 1883, Peres 1924, Peres 1959, Peres 1960, and Thomaz 1994, pp. 327-343

⁵⁰⁰ Albuquerque 1973, II, p. 134: "...se espantava muito delle cometer-lhe tal cousa, porque os Reys estimavam muito suas insignias reaes, que era viverem seus povos e vassalos debaixo da obediencia de suas leis, e receberem sua moeda, e correr em seus Reynos naquella valia que lhes elles punham, e que se não sofria hum Rey consentir ao outro lavrar moeda em sua terra."

⁵⁰¹ According to Castanheda, there were in Goa silver *esferas* and *meias esferas*, gold *manueis*, and copper *leais*, all with the Christ Cross and D. Manuel's insigna, the Sphere (CASTANHEDA 1552, III, XLVII, p. 95). The Malacca coin should have been tin *dinheiros*, *soldos* and *bastardos*, gold *catholicos* and silver *malaques* (CASTANHEDA 1552, III, LXI, p. 129) and, Góis stresses, they were stamped with the Portuguese stamp and insignia. (Góis 1949, III, p. 41: "todos cunhados do cunho, & armas destes regnos")

However, Albuquerque did not identify himself with the coinage merely because he was its promoter. According to Gaspar Correia – perhaps the most problematic of the great sixteenth-century chroniclers – Albuquerque had insisted on placing his personal insignia over one side of the coin. Correia describes the Goan coin as being gold *cruzados*, silver *esferas* and *meias esferas* and copper *leais*. Interestingly, the chronicler adds, the *esfera* and *leal* were minted "with the greek A and sphere", meaning that Albuquerque had chosen to place the first letter of his name in the coins together with D. Manuel's insignia. ⁵⁰²

Correia further elaborates that after making these coins the governor brought them to the sight of the Portuguese captains who murmured about it having the letter of the governor's own name. To these commentaries Albuquerque replied that he had only stamped his name on the lower coins "so that it was known he had been the coiner, and [Albuquerque asserted] it would remain that way until the king ordered the contrary". ⁵⁰³

One year later, in Malacca, Correia recalls a small coin, called *bastardos* with the sphere on the obverse and the Greek A on the reverse; a large gold coin, called *catolica*, with the image of a crowned king holding a sword surrounded by the inscription "COM ESTA CONQUISTADA E GANHADA" ('with this [sword?] [Malacca was] conquered and won') on the obverse and the Portuguese *quinas* (five escutcheons with five bezants each) surrounded by the inscription "GLORIA PARA SEMPRE MEMORIA" ('glory [is] forever memory') on the reverse; and a coin with half the value of the *catolica*, called *meos catolicos* with the armillary sphere and the inscription "ESPERA EM DEOS PERA MAIS" ('wait [*espera* = wait / sphere] in God for

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⁵⁰² CORREIA 1860, pp. 76-77: "fez moeda em que e huma parte pôs hum A grego e da outra a espera, e lhe pôs nome espera, que valia dous vintens, e meas esperas, que valião hum vintem; e nos bazarucos de cobre o propio peso que tinhão, com o A e espera". About the armillary sphere as the insignia of D. Manuel see ALVES 1985, pp. 117-136

⁵⁰³ CORREIA 1860, p. 77: "E tendo assy feitas estas moedas, todo visto e justificado com o Timoja e Cogebequi, e os principaes e antigos da cidade, toda ouverão por muy boa. Então ámostrou aos capitães, que a todos pareceo muyto bem, indaque alguns murmurarão contra a lettra do A, que era letra de seu nome; mas não que ninguem lho fallasse: o que o governador depois o sabendo em pratica o fallou, dizendo que na moeda baixa pusera letra de seu nome, porque se soubesse que fora elle o moedeiro, e assy andaria até que ElRey mandasse o que fosse sua vontade."

more') on the obverse and the Greek A and the inscription "O ESCRAVO GANHA PERA O SENHOR" ('the slave wins for the Lord') on the reverse. 504

Albuquerque's association with the Portuguese political program is at the same time clearly explicit and very ambiguous in the conception of the images and the inscriptions they illustrate. Although it is humble, because Albuquerque puts his name together with the admission of being a slave (of God and of D. Manuel), his insignia is parallel to the king's.

The attempt to produce a common currency was a clear sign of political independence from the Portuguese governor, much in the same way as it was practiced in contemporary Italy. 505 However, the validity of Correia's assertions cannot be verified and is not corroborated by any other account. The exception is a coin identified in 1924 and published by Damião Peres - today integrated in the collection of the Gabinete de Numismática do Porto – with the A shape and armillary sphere. ⁵⁰⁶ This is the only evidence that supports Correia's claims, which, in any case, seem to be too elaborate to be made up.

Nevertheless, the greatest value of these coins seems to have resided in their celebratory character, as the various competing currencies operating across the politically fragmented continent could not feasibly have functioned at the same time. 507

⁵⁰⁴ Correia 1860, p. 256: "O Governador mandou lavrar d'esta moeda assy miuda, e outra de dez soldos, a que pôs nome bastardos, e de hum lado a espera e de outro hum A grego. Fez moeda d'ouro de valia de mil e corenta reaes, e n'ella huma mea fegura de Rey com coroa, e huma espada na mão, e letras que dizião derrador, COM ESTA CONQUISTADA E GANHADA, e da outra parte o escudo das quinas, e letras derrador que dizião, GLORIA PERA SEMPRE MEMORIA. A esta moeda pôs nome catolica, e d'esta fez meos catolicos de preço de quinhentos e vinte reaes, a que pôs de huma parte a espera com letras que dizião, ESPERA EM DEOS PERA MAIS, e da outra banda o A grego, e letras que dizião, O ESCRAVO GANHA PERA O SENHOR. Estas moedas lavradas erão muy fermosas, de que mandou lavrar huma soma"

⁵⁰⁵ WELCH 2005, pp. 81-85

⁵⁰⁶ Peres 1924, p. 9; see Figure 5.

⁵⁰⁷ Common measurements and common currency were issues left unresolved for a few decades in the Portuguese State of India; on this problematic topic of economic history see GODINHO 1981-1984.

II.3. Reception in Portugal

II.3.1. Present and future strategies

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Albuquerque was both concerned with the collective Portuguese memory in Asia as well as with the anticipation of his own program of individuality. By the same token, Albuquerque would send Asian objects to Portugal, which would intercede for his immediate interests as well as ensure that he would be remembered. In fact, as soon as 1511 – after the capture of Malacca – Albuquerque adopted the title of 'captain-general and governor of the Indies and Persia, and the kingdom and lordship of Hormuz, and the kingdom and lordship of Goa, and the kingdom and lordship of Malacca in the name of our king'. Solve Albuquerque would not abstain from directly asking for rewards for his accomplishments from his European benefactors.

Evidences of the process of memorialization⁵⁰⁹ performed by the governor's direct actions can be traced in a number of episodes, which can be systematised under three main categories: religious donations, gifts to the royal family, and gifts to others. These shipments can be traced through receipts and letters where Albuquerque mentioned his intention of sending specific articles together with his writings, as well as from chronicles that recall the objects' reception in Lisbon and from mentions in the governor's testament. Albuquerque's testament was written in three stages, aboard his ship between Hormuz and Goa, in November 2015. ⁵¹⁰ According to this document, the greater part of the governor's possessions were to be distributed among religious communities in Iberia – Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, Santiago de Palmela, Santiago de Compostela, Nossa Senhora da Serra in Vila Verde dos Francos, Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Atouguia, Santo Agostinho da Graça, Nossa Senhora do Cabo, Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, Nossa Senhora da Merceana and Nossa Senhora da Pena), Bom Jesus de São Domingos de Lisboa, and Senhor de

⁵⁰⁸ "Capitão-mor e governador das Índias e Pérsia e do reino e senhorio de Ormuz, e do reino e senhorio de Goa, e do reino e senhorio de Malaca por el-rei Nosso Senhor" see BAIÃO 1913, p. 63.

Meaning the connection of his social identity and historical memory, including the vicissitudes introduced by later influences. On the topic of social memory see CONNERTON 1989.

⁵¹⁰ The unpublished full text of the testament could not be accessed, but a review was published in 1899 (SEPÚLVEDA 1899).

Matosinhos⁵¹¹ – and some of his friends and son.⁵¹²

But Albuquerque's interests in institutional and religious investments are not the sole explanation for the shipment of precious articles to Portugal. An investigation on Albuquerque's friendship network reveals how much the nature of his interpersonal relations had an influence on who the governor sent what. For the time being the purpose of most of Albuquerque's shipments is not identifiable, although there are exceptions, such those sent to Rui de Pina and certain religious orders.

RUI DE PINA

One of Albuquerque's memorialistic estrategies consisted in the direct approach to the (literal) writers of his memory: the chroniclers. João de Barros in his mid-sixteenth century narrative denounced Albuquerque's practice of offering incentives to the royal chronicler [cronista-mor], Rui de Pina, so he would write positively about him. After recalling the articles lost in wreckage of the Flor de la Mar, near Malacca, Barros wrote:

"It seems that it was God's will that these lions (upon which he [Albuquerque] relied to memorize his deeds, because they were mute) and the diamond and ruby rings that he sent to Rui de Pina (royal chronicler of this kingdom), as I have read in letters he [Albuquerque] wrote, did nor serve the memory he wanted to build but rather disappear, the lions in the lowlands of *Aru*, and the rings in Rui de Pina's oblivion. And it ended up being me (who many say am not avowed in this occupation of writing, and being busy in my job, here and in the chronicle of D. Manuel, improperly assigned to me thirty years after his death) who came to rescue from oblivion these lions and rings — as if I had been handed any of those, or any compensation for the labor put into making these accounts. And since I have to bear their ingratitude, I cannot decide whether it would have been fairer to leave the lions and the rings in the hands of those who profited from them. However — because the dead cannot be blamed, and those who are

sil Sepúlveda 1899, pp. 25-26: "Offerendas valiosas são legadas á Senhora de Guadalupe [500 cruzados, uma lampada de prata de dois marcos que mandava fazer expressamente, um colar que se estava fabricando em Goa, com um grande rubi no meio, e um pelouro de prata] (...); ao apostolo S. Thiago, de Palmella [100.000 reais] e da Galliza [uma lampada de prata qe mandou fazer, no valor de 100.000 reais] que pessoalmente fôra auxiliar o seu commendador (...) na tomada de Gôa (...); á Nossa Senhora da Serra em Villa Verde, á Nossa Senhora da Conceição na Athouguia [uma vestimenta de seda e um cálice de prata], a Santo Agostinho no convento da Graça em Lisboa [uma vestimenta de seda e um cálice de prata], cultos estes todos tradicionaes na sua familia; a Nossa Senhora do Cabo [uma vestimenta de seda e um cálice de prata], da Ajuda [uma vestimenta de seda e um cálice de prata], da Merceana [uma vestimenta de seda e um cálice de prata], da Pena em Cintra [uma cabeça de prata]; ao Bom Jesus de S. Domingos de Lisboa [30 xerafins de panos de seda, que manda comprar na India para paramentos do altar], a tudo emfim que em Portugal tinham os mais sinceros suffragios na alma dos crentes."

to come may someday comprehend the value of my efforts – I don't want Afonso de Albuquerque to be deprived of his lions and I hope Rui de Pina makes good use of his rings. And from these lions, and rings, and all that was consigned to oblivion by my compatriots before I set it down in writing, I hope to one day get the same part destined to those who find what once was lost and return it to its rightful owner."⁵¹³

Barros' writings contaminated both the memory of Albuquerque and Rui de Pina, who has since been regarded as a corrupt and discredited chronicler of the Portuguese history. But, as Barros predicted, in time Albuquerque's deeds would come to be recognized simultaneously as the understructure and the foremost accomplishments of the Portuguese overseas empire. 514

Томв

In the same excerpt Barros stressed for the first time how the man who came to be known as the 'Lion of the Seas'⁵¹⁵ projected his feats on the lion sculptures to be placed under his tomb. According to Gaspar Correia, the metal lions may have had precious gems placed over their eyes and mouth, although that seems not to have been the case as there is not any other mention in coeval descriptions to precious stones. The intention however may have been part of Albuquerque's practices of enhancement of Asian objects.

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⁵¹³ BARROS 1974, déc. II, pp. 312-313: "Mas parece, que permetio deos que estes liões de que elle fazia tanta conta pera memória de seus feitos por serem mudos, e os anées de diamães e robijs que elle mandáua a Ruy de Pina chronista mór deste reino como nós vimos em cártas que lhe elle escrevia, porque podiam ser sospectos nã lhe servissem pera a memória q elle desejáva de sy: mas que ficássem sumidos os liões nos baixos de Aru, e os anées nos esquecimento delle Ruy de Pina. E q eu murmurádo de muytos por nã ser professo em nome deste officio descrever e ocupado no de minha profissam, aquy e na chrónica delrey dom Mannuel a my jmprópriamente cometida passádos trinta annos de seu falecimento, viesse dár conta dos liões e dos anees: como se os eu tevera em recepta ou algum prémio que me obrigára sofrer os trabálhos desta escriptura, que segundo me carrega a engratiam delles, nam sey se fora mais justo leixar os liões e os anees em poder de quem os consumio. Porem porque os mórtos nam tem culpa, e aos que estam por vir póde ser que lhe seja feito mais acepto este meu trabálho que a muytos presentes, nam quero que Afonso Dalbuquerque perca os liões e a Ruy de Pina façalhe boa pról os seus anées: nos quáes liões e anées e assy em todo o mais que ante desta minha escriptura estava sepultado no descuido de meus naturáes, eu espero ter aquella parte, que tem aquelles que acham cousa perdida e á dama seu dono"

About him, Luís de Camões wrote: "Mais estanças cantara esta Sirena / Em louvor do ilustríssimo Albuquerque, / Mas alembroulhe ua ira que o condena, / Posto que a fama sua o mundo cerque. / O grande capitão, que o fado ordena / Que com trabalhos glória eterna merque, / Mais há-de ser um brando companheiro / Pera os seus, que juiz cruel e inteiro.". In the 20th century, Miguel Torga wrote: "Em Deus e em mim o Império tem raízes / Que nem um furacão pode arrancar. / Em Deus e em mim, que temos cicatrizes / Da mesma lança que nos fez lutar.". Numerous other examples could be used.

From the epithet said to have been conferred to him by the Shah Ismail and also famously stated by Fernão Mendes Pinto in *Peregrinação*.

The configuration of Albuquerque's original tomb is not known.⁵¹⁶ Following his will, Albuquerque was buried in the church of Nossa Senhora da Serra in Goa on the day after his death – 17 December.⁵¹⁷ Luiz Gonçalves argues that this first tomb cannot have been made of stone, as the death of the governor was sudden and unexpected and a stone monument could not have been so promptly produced.⁵¹⁸ In 1565 Albuquerque's remains were transferred to his family's mausoleum in *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, in Lisbon, following his will expressed in 1515 that his bones should be laid to rest in his family's church.⁵¹⁹

The tomb today at the *Sociedade de Geografia* was identified in Old Goa in 1894 by Luiz Gonçalves and can only correspond to an ossuary due to its size. It has a continuous inscription in seven rows surrounding its four sides, designed to be seen from every angle. ⁵²⁰ The inscription reads:

"Here lies the very magnificent Afonso de Albuquerque, son of Gonçalo de Albuquerque and D. Leonor de Meneses, second captain-general of India, strenuous captain who in these parts accomplished outstanding services to king D. Manuel his Lord, who sent him here. He won this city to the Moors twice by force of arms and on the second time he held and defended it. He won the kingdom of Hormuz, the kingdom of Malacca, assisted on the construction of the fort of Cochin, fought in Calicut where he reached the king's houses, fought in Aden, was the first captain to enter the Red Sea up to Kamaran, and fought many other times in service of his king, as the loyal servant that he was. Died by illness aged sixty-five in the year 1515 in the month of December, day 15". ⁵²¹

1ª FACE 3ª FACE 4º FACE AQUI IAZ O MVITO MA (N)IFICO SENHOR □ Aº DALBVQVERQ(E) FILHO DE GONÇALO DE ALBOQVERQVE E DE DONA LIANOR DE MENE SES SEGVNDO CAPITAM (M)OR DA YMDIA □ ESFORCADO CA VALRO QUE NESTA(S) PARTES FEZ ASINADOS SERVICOS A ELREI DOM (Q)VE O CA MAN □ DOV DAM ESTE(S) AOS MOVROS DVAS VEZES POR FORCA DAR MANVEL SEV SENHOR GANHOU ESTA CIDADE MAS E DA SEGVNDA A (S)OSTEVE E DEFE □ DO GANHOV O (R) EINO DORMUZ GANH OV O REINO DE MALACA FOI EM AIVDA DO FAZI MENTO DA FORTALEZA RELDEV COMBATE EM ADEM EOLO PRRMEIRO CA (Z)A DE COCHIM D □ EV EM CALECV(T) CHEGOV AS CASAS DEL

⁵¹⁶ See the discussion on the fortune of Albuquerque's tomb and the discovery of the monument today in the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, in Lisbon, in the late 19th century in GONÇALVES 1896

⁵¹⁷ According to Gaspar Correia, who was present, Albuquerque was burried inside "uma tumba de cinquo degraos cobertos de veludo preto, com uma cruz branca no meio, e n'ella pendurada sobre a tumba a sua bandeyra real; e a capella toda armada de pannos pretos, onde ao outro dia se ajuntou moltidão do povo com grandes prantos", CORREIA 1860, p. 460; ALBUQUERQUE 1973, IV, p. 234 mentions three steps for the tomb.

⁵¹⁸ Further, in 1516, Lopo Soares – Albuquerque's successor – ordered Gaspar Correia, who was then the superintendent of public works in Goa (*vedor das obras*), to demolish *Nossa Senhora da Serra* and to throw Albuquerque's remains under a tree or inside another church, see CORREIA 1860, pp. 531-ss and BARROS 1974, III, liv. I, cap. X. It was only after the mediation of D. Aleixo de Menezes and Pero de Albuquerque, nephews of each of the governors, that the destruction was halted.

[&]quot;Declaro que fallecendo eu n'estas partes da India (...) mando que depois de comesta a carne, os meus ossos sejam levados a Portugal e se enterrem em Nossa Senhora da Graça da Ordem de S. Agostinho onde jazem meus avós", cit. from GONÇALVES 1896, p. 3.

The tomb is 45 cm high, 57 cm wide and 114 cm long, with its walls 7 cm thick, and the lid has a truncated pyramid shape. For a detailed description see Gonçalves 1896, pp. 24-25. See Figure 4. Replicating the scheme suggested in Gonçalves 1896

At the centre of the second long side there is a scraped area of 38 by 32 cm where Albuquerque's coat of arms may have been placed, which – according to Gonçalves – was likely made of copper. Although this tomb was not likely a direct ideation by Afonso de Albuquerque, it reveals how he came to be worshiped in Goa after his death. Brás de Albuquerque had his father's remains transferred from this tomb to Nossa Senhora da Graça, in Lisbon, in 1555.

THE GUADALUPE CANNONBALL AND OTHER RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Albuquerque was not merely concerned with his earthly memory. The afterlife and the intercessory power of religious figures on his behalf were rewarded with material objects offered by the governor.

The most emblematic instance of divine intervention in Albuquerque's life was recorded during the siege of Benastarim in 1512. The accounts differ on whether he was in fact hit or merely present and apprehensive for his own life after witnessing a man being killed by a cannonball. In Castanheda's version, as Albuquerque was being hit on his chest by the projectile, he invoked Our Lady of Guadalupe and was simply knocked down. However, according to other accounts, Albuquerque witnessed the brutal death of a man who had taken his place one second before. 522

In memory of this miracle the governor ordered one of his servants to collect the cannonball, which would later be sent to the monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe with 1.000 *cruzados* in alms.⁵²³ Brás adds that his father's instructions for

PITAM QVE EMTROV O	(M)AR ROXO TE CA □ MARAM PELEIO(V)	OVTRAS VEZES POR SE	RVICO DE SEO REI COMA LEAL VASALO QVE ERA
MOREO DE DOEMCA DE	(E)DADE SESEN □ TA E CIMQVO A(N)	OS ERA DE 1515 NO MES	DE DEZEMBRO A 15 DO DITO MES

⁵²² Including the version of Gaspar Barreiros – written in 1561 – who added that the cannonball was kept in the sacristy of Santa Maria de Guadalupe among other Portuguese pieces, cit. in VITERBO 1904, pp. 7-8: "Mostrã n'esta sancristia antre outras peças de Portugal, hu pelouro de bőbarda que Affonso de Albuquerque governador da India mandou a esta casa em reconhecimento de hum milagre q nossa Sñora de Guadalupe fez por elle stando no cerco de Goa, porq indo por o rio em bateis acertou hu tiro a hum dos q hiam junto d'elle, q os miolos da cabeça em q lhe deu saltaram no rosto ao dicto Affonso de Albuquerque"

⁵²³ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, p. 7: "E andando assi ferido veo hum pelouro de bombarda da parte dos immigos & deulhe nos peytos, & em que lhe dando chamou ele por nossa senhora de goadalupe, tão devotamente que rogou a nosso senhor que lhe não fizesse mal, como não fez mais que derribalo no chão. E em memoria deste milagre mandou ele despois este pelouro (que parece que algu seu criado despois recolheo) a nossa senhora de goadalupe, com mil cruzados desmola, pera se comprar renda

this procedure were stated in his will and were executed by Pero Correia, which is congruent with the notices known of his testament. 524 Brás mentions that the cannonball was covered in silver before being consigned to the convent, which also received a very rich gold necklace with precious stones. 525 Other sources mention a silver casket that would have been made to host the cannonball as if it were a true relic.

Our Lady of Guadalupe was the traditional patroness of navigators and traditionally received pious donations after successful journeys. 526 This tangible reality evoked the memory of Albuqueque's divine protection and his deeds. In addition, it contributed to the written memory – both his and of the devotion – regularly read and recalled in the monastery to pilgrims. 527

Also after the conquest of Goa Albuquerque made arrangements for a gift to the Convent of Palmela, the head of the military order of Santiago, but the articles were only received on 15 November 1515. 528 The gift included a staff 6 palmos long [c. 132 cm] as thick as a "thin spear" lined with gold and damascened inlay with its pommel with pearls and rubies, a string of thick gold beads, and a gold scallop with gemstones, set on a crimson satin hat. 529 These were likely jewellery pieces made in

com que ardesse pera sempre hua alampada diante da imagem de nossa senhora, & està esta alampada antre as alampadas dos reys. E os frades do mosteyro de nossa senhora de goadalupe tem este milagre escripto com outros muytos que nosso senhor tem feytos por rogo de sua gloriosa madre, & ho leem aos estrangeiros que ali vão em romaria, principalmente aos Portugueses."

⁵²⁴ SEPÚLVEDA 1899, pp. 25

⁵²⁵ Albuquerque 1973, pp. 232-233: "...& indose pera detras do penedo, veo hum pilouro & matou hu homem que ya falando com elle & encheo todo de sangue, Afonso dalboqrq deu muytas graças a nosso Senhor polo livrar daqlle perigo, & mandou guardar o pilouro, & por sua morte deixou que o forrassem de prata & que o levassem a nossa Senhora Dagoadelupe com hua alápada de prata muyto grande & hum colar douro de pedraria muyto rico, & cem mil reis em dinheiro pera se comprar de reeda dazeite pera a alampada; & tudo isto lhe mandou Pero correa que ficou por seu testamenteiro" ⁵²⁶ See Mendes 1994, pp. 1-27

⁵²⁷ CASTANHEDA 1860, III, p. 7: "E os frades do mosteyro de nossa senhora de goadalupe tem este milagre escripto com outros muytos que nosso senhor tem feytos por rogo de sua gloriosa madre, & ho leem aos estrangeiros que ali vão em romaria, principalmente aos Portugueses."

 $^{^{528}}$ AZEVEDO 1903b , pp. 336-339; VITERBO 1904, p. 7: "Na era de b c e xb Aos xxb dias de novembro trouxeeram a este convento hu bordam e hua vieira e huas contas tudo douro as quais peças madou afonso dalboquerque da India pera ho noso patrã Santiaguo as quajs hos freires e crelliguos da villa co muita parte de povo trouxeram co horrada percissão a este covento Em ho quall tempo Era ja (?) entam (?) ssoprior e Joam rodrigues samcristam"

⁵²⁹ Albuquerque 1973, III, p. 179: "Afonso dalboquerq pola muyta devaçam que tinha nelle, & por ser cavaleiro da sua ordem, nam se esqueceo deste favor q delle reçebeo, & mandou ao convento de Palmela hu bordam de seys palmos de comprido da grosura de hua lança delgada, todo forrado douro, lavrado de tauxia, & a cabeça do bordam com perlas & rubis & hum ramal de contas douro

Portugal at Albuquerque's request, possibly made with precious stones purposely shipped from India.

Other examples of this trend can be found years before, as in 1507 when a large carpet that had been carried by four men from the mosque in Qeshm [ilha de Queixome] was bought by Albuquerque and sent to Santiago de Compostela. 530

TO THE ROYAL FAMILY

The only published inventory of D. Manuel's possessions [*guarda-roupa*] is truncated. Despite its length, it only lists part of the sovereign's jewels and cloths, and cannot thus be taken as an absolute source. It only includes one mention to an item undoubtedly sent by Albuquerque, described as "two pieces of purplish tanned leather said to be from the animal that produces musk, sent by Afonso de Albuquerque". However, from the governor's letters to the king it is known he sent a sizeable amount of Asian articles and a complete survey on all the objects effectively arrived in Lisbon would be a long-winded project on itself. Apart from the diplomatic gifts mentioned in earlier chapters — which, as we have seen, were in most cases sent to the king — were also shipped personal gifts and commissioned goods.

As early as 1508, after the signature of the contract of vassalage with the king of Hormuz, Albuquerque shipped objects to Lisbon. The Hormuzian king gave the governor two copies of his part of the contract, one written in Farsi on paper with gold letters, with gold calligraphy and blue dots, to be kept by Albuquerque, and another written in Arabic on a gold sheet with chiseled letters and gold clasps, to be sent to D. Manuel. Each copy had three pendent seals – the king's made out of gold, and the city's and Khaja Ata's made of silver – held by gold chains, and were both

muyto grossas, & hua vieira douro de bom tamanho com muyta pedraria nella, posta em hu chapeo de çetim cramisim"

BARROS 1974, déc. II, p. 74: "Queimado o lugar, o mayor despojo q se dele ouve foy hua alcatifa que servia em a mesquita, a qual tomava quásy metade da casa e nam a podiam mover quatro hómees; e estando em pressa de a partir pera a poderem trazer, chegou Afonso Dalboquerque e comprou-lha, e depois a mandou a Santiago de Galiza pera serviço de sua cása por elle ser cavaleiro da sua órdem em memória da victória g aly ouve."

⁵³¹ Published in Freire 1904, pp. 381-417

FREIRE 1904, p. 412, also mentioned in VITERBO 1904, p. 7: "Item. Reçebeo mais duas peles de couro roxo cortydas que diz que sam das alymaryas em que naçe o almyzcare, que mandou Afonso d'Alboquerque"

bestowed on Albuquerque inside a silver casket. In return, the Portuguese captain consigned the Portuguese version written by João Estam, likely much more rudimentary. 533

Together with the casket with the golden contract, other objects sent to Lisbon on the occasion include two large pearls handed over as part of the tribute to be paid to Portugal, four Persian archers – dressed by Albuquerque with crimson brocade kaftans and turbans, daggers with enamelled and gilded silver sheaths – and a string of seed pearls to queen D. Maria. Among these, at least the archers and the two large pearls were lost with their ships before reaching Portugal.

After the 1510 conquest of Goa a metal crucifix was found buried under some demolished houses. The figure had a broken right arm and leg but was understood as a good prognosis of the Portuguese deeds and Albuquerque ordered it to be sent in procession to church. Subsequently he sent it to D. Manuel, as a sign that there already had been Christians in India. 535

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⁵³³ Góis 1949, II, 56v: "Destes, & doutros artigos contheudos nas ditas capitulações, se fezeram duas patentes, hua scripta em papel com letras douro, & pontos azues, em língoa Persia, pera ficar á Afonso dalbuquerque, & outra em lingoa Arabia pera mandar a elrei dom Emanuel, & esta era de hua lamina douro, do tamanho d hua folha de papel, abertas has letras aho boril, com huas brochas douro. Estas escripturas ambas eram assinadas por elRei, por Cojeatar, & por Raixnordim guazil mór, & em cada hua tres sellos pêdentes, per cadeas douro, de que ho do meo era delRei em ouro, & ho da mão direita, da famosa cidade de Ormuz, & ho da ezquerda de Cojeatar, ambos de prata. Has quaes entregáram ambas a Afonso dalbuquerque, metidas cada hua em hua caixa de prata, q lhes tambê deu em lingoa Portuguesa hua patente feita per loam estam escrivam darmada"

CASTANHEDA 1552, II, p. 185: "E antes q Afonso dalbuquerq partisse pera Cochi mãdou ao visorey duas perlas muito ricas que lhe Cojeatar dera em descõto dalgua parte das pareas que avia de dar. E ho visorey preguntou a Gaspar o q fora judeu que valião, & ele disse que muytas vira, mas não taes nê de tanto preço; & que lho não sabia poer porq valião o q lhe posessem. E ho visorey tornou a mandar as perlas a Afonso dalbuquerq, dizendo que as mãdasse a el rey se lhe bê parecesse; & ele as êtregou a Fernão Soarez, & assi os qtro frecheiros q tomou sobre Ormuz como atras dise, os qes lhe deu vestidos de cabayas de borcadilho carmesim, & suas sotas finas, & adagas ricas, cő baynhas de prata anilada & dourada; & assi erão as baynhas das limas das frechas, & as cîtas, & lhe deu mais hu fio de côtas daljofar grosso pera a raynha"; also CASTANHEDA 1552, II, pp. 178, 185-186 and Góis 1949, II, p. 63: "...partiram has naos de carga pera ho Regno, das quaes se perdéram ha de Rui da cunha & de Fernam Soarez, por quê elle mandava a elRei duas perlas de muito preço, & hu fio de riquas perlas que houvera de Cojeatar, em desconto dalgua parte das pareas que elRei d Ormuz era obrigado a pagar cadano, & quatro Persio mançebos nobres, frécheiros, que captivára em Ormuz: hos quaes dous capitães se perdéram, sem nuqua se delles saber novas"

Góis 1949, III, 6v. Sylvie Deswarte has suggested that the comparisons between Indian and European architectures drawn by sixteenth century Portuguese writers such as João de Barros, Francisco de Holanda, André de Resende and D. João de Castro served to represent the common origins of the Indian and Christian worlds, in a world that had been evangelized in the Antiquity; see DESWARTE 1992, pp. 9-54 and MOREIRA 1995b.

In 1512, from Mamale, then the ruler of Cannanore,⁵³⁶ Albuquerque was given an amber egg set in gold and precious stones, and diamonds and emeralds which were subsequently sent to D. Manuel.⁵³⁷ These pieces were likely included in the great treasures received in Lisbon in January 1513 with the fleet arrived from India. Barros, a first-hand source, reveals that 1513 was one of the most lucrative years the king had ever seen because of India.⁵³⁸ The fleet brought to Lisbon not only "the ambassador from the Zamorin with great gifts to D. Manuel, but also others that he [Albuquerque] had sent to him from all the princes of those lands".⁵³⁹

From the ship captained by Bernaldim Freire disembarked the ambassadors from Calicut and Abyssinia. The latter's gift has already been mentioned – as it was substantially improved by Albuquerque's intervention – but not the gift from the Zamorin. Unlike the other present, this was not revealed to Albuquerque in India and is not described by the chroniclers.

Earlier in the same year an ambassador had arrived in Lisbon from the king of Hormuz bearing gifts which included, among other things, a hunting cheetah with its handler⁵⁴⁰ that was incorporated in the king's menagerie. In addition, D. Manuel obtained from Albuquerque in 1513 "half a horn of an animal which has the same or better properties as the unicorn", a rich stone "called *Baizar*" – a bezoar⁵⁴¹ – "with great virtue against poison, and a set of horse barding made in the Deccan, all from

⁵³⁶ Bouchon 1988

⁵³⁷ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, LXXXIX, p. 179: "...& levou lhe hua pera dambar goarnecida douro & pedraria, & hus diamães & esmeraldas, que despois ho governador mãdou a el rey d Portugal"

⁵³⁸ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VII, pp. 339-340: "O qual ano foy neste reino hu dos mais prósperos & de mayór prazer q elle vio por causa da India"

⁵³⁹ Barros 1974, déc. II, liv. VIII, p. 316: "...veio o Embaixador do Çamorij com grandes presentes pera ElRey D. Manuel; mas ainda elle [Afonso de Albuquerque] lhe mandou outros, que todolos Principes daquellas partes lhe tinham enviado"

⁵⁴⁰ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. VII, p. 322: "... & entre alguas cousas que lhe trouxe de presente foy hua onça de cáça com que naquellas pártes da Pérsia costumã montear, trazendoas o caçador presas nas ancas do cavallo. E por sérem alymarias muy esquivas & que esfarrapam muyto cõ as unhas & dentes a prea, & os cavallos as nam recébem bem nas ancas onde as trazem no monte, fazenlhe pera aquelle lugar hua maneira de copram de cubértas dármas por nam escandalizar com as unhas o cavallo; & ajnda porque ella aférra com ellas na cousa que tem debaixo pera se soster quando o cavállo anda, aquelle copram nam é bornido mas á maneira de cortiça aspera"

this curious that Góis felt the need to explain what a bezoar was in the second half of the sixteenth century, as the Portuguese had already been given a bezoar by the king of Cochin in 1499 and bezoar stones were already considered a precious commodity in Italy; see BORSCHEBERG 2010, p. 33.

the spoils of Benastarim". 542

Queen D. Maria was one of the most significant allies of Albuquerque in the Portuguese court. ⁵⁴³ Although not being a conspicuous figure in Portuguese historiography – who mostly regards the consort as the 'mother of kings' – she was likely involved in the overseas projects of D. Manuel. In a 1513 letter to D. Manuel Albuquerque would remind him of a moment when they were in Lisbon "in the room near the porch, with the queen and your daughter [probably D. Isabel, 1503-1539] by your chair". ⁵⁴⁴

D. Maria received twenty-four Indian girls captured in Goa, in 1510, "because they were noble and beautiful." After 1514 she would also receive a necklace set with gems and precious cloths from Albuquerque, which the governor had received from the ruler of Cannanore. 546

In 1512, before departing to the Red Sea, Albuquerque dispatched to D. Maria one large ruby, together with three gold bowls, and bracelets set with stones he had received from the mother of the Siamese king. To this the governor added "some leather pouches to cool water, very valuable, because the leather is tanned with a very expensive compound and they have a very faint odor," and two pieces of

⁵⁴² Góis 1949, III, p. 104: "...per quee mandou a elRei ametade de hu corno dhua alimaria que tem ha mesma virtude, ou mais que ho do Onicornio, & he de cor quasi como ha unha de hum Çervo, & assi lhe mandou hua pedra a que chamão Baizar, que tê grande virtude contra ha peconha, & huas cubertas de cavallo muito ricas, feitas ê Daquê, com sua colla, testeira, & sella, ho que tudo houve do despojo de Benastarim"

⁵⁴³ We wait for Alexandra Pelúcia's soon-to-be published biography of Afonso de Albuquerque to uncover the nuances of the curious relationship between Albuquerque and D. Maria. A recent biography of this queen, together in the same volume with those of the two other consorts of D. Manuel, avoids this topic altogether (COMBET & SÁ 2012). For a short (but deserved) note on the political influence played by queen D. Maria see Pelúcia 2004, pp. 290-292.

⁵⁴⁴ CAA, I, p. 184: "lembrese vosa alteza do que vos dise na camara de lixboa jumto co a baranda, estando hy a senhora Raynha e a senhora yfamte vosa filha junto da vosa cadeyra, que a yndia era a mays perigosa cousa do mumdo pera homens vaãos e cheos de vemto." This would have happened between September 1504 and April 1506, during the last time Albuquerque was in Portugal.

⁵⁴⁵ CASTANHEDA 1552, XLV, p. 86: "mandou lhe [a Nuno Vaz] hu regimento em que lhe mandava que das moças q tomara em Goa a primeyra vez, que estavão em Cochi como disse, tomasse vinte quatro que logo hião nomeadas, & as repartisse por tres capitães dos que avião dir pera o reyno, q erã Gonçalo de siqueyra, Garcia de Sousa, & Ioão Nunez pera as levarem de sua parte a raynha (...) E estas moças mandava ho governador à raynha pera seu serviço por serem nobres & fermosas & as ter por virgês"

⁵⁴⁶ CORREIA 1860, p. 391: "E porque esta foy a primeyra vez que se virão ambos, ElRey lhe deu hum collar de pedraria, e outras riqas peças; com que se despedirão com firmezas de grandes amizades; e o collar e pannos mandou o Governador meter em hum caixão pregado e asselado, pera o levarem á Raynha dona Maria, que lhe mandava por ysso muytos agardicimentos e favores."

very thin cotton cloth from Delhi. 547 At the same time, prince D. João – future King D. João III (r. 1521-1557) – was sent a gem-studded portable bed (catle) obtained from the sultan of Gujarat, a golden dagger set with gems, and two captured Javanese boys. 548 The *infanta* D. Isabel – future spouse of Charles V and Holy Roman Empress - and the king's sister - also named D. Isabel, duchess of Bragança - were contemplated with rich cloths as well. These articles were part of the precious arrivals of January 1513 in Lisbon.

II.3.2. Short and long-term effects⁵⁴⁹

Among the articles received in Lisbon some have clearly had an enduring impact on the Portuguese modes of production and consumption of material culture. The two Hormuzian contracts written in gold leaf and packed in precious silver caskets⁵⁵⁰ were accompanied by suggestions from Albuquerque to D. Manuel about how the king should be equally munificent to his interlocutors. 551 In Portuguese documents at least from 1514 signatures can be found by the hand of D. Manuel in gold ink. 552

Some of the animals received from the Asian potentates - including one of the four elephants D. Manuel had, a cheetah, and a rhinoceros – were converted

⁵⁴⁷ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, p. 200: "escreveo ho governador a elrey seu señor a vitoria de Malaca & ho feyto de Benastarim co todo ho mais q se passara na India, & assi lhe mandou hu robi grade, de muyto preco g lhe mandara el rey de Pegû, & a raynha outro cõ as tres bucetas douro & manilhas de pedraria que lhe mandou a mãy del rey de Sião, & hus chagueres de coyro pera esfriar agoa, & sam de muyta estima, porq as peles sam cortidas cõ hua cõpostura q val muyto, & ficão cõ hu cheiro muy suave, & mais huas peças de pano dalgodão branco finissimo do reyno de Deli"

⁵⁴⁸ CASTANHEDA 1552, III, p. 200: "E ao pricipe mãdou ho catele de pedraria q lhe mandara el rey de Cambaya, & hu punhal douro & pedraria, & dous moços laos pegnos, & assi outras peças ricas pera a infante dona Isabel, q despois foy emperatriz, & pera a duquesa de Bragaça himãa delrey"

⁵⁴⁹ This section is merely a sketch to be further analysed in a more extensive occasion.

⁵⁵⁰ BARROS 1974, déc. II, liv. II, cap. IV, p. 64: "...elrey entregou a sua ao seu [uso] em duas lingoas Pársea & Arábia; escriptas em duas folhas douro batido ambas de hu teor cada hua com tres sellos, hu delrey douro, & os dous de Coge Atar e Raez Nordim, q erã de práta, metidas em duas caixas de práta segundo costume dos reyes orientáes."

⁵⁵¹ CAA, I, p. 249: "...quer carta aselada de voso selo pendemte, feita em purgamynho; mandelha vosa alteza fazer a mylhor feita que poder ser, e o selo nom seja de chumbo, senom de prata ou douro (...) porque elle faz caa hua douro pera vosa alteza" DIAS 2014

into gifts fit for the Pope. 553 In the 1513 embassy to Pope Leo X, led by Tristão da Cunha were included: "a cape, mantle, dalmatic and an altar frontal made in heavy brocade, set with pearls and very rich gems", jewellery, an elephant - named Hanno - and the cheetah sitting over the Persian horse sent by the king of Hormuz. 554

It is from the time of Albuquerque's government that can be identified the oldest documented European-based objects commissioned by the Portuguese to an Indian goldsmith. This was a silver monstrance, paid in 1514 by frei Domingos de Sousa, then vicar-general of India. 555 Indeed, the impact of Indian technologies must have produced an effect on the Portuguese, since as early as 1518 an Indian goldsmith named Raulu Chatim was working in Lisbon for D. Manuel, having previously worked in Goa for Albuquerque. 556

The most significant long-term effect produced by Asia in the Portuguese engagement with its material culture seems to have been on the practices of consumption. More than the religious dimension of consumption, its diplomatic scope provided a common basis that served as a translation mechanism, since it provided an equivalence that made sense for both parts. 557 Gifts rarely failed to please the Portuguese, as Albuquerque himself acknowledged: "with their presents and gifts [the Asian potentates] soften our [Portuguese] hearts, and make of us whatever they want".558

⁵⁵³ Curiously, in 1515 Albuquerque also converted the Persian gift of two cheetahs into a gift for the king of Hormuz. The animals were likely too expensive to maintain in India as they demanded each one goat per day to be fed, according to the receipts in CAA, VI, p. 258.

⁵⁵⁴ Góis 1949, III, 99v: "...pera dar obediençia aho Papa Leão deçimo, a quem quomo per premiçias das navegações da India mãdou per elle hum presente, em q entrava hua capa, manto almategas, & frontal de brocado de peso, todo borlado, & guarnecido d perlas, & pedraria de muito preço, a cousa mais rica de sua qualidade, que de memoria de homês se nunca vira. Alem deste pontifical lhe mandou elRei joias de grade valor, & hum Elephante, & hua Onça de caça com hu cavalo Persio q lhe mandara elRei de Ormuz co hu caçador da mesma provincia q trazia ha Onça sobelas acas do cavallo, posta em hua cuberta nervada, & dourada muito bê feita"

555 Already recognized by SILVA 2008a, p. 46; CAA, VI, p. 96 REGO, I, p. 200

⁵⁵⁶ PISSURLENCAR 1936, p. 61 and CAA, VI, p. 232; the Hindu goldsmith named an exhibition patent in 1996 in Lisbon, "The Heritage of Rauluchantim" (SILVA 1996).

⁵⁵⁷ MITTER 1977, p. 30. Asian material culture when stripped of its religious contents (or at least perceived as such) did not present problems of assimilation. The importance of the religious dimension to early European responses to Indian art (by rejecting it as irrational by European standards) was examined by Partha Mitter in "Much Maligned Monsters" (MITTER 1977).

⁵⁵⁸ CAA, I, p. 127: "...começou com seus presentes e suas dadivas, que he cousa que mais quebranta os corações de nos outros, a virem fazer de nos o que quiserem"

Gift giving persisted as a register with its own rules.⁵⁵⁹ The inequality of exchange between Asians and Portuguese that had become apparent in the first years of the century was evened by the progressive awareness of the other's values and valuables. While the Portuguese provided new technologies - mostly in weaponry and metalwork - they simultaneously grasped valuable cloths and their respective technologies – the embroideresses and the goldsmiths.

⁵⁵⁹ VILCHES 2004, p. 203

CONCLUSION

At his death in 1515 Afonso de Albuquerque had acquired a reputation for his individualistic style in local administration. His choices depended upon his knowledge of the local contingencies, which had a direct effect on the well-developed actions he put into motion. During the first years Albuquerque governed Portuguese India his decisions were for the most part military, while after the years 1510-1511 a clear shift can be noticed in his inclination for diplomatic activities.

In Asia, much more so than in Europe, the exchange of artifacts was crucial to ensure the success of a diplomatic encounter. In the beginning of his mandate as governor, Afonso de Albuquerque did not attach great relevance to this convention. But his experience and a trial and error system made him understand that mastering this custom was essential to build his (and the Portuguese) credibility in the eyes of the Indian potentates.

During the timeframe of his government the Portuguese grasped the value of Asian material culture, for both internal consumption (inside Asia) and abroad (in Portugal). Between 1498, when Vasco da Gama first arrived in Calicut, and 1505, when D. Francisco de Almeida departed to Asia carrying a *regimento* as first viceroy of Portuguese India, the Portuguese did not reveal a particular interest for Asian material culture. In fact, they knew artifacts could be dangerous, and the interaction with the rich potentates could originate asymmetrical situations where the Portuguese could not reciprocate in equal terms. A clear indication of this is the clause in the 1505 *regimento* which states that the viceroy should never give any gifts "because once they [the Asian potentates] receive one thing they want to keep on receiving". The Portuguese king would however gradually change his perception since in 1508 he sent from Lisbon Diogo Lopes de Sequeira with a gift of European

¹ CAA, II, p. 326 and chapter II.2.2 of this thesis.

objects to the sultan of Malacca.² Still, the *regimento* consigned to Sequeira noted that he should give the presents as if they were his own and not from the king.³

Later, when Albuquerque took Almeida's position, he broke the non-gifting decree and started an intense movement of gifting of Asian objects to Portugal and inside Asia. The first gift Albuquerque bestowed without the advice or provision from D. Manuel dates from 1511, when the governor sent to Siam his second ambassador, Simão de Miranda de Azevedo. According to Gaspar Correia, the present was instigated by some Portuguese captains who advised that the mission "should not be so simple, and should include gifts, which was customary among these people". The present included at least three cloths of arms that had belonged to the sultan of Malacca, which is the first recorded instance of an Asian object being translated as a Portuguese diplomatic gift to be offered to another Asian potentate. Up to then the "things from [one's] land" were the preferred type of objects (or technologies) to be offered, and remain one of the frequent requests made by Albuquerque to foreign rulers and conversely.

The year 1511 and the experience gathered in Southeast Asia seem to have transformed Albuquerque's habits of consumption. The intense exchange of ambassadors and objects expanded up to 1513, when at the same time Albuquerque was faced with an increasingly disinterested Portuguese court. After the failed attack to Aden, he wrote to D. Manuel complaining about the decline in the shipment of precious articles from Portugal. However, despite the reduced number of European articles — those traditionally valued by the Portuguese — Albuquerque kept distributing gifts, and continued sending precious Asian objects to members of the royal family. Chapter II.2.2 argued that this might have been related to the need for affirmation in Lisbon of the Asian enterprise (in opposition to the investment in the Americas and Africa), and to meet the allegations that Asia was a dishonourable end for an (aspiring) nobleman.

² Correia 1860, p. 33 and chapter II.2.2 of this thesis.

³ CAA, II, p. 418

⁴ CORREIA 1860, p. 263

⁵ Albuquerque 1973, III, pp. 176-179

⁶ As when Albuquerque instructed fr. Luís do Salvador to ask the king of Vijayanagara, Vira Narasimha III, for "jewels and things from his land" (ALBUQUERQUE 1973, II, p. 94) or when Krishnadevaraya, brother of the former king, asked for Portuguese weapons (CORREIA 1860, p. 378).

Diplomatic consumption of Asian objects peaked with the 1515 reception of a Safavid ambassador, who carried a precious gift (including a *khilat* from the Shah personally granted to Albuquerque) and who was returned with a 'countergift' of objects made in India in the Portuguese (and possibly also local) fashion.

Albuquerque also seldom failed to remember that he was the official representative of the Portuguese king inside Asia. The need for a clear public display of his authority had to be conveyed both to foreign courts and societies, and to his hierarchical subordinates. This communication was achieved in series of progressively more complex receptions — where the material environment was carefully manipulated — and through daily court rituals — where he assimilated both local and Portuguese traditions. Albuquerque also chose to associate himself and his memory with specific types of objects during his term as governor. Some of these objects have been identified, such as his old-fashioned dark attire, his *kris* and gold collar, and the coinage he minted with his insignia.

Afonso de Albuquerque boasted of sending to Portugal all the gifts he received in the name of the king, without taking anything for himself. In fact, he often intervened in some of the articles he knew would be sent to Portugal before dispatching them. ⁷ However, Albuquerque was also concerned with his own program of individuality and frequently sent Asian objects to intercede for his immediate and future interests in Portugal. From these, those identified include a ring set with a diamond sent to a Portuguese chronicler, Rui de Pina, Albuquerque's tomb in Goa, and gifts to the monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, among others.

Between 1509 and 1515 the Portuguese developed an interest for Asian objects that was previously unknown. While earlier experiences framed Asian material culture inside the European worldview, that same material culture would come to be developed into a more encompassing practical view. However, the generally accepted practical concerns of *convenience* as the foundation for an interest in Asian material culture are an insufficient argument to explain why these

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⁷ CAA. I. p. 317

objects would later in the sixteenth century be widespread in Lisbon. As Albuquerque updated his knowledge on the potential of Asian objects and new practices of consumption (such as diplomatic gift-giving) he moved towards the creation of a common point of valuation between Europeans and Asians: the matter of the artifacts. As has been proven by Ulinka Rublack, matter was not a trivial issue, and the substance of which any object was composed was the fundamental constituent of the sixteenth-century European evaluation process and concerns. In fact, much effort was invested in the description of the matter and the materials of Asia in Portuguese narratives, often even being the only trait mentioned.

The most ambitious aim of this thesis was to perceive how material culture and its consumption shaped the outcome rather than just merely illustrating encounters of Portugal and Asia. But the answers reached remain challenging. Objects played a role in initiating and controlling social relations in early sixteenth-century Asia, but what we do know of them is surely limited by the remaining written records. How much of what was projected and intended was actually achieved by the workmanship? How was the geopolitical character (Portuguese or Islamic, Persian, Hindu...) of the objects perceived by the different men involved? What changed in the function, the adornment, the usage, and the shape of the objects when they were produced by foreign traditions? How much of this had an impact on coeval Portugal? These are questions to be left unanswered for now, and to be matured in later opportunities.

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APPENDIX

- Figure 1. Portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque in Lendas da Índia
- Figure 2. Portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque in Galeria dos Vicereis / MNAA
- Figure 3. Portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque in 'Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu'
- Figure 4. Tomb
- Figure 5. Coin Bazaruco (?)
- Figure 6. Ethiopian Cross
- Figure 7. Ganda (Dürer), drawing
- Figure 8. Ganda (Dürer), print
- **Figure 9.** Painting 'Akbar hunting with cheetahs', Mughal Empire, ca. 1586-1589; painting by Miskina and Mansur. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 1. *Portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque i*n 'Livro Segundo das Lendas da Índia', Gaspar Correia



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Figure 2. *Portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque*, mixed media on wood, ca. 1555-1580. 182 x 108 cm

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (Inv. 2144 Pint)

© DGPC



Figure 3. *Portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque*Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu [1565], Pierpont Morgan Library. *MS* M.525



Figure 4 *Tomb* Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa



Figure 5 'Meio bazaruco? . Esfera'

From Peres, Damião — *Catálogo das Moedas Indo-Portuguesas do Museu Municipal do Porto*. Porto: Museu Municipal, 1929-1934; p. 9

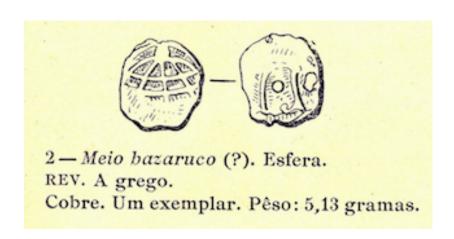


Figure 6 Ethiopian Cross

From: MS Ajuda 50-V-21 (Miscelânea Histórica), n.º 59, fol. 161v (*Nova da vymda do enbaixador do Rey do Preste João*)

Source Sunn fine frie Su Cruz Br. Lom Brandical.

- 1. 3a Canana Su. Carana Suzan Dizin.

Figure 7. Rhinoceros in profile to left (drawing), Albrecht Dürer, 1515, 274 x 420 mm. British Museum, London (Museum Number: SL,5218.161)
© Trustees of the British Museum.



Inscribed by the artist in brown ink along the upper edge, "RHINOCERON 1515" and along the lower edge with a note probably transcribed from a newsletter:

"Ite[m] in 153 jor adi i maÿ hat man unserm küng van portigall gen lisabona procht ein sold lebedig tir aws India das nent man Rhynocerate das hab ich dir von Wunders wegen müssen abkunterfet schicken hat ein farb wÿ ein / krot vnd van dicken schaln überleg fast fest vnd ist in d[e]r gros als ein helffant aber nÿdrer vnd ist des helfantz tott feint es hat for[n] awff der nasen ein starck scharff hore[n] und so dz tir an helfant Kumt mit jm zw fechten so hat es for albeg sein / hore[n] an den steinen scharbff gewestzt vnd lauff dem helfant mit dem Kopff zwischen dy fordere[n] pein dan reist es den helfant awff wo er am düsten hawt hat vnd erwürgt jn also der helfant fürcht jn ser übell den Rhÿnocerate dan er erwürgt jn albeg wo er den helfant aukumt dan er ist woll gewapent vnd ser freidig und behent D[a]z tir würt Rhinocero in greco et latino Indico vero gomda"

Translation:

"In the year 15[1]3 [this should read 1515] on 1 May was brought to our King of Portugal in Lisbon such a living animal from India called a Rhinocerate. Because it is such a marvel I considered that I must send this representation. It has the colour of a toad and is covered all over with thick scales, and in size it is as large as an elephant, but lower, and is the deadly enemy of the elephant. It has on the front of the nose a strong sharp horn: and when this animal comes near the elephant to fight it always first whets its horn on the stones and runs at the elephant with his head between its forelegs. Then it rips the elephant where its skin is thinnest and then gores it. The elephant is greatly afraid of the Rhinocerate; for he always gores it whenever he meets an elephant. For he is well armed, very lively and alert. The animal is called rhinocero in Greek and Latin but in India, gomda"

Inscribed on the verso, in the lower left-hand corner, by a later hand in brown ink, "rhinoceros".

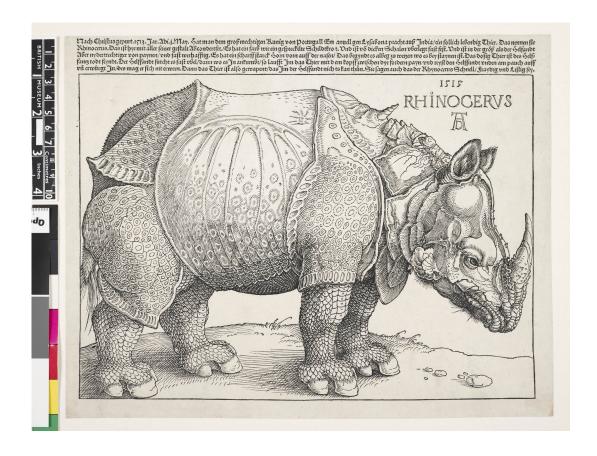
Inscription and translation from the British Museum website:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=720573&partId=1&searchText=rhinoceros&people=127877&page=1 (accessed on 25.XI.2015)

Figure 8. *Rhinoceros in profile to right* (woodcut and letterpress), Albrecht Dürer, 1515, 212 x 296 mm (woodcut)

British Museum, London (Museum Number: 1895,0122.714)

© Trustees of the British Museum.



The print has five lines of text talong the upper edge beginning:

'Nach Christus gepurt. 1513. Jar. Adi. i. May. Hat man dem grossmechtigen Kunig von Portugall Emanuell gen Lysabona pracht aus India ein sollich lebendig Thier. Das nennten sie Rhinoceros...'

Translation:

'On 1 May 1513 [this should read 1515] was brought from India to the great and powerful king Emanuel of Portugal at Lisbon a live animal called a rhinoceros. His form is here represented. It has the colour of a speckled tortoise and it is covered with thick scales. It is like an elephant in size, but lower on its legs and almost invulnerable. It has a strong sharp horn on its nose which it sharpens on stones. The stupid animal is the elephant's deadly enemy. The elephant is very frightened of it as, when they meet, it runs with its head down between its front legs and gores the stomach of the elephant and throttles it, and the elephant cannot fend it off. Because the animal is so well armed, there is nothing that the elephant can do to it. It is also said that the rhinoceros is fast, lively and cunning.')

Inscription and translation from the British Museum website:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_detail s.aspx?objectId=720573&partId=1&searchText=rhinoceros&people=127877&page=1 (accessed on 25.XI.2015)

Figure 9. Akbar hunting with cheetahs, Miskina and Mansur, watercolour and gold on paper, ca. 1586-1589. 321 x 188 mm V&A, London (Museum Number: IS.2:56-1896)

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