

A JOURNAL OF THE
FIRST VOYAGE OF
VASCO DA GAMA,
1497-1499

E.G. Ravenstein



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

A Journal of the First Voyage of
Vasco da Gama,
1497–1499

Edited by
E.G. RAVENSTEIN

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Founded in 1846, the Hakluyt Society seeks to advance knowledge and education by the publication of scholarly editions of primary records of voyages, travels and other geographical material. In partnership with Ashgate, and using print-on-demand and e-book technology, the Society has made re-available all 290 volumes comprised in Series I and Series II of its publications in both print and digital editions. For information about the Hakluyt Society visit www.hakluyt.com.

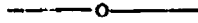
ISBN 13: 978-1-4094-1366-0 (hbk)

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this book but points out that some imperfections from the original may be apparent.

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.



A JOURNAL

OF

THE FIRST VOYAGE

OF

VASCO DA GAMA.

1497-1499.

No. XCIX.

“ Por vias nunca usadas, não temendo
De Africa, e Noto a força,
A ver os berços, onde nasce a dia.”

CAMOENS, Canto I, stanza 27.

This page intentionally left blank



A stylized, cursive signature or monogram, possibly reading 'D. João' or similar, enclosed in a decorative oval frame.

(From a Photograph by Sr. Camancho.)

This Portrait, now in the Hall of Honours of the Lisbon Geographical Society, was presented by the Conde de Vidigueira to King D. Carlos.

A JOURNAL
OF
THE FIRST VOYAGE
OF
VASCO DA GAMA,
1497-1499.

Translated and Edited, with Notes, an Introduction and Appendices.

BY

E. G. RAVENSTEIN, F.R.G.S.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LISBON.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCVIII.

LONDON

PRINTED AT THE BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDSURY, W.C.

COUNCIL
OF
THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., *Pres. R.G.S.*, PRESIDENT.
THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, VICE-PRESIDENT.
REAR-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM WHARTON, K.C.B., VICE-PRESIDENT.
C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, ESQ., M.A.
COLONEL G. EARL CHURCH.
SIR MARTIN CONWAY.
ALBERT GRAY, ESQ.
ALFRED HARMSWORTH, ESQ.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY.
EDWARD HEAWOOD, ESQ., M.A.
ADMIRAL SIR ANTHONY H. HOSKINS, G.C.B.
J. SCOTT KELTIE, ESQ.
VICE-ADMIRAL ALBERT H. MARKHAM.
E. DELMAR MORGAN, ESQ.
CAPTAIN NATHAN, R.E.
E. J. PAYNE, ESQ.
CUTHBERT E. PEEK, ESQ.
E. G. RAVENSTEIN, ESQ.
HOWARD SAUNDERS, ESQ.
CHARLES WELCH, ESQ., F.S.A.
WILLIAM FOSTER, ESQ., B.A., *Honorary Secretary.*

This page intentionally left blank

Vol. XCIX.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA.

CORRIGENDA.

MAP VII.—Add H to the east of G, above the word “paigucim”; the reference letters, H, I, K and L, are to be changed to I, K, L and M respectively.

Page 39, line 11 from bottom.—Instead of *maize*, read *millet*.

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	i
On the importance of Vasco da Gama's voyage, p. xi ; his Life, p. xiii ; a parallel between Vasco da Gama and Columbus, p. xv ; authorities on Vasco da Gama's voyage, p. xix ; the MS. of the <i>Roteiro</i> , p. xxii ; its author, p. xxv ; Portuguese editions, p. xxxii ; French translations, p. xxxiv ; the present edition, p. xxxv.	
A JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA IN 1497-99	i
The Voyage Out	i
Lisbon to the Cape Verde Islands, p. 1 ; across the Southern Atlantic, p. 3 ; the Bay of St. Helena, p. 5 ; rounding the Cape, p. 8 ; the Bay of S. Braz, 9 ; S. Braz to Natal, p. 14 ; Terra da Boa Gente and Rio do Cobre, p. 16 ; the Rio dos Bons Signaes, p. 19 ; to Moçambique, p. 21 ; false start, and return to Moçambique, p. 28 ; Moçambique to Mombaça, p. 31 ; Mombaça, p. 34 ; Mombaça to Malindi, p. 39 ; Malindi, p. 40 ; across the Arabian Sea, p. 46	
Calecut	48
Arrival, p. 48 ; a description of Calecut, p. 49 ; at anchor at Pandarani, p. 50 ; Gama goes to Calecut, p. 51 ; a Christian church, p. 52 ; progress through the town, p. 55. The King's palace, p. 55 ; a royal audience, p. 56 ; a night's lodging, p. 59 ; presents for the Zamorin, p. 60 ; a second audience, p. 61. Return to Pandarani, p. 63 ; detention there, p. 64 ; the Portuguese merchandise at Pandarani, p. 67 ; Diogo Dias carries a message to the King, p. 70 ; the King sends for Diogo Dias, p. 74 ; off Calecut, p. 75 : Calecut and its commerce, p. 77	

	PAGE
The Voyage home	79
Santa Maria Islets and Anjediva, p. 80 ; the voyage across the Arabian Sea, p. 87 ; Magadoxo, p. 88 ; Malindi, p. 89 ; Malindi to S. Braz, p. 91 ; S. Braz to the Rio Grande, p. 92 ; conclusion, p. 93	
The Kingdoms to the South of Calecut	95
About Elephants	102
Prices at Alexandria	103
A vocabulary of Malayalam	105

APPENDICES.

A.—TWO LETTERS OF KING MANUEL, 1499	111
Letter to the King and Queen of Castile, July 1499	113
Letter to the Cardinal Protector, August 28, 1499	114
B.—GIROLAMO SERNIGI'S LETTERS, 1499	119
Introduction, p. 119 ; First letter to a gentleman at Florence, p. 123 ; Second letter, p. 137 ; a letter to his brother, p. 141	
C.—THREE PORTUGUESE ACCOUNTS OF VASCO DA GAMA'S FIRST VOYAGE	145
Jornal das Viagens dos Portuguezes ás Indias, 1608	145
Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão, 1612	147
Pedro Barretto de Rezende, 1646	149
D.—VASCO DA GAMA'S SHIPS AND THEIR EQUIPMENT	157
E.—MUSTER-ROLL OF VASCO DA GAMA'S FLEET	173
F.—THE VOYAGE	185
Lisbon to the Cape Verde Islands, p. 186 ; the Voyage across the Southern Atlantic, p. 186 ; doubling the Cape, p. 192 ; along the East Coast of Africa, p. 193 ; across the Arabian Sea, p. 198 ; the voyage home, p. 199.	
G.—EARLY MAPS illustrating Vasco da Gama's First Voyage	203
Henricus Martellus Germanus, p. 204 ; Juan de la Cosa, p. 205 ; Dr. Hamy's Chart, p. 206 ; The Cantino Chart, p. 208 ; the chart of the " Mohit", 209 ; Canerio, p. 210 ; list of Place-Names, p. 214	
H.—HONOURS AND REWARDS bestowed upon Vasco da Gama, 1499-1524	226

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<i>Portraits.</i>		PAGE
Vasco da Gama, from a portrait in the Honour Hall of the Lisbon Geographical Society	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
King Manuel		109
Vasco da Gama, from a contemporary medallion in the cloister of Belem		xii
Vasco da Gama, from the <i>Museu das Bellas Artes</i>		116
Vasco da Gama, from the same, according to M. Morelet's version		171
Vasco da Gama as Viceroy, according to Barretto de Rezende		143
Vasco da Gama, from the <i>Palacio do Governo</i> , Goa		151
<i>Facsimiles.</i>		
Facsimile of the first paragraph of the MS. of the <i>Roteiro</i>		xxii
Facsimiles of Vasco da Gama's signatures, <i>Frontispiece</i> and		116
Facsimile of a Receipt given by Vasco da Gama		229
<i>Ships.</i>		
The supposed Armada of Vasco da Gama		160
The <i>S. Gabriel</i>		155
The figure-head of the <i>S. Raphael</i>		91
A Caravel		158
Native craft in the Harbour of Mombaça ; from a photograph by the late Capt. Foot, R.N.		35
<i>Other Illustrations.</i>		
Cão's Padrão at Cape Cross		169
Vasco da Gama's Pillar at Malindi, from a photograph by Sir John Kirk		90
Coat-of-Arms of Vasco da Gama		223
A tower at Mombasa ; from a photograph by Sir John Kirk		39
View of Calecut ; from an original sketch by H. Johnson		183
A Siwa-blower ; from a photograph by Sir John Kirk		43
Krishna nursed by Devaki ; from Moor's "Pantheon"		53
The Old Church at Vidigueira		238

LIST OF MAPS.

	PAGE
I. A Chart illustrating the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-99	1
II. The Cape to Natal	<i>At end of volume</i>
III. Natal to Malinde	" "
IV. The West Coast of India	" "
V. South Africa, from an anonymous chart of the world, first published by Dr. Hamy	" "
VI. Africa, from the Cantino Chart	" "
VII. Africa and India, from Canerio's Chart	" "
VIII. The Indian Ocean, according to the "Mohit"	209

ERRATA.

P. 3, note 3. The wrong date is not August 18, but August 22, which ought to be October 22. See also p. 190, note 1.

P. 3, line 17. *Instead of* "lower mainsail", *read* "mainsail".

P. 4, note 2, to be read thus: "That is, towards Tristão da Cunha, Gama being at that time 400 miles to the N.N.W. of these islands".

P. 9, note 3. *Instead of* "Ant", *read* "dent" (dentro).

P. 15, note 1. *Instead of* "Rio do Infante", *read* "Rio de Infante".

P. 16, line 10. *Read* "when setting a bonnet we discovered the mast was sprung . . . and . . . secured it with lashings".

P. 22, line 8. *Instead of* "when putting the ship about", etc., *read* "in tacking towards the other ships, which were astern, Coelho", etc.

P. 23, note 4. *Add* "Aljofar, in Portuguese, means seed-pearls".

P. 73, line 17. *Instead of* "August 23", *read* "August 24".

P. 79, line 14. *Instead of* "Biaquotte", *read* "Biaquolle".

P. 80, note 1. For the identification of the Ilhas de S. Maria, see p. 200.

P. 92, line 13. *Add* "and left at once".

P. 148, line 20, and P. 175, line 60. The pilot was Pero Escolar, not Escovar. A Pero Escovar is mentioned by Barros (t. 1, part 1, p. 143) jointly with João de Santarem, as having made discoveries on the Gold Coast in 1471. He was a "cavalier" of the King's household. Another Pero Escovar went as pilot to the Congo in 1490. This latter may possibly have been our man.

P. 161, line 24. *Instead of* "D'Alberti", *read* "D'Albertis".

P. 167, line 17. *Instead of* "Rodriguez", *read* "Rodrigo".

P. 167, line 29. *Instead of* "Diogo de Vilhegas", *read* "Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas".



INTRODUCTION.



THE discovery of an ocean route to India, in 1497-98, marks an epoch in the history of geographical exploration no less than in that of commerce. It confirmed the hypothesis of a circumambient ocean, first put forward by Hecataeus, but rejected by Ptolemy and his numerous followers; and, at the same time diverted into a new channel the profitable spice trade with the East which for ages had passed through Syria and Alexandria. In consequence of this diversion Venice lost her monopoly, and Lisbon became for a time the great spice-market of Europe.

But Portugal was a small country whose resources were hardly even equal to the task of waging the continuous wars with the Moors in which she had so unwisely been engaged for generations past. And when, in addition to her African forces, she was called upon to maintain great fleets in the

distant East, in order to enforce her monopoly of the spice trade, at first in the face only of the Moors, and afterwards in that of powerful European rivals, her resources speedily came to an end, and she found herself exhausted and helpless. It may well be asked whether Portugal would not be happier now, and richer, too, had she never had the opportunity of dwelling upon these ancient



VASCO DA GAMA.

(From a Contemporary Medallion in the Cloister of Belém.)

glories ; had the wealth of the Indies never been poured into her lap, only to breed corruption ; and had her strength not been wasted in a struggle to which she was materially unequal, and which ended in exhaustion and ruin.

Portugal, however, notwithstanding the sad ending of her vast Eastern enterprises, is still justly proud of the achievements of her "great" Vasco da Gama, and boldly places him by the side of Magelhães

and Christopher Columbus, as one of a noble triad which occupies the foremost rank among the great navigators of an Age of Great Discoveries.

Vasco da Gama was born, about 1460,¹ at Sines, of which coast-town his father, Estevão, was alcaide-mór. He was the youngest of three brothers. Genealogists trace back his pedigree to a valiant soldier, Alvaro Annes da Gama, who resided at Olivença in 1280, and greatly distinguished himself in the wars with the Moors. The Gamas could thus boast of gentle blood, though they neither belonged to the aristocracy of Portugal, nor were they possessed of much worldly wealth.

We know next to nothing of Vasco da Gama's youth. When King João, after the return of Bartholomeu Dias, decided to fit out an armada to complete the discovery of an ocean highway to India, he selected Vasco da Gama as its captain-major, and this choice of the King was confirmed by his successor, D. Manuel.² Such an appointment would not have been made had not Vasco da Gama already been known as a man of energy,

¹ He was thus eighteen years of age when Queen Isabella, in 1478, granted a safe-conduct to him and Fernão de Lemos, enabling them to pass through Castile on their way to Tangier (Navarrete, iii, p. 477). According to P. Antonio Carvalho da Costa's unsupported statement, Vasco da Gama was born in 1469.

² According to Castanheda, the appointment was at first offered to Paulo da Gama, Vasco's elder brother. He declined on account of ill-health, but offered to accompany his brother as captain of one of the vessels.

capacity and competent knowledge. We ought therefore not be surprised if Garcia de Resende, in his *Chronicle of D. João II* (c. 146), tells us that he was a man whom the King trusted, as he had already served in his fleets and in maritime affairs, and whom he had consequently charged, in 1492, with the task of seizing the French vessels lying in the ports of Algarve, in reprisal for the capture by a French pirate of a Portuguese caravel returning from S. Jorge da Mina with gold.

Castanheda (I. c. 2) speaks of Vasco as having done good service in the time of King João II, and as being experienced in the affairs of the sea. Mariz (*Dial.*, iv. c. 14; v. c. 1) calls him a young man (*mancebo*), high-spirited and indefatigable, who had such a thorough knowledge of navigation (*arte maritima*) that he would have been able to hold his own with the most experienced pilots of Europe. We know, moreover, from Barros and Goes that

³ Vasco da Gama, after his return from India, married Catarina de Ataide. He proceeded a second time to India in 1502. When returning from Cananor he shaped a direct course across the Indian Ocean to Mozambique. After a long period of rest, King João III again sent him to India in 1524, but he died at Cochin on December 25th of the same year, at the age of sixty-five. His remains were taken to Portugal in 1538, and deposited at Vidigueira. Since 1880 they are supposed to have found their last resting-place in the church of Belem.

For an interesting estimate of the character of the great navigator, see Lord Stanley of Alderley's *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* (Hakluyt Society), 1869. See also the Appendices of this volume for further information on the first voyage.

he landed at S. Helena Bay with his pilots in order to determine the latitude. These extracts show, at all events, that Vasco da Gama was not a mere landsman ; nor is it likely that the command of an expedition, the one object of which was discovery, and not trade or war, would have been entrusted to such an one.

He was, moreover, well qualified for his post in other respects. His indomitable firmness made him shrink from no obstacle which opposed itself to the success of his expedition ; and notwithstanding the unheard-of length of the voyage and the hardships endured, he retained the confidence of his men to the very last.

The question whether Da Gama can fairly be ranked with Columbus and Magelhães, has frequently been discussed.

The first place among these three undoubtedly belongs to Magelhães, the renegade Portuguese, who first guided a ship across the wide expanse of the Pacific. The second place is almost universally accorded to Columbus, whose unconscious discovery of a new world, fit to become the second home of the European races, was immensely more far-reaching in its consequences than the discovery of an ocean highway to India, now largely discarded in favour of the shorter route across the isthmus of Suez.

It is maintained, in support of the claims of Columbus, that he was the originator of the scheme : the success of which covered him with everlasting

glory, whilst Vasco da Gama simply obeyed the behests of his King, when he took the lead of an expedition which was to crown the efforts made by little Portugal for generations past.

There is much truth in this contention. The scheme of reaching the East by a westward course across the Atlantic had no doubt been entertained in Portugal in the reign of Affonso the African [1438-81]. Fernão Martinz, the Royal Chaplain, had discussed its prospects with Paolo Toscanelli, when in Italy, and had been instructed to apply for further particulars to the Florentine physician, in response to which he had received the famous letter of June 25th, 1474, and the chart which accompanied it. But practically nothing was done, except that an adventurer or two¹ were authorised to seek for the islands supposed to lie to the west of the Azores. Prince Henry the Navigator would perhaps have acted upon such a suggestion, had he been still alive, but the King's resources were devoted to Africa, or wasted in two disastrous wars with Spain.

Columbus, on the other hand, made the discarded scheme his own; he, too, applied to Toscanelli for counsel,² and found confirmation of that physician's

¹ Ruy Gonçaves da Camara in 1473, Fernão Telles in 1474.

² Toscanelli's letter to Columbus was written long after that addressed to Fernão Martinz, for the expression *ha dias* (perhaps a rendering of *pridem* or *haud diu*) does not mean "a few days ago", but "long ago." Columbus himself uses it in that sense when he writes from Jamaica that the "Emperor of Catayo asked

erroneous hypothesis as to the small breadth of the Atlantic by studying the *Imago Mundi* of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, and other writings. Nor did he rest until he found in Queen Isabella the Catholic a patron who enabled him to put his theories to the test of practical experience. It was his good fortune that Providence had placed the new world as a barrier between him and Marco Polo's Cipangu (Japan), which was his goal, or he might never have returned to claim the reward of his success.

On the accession of D. João II, in 1481, the discovery of Africa was resumed with renewed vigour, and the councillors of that King acted wisely when they advised him to decline the offers of Columbus,¹ for the resources of Portugal were quite unequal to pursuing at one and the same time a search for a western route and continuing the efforts for opening a practical route around the southern extremity of Africa. And thus it happened that Columbus "discovered a new world for Castile and Leon", and not for Portugal.

When, however, we come to consider the physical difficulties which had to be overcome by these great navigators in the accomplishment of their purpose, the greater credit must undoubtedly be awarded to Vasco da Gama. Columbus, trusting as implicitly to the chart and sailing directions

long ago (*ha dias*) for men of learning to instruct him in the faith of Christ." The request for missionaries had been made to the Pope in 1339 (Navarrete, *Collecion*, 2nd ed., 1, p. 457).

¹ Barros, *Dec. L*, l. 3, c. ii.

of Toscanelli as did Vasco da Gama to those of Dias, and, perhaps, of Pero de Covilhão, shaped a course westward of Gomera ; and, having sailed in that direction for thirty-six days, and for a distance of 2,600 miles, made his first landfall at Guanahani, being favoured all the while by the prevailing easterly winds. The task which Vasco da Gama undertook was far more difficult of accomplishment. Instead of creeping along the coast, as had been done by his predecessors, he conceived the bold idea of shaping a course which would take him direct through the mid-Atlantic from the Cape Verde Islands to the Cape of Good Hope. The direct distance to be covered was 3,770 miles, but the physical obstacles presented by winds and currents could only be overcome by taking a circuitous course, and thus it happened that he spent ninety-three days at sea before he made his first landfall to the north of the bay of St. Helena. This first passage across the southern Atlantic is one of the great achievements recorded in the annals of maritime exploration.

Once beyond the Cape, Vasco had to struggle against the Agulhas current, which had baffled Bartholomeu Dias, and against the current of Mozambique ; and it was only after he had secured a trustworthy pilot at Melinde that the difficulties of the outward voyage can be said to have been overcome.

In one other respect Vasco da Gama, or, perhaps, we ought to say his pilots, proved themselves the

superiors of Columbus, namely, in the accuracy of the charts of their discoveries which they brought home to Portugal. Accepting the Cantino Chart¹ as a fair embodiment of the work done by this expedition, we find that the greatest error in latitude amounts to $1^{\circ} 40'$. The errors of Columbus were far more considerable. In three places of his Journal the latitude of the north coast of Cuba is stated to be 42° by actual observation; and that this is no clerical error, thrice repeated in three different places, seems to be proved by the evidence of the charts. On that of Juan de la Cosa, for instance, Cuba is made to extend to lat. 35° N. (instead of $23^{\circ} 10'$), and even on the rough sketch drawn by Bartolomeo Columbus after the return from the Fourth Voyage, Jamaica and Puerto Rico (Spagnola) are placed 6° too far to the north.²

Verily, the Portuguese of those days were superior as navigators to their Spanish rivals and the Italians.

Posterity is fortunate in possessing a very full abstract of the Journal which Columbus kept during

¹ It is quite possible that the draughtsman of the Cantino Chart placed St. Helena Bay incorrectly, and not as determined by Vasco da Gama. Canerio places this bay in lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$ S., which is only $10'$ out of its true position.

² See Wieser, *Die Karte des Bartolomeo Columbo*, Innsbruck, 1893. Cuba is not shown on this chart, possibly because Bartolomeo would not do violence to his conscience by representing it as a part of Asia (as his brother believed it to be to the day of his death) after its insularity had been recognised.

his first voyage to the West Indies.¹ No such trustworthy record is available in the case of Vasco da Gama, whose original reports have disappeared. They were consulted, no doubt, by João de Barros and Damião de Goes; but these writers, much to our loss, dealt very briefly with all that refers to navigation. The only available account written by a member of the expedition is the *Roteiro* or Journal, a translation of which fills the bulk of this volume, and of which, later on, we shall speak at greater length. The only other contemporary accounts, which we also reproduce, are at second-hand, and are contained in the letters written by King Manuel and Girolamo Sernigi immediately after the return of Vasco da Gama's vessels from India.

Apart from these, our chief authorities regarding this voyage are still the *Decades* of João de Barros and the *Chronicle* of King Manuel, by Damião de Goes. Both these authors held official positions which gave them access to the records preserved in the India House. Castanheda relied almost wholly upon the *Roteiro*, but a few additional statements of interest may be found in his pages.

As to the *Lendas* of Gaspar Correa, we are unable to look upon his account of Vasco da Gama's first voyage as anything but a jumble of truth and

¹ *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, by C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society), 1893.

fiction,¹ notwithstanding that he claims to have made use of the diary of a priest, Figueiro, who is stated to have sailed in Vasco's fleet. Correa's long residence in India—from 1514 to the time of his death—must have proved an advantage when relating events which came under his personal observation, but it also precluded him from consulting the documents placed on record in the Archives of Lisbon. This much is certain: that whoever accepts Correa as his guide must reject the almost unanimous evidence of other writers of authority who have dealt with this important voyage.²

A few additional facts may be gleaned from Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, from Duarte Pacheco Pereira and Antonio Galvão; but in the main we are dependent upon the *Rotciro*, for recent searches³ in the *Torre do Tombo* have yielded absolutely nothing, so far as we are aware, which throws additional light upon Da Gama's First Voyage, with which alone we are concerned.

¹ Thus Correa states correctly that the Cape was rounded in November, that is, in the height of summer, but introduces accessory details—perhaps taken from an account of some other voyage (Cabral's, for instance)—which could only have happened in mid-winter. (See p. 193).

² An excellent translation of Correa's account of *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, by Lord Stanley of Alderley, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1869. It is accompanied by foot-notes, directing attention to those numerous instances in which Correa differs from other writers.

³ Most of the documents discovered on these occasions were made known by Teixeira de Aragão and Luciano Cordeiro, to whose published works frequent reference will be made.

And now we shall proceed to give an account of the *Roteiro*.

The Manuscript of the "Roteiro".

In giving an account of the manuscript of this Journal, we entrust ourselves to the guidance of Professors Kopke and Antonio da Costa Paiva, the two gentlemen who first published it.

Signature of Fernam Lopes
de Castanheda

Water Mark



That is :—

“Em Nome de Ds Amem// Na era de mill iij LR vij
mandou Ellrey Dom manuell o primo desde nome em portugall/
a descobrir/ quat
navios/ os quaes hiam em busca da especiaria/ dos quaes na
vios hia por capitam moor Vco da Gama e dos outros duũ
delles Paulo da Gama seu jrmaoo e doutro njcollao Coelho”.

The manuscript originally belonged to the famous Convent of Santa Cruz at Coimbra, whence it was

transferred, together with other precious MSS., to the public library of Oporto.

It is not an autograph, for on fol. 64 (p. 77 of this translation), where the author has left a blank, the copyist, to guard against his being supposed to have been careless in his task, has added these words: "The author has omitted to tell us how these weapons were made". This copy, however, was taken in the beginning of the sixteenth century, as may be seen from the style of the writing as exhibited in the facsimile of the first paragraph of the work, shown on preceding page.

The MS. is in folio, and is rudely bound up in a sheet of parchment, torn out of some book of ecclesiastical offices. The ink is a little faded, but the writing is still perfectly legible. The paper is of ordinary strength, and of rather a dark tint; the manufacturer's water mark is shown in the above facsimile. Blank leaves of more modern make, and having a different water-mark, have been inserted at the front and back, and the first of these leaves contains the following inscription in a modern hand, which is still legible, although pains have been taken to erase it:—

"Pertinet ad usum fratris Theotonii de Sancto
G Canonici Regularis in Cenobio
Scte Crucis".

Immediately below this we read:—

"Dô Theotonio",

and near the bottom of the page, in a modern hand,

probably that of one of the librarians of the convent :—

“Descobrimiento da Índia por D. Vasco
da Gamma”.

Prof. Kopke suggests¹ that the copyist of this valuable MS. was the famous historian Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, who was Apparitor and Keeper of the Archives in the University of Coimbra, and was engaged there during twenty years, much to the injury of his health and private fortune, in collecting the materials for his *Historia do Descobrimiento e Conquista da India*. In support of this assumption he publishes a signature (see the facsimile on page xxii) taken from a copy of the first book of Castanheda's history, published in 1551. But A. Herculano,² whilst admitting this signature to be genuine, points out that the cursive characters of the MS. are of a type exceedingly common during the first half of the sixteenth century, and that it would consequently not be safe to attribute it to any writer in particular. Until, therefore, further evidence is forthcoming, we cannot accept the Professor's theory that we are indebted for this copy to Castanheda; though, as we have already said, there can be no doubt that in writing his account of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama he depended almost exclusively for his facts upon the anonymous author of this *Roteiro*.

¹ *Roteiro*, prim. edição, p. xix.

² *Roteiro*, seg. edição, p. xii.

The Author of the "Roteiro".

It is quite possible, as suggested by Prof. Kopke, that the title by which the *Roteiro* was known at the convent of Santa Cruz misled certain bibliographers into a belief that Vasco da Gama himself had written this account of his voyage.

Thus Nicoláo Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Veta* (1672), lib. 10, c. 15, § 543, says:—

"Vascus da Gama dedit reversus Emanueli suo Regi populari Portugalie idiomate navigationis suae ad Indiam anno MCD XCVII relationem, quae lucem vidit."

The words "quae lucem vidit" need not, however, be understood as conveying the meaning that this narrative was actually printed and published, for the same author, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, makes use of the same equivocal expression when describing another voyage to India, expressly stated by him to be still in MS.

Moreri, in his *Dictionnaire* (1732), quoting as his authority a *Bibliotheca Portuguesa* in MS., which he had from "a man of judgment and of vast erudition", states that Vasco da Gama is said to have published an account of his first voyage to India, but that no copy of it had up till then been discovered.

Similarly, Barbosa Machado, the author of the standard *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (t. iii, p. 775), 1752, accepting Nicoláo Antonio as his authority, says

that Vasco da Gama "wrote an account of the voyage which he made to India in 1497".¹

We are quite safe in assuming that no such a narrative has ever been published, although it is equally certain that Vasco da Gama furnished official reports of his proceedings, which were still available when João de Barros wrote his *Decades*, but are so no longer.

No one has yet succeeded in discovering the author of the *Roteiro*. Prof. Kopke attempts to arrive at the name by a process of elimination, and in doing so starts with several assumptions which we cannot accept. First of all he assumes that Castanheda must have known the writer of the MS. of which he made such excellent use in writing his history. But Castanheda only became acquainted with this MS. after 1530, when he took up his residence at Coimbra on his return from India, that is, more than thirty years after it had been written. Of course, the author might then have been still alive, notwithstanding the lapse of years; but had this been the case, and had Castanheda been personally acquainted with him, he would surely have obtained from him an account of the termination of the voyage, instead of abruptly breaking off in the same way as the *Roteiro* does, with the arrival of the fleet at the shoals of the

¹ Prof. Kopke (*Roteiro*, prim. ed., pp. ix-xiv) deals much more fully with this subject. We have been content to give the substance of his remarks.

Rio Grande (see p. 93), adding that he had been unable to ascertain the particulars of the further voyage of the captain-major, and only knew that Coelho arrived at Cascaes on July 10th, 1499.¹ It is probable, moreover, that if Castanheda had known the name of the author to whom he was so greatly indebted, he would have mentioned it in his book.

Prof. Kopke assumes further that the writer was a common sailor or soldier, and most probably the former: first, because he frequently makes use of the expression "nós outros" (we others) as if to draw a distinction between the officers of the ships and the class to which he himself belonged; and, secondly, because "the style of his narrative would seem to point to his humble condition". We can admit neither of these conclusions. The author by no means uses the expression "we others" in the restricted sense in which Prof. Kopke understands it. In proof of this we may refer to such sentences as are to be found at pp. 57 and 61:—"When the King beckoned to the captain he looked at us others"; "as to us others, we diverted ourselves"—the "others", in both these cases, including the thirteen men who attended Vasco da Gama to Calcut, and among whom were the three pursers, the captain-major's secretary, and others who may

¹ See livro I, c. xxvii, of the first edition (1551) of his *Historia*. In the edition of 1554 this passage is suppressed, but further particulars of the voyage are not given.

not have been "persons of distinction" but who nevertheless cannot be classed with "common soldiers or sailors". As to the literary style of the Journal, we may at once admit that its author cannot take rank with Barros, Castanheda or Correa, but this by no means proves him to have been an uncultured man, or of "humble condition." His spelling may not have been quite in accordance with the somewhat loose rules followed in the fifteenth century, but his narrative is straightforward and to the point, and shows that he was a man of judgment perfectly able to give an intelligent account of the many novel facts which came under his observation. If he looked upon the Hindus as fellow-Christians, he shared that opinion with the other members of the expedition, including its chief. It only needs a perusal of such a collection of letters, reports, and narratives as is to be found in *Alguns documentos do Archivo nacional* (Lisbon, 1892) to convince us that there were men holding high positions in those days whose literary abilities fell short of those which can be claimed on behalf of our author. Moreover, it is not likely that access to the information required to enable him to write a *Roteiro da Viagem* would have been given to a "common sailor or soldier", even if such a person had been bold enough to ask for it.

We shall now follow Prof. Kopke in his "process of elimination":—

1. The author, in the course of his narrative, mentions a number of persons by name, and these

we must eliminate forthwith. They are : Vasco and Paulo da Gama, Nicolau Coelho (p. 22), Pero d'Alenquer (p. 5), João de Coimbra (p. 30), Martin Affonso (pp. 12, 17), Sancho Mexia (p. 6), and Fernão Veloso (p. 7).

2. We know further that the author served on board the *S. Raphael*.¹ This disposes of Gonçalo Alvares and Diogo Dias² of the *S. Gabriel*; and of Gonçalo Nunes, Pero Escolar, and Alvaro de Braga, of the *Berrio*.

3. The author mentions certain things as having been done by persons whose names he does not give. The name of one of these is supplied by Castanheda and Barros. We thus learn from Barros that Fernão Martins was the sailor mentioned by the author (p. 23) as being able to speak the language of the Moors; and from Castanheda (i. p. 51) that he was one of the two men sent with a message to the King of Calecut (p. 50). The convict who was sent to Calecut on May 21st (p. 48) was João Nunez, according to Correa. The author states (p. 64, line 18, and p. 65, last line) that the captain-major sent three men along

¹ For a conclusive proof of this see p. 2. After the *S. Raphael* had been broken up, the author may have been transferred to Coelho's vessel, and have returned in her.

² This is the "secretary" (escrivão) of Vasco da Gama. Castanheda (i. p. 54) mentions also the comptroller (veador) of the captain-major, but we are inclined to think that this is a duplication of the same person, namely, Diogo Dias, the clerk or purser of the *S. Gabriel*.

the beach in search of the ships' boats. According to Castanheda (I, pp. 71 and 72), one of these men was Gonçalo Pires.

We may therefore strike out all these names from the list of possible authors.

4. Three members of the expedition are reported to have died during the voyage, namely, Pedro de Covilhão, the priest; Pedro de Faria de Figueredo, and his brother Francisco, all of them mentioned by Faria y Sousa alone.

5. Lastly, there are four convicts whose names are given by Correa, none of whom is likely to have been the author of the MS. The presence of some of these convicts is, moreover, very doubtful.

We have thus accounted for all the members of the expedition whose names are known, with the exception of eight.

Four of these—João de Sá, Alvaro Velho, João Palha and João de Setubal—are stated to have been among the thirteen who attended Vasco da Gama to Calecut (p. 51), and of these, João de Sá was clerk in the *S. Raphael*, the author's ship. He certainly might have been the author. Prof. Kopke thinks not, first, because of the author's supposed humble position; secondly, because João de Sá, if we may credit an anecdote recorded by Castanheda (I, p. 57),¹ had his doubts about the people of India being Christians, whilst the author unhesitatingly affirms them to be so. The only other person mentioned

¹ See p. 54, note 2, for this anecdote.

by Castanheda as having been connected with the expedition is Alvaro Velho, a soldier, who, according to Prof. Kopke, may "fairly be looked upon as the author of this Journal." He admits, however, that this conclusion is acceptable only on the assumption that Castanheda knew the author: a purely gratuitous assumption, in our opinion.

Castanheda only mentions six out of the thirteen who were present at Vasco da Gama's audience of the Zamorin. Correa mentions two others—João de Setubal and João Palha. Five remain thus to be accounted for; and, although these may have included servants and trumpeters, not likely to have troubled about keeping a journal, our author may have been among them. It will thus be seen that this process of elimination has led to no result, and that we cannot even tell whether the author's name occurs in any single account of this expedition. Comparing his "Journal" with the contents of Sernigi's first letter, it almost seems as if he had been the person from whom the Florentine derived the bulk of his information. In that case his name may perhaps turn up some day in the Italian archives. If our choice were limited to Alvaro Velho and João de Sá, we should feel inclined to decide in favour of the latter.

Correa mentions three other persons as having been with Vasco da Gama: namely, João Figueiro, whose diary he claims to have used, and who cannot therefore have been the author of a "Journal" the contents of which are so widely different; André

Gonçalves and João d'Amoixeira. Camões adds a fourth name, that of Leonardo Ribeyra. This exhausts the muster-roll, as far as the names are known to us.

The Portuguese Editions of the "Roteiro".¹

The *Roteiro* was printed for the first time in 1838. The editors, Diogo Kopke and Dr. Antonio da Costa Paiva, both teachers at the *Academia Polytechnica* of Oporto, furnished it with an introduction, in which they give an account of the manuscript and discuss its authorship, add sixty-nine notes, explanatory of the text, and append King Manuel's letters patent of January 10th, 1502 (see p. 230). The illustrations include a map, the facsimile of a page of the MS., a portrait, and an illustrated title-page of poor design. The book was published by subscription. Three hundred and ninety-two copies were subscribed for, including two hundred and thirty-seven by residents in Oporto, among whom British wine-merchants figure prominently. Only five copies went abroad, and three of these were subscribed for by Captain Washington, R.N., the Royal Geographical Society, and the Geographical Society of Paris.

A second edition appeared at Lisbon in 1861.

¹ *Roteiro da Viagem que em descobrimento da India pelo Cabo da Boa Esperança fez Dom Vasco da Gama em 1497.* Porto, 1838. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 184.

Its editors, A. Herculano, the famous historian, and Baron do Castello de Paiva, claim to have "got rid of those imperfections in the text, as also in the notes of the first edition,¹ which must be attributed to the inexperience of the editors, and to their eagerness to bring before the public so precious an historical document". Their emendations, however, are not of a kind to justify this somewhat brutal reference to the work done by their predecessors. They consist, in the main, of a modernisation of the spelling, the introduction of a few "philological" notes of no particular interest, and a short preface in which Correa's *Lendas da India* are spoken of in terms of eulogy. These *Lendas* the editors consider to be "far superior in substance (*quanto á substancia*) to the *Decades* of João de Barros, and to the exuberant but evidently honest narrative of Castanheda." After praising Correa "for depicting in firm contours and vivid colours" the human passions brought into play by close companionship within the narrow limits of a ship, they admit that as to "facts" "he is often vague, forgetful, or ambiguous". They conclude by saying that the author of the *Roteiro* and the chronicle-writers mutually complement each other, and jointly acquaint us with all the details of one of the great events in the history of modern nations.²

¹ *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama em* MCCCCXVII. Segunda edição. Lisboa (Imprensa Nacional), 1861. 8vo, pp. xliv, 182.

² Compare p. xvii, and numerous references to Correa throughout this volume.

The French Translations of the "Roteiro".

Two have been published. The first of these, by M. Ferdinand Denis, will be found in the third volume of Charton's *Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes*, Paris, 1855. It is based upon the first Portuguese edition, and ends with the arrival of the two vessels at the Rio Grande. The notes by Professor Kopke are embodied in those of the translator, who has added an introduction, giving a short but excellent biography of Vasco da Gama, and a bibliography. The map of the original is retained, and there are twenty illustrations, including two portraits of Vasco da Gama, the one stated to be from Count Farrobo's painting, as published in the *Panorama*, the other from a Paris MS. of Barretto de Rezende.¹

For the second French translation² we are indebted to M. Arthur Morelet. It is from the second Portuguese edition, and not a word of either text or notes has been omitted. The translator has confined himself to supplying a short introduction. The map is retained, but a free rendering of Count Farrobo's painting³ has been substituted for the poor portrait of Vasco da Gama in the original, and the portrait of King Manuel has been omitted as being "flat, without relief and vigour, and

¹ Reproduced on p. 150.

² *Journal du Voyage de Vasco da Gama en MCCCCXCVII, traduit du Portugais par Arthur Morelet*, Lyon, 1864.

³ Reproduced by us, p. 171.

wanting even in that unaffected simplicity which marks the works of that period.”¹

The English Translation.

In 1869 the Hakluyt Society published Lord Stanley of Alderley's translation of the *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, from the *Lendas* of Gaspar Correa, with numerous foot-notes indicating those instances in which Correa differs from Barros, Goes, Castanheda and other historians, as well as from the poetical version of this voyage presented in the *Lusiadas* of Camões.

It was intended at the same time to bring out an English version of the *Roteiro*, but no definite arrangements were made, and thus the matter was left in abeyance until the present Editor revived the idea, and suggested that the volume proposed might prove acceptable as an interesting though humble contribution to the literature of the Fourth Centenary of Vasco da Gama's arrival in India, which Portugal is about to celebrate.

The translation of the *Roteiro* itself is literal and complete. The notes of the Portuguese editors have, however, been abridged, and only the substance of what they say in their introductions has been retained.

On the other hand, the Editor has added translations of the letters of King Manuel and Sernigi, and of three Portuguese accounts of the voyage. He has,

¹ For a copy of this contemned portrait, see p. 109.

moreover, added Appendices, among which the one dealing with early maps will, he hopes, prove of some interest.

In conclusion, the Editor fulfils an agreeable duty in acknowledging the kindly help and advice extended to him by a number of gentlemen. To Capt. E. J. de Carvalho e Vasconcellos and Senhor José Bastos, of Lisbon, he is indebted for the fine portraits which ornament this edition; to Prof. Gallois for a tracing of the unpublished portion of Canerio's chart; to Dr. M. C. Caputo for a photograph of the African portion of the Cantino chart; to Prof. Biagi for a copy of Sernigi's letter in the *Biblioteca Riccardiana*; to Sir J. Kirk for several illustrations and important notes; to the late Rt. Rev. Dr. J. M. Speechley, and the Rev. J. J. Jaus, of the Basel Missionary Society, for notes on Calcutt; and for help in minor matters to Dr. Garnett, of the British Museum; Baron Hulot, Secretary of the Paris Geographical Society; M. Marcel, of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*; Prof. Dalla Vedova, of Rome; Prof. Berchet, of Venice; and Capt. B. B. da Silva, of Lisbon.

His special thanks are due to three members of the Hakluyt Society, namely, Sir Clements Markham, the President; Admiral Albert H. Markham, who acted as the Editor's nautical adviser; and Mr. William Foster, the Secretary, whose careful reading of the proofs kept this volume free from many a blunder.

LONDON, *March*, 1898.



A JOURNAL
OF THE FIRST
VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA
IN 1497-99.

[Words and Dates not in the MS. have been placed within square brackets.]



IN the name of God. Amen!

In the year 1497 King Dom Manuel, the first of that name in Portugal, despatched four vessels to make discoveries and go in search of spices. Vasco da Gama was the captain-major of these vessels; Paulo da Gama, his brother, commanded one of them, and Nicolau Coelho another.¹

[Lisbon to the Cape Verde Islands.]

We left Restello² on Saturday, July 8, 1497. May God our Lord permit us to accomplish this voyage in his service. Amen!

¹ These vessels, as appears in the course of the Journal, were the *S. Gabriel* (flag-ship), the *S. Raphael* (Paulo da Gama), the *Berrio* (Nicolau Coelho), and a store-ship (Gonçalo Nunes). The author served on board the *S. Raphael*. See Introduction.

² In the suburb of Restello, four miles below the Arsenal of Lisbon,

On the following Saturday [July 15] we sighted the Canaries, and in the night passed to the lee of Lançarote. During the following night, at break of day [July 16] we made the Terra Alta, where we fished for a couple of hours, and in the evening, at dusk, we were off the Rio do Ouro.¹

The fog² during the night grew so dense that Paulo da Gama lost sight of the captain-major, and when day broke [July 17] we saw neither him nor the other vessels. We therefore made sail for the Cape Verde islands, as we had been instructed to do in case of becoming separated.

On the following Saturday, [July 22], at break of day, we sighted the Ilha do Sal,³ and an hour afterwards discovered three vessels, which turned out to be the store-ship, and the vessels commanded by Nicolau Coelho and Bartholameu Diz [Dias], the last of whom sailed in our company as far as the Mine.⁴ They, too, had lost sight of

stood a chapel or *ermida*, which had been built by Henry the Navigator for the use of mariners. In this chapel Vasco da Gama and his companions spent the night previous to their departure in prayer. After his victorious return, D. Manuel founded on its site the magnificent monastery of Our Lady of Bethlehem or Belem.

¹ The forbidding line of low cliffs, extending for 35 miles from Leven Head to Elbow Point, in lat. 24° N., was known to the Portuguese of the time as *terra alta* (see D. Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, p. 40). The Rio do Ouro or River of Gold is a basin, extending about 20 miles inland and four miles wide at its mouth. No river flows into it. The real "River of Gold" is the Senegal or the Upper Niger.

² Castanheda attributes the separation of the vessels to the fog and a storm.

³ At the southern extremity of Ilha do Sal, in lat. 16° 31' N., is the Porto de Santa Maria.

⁴ S. Jorge da Mina, the famous fort built on the Gold Coast in 1482, by Diogo d'Azambuja, one of whose captains had been the very Bartholomew Dias who five years afterwards doubled the Cape, and who now returned to the *Mine*, having been made its captain, in recognition of his great services. (See L. Cordeira, *Diogo d'Azambuja*, Lisbon, 1890, and Barros, edition of 1778, to. I, part I, p. 271.)

the captain-major. Having joined company we pursued our route, but the wind fell, and we were becalmed until Wednesday [July 26]. At ten o'clock on that day we sighted the captain-major, about five leagues ahead of us, and having got speech with him in the evening we gave expression to our joy by many times firing off our bombards¹ and sounding the trumpets.

The day after this, a Thursday [July 27], we arrived at the island of Samtiago [São Thiago],² and joyfully anchored in the bay of Santa Maria, where we took on board meat, water and wood, and did the much-needed repairs to our yards.

[*Across the Southern Atlantic.*]

On Thursday, August 3, we left in an easterly direction. On August 18,³ when about 200 leagues from Samtiaguó, going south, the captain-major's main yard broke, and we lay to under foresail and lower mainsail for two days and a night. On the 22nd of the same month, when going

¹ Bombardas, originally catapults, subsequently any piece of ordnance from which stone balls were thrown. In the north of Europe the term was restricted to mortars. Gama, however, carried breech-loading guns, with movable *cameras* or chambers. (See Staniey's *Vasco da Gama*, p. 226, *note* and *Introduction*.)

² São Thiago, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands. The Porto da Praia, within which lies the Island of Santa Maria (14° 50' N.), is no doubt the bay referred to in the text.

³ This date, August 18th, is obviously wrong. Deducting the delay of two days, Vasco da Gama spent 95 days on his passage from São Thiago to the Bay of St. Helena, the distance being about 1,170 leagues (4,290 miles), his daily progress amounted to 12 leagues or 45 miles. If the dates in the text were correct, he would have made 12½ leagues daily up to August 18th, and between that date and the 22nd (allowing for the delay) at least 300 leagues (1,010 miles), which is quite impossible. It is evident that the second date is wrong, and instead of "the same month", we ought perhaps to read "October". In that case the daily progress, up to October 22nd, would have averaged 10 leagues (34 miles). Thence, to St. Helena Bay, a distance

S. by W., we saw many birds resembling herons.¹ On the approach of night they flew vigorously to the S.S.E., as if making for the land.² On the same day, being then quite 800 leagues out at sea [*i.e.*, reckoning from S. Thiago], we saw a whale.

On Friday, October 27, the eve of St. Simon and Jude, we saw many whales, as also quoquas³ and seals.⁴

On Wednesday, November 1, the day of All Saints, we perceived many indications of the neighbourhood of land, including gulf-weed,⁵ which grows along the coast.

of 370 leagues accomplished in 16 days, the daily progress would have averaged nearly 23 leagues (78 miles). Of course these are merely rough approximations, as the course taken by Vasco da Gama and the incidents of this memorable passage are not known to us. We may mention that modern sailing vessels going from S. Thiago by way of Sierra Leone and Ascension to the Cape, a distance of 5,410 miles, occupy on an average 49½ days on the passage, making thus 110 miles daily (58 in crossing from Sierra Leone to Ascension). A ship going direct (3,770 miles) has performed the passage in 41 days, thus averaging 92 daily. (See Admiral Fitzroy's "Passage Tables" in the *Meteorological Papers* published by the Admiralty in 1858.)

¹ The MS. has *Garçôes*, a word not to be found in the dictionary, but evidently an augmentative of *garça*, a heron. Pimental, in his *Arte de Navegar*, mentions large birds with dark wings and white bodies as being met with a hundred leagues to the west of the Cape of Good Hope, which are known as *Gaiivotões*.—KOPKE.

The Gaivota, or gull, however, in no respect resembles a heron.

² That is, towards Africa, Gama being at that time considerably to the north of Walvisch Bay.

³ Kopke supposes that we should read *phoca* instead of *quoqua*, but this is not very likely, as *lobo marinho* is employed throughout the *Rutter* to describe the *phoca* or seals. Among the animals which these early navigators must have met with, but which are not mentioned, are porpoises (*peixe de porco*) and dolphins (*doiradas* or gilt-heads).

⁴ *Lobo marinho*, sea-wolf, a term vaguely applied to all species of seals, as also to the sea-elephant, has been translated throughout as *seal*.

⁵ *Golfão*, *i.e.*, *Zostera nana*, which is met with along the coast of South-Western Africa.

On Saturday, the 4th of the same month, a couple of hours before break of day, we had soundings in 110 fathoms,¹ and at nine o'clock we sighted the land.² We then drew near to each other, and having put on our gala clothes, we saluted the captain-major by firing our bombards, and dressed the ships with flags and standards. In the course of the day we tacked so as to come close to the land, but as we failed to identify it,³ we again stood out to sea.

[*The Bay of St. Helena.*]

On Tuesday [November 7] we returned to the land, which we found to be low, with a broad bay opening into it. The captain-major sent Pero d'Alenquer⁴ in a boat to take soundings and to search for good anchoring ground. The bay was found to be very clean, and to afford shelter against all winds except those from the N.W. It extended east and west, and we named it Santa Helena.

On Wednesday [November 8] we cast anchor in this bay, and we remained there eight days, cleaning the ships, mending the sails, and taking in wood.

The river Samtiagua [S. Thiago] enters the bay four

¹ A Portuguese fathom, or *braça*, is equal to 5.76 feet 10 inches.

² This was considerably to the north of St. Helena Bay, which was only reached three days later.

³ A reference, no doubt, to Pero d'Alenquer, Vasco da Gama's pilot, who had been with B. Dias during his memorable voyage round the Cape, as had probably others of this armada.

⁴ Castanheda and Goes state that Nicolau Coelho was sent to take the soundings. It is, however, much more probable that this duty was intrusted to Pero d'Alenquer, who had already doubled the Cape with Bartholomew Dias, and had touched at several points in its vicinity.—KOPKE.

I cannot see how his having been with Dias can have conferred any very special qualification for taking soundings in a bay which Pero d'Alenquer had never seen before. On subsequent occasions Coelho seems to have been employed repeatedly upon this duty.

leagues to the S.E. of the anchorage. It comes from the interior (sertão), is about a stone's throw across at the mouth, and from two to three fathoms in depth at all states of the tide.¹

The inhabitants of this country are tawny-coloured.² Their food is confined to the flesh of seals, whales and gazelles, and the roots of herbs. They are dressed in skins, and wear sheaths over their virile members.³ They are armed with poles of olive wood to which a horn, browned in the fire, is attached.⁴ Their numerous dogs resemble those of Portugal, and bark like them. The birds of the country, likewise, are the same as in Portugal, and include cormorants, gulls, turtle doves, crested larks, and many others. The climate is healthy and temperate, and produces good herbage.

On the day after we had cast anchor, that is to say on Thursday [November 9], we landed with the captain-major, and made captive one of the natives, who was small of stature like Sancho Mexia. This man had been gathering honey in the sandy waste, for in this country the bees deposit their honey at the foot of the mounds around the

¹ Now called Berg River. —KOPKE.

² *Baço*, a vague term, meaning also brown or blackish.

³ Castanheda, in his first edition (1551), adopted this statement, but subsequently suppressed it. D. Jeronymo Osorio, Bishop of Silves, in *De rebus Emanuelis*, has "pudenta ligneis vaginis includunt." —KOPKE.

The use of such a sheath is universal among the Bantu tribes of Southern Africa, but seems now to be more honoured in the breach than the observance among the Hottentots, here spoken of. John of Empoli, who went to India with Afonso de Albuquerque (*Ramusio*, i), observed such a sheath made of leather with the hair on, among the Hottentots of the Bay of S. Blas. Leguat (*Hakluyt Society's edition*, 1891, p. 288) found it still in use in 1698.

⁴ The shafts of their assegais are made of assegai- or lance-wood (*Curtisea faginda*), and not of olive-wood, and even in John of Empoli's time had iron blades. Their spears for spearing fish, on the other hand, are tipped with the straight horn of the gemsbuck.

bushes. He was taken on board the captain-major's ship, and being placed at table he ate of all we ate. On the following day the captain-major had him well dressed and sent ashore.¹

On the following day [November 10] fourteen or fifteen natives came to where our ships lay. The captain-major landed and showed them a variety of merchandise, with the view of finding out whether such things were to be found in their country. This merchandise included cinnamon, cloves, seed-pearls, gold, and many other things, but it was evident that they had no knowledge whatever of such articles, and they were consequently given round bells and tin rings. This happened on Friday, and the like took place on Saturday.

On Sunday [November 12] about forty or fifty natives made their appearance, and having dined, we landed, and in exchange for the çeitils² with which we came provided, we obtained shells, which they wore as ornaments in their ears, and which looked as if they had been plated, and fox-tails attached to a handle, with which they fanned their faces. I also acquired for one çeitil one of the sheaths which they wore over their members, and this seemed to show that they valued copper very highly; indeed, they wore small beads of that metal in their ears.

On that day Fernão Velloso, who was with the captain-major, expressed a great desire to be permitted to accompany the natives to their houses, so that he might find out how they lived and what they ate. The captain-major yielded to his importunities, and allowed him to accompany them, and when we returned to the captain-major's vessel to sup, he went away with the negroes. Soon after they

¹ We learn from Barros that Vasco da Gama landed for the purpose of observing the latitude. The captive was handed over to two ship's boys, one of whom was a negro, with orders to treat him well.

² *Çeitil*, a copper coin, worth about one-third of a farthing.

had left us they caught a seal, and when they came to the foot of a hill in a barren place they roasted it, and gave some of it to Fernão Velloso, as also some of the roots which they eat. After this meal they expressed a desire that he should not accompany them any further, but return to the vessels. When Fernão Velloso came abreast of the vessels he began to shout, the negroes keeping in the bush.

We were still at supper; but when his shouts were heard the captain-major rose at once, and so did we others, and we entered a sailing boat. The negroes then began running along the beach, and they came as quickly up with Fernão Velloso¹ as we did, and when we endeavoured to get him into the boat they threw their assegais, and wounded the captain-major and three or four others. All this happened because we looked upon these people as men of little spirit, quite incapable of violence, and had therefore landed without first arming ourselves. We then returned to the ships.

[*Rounding the Cape*].

At daybreak of Thursday the 16th of November, having careened our ships and taken in wood, we set sail. At that time we did not know how far we might be abaft the Cape

¹ We gather from Barros and Goes that Fernão Velloso was granted the desired permission at the intercession of Paulo da Gama. When Vasco da Gama returned to his vessel, Coelho and some of the crew were left behind, collecting wood and lobsters. Paulo amused himself by harpooning a whale, which nearly cost him dearly, for the whale dived, and would have capsized the boat had not the water been shallow. In the afternoon, when Coelho and his people were returning to the vessels, Velloso was observed to run down a hill. Vasco da Gama, ever observant, saw this from his ship, and at once ordered Coelho back, entering himself a boat to join him. Some delay or misunderstanding occurred, the "negroes" threw stones and discharged arrows, and several men were wounded, including the captain-major and Gonçalo Alvarez. For further particulars see Stanley's *Vasco da Gama*, p. 46.

of Good Hope. Pero d'Alenquer thought the distance about thirty leagues,¹ but he was not certain, for on his return voyage [when with B. Dias] he had left the Cape in the morning and had gone past this bay with the wind astern, whilst on the outward voyage he had kept at sea, and was therefore unable to identify the locality where we now were. We therefore stood out towards the S.S.W. and late on Saturday [November 18] we beheld the Cape. On that same day we again stood out to sea, returning to the land in the course of the night. On Sunday morning, November 19, we once more made for the Cape, but were again unable to round it, for the wind blew from the S.S.W., whilst the Cape juts out towards the S.W. We then again stood out to sea, returning to the land on Monday night. At last, on Wednesday [November 22], at noon, having the wind astern, we succeeded in doubling the Cape, and then ran along the coast.²

To the south of this Cape of Good Hope, and close to it, a vast bay, six leagues broad at its mouth, enters about six leagues into the land.³

[*The Bay of São Braz*].⁴

Late on Saturday, November 25, the day of St. Catherine's, we entered the bay (angra) of Sam Brás,

¹ The distance is 33 leagues.

² Castanheda says that the Cape was doubled on "Wednesday, November 20", but Wednesday was the 22nd. Barros says "Tuesday, 20th", but Tuesday was the 21st. Compare Stanley's *Vasco da Gama*, p. 48.

³ The actual dimensions of False Bay are about 5 by 5 leagues. The bay is called "Golfo Antº delle Serre" on the map of Henricus Martellus Germanus, 1489, which illustrates the voyage of B. Dias (Add. MS. 15760, Brit. Mus.).

⁴ This is without the shadow of a doubt Mossel Bay (see plan on map II). It is also most probably the Bahia de los Vaqueiros of B. Dias, who certainly was here [see below]. Barros refers to it as

where we remained for thirteen days, for there we broke up our store-ship and transferred her contents to the other vessels.¹

On Friday [December 1], whilst still in the bay of Sam Brás, about ninety men resembling those we had met at St. Helena Bay made their appearance. Some of them walked along the beach, whilst others remained upon the hills. All, or most of us, were at the time in the captain-major's vessel. As soon as we saw them we launched and armed the boats, and started for the land. When close to the shore the captain-major threw them little round bells, which they picked up. They even ventured to approach us, and took some of these bells from the captain-major's hand. This surprised us greatly, for when Bartholomeu Dias² was here the natives fled without taking any of the objects which he offered them. Nay, on one occasion, when Dias was taking in water, close to the beach, they sought to prevent him, and when they pelted him with stones, from a hill, he killed one of them with the arrow of a cross-bow. It appeared to us that they did not fly on this occasion, because they had heard from the people at the bay of St. Helena (only sixty leagues distant by sea)³ that there was no harm in us, and that we even gave away things which were ours.

The captain-major did not land at this spot, because there was much bush, but proceeded to an open part of the beach, when he made signs to the negroes to approach. This they did. The captain-major and the other cap-

being *now* called S. Braz. Its original name had thus been abandoned in favour of that bestowed by Vasco da Gama.

¹ The thirteen days are counted from November 25 to December 7, both these days being counted. According to Castanheda (I, p. 12), the store-ship was burnt.

² See note 4, p. 9.

³ The distance by sea is over 90 leagues, that by land 64. "By sea" is probably a slip of the pen.