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***Primor e honra da vida soldadesca no Estado da India* : an anonymous late sixteenth-century manual of soldiery and political affirmation of the military frontier in India. [8873]**

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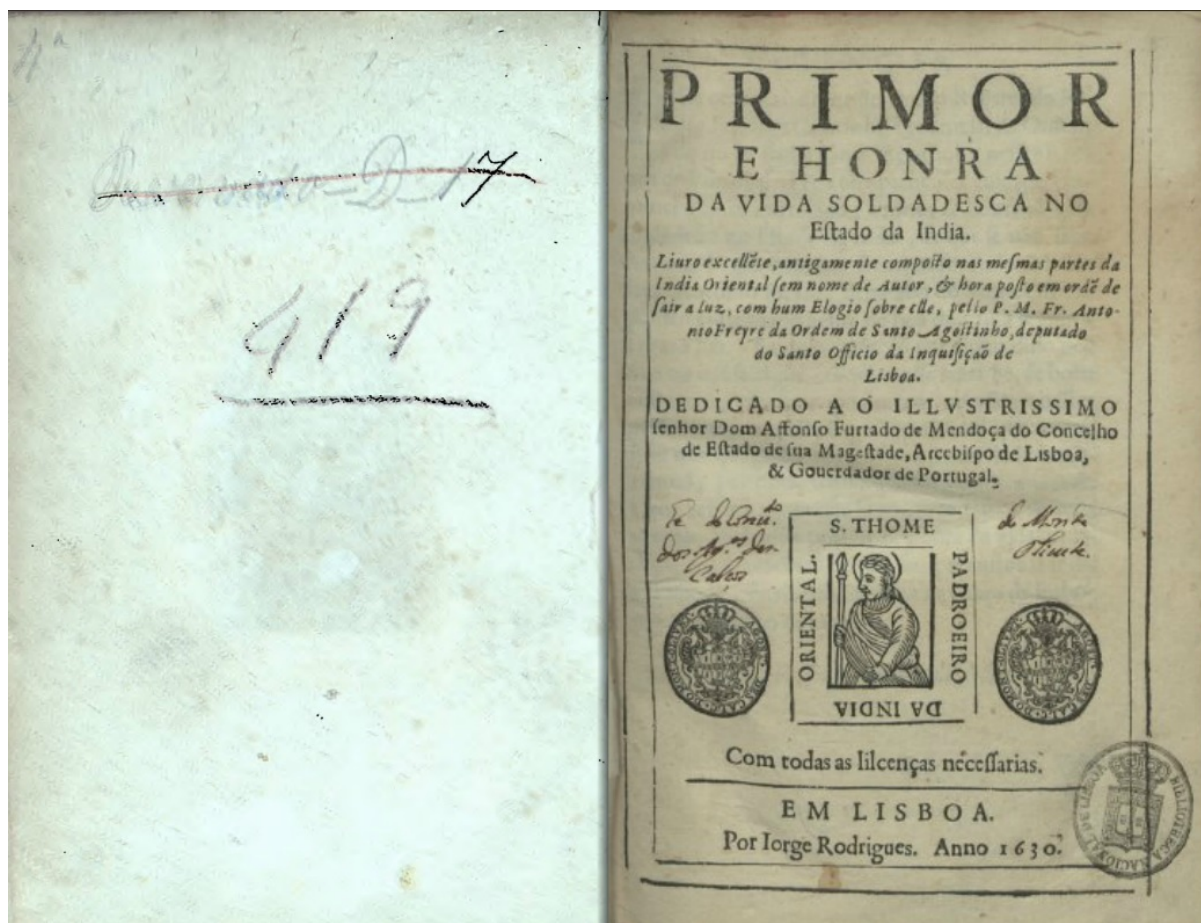
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Abstract

The anonymous, and undated *Primor e honra da vida soldadesca no Estado da India* or *Excellence and honour of the soldier's life*, a lengthy and powerfully argued tract seeking to uphold military standards in the Portuguese Orient, holds many mysteries: although published in 1630, we do not know when it was written, or by whom. The text has been republished, most recently by Laura Monteiro Pereira in 2003, who argues that the text was written during one of the two administrations of D. Luís de Ataíde tends and tends towards religious rather than classical authority. In this analysis, the varied sources drawn on by the anonymous author are systematically categorised, the work is dated more precisely to 1578-80, some effort is made to adequately contextualise the text, and the impact of the text - one written very much for the future - assessed on subsequent Portuguese policy towards the Orient.

Keywords = military literature - Estado da Índia – monarchical leadership – Black Legend of Portuguese India – European relations with Islam.

***Primor e honra da vida soldadesca no Estado da India* : an anonymous late sixteenth-century manual of soldiery and political affirmation of the military frontier in India.**



The anonymous, and undated *Primor e honra da vida soldadesca no Estado da India* or *Excellence and honour of the soldier's life*, a lengthy and powerfully argued tract upholding military standards in the Portuguese Orient, was probably written in the 1570s by an anonymous soldier (*soldado*) in the Indies, but only published in Lisbon sixty years later (Primor 1630). The author desires to stand up to the licence afflicting the Portuguese Orient, omnipresent from early on as the poem *Trouas feitas polos lascaryms da India contra Don Graçia Visorey* (r. 1538-40) or Camões's sonnet 'Cá nesta Babilónia, dõde mana' (c. 1556) corroborate, to which our author throws in a general lassitude, commonly understood to have set in following D. Constantino de Bragança's *mandato* (1558-61). His text sets out a group of ethical principles that reside in military life, which the author puts at the service of the King and common well-being (*o bem comum*), and needed to combat the desertion and tendency to go over to Islam afflicting Portuguese soldiery (on this problem see Lima Cruz 1986) in a bid to bring them back to the fold. It sets out how one should go about taking up arms and attack the enemy, which is equated here with the infidel that jeopardizes our 'holy Catholic faith and Christian religion', whilst simultaneously maintaining honour and

upholding obedience and respect (*acatamento*) first and foremost to the King or rather, the monarchy as an institution (see parte II, cap. 1). War is here considered the backbone of the state, and its use is here fully justified both in terms of *razão de estado* and in terms of crusading precedent against an inveterate foe now gathered in a 'grande liga' against Portugal (Thomaz 1995, 485-6), a strange combination of religious fundamentalism and Machiavellian scheming which we find in other authors of that period like Campanella (Blum 2010, 267-8). Portuguese history is used to draw on for example, but the text offers basic practical examples on how armed forces are to be organised even in basic matters, like ensuring gunpowder is kept dry during *embarcações* (II, 15), not to beach ships above the low-water mark (II.14), and how night watch is to be instituted in order to be effective (IV. 9). The most recent, primarily literary, analysis of this text by Laura Monteiro Pereira reminds us of 'a propria religiosidade patente na obra' (Pereira 2003, p. 53), tracing the history of its publication at the hands of a priest in the Augustinian order a couple of generations later, and arguing that the references drawn in this work tend towards religious rather than classical authority. These are ideas that need to be explored. It is true that the first part highlights 'Our obligation to augment the Faith and Christian religion'. St. Thomas of Mylapore is affirmed as the patron saint (*padroeiro*) of India, an entire section is given over to recounting the tortures meted out to Christian martyrs like Gaspar Camello 'por mao cuidado e pouco tento' (pte I, cap. 11) on the Malabar coast, and the Portuguese defined by their four 'specific virtues' of which two, three actually (constancy in faith, piety and *misericordia*, or charity) are religious. At the same time we cannot overlook the fact that the author was a soldier whose manuscript was found amongst books belonging to Jorge Furtado de Mendonça, a member of an important high-ranking family and who served personally in Brazil and Spain before coming back to fight in the Wars of the Portuguese Restoration (1640-1668). Secondly, although later seen through publication by an Augustinian friar, there are no fanciful sonnets on the Ten Commandments or invocations of saints as we find in other contemporary works, it is not devotional. The author's account of religious martyrdoms follows those of Portuguese military figures like Dom Crístovão in Ethiopia in 1542 (pte I, cap. 8), and the pseudo-religious apocrypha which accompany it, like the 'tree which became uprooted (..) later to straighten and become green again', and which informed later accounts like that of Pedro Páez's *História da Etiópia* (completed in 1620).

The text takes its place in a pre-existing and specifically Portuguese-language genre, best exemplified in Diogo do Couto's contemporaneous *Soldado Prático*, an exposé of political corruption (*dos enganos e desenganos*) within the interstices of the Portuguese empire in the East (Couto writt. 1559-69, pub.1790) and later added to by Francisco Rodrigues Silveira's *Reformação da Milicia e Governo do Estado da India Oriental* (1585-1597). Certain historians today like Rui Bebiano (1993) stretch the contextualisation to the military literature of the Restoration conflict, primarily against Spain, and thus see it linked to the public debate as to whether Portuguese soldiers should go and fight the draining wars for Spain in Flanders (Melo 1638, pub. 1995; Ribeiro 1632). But there were more generalised problems in this period convincing the Iberian nobility, whether Portuguese or Castilian, to take to arms in the service of their nation as deliberate publication of past national military heroics attest (Barbuda 1624). Other historians like Faria link the *Primor* rather to Jacques de Coultre's

fourth *Memorial* ‘Como remediar o Estado da Índia’, again written between 1623-8. I would rather not proceed down this route as the circumstances were different, the enemy a new one – here the Dutch. Furthermore, as Borschberg observes, Coutre’s tone is often anti-Portuguese rather than patriotic suggesting, for example, that fortresses in the East Indies were to be preferably placed under the command of a Spanish officer (Faria 2012, 359; Borschberg 2014, 51).

The context of this memorandum, rather, was the increasingly vocal criticisms urging much-needed reform in the Estado da Índia and in the running of the Portuguese Indies. Historians like Luís Filipe Thomaz are on a better track when they write of ‘a crise de 1565-75’, a conjuncture of multiple problems and challenges facing the Estado da Índia. The vacuum left by the collapse of the Vijanagar Empire (Bisnaga) after the battle of Talicot in 1565 had led to a resurgence of the Deccan sultanates, Hídalção (the sultanate of Bijapur), Nizamaluco of Ahmednagar, and the Samorim of Calicut. The cashflow crisis was not merely caused by corrupt administrators, many of whom like Mathias de Albuquerque (r. 1591-97) were indicted and had to work hard to clear their names, but problems in the running of the royal monopoly on spices. The opening of this monopoly to competition in 1570 on the *trato de Índia* was a bold step to reinvigorate the *carreira da Índia* (Regimento 1570; Correia 1859-66, IV, 104; Azevedo 1929, 132). Another bold step was the division of the Estado into three entities in 1569, with captaincies created in East Africa and Melaka. Historians are unclear as to its principal motivation, perhaps a bid to tone down the political disputes between entrenched noble families in the East (especially the Albuquerque and da Gama clans), perhaps a bid to give the Crown a freer hand in exploiting the gold mines of Monomotapa. Yet all of this disruption paled in comparison to the new direction King Sebastian was attempting to set the country on after he attained majority in 1568, gathering the country’s resources in a bid to lead the country to victory in Morocco, a well-known story which ended instead in tragedy ten years later at Alcaçer el Kebir (Bovill 1952; Lima Cruz 2009).

Dating the text and establishing the author.

Dating the text is a problematic proposition. History is not presented in any chronological sequence or with dates (see I.X) but as an example to prove a point, whether for positive or negative effect. The author on occasion refers to João de Barros, for example:

Malaypor.. está àvante de Negapatão cinquenta léguas, na mesma costa de Choromandel, é povoação sumptuosa posto que tem pouca semelhança das colónias dos Romanos com que João de Barros a compara (2003, p. 205)

Barros’s three *Décadas* were published in 1552, 1553 and 1563, so it must be subsequent to this. On occasions the author refers to the corpus of civil laws, the *Ordenações*, but sadly does not specify whether the Manuelinas (1521) or Filipinas (only promulgated in 1603). Both kept to five books, and the specific *titulo* gives nothing away. Chapter X of Part 3 provides the clearest opportunity to establish the date. He writes:

Além de não ser crédito de Nação nem do Estado irem viver casados Portugueses a Bengala, os que o fizerem estarão arriscados a grandes males, principalmente agora que a terra é de Magores (2003, p. 210)

It was in 1576 that Bengal became a province of the Great Moghul (*Magores*), when the last Afghan (Pathan) sultans were ousted from the north and fled into Orissa, opening, ‘a new era of peace and progress’ for Bengal, when contact with upper India and beyond was re-established after a long interlude when ‘Buddhism became dead in the land of its birth and next when its Muslim viceroys threw off the overlordship of Delhi’ (Sarkar 1973, 188).

Monteiro Pereira (p. 28) is convinced that the work was written during one of the two administrations of D. Luís de Ataíde, who ruled first as Governor between 1569-1571, and again as Viceroy between 1578 until his death in March 1580. We still have the *regimento* with which he was sent out, its emphasis on the *acrescentamento da fé cristã*, respect for local rights and wide-ranging reforming drive from the elimination of fraud in the administration of justice and the pepper business, to a general tightening of discipline (BNL 1569). His *mandato* saw important military victories at Onor and Barcelor (1569), combined with the defence of Goa and Chaul (1570-71), which saw him return to Lisbon as *triunfador*, fêted with a panegyric by Padre Inácio Martins and general recognition as Portugal’s most distinguished and experienced general. One of the richly illuminated atlases of Fernão Vaz Dourado was dedicated to him (Biedermann 2014, 81). In 1572 he was commissioned by King Sebastião to lead an army into Morocco, although (like Martim Affonso de Sousa) Ataíde prudently declined. He agreed to a second term after many of the conquests undertaken during his first administration were promptly reversed at a time of high tension. Thus, taking previous considerations into account, the second administration is the likely time *Primor* came into being. It cannot really be any later. Nowhere in the book is there reference to dynastic union and the new Spanish King, Philip II, to whom an Oath of Loyalty was professed in Goa under the direction of interim governor Fernão Teles de Menezes on 3 September 1581. The anonymous author refers to the siege of Chaul, which took place in 1570-71 (2003, p. 215), in which the town was destroyed by the Nizam Shahi Sultan of Ahmadnagar (*Nizamaluco* Pg.), but his treatment of the episode ignores the fact a treaty was concluded which lifted the siege, and the town was rebuilt and protected all the better for the surrounding walls and bastions (Goertz 1985). Elsewhere the text praises Ataíde for the *reformaçãõ*, which he introduced ‘com um novo espírito’ into the Estado da India. This was partly the old idea, first put forward by D. João de Castro (r. 1545-48), of having a standing army in the Swiss manner (*à Suiça*), the pipe dream of military *companhias de ordenanças*. Hitherto the only pay (*soldo*) which the embarking soldiery received was at the outset and more often that not *em géneros*, i.e. in cloth, or foodstuffs, principally rice. It is thus a text written for the future rather than one like Londoño’s written to ‘Reducir la Disciplina Militar a Mejor y Antigo Estado’ (1589).

Ataíde had other admirers. The humanist André de Resende wrote a six-page Latin poetic panegyric (*carmina*) on his triumphant return to Lisbon on 25 July 1572 praising Ataíde for having cleared the seas of pirates (Resende 1575 in Pereira 1992, 75-78; Pereira 1616, xiv ff.), as did Camões in his sonnet ‘Que vençais no Oriente tantos reis’ (in Baer 2005, 144-5).

He had appointed Martim Afonso de Miranda to protect the Malabar coast with twenty boats, and entrusted Afonso Pereira de Lacerda with the suppression of a revolt in Baticala (Karwar). Against the pirates he conquered the strongholds (*praças*) of Onor e de Bracelor, while his greatest moment came in raising the siege of Goa in June 1571, attacked by the forces of Haldão (the sultan of Bijapur) (Macedo 1633, Pereira orig. 1617, repr. 1987; Domingues 1994, I, 97).

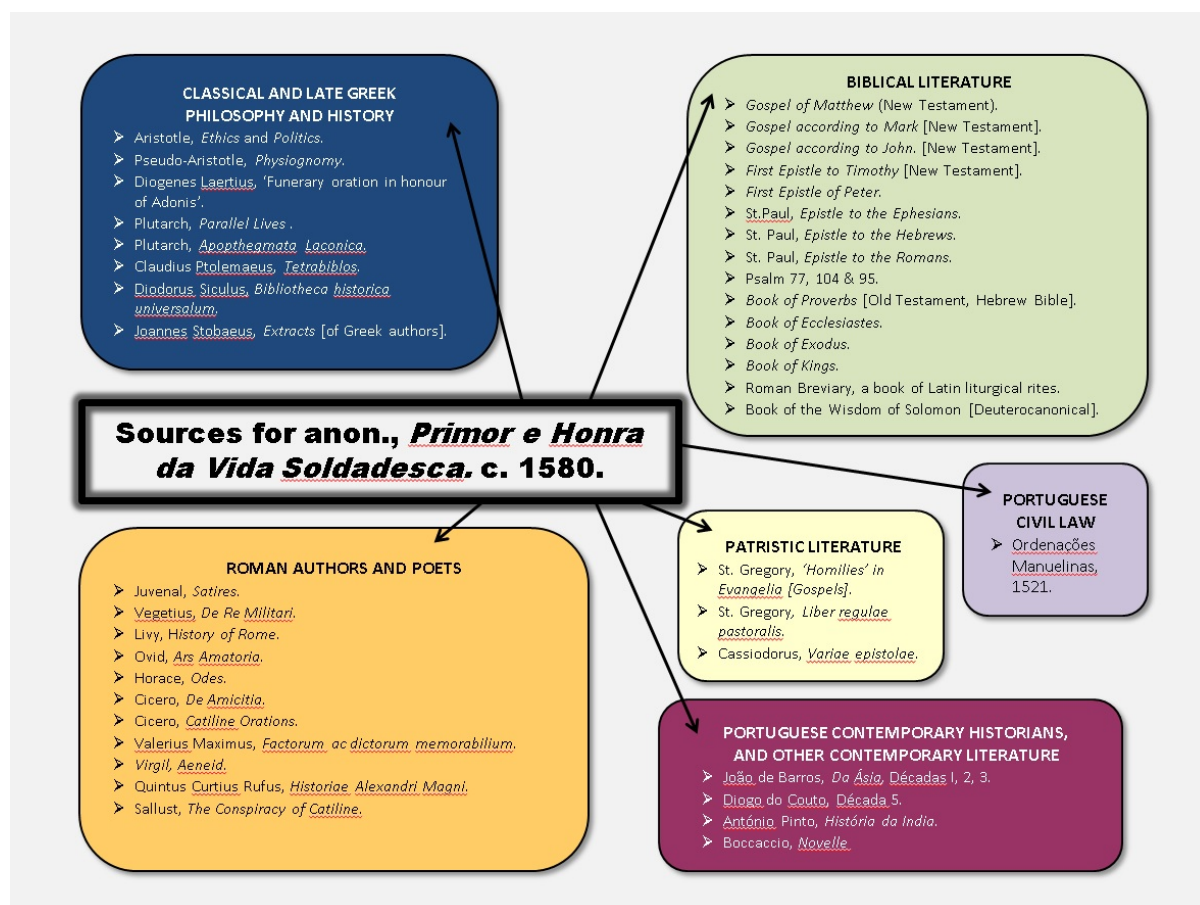
If dating the text is difficult, establishing the authorship is close to impossible. There are so many anonymous and much more famous texts issuing from late sixteenth-century Iberia like Lazarillo de Tormes, or the *Boxer Codex*. For political reasons, but also as part of its general deference to authority, the author himself leaves no clues, although we can infer something of his intellectual milieu from recent research reconstructing the library of Diogo de Couto in Goa (Loureiro 1998) and documented life stories of other ‘soldados da Índia’ like Francisco Mendes da Vasconcelos (Cunha e Freitas 1974). Like Mendes Pinto, whose *Peregrinação* only came out thirty years after the author’s death (1614), the author – unsuccessful at summoning the funds required, or finding a patron to steer the text successfully through the censorship boards – bequeathed the manuscript to a pious institution such as the Casa Pia dos Penitentes. The work was almost certainly not produced by the author in his ‘green years’, to quote Laura Monteiro Pereira, and was probably written in the Orient, a place he seems to know well, especially the Indian subcontinent: he writes in places of ‘Estas partes do Oriente’, ‘Nestas partes da Índia’ etc. Differences between Muslim sects such as the Alawites and Sunnis are explained to readers (Pt. III, ch. 14) in all their historical complexity, though principally as a means to better understand the ‘Moors’ of the Deccan plateau (the five sultanates of the Deccan i)apur, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, and Berar) and their loyalties, here to the ‘Xatamàs’, by which is meant the Safavid Sh’ia Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524-76). The stories of central India’s individual rulers are carefully presented, although as a generic group Muslims are referred to variously as ‘infidel’, ‘the people of Satan’, ‘men without truth, reason or justice’, ‘men who do not keep their word’, ‘barbarians’, ‘the false sect’, ‘unjust possessors of the earth’, ‘councillors of Satan’, and ‘the bad generation’ (as oppose, one presumes, to the *inclita geração* of the sons of João I Avis(r. 1385-1433).

The text is full of classical citations, which have been taken to demonstrate the author’s knowledge of classical authors in the fields of History, Philosophy and Literature. To be honest, I was surprised at such erudition on the part of a humble soldier, and immediately thought these were editions by the book’s editor from the 1630s, António Freire, who was a *deputado* of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Lisbon in 1630, and died four years later. A closer analysis suggests rather that Freire annotated, providing sources for the various quotations the anonymous author employed through into Freire’s own *Elógio* at the end of the work. Freire’s editing work and motivations for bringing the book to light are explained in the following passage:

Não menos estimulado do copioso fruto spiritual que entendi poderia fazer a lição do liuro, não sò nos professores da vida militar, & nos encarregados de seu gouerno, mas ainda em toda a sorte de gente (Elógio, 4v).

Even if the history of Portuguese education over the sixteenth century suggests retrenchment, a law of 1541 curtailing the stream of Portuguese students to Paris and Italy, the increasingly heavy hand of inquisitorial censorship, and the closure of Lisbon University in 1536-7 (Marques 1972, vol. I, 194-7), sixteenth-century authors were, as a look at Silveira's *Reformaçãõ*, or the later, second draft of Couto's *Soldado Prático* testify to, exceptionally open to different influences and well-read. In the case of *Primor*, I have tried to categorise these influences into six rubrics ranging from classical and late Greek Philosophy and History, through Roman authors and poets, biblical literature and patristic texts of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. to Portuguese civil law codes, and contemporary European history and literature.

Plate 1. Sources for anon. *Primor e Honra da Vida Soldadesca*, c. 1580.



Although ignored by George Winius in his useful guide (1985) to the literature of *memoriales* and maladministration of the Portuguese empire in the East, *Primor e Honra da Vida Soldadesca* is very much to be placed in this genre, albeit written after Diogo do Couto's *Soldado Prático* (Couto spent ten years in the Orient between 1559-1569) and before Francisco Rodrigues da Silveira's *Reformaçãõ da Milicia e Governo do Estado da India Oriental* (1585-1597), all three texts deeply imbued with what the Restoration *curioso*

Manoel Severim de Faria called *honra da patria* (Faria 1778, xvii). Couto's text remained in manuscript form until 1790, one of the reasons being that the author of this deeply critical work remained stuck in Goa. The *Primor* saw the light of day only in the 1630s i.e. fifty years after it was written, but back in Lisbon. It was edited (*posto em ordē*), as the original frontispiece proclaims, by the Augustinian priest originally from Beja, António Freire. Some analyses like that of Diogo Ramada Curto consider Freire to have been a Jesuit (Curto 2005, p. 142), but this is a mistake on checking internal records of the Augustine Order (Vieira 2011, 34). The book was dedicated to Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, Archbishop of Lisbon between 1626 and his death four years later, for indeed the manuscript was found amongst his possessions upon his death. Freire incorporated a lengthy *Elogio* at the end with chapters on 'how this book helps to achieve Christian perfection in steps'. The date this book was published falls within a period of considerable success for the Portuguese Augustinian Province, which had been reinvigorated by Montoya and Villafranca in the 1550s, saw a *colégio* founded in Coimbra in addition to the convent of Santa Monica in Goa, completion of the magnificent home church of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon in 1629, and representation extended unto the Azores. A large number of illustrious members of the Order populated the friaries; many of them served in the episcopate and held university chairs like Fr. Rodrigo de Santa Cruz in Coimbra, in addition to their contributions to Portuguese literature in the shape of mystics like Fr. Tomé de Jesus (Alonso 2003).

A text redolent not of 'renewed Portuguese self-confidence' but of anxiety about *avareza* and absent monarchical leadership.

The time it was written was, according to Anthony Disney (2009, vol. 2, p. 189), an era of 'renewed Portuguese self-confidence', when the Dutch threat had not yet emerged. It was written in a period to be characterized as a 'heyday for Portuguese mercenaries in Asia' (1570-1610), when heroic leaders came to the fore in Asia, men like Brito e Nicote (fl. 1599-1612) or Tibau and the soldiers of fortune who seized Sandwip (1602-15). Portugal had become if not involved, then at least affected by the crazed Spanish schemes to conquer whole swathes of Asia much as they had the western hemisphere. Dom João Ribeiro Gaio, Bishop of Melaka (1579-1601) was urging the Crown to conquer Aceh and Johor, then go on to subdue Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and Southern China. Subrahmanyam styles this 'The Land Question', which he sees corresponding to a growing neglect of the maritime vocation – so much so that the Portuguese, Couto tells us, were being called 'chickens of the sea' by their Asian competitors (Subrahmanyam, 1993, 122). Ataíde's biographers paint a good picture of him redressing this situation by ordering the construction of a great number of *navios* on his arrival in the Indies, and then leading three successive *armadas* against the *corsários*, continuing the same fight undertaken earlier by Matias de Albuquerque in the 1560s (Subrahmanyam, 64). Like Albuquerque, Ataíde had to work hard to fight off the *ingratidões* and *inveja* back in Lisbon that Camões writes about (Baer 2005).



Plate 2. ‘D.Luís de Ataíde’, in ‘Breve tratado ou epilogo de todos os visorreys que tem havido no estado da India, successos que tiverão no tempo de seus governos, armadas de navios e galeoes, que do reyno de Portugal forão ao dito estado, e do que succedeo em particular a alguãs d'ellas nas viagens que fizerão, feito por Pedro Barreto de Rezende, secretario do senhor conde de Linhares, no anno de 1635’, *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1636. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, first part.

The trouble with the picture presented by Disney above is that this here is not a self-congratulatory text, but rather a critical one, an anxious one. We have already applauded Luís Filipe Thomaz’s work unravelling the ‘crise de 1565-75’ and particularly the Estado’s

fragility in the face of the Deccan sultanates' resurgence. But the repeated assertions of loyalty to the Crown may have been a response to the (short-lived) political vacuum following Sebastian's death, or a shout against what the author perceived as misplaced strategic priorities: the war machine which Sebastian was adamant for moving into action in Morocco rather than deploy elsewhere in the empire (Vila-Santa 2014). Our author here takes a very different line from that of Jerónimo Corte Real, whose *O Segundo Cerco de Dio* [Diu in Gujarat], published in 1574 remains a work of epic bombast looking back to the events of 1546 to remind Portugal of her feats of military glory (Corte Real, 1574 repr. 1784).

It is useful to note how the *Primor* finds common voices in sections of the *Lusiadas*, which was first published at around the same time, in 1572, and which ends the Tenth Canto with similar concerns – the narrator complains that he has to bring his discourse to an end tired 'não do canto, mas de ver que venho / Cantar a gente surda e endurecida'. He complains, like the author of *Primor*, of how the country is made over to the 'gosto da cobiça e na rudeza / Duma austera, apagada e vil tristeza'. Recognition is lacking, and the King is urged not to withhold favour from his 'vassalos excelentes'. He is reminded to 'Favorecei-os logo, e alegrai-os / Com a presença e leda humanidade'. While the religious have their place in regularly holding prayers for the King's regime and to hold vice in check, Camões addressed himself rather to the 'disciplina militar', like our anonymous author. 'Não se aprende, Senhor', he writes 'na fantasia, / Sonhando, imaginando ou estudando, / Senão vendo, tratando e pelejando' (Camões 1572 repr. 1988, 422-27). He reminds us how Hannibal scoffed at Phormio, the 'filósofo elegante', and his long-winded discourses on the art of war. The King, Camões concludes, must become so that 'Alexandro em vós se veja / Sem à dita de Aquiles ter enveja'.

The *Lusiadas* itself evolved in subsequent editions and especially in translation, whether into Spanish or into Latin (Bernardes 2015). Earle has shown how the version by Tomé de Faria, bishop of Targa, published in 1622, effectively amounts to an original work in which the verses above were excised for being too critical of the Portuguese endeavour overseas, and the text generally rendered 'mais heroica e menos licenciosa' (particularly with regard to King Ferdinand I, see p. 157). Alongside Manuel Severim de Faria, a contemporary of Faria (1624), the opinion that the empire had entered into decline because of too much commerce and avarice was amplified. Otherwise, the comparison between *Primor* and *Lusiadas* must stop there, primarily because Camões – although with experience of campaigning, like the 1554 Cannanore - Chale (Chalyam) – Chembé (Chembu) expedition - sees through its validity. In Canto IV verse 99 he bridles at the hypocrisy of the vaunted *valentia* and 'bravery' (*esforço*), which only provide cover for the 'bruta cruza e feridade' of Portuguese military endeavours.

Our substantial book is structured into four self-contained parts, each of fifteen chapters, thus around 400 pages in total (including the *Elogy* at the end). Much of the content can be read elsewhere, the story of Cristóvão da Gama (I, cap. 7) for example, which appears in Castanhoso's *Dos feitos de D. Christovam da Gama* (Lisboa: Ioã de Barreyra, 1564) and in Jerónimo Lobo's *Itinerário* (1660, ch. 19). Freire in his marginalia, however, appends a reference to Couto, *Década Quinto*, livro 8, cap. 14, which, however, only came out in 1612

and then in seriously edited form. The *Primor* provides narratives of some famous attacks, such as the Battle of Chaul in 1508 conducted by the first viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida on Mir Hossein (*Mirocem*), and again closely follows the account of that same event in João de Barros (*Década II*, liv. III, cap. 6, pp. 64-73). In many ways the text's emphasis on prudence as the cardinal virtue reflects this keyword in Iberian political thought of the period, mirroring the monarch Philip II's self-ascribed moniker 'El Prudente' (Cremades 1989; Jorzick 1998; Feros 2006) and found in important and popular texts like Baltasar Gracian's *Oraculo Manual y Arte de Prudencia* (1647). There are lengthy disquisitions on the 'suffering' soldierly temperament a commander should be looking for, which we also find in Spanish instructions of the period: Parma could boast that Spaniards were 'veteran troops, well disciplined, born to suffer' (*hecha a padecer*) (AGS/E 1581). The text is organised with the following headings:

I. 'Our obligation to augment the Faith and Christian religion'.

Cap. 1. How the soldier has to put the increase of the Faith before all other human considerations.

Cap. 2. On the error committed and low state and loss to which those, who go over to the infidel, fall.

Cap. 3. Of the depravity (*torpeza*) and barbarity of the honours, food and adornments and garments (*alfaias*) of the infidel.

Cap. 4. That among infidel there is no good faith, nor full justice, and that in everything they lack an understanding of the truth.

Cap 5. Of the falsity of the Mohammedan sect, why it extends so widely across the earth, and why it is profitable to pray and write against it.

Cap. 6. How soldiers made captives by the Moors can survive, and the error of those who become gentiles; and of what happened in Ceylon to some who entered the company of the Raja.

Cap. 7. Of what happened to the Portuguese who sought out Prester John at the time of D. Estevão da Gama, and of the death of Dom Cristóvão, his brother.

Cap. 8. Of the death of Imam Ahmad (Gradámede), and the restitution of Prester John's kingdom, and how the tree which was uprooted with the death of D. Cristóvão became straight and green again, as it was previously.

Cap. 9. Of what happened to Diogo de Mesquita in Cambay, and of the death of 70 soldiers in the same kingdom at the same time as the death of Simão Feo.

Cap. 10. Of the death of 57 Portuguese who were killed in Acheh, because they refused to become Moors.

Cap. 11. Of the death of Ant3nio Tourinho in Upper Chaul, Gaspar Camelo and three fathers of the Company of Jesus in Calicut, and Father Ant3nio Criminal on the Fishery Coast.

Cap. 12. Of what happened to a soldier at the court of Kutb-ul-Mulk (Cotamaluco, ruler of Golconda), and what this tyrant did to one Manuel Fernandes Arm3nio.

Cap. 13. How one should not return one who asks for baptism back to the infidel, nor ever call a good Moor or Jew a good Christian, nor should one swear an oath or blaspheme amongst them, nor attend their festivals.

Cap. 14. How the infidel praise the good treatment we mete out to our religious fathers, and how it scandalizes them when new converts are treated badly.

Cap. 15. How in light of some miracles worked in these parts, and out of respect for the apostle St. Thomas, we may assume God is served by their conversion.

II. 'Service to the King and the Common Weal'

Cap. 1. Of the obligation we have to serve the King, and for it being a general good [as monarchy] how it is to be preferred to service to the specific king.

Cap. 2. Of those who are prejudicial and profitable to the service of the King.

Cap. 3. That it is prejudicial to the service of the King to entrust his business to the pusillanimous and imprudent and those either of suspect faith, or envious.

Cap. 4. How in order to carry out service to the King perfectly great experience is necessary to those so entrusted.

Cap. 5. How in order to carry out service well or perfectly to the King one cannot be without prudence.

Cap. 6. How for the execution of war and service to the King, his captains must [understand] suffering.

Cap. 7. How in order to conduct war and service to the King force, after experience, prudence and suffering, is necessary.

Cap. 8. How in order to serve the King perfectly it is necessary to be very obedient, and that without it warfare will be one great confusion.

Cap. 9. How order is infallibly necessary to the service of the King.

Cap. 10. How if order is necessary for warfare, secrecy too is, but excessive wine, disordered love, pampering and delicacies are prejudicial to the captains when they carry out service.

Cap. 11. Of the honour, favour and courtesy which needs to be paid men of war for them to proceed to serve the King with necessary enthusiasm.

Cap. 12. How one must not allow enemies to create roots, nor teach them things which at some time can help them against us; and other things touching upon the profit of war and service.

Cap. 13. What the captains need to include in their ship loadings brought for service to the King, our Lord.

Cap. 14. Of the care which the captains in their ship loadings need to bestow on the things that can be profitable, or rather prejudicial to the service of the King.

Cap. 15. How captains are to prepare their loadings to pillage enemies, and the measures to be taken to avoid disasters with gunpowder.

III. 'On the Credit of the Nation and the State'.

Cap. 1. How the principal credit of our nation consists in the effective conduct of war and in fair dealing in times of peace.

Cap. 2. How we are obliged with respect to our credit to keep faith in and our word to the infidel.

Cap. 3. That which is not honest is not profitable, and that profit accompanied by discredit can with reason be called loss.

Cap. 4. That in this State [of India] there is no place for the seditious, and in not having such rests part of the credit of our nation.

Cap. 5. That all the infidel of these parts are our enemies, and how as such we have to foresee and be cautious not to allow our liberty into their hands.

Cap. 6. How the infidel do not hold their word, and is the reason which obliges us to return to those lands where we receive injuries and affronts.

Cap. 7. How great care is needed that the infidel do not learn of the necessities of state, and the care with which we have to exercise writing letters and conveying news.

Cap. 8. How it is to the discredit of the nation and the Estado da India that Portuguese die in lands where the infidel are entirely lords, where the King our Lord has neither fortress, nor jurisdiction.

Cap. 9. Of what happened in St. Thomas of Meliapor when Ram Rajah and his brothers descended upon it.

Cap. 10. How the port of Masulipatam is prejudicial to the Estado da India, and of some discredit to the nation which occurred in Bengal, Arakan and Pegu.

Cap. 11. Of the reason why the Portuguese nation is so badly treated in the lands we have spoken of, and how it would be a good idea to have some fortresses in them.

Cap. 12. How the captains of new fortresses need to be zealous, and how we must not less pass the injuries which the infidel wreak on the Estado without making satisfaction, nor let full discredit fall [upon it].

Cap. 13. How caution is to be exercised so that our neighbours do not become too powerful, when its friendship is suspicious, and the reason which moved the kings of the Deccan to descend upon Goa and Chaul.

Cap. 14. Why the Kings of the Deccan obey the Xatamàs as Caliph, and the differences between the Sunni Moors and Alawites.

Cap. 15. Where part of the greatness of the Estado da India is laid out.

IV. 'On the perfecting of every individual life'.

Cap. 1. How the soldier has to be pious.

Cap. 2. How each soldier has to reconcile his obligations as Christian with those of his honour, and how cowardice must not be discerned at this point.

Cap. 3. How the soldier must not act with force, or burn, or destroy in foreign lands without express instruction from his captain.

Cap. 4. How the soldier is not to receive quarters which will not be used, alter his instruction for departure (*embarcação*), nor company he serves, nor speak of the captain's leadership (*governo*), start a mutiny or uprising.

Cap. 5. How the soldier must be obedient, orderly, neither wasting gunpowder nor munitions without necessity.

Cap. 6. How the soldier must not abandon his arms upon surrender, nor steal when others pillage, nor eat or drink inconsiderately from enemies.

Cap. 7. How the soldier must bear arms, and during peace must become acquainted with them in order not to become distant from them in wartime.

Cap. 8. How soldiers must negotiate with their muskets, as is the custom in India.

Cap. 9. Of the obligation which each soldier has to be a good watchman, and the manner how he is to conduct himself on watch.

Cap. 10. How the soldier must not desert his post when given the opportunity to pillage, and how during the pillaging is not obliged to accompany the wounded.

Cap. 11. How soldiers are to conduct themselves during embarkations for the sake of honour, and of some issues which are worth knowing.

Cap. 12. How soldiers have to be moderate, suffering (*sofrido*), clean and well behaved at the tables where they eat.

Cap. 13. How soldiers are to rest together during winterings (*invernadas*).

Cap. 14. How soldiers are to be grateful to those who are good to them.

Cap. 15. How the soldier who proceeds in all facets of life with excellence besides gaining Heaven is well trained for all earthly honours.

The text is critical of captains ‘who take their seat in government and put their feet up’, and entertains the idea (shared in Francisco Rodrigues Silveira’s roughly contemporary *Reformaçãõ*) that Portuguese soldiery has been enfeebled by greed for worldly riches (*cobiça insaciavel*). *Radix malorum est cupiditas* from 1 Timothy 6: 10 is a common refrain in the book. Governor Afonso de Albuquerque (fl. 1509-15) is one of the few held up as a paragon of honour, rather than *interesse*: for example, in the story of an important Moor and his family from Malacca whose wife sought to buy their freedom for seven bars of gold, but is refused on principle and told that it is was not customary amongst Portuguese to sell justice (Pt. II, cap. 2). Historians have suggested that it was around the time the *Primor* came out that the ‘*edade aurea*’ starts to be formulated in Portuguese minds – its first occurrence is in a document of 1569 signed by the Archbishop of Goa, D. Jorge Temudo (Wicki 1961).

Soldiers are told to choose between the ‘just realm’ where the laws of God prevail and the realm of the unjust where Mohammed and the ‘people of Satan’ predominate. War is thus just in order to ‘put out the conflagration of the sect which wants to scorch (*abrasar*) the earth’, he evokes pictures of the gates of hell opening. The author believes that Christian soldiers inherently possess more ‘excellence’ (*primor*) than gentiles, but he warns that ‘there are such false soldiers who kill women with children in their arms, and carry out other cruelties which are not of valorous soldiery’. He might then have equivocated on the question as to enlisting third-party Hindu troops (*tropas gentias*), so pressing and indeed inevitable from the very outset of the Portuguese presence in Asia, although in IV.2 it is clear to the author that soldiery needs to uphold Christian values alongside considerations of honour (Rodrigues 2008; Scammell 1980). The text does, however, insist on the need to keep military technology a close secret, that even trade with infidel should be out of limits, and reminds soldiers that the day awaits them ‘when we shall see our bodies cut to pieces by the furious bombardment of the enemy, cut asunder by their sharp swords, passed through by the cruel lance and sharp arrow, burned and roasted by the keen fire of their gunpowder’. While another contemporary Portuguese writer like Francisco Rodrigues Lobo was keen to see honour as a primary foundation of identity and better learnt on the battlefield than at court and in schools (Lobo 1619, dialogo XV), here is the reverse side, the thanatic side to the Iberian sense of honour, which is expected to lead the protagonist to the grave, as we see visually represented in Moroni’s portrait of *D. Gabriel de la Cueva*, governor of Milan (1560), standing next to a lapidary inscription ‘*Aqui esto sin temo y dela muerte no he pavor*’. Battle is the natural ending for that literary hero Capitan Alatrisme, killed at Rocroi in 1643, though whether this represents ‘complacency before death’ (Bartolomé Bennassar) or

'a tragic gambling with death' (Cayetano Socorras) is open to question (Marcari 2005). Honour is to be preserved by death, making it so understandable how - to Portuguese sensibilities as expressed by André de Resende - the Venetians or French were only hypocrites, prepared to trade and enter into military alliances with the Ottomans out of *raison d'état* (Ferreira 1914, p. 205, n. 196).



Plate 3. Triumphal entry into Goa by the Porta S. Catarina, 1547 (Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Kunstkammer, T XXII 10). Historians debate as to whether this is the second (Aquarone 1968, vol. II, pl. 39), the tenth (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) concluding tapestry, or the lead in a sub-set of three ‘triumphal’ tapestries (Mascarenhas 2016, 57) in a series woven in Brussels around 1555 to celebrate Castro’s achievements. The victorious governor marches underneath a dais.

A secondary debate that this book engages with regards the upkeep of Portuguese forts (*fortalezas*), the cost and the ever-present shortage of soldiery suggesting to many – as João Ribeiro so cogently argued in his *Fatalidade Histórica da ilha de Ceilã* (written c. 1680)– that the secondary ones be abandoned, and that forces be concentrated on a few key points (*pontos chaves*), namely Malacca, Goa and Ormuz alone (Ribeiro 1909, ch. 5). Other commentators like the working priest Manoel de Andrada Castel Branco had argued the opposite, that new forts needed to be built at Johore, Gorée, in Sierra Leone, on St. Helena and at Bahia and Santa Catalina in Brazil, but this admittedly was still in the era of Philip II at a time Iberian global commercial supremacy had not yet been seriously brought into doubt (Castel Branco c. 1590, pub. 1990). The author of *Primor a Honra* starts by upholding Goa ‘where there resides an illustrious lord (*varão*) in the place of our Lusitanian king, Emperor over all kings and Oriental emperors, whom all obey’ (Pte III, ch. 15). He insists that all forts be retained, and new ones added, because they ‘spread the Faith, increase the State, bring credit to the nation and sustain the soldiers’ (Pte III, ch. 11), highlighting the ‘affronts to the law of Christians’ in places like Masulipatam (*Maçulepatão*) where Portuguese power is not imposed. The *peccato nefando*, or buggery, is one of these affronts to Christian morality that threatens in these places (Pt. I, cap. 9). The author goes on (Pte. III, ch. 10) to describe the lands of Bengal, Arakan and Pegu that attracted Portuguese renegades (*levantados*) who ‘live almost as gentiles to the great discredit of the Portuguese nation’, and teach ‘infidels’ how to make rowing boats and artillery. Portuguese quite simply should not, it is argued, live where ‘infidels are lords’. Although *conquista* as a concept, then, is very strongly underlined, our author’s preoccupations are decidedly Portuguese, and do not stretch as far as the plans afoot in Manila and elsewhere to launch a full-scale invasion of China to accompany the work of conversion (Sande 1576 & Sánchez 1586 in Blair & Robinson, 4: 58-73 & 6: 157-233).

But overall, the calls made in the *Primor e Honra* do not appear to have been met by Philippine government. In 1588, the Viceroy of India’s request to dispatch ‘more troops, ships and munitions than normally leave each year’ in order to attack the sultan of Aceh were turned down by Philip’s councils, ‘even though we have tried very hard to send more than five ships to Goa’. Proposals to construct a fort at Mombasa were vetoed and a request from the Spanish colonists of the Philippines to launch an invasion of China were also rejected (APO 1857-76, III; 130-1; Headley 1995). Rather than any of the reform lobbied for, we find the tables turned by new circumstances, primarily the arrival of the Dutch in 1595, and then English trading companies (from 1601) in the Indian Ocean. Many of the same *queixas* we read about in *Primor e Honra* we find simply repeated almost to a word in later *memoriales* like that of Coutre, or seventeenth-century texts included in the compilation put together by Alberto Iria (Iria 1973, 15-78). Here is what Coutre has to say:

En llegando la armada portuguesa a Goa y en desembarcando en tierra, se van por do ellos quieren. Unos se van para el sur, y otros para Bengala, y otros se auzentan. No quieren bolver a embarcarse; se huyen y se van para tierras de los moros e se embarcan en los navíos de contraband. Y quando quiziere el Virrey enbiar la dicha armada otra vez fuera, avrá menester prender los soldados para meter en los galeones, como suele hacer siempre. E para remediar esso avía Su

Magestad de mandar en Portugal que los soldados que tengan su capitán y a;feres con los demás oficiales como los Españoles. Que sean sugetos así no quando embarcan, como quando desembarcan en qualquiera parte que sea, sob pena de ser castigados; e cada uno conosca su bandera, y no como van asta agora a la Yndia. Paga Su Magestad mucha gente; en llegando a la India, quando los ha menester, no los halla (Coutre 1991, App. VII, 412-3).

This long and substantial text, as we have seen, did not achieve many rapid conversions to the author's cherished aims, although the discourse is as much an affirmation of a way-of-life and set of beliefs as a call for change. Historiography remains rent between a dirge to the 'fatalistic' decline of the Estado da India, and a cautious affirmation of a second wave (*segunda vaga*) of empire-building in the Orient under energetic Viceroydoms like the First Count of Lavradio between 1671-7 (Ames 2000), and even a 'third' one in the mid-eighteenth century, which brought 'revival and expansion' under the Viceroy Dom Luís de Meneses, the Fifth Count of Ericeira in a second period of office between 1740-2, and which was continued under the (First) Marquis of Alorna between 1744-50 (Francisco 2010).

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